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THE ANNOTATED GOTTSCHALK:
CRITICAL SIGNS AND CONTROL OF
HETERODOXY IN THE CAROLINGIAN AGE

In the mid-ninth century, right in the middle of the predestination controversy, a religious dispute broke out over the correct way to address the Trinity[1]. The new controversy involved two contestants who had already been (and still were) pitted against each other in the debate over predestination : Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (845–882) and the monk Gottschalk of Orbais (c. 808-c. 869). The prelude to the new dispute should be located in the early 50s of the ninth century, when Hincmar forbade the singing of hymns in his diocese that contained the liturgical formula *trina deitas* (« trine deity »)[2]. The archbishop considered it to be a dangerous term that implied the existence of three gods[3]. Gottschalk, not amenable to episcopal authority, least of all to the authority of Hincmar, defended the use of this liturgical formula. To his mind, there were good (grammatical) reasons to use the expression *trina deitas*, since *trina* did not mean « three » but denoted the unity of three different parts, which was, Gottschalk maintained, in line with the orthodox view of the Trinity. The church fathers had used the expression *trina deitas*, he argued, and the term even occurred in the Acts of the Third Council of Constantinople[4]. Gottschalk wrote several essays on

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[1] We would like to thank Mariken Teeuwen, who has read several versions of this article, for her critical comments and valuable suggestions, and Warren Pezé for patiently pointing out some errors of fact concerning the Hincmar-Gottschalk controversy. All translations in this article are our own, unless otherwise indicated.

[2] The interdiction concerned in particular the hymn *Sanctorum meritis inclyta gaudia* that contains the verse *Te trina deitas unaque poscimus*. Devisse, *Hincmar : archevêque de Reims 845–882*, Genève, 1976, vol. I, p. 156.

[3] Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate* (*PL* 125, reprinting the edition of Jacques Sirmond from 1645), cols. 490 and 533. On the conflict between Hincmar and Gottschalk see now M.B. Gillis, « Heresy in the flesh: Gottschalk of Orbais and the predestination controversy in the archdiocese of Rheims », in R. Stone and C. West (ed.), *Hincmar of Rheims: Life and Work,* Manchester, 2015, p. 247–267 and W. Pezé, *Le virus de l'erreur. La controverse carolingienne sur la double prédestination. Essai d'histoire sociale,* Turnhout 2017.

[4] Gottschalk, *De trina deitate*, integrated in Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate* (*PL* 125), cols. 615–618.

the subject in which he opposed Hincmar's position on the matter[5]. In 853, at the Council of Soissons, the issue was for the first time debated, but discussion broke off prematurely.[6] Sometime after the council, between 855 and 857, Hincmar responded to Gottschalk's challenge with a treatise called *De una et non trina deitate*, in which he attacked Gottschalk and his « blasphemies » severely[7]. The treatise was addressed to the « beloved children of the Catholic church » and to Hincmar's co-ministers to warn them against Gottschalk's errors[8]. An interesting circumstance is that at the time of their dispute, Gottschalk had already been condemned as a heretic by the Council of Quierzy in 849 for his teaching on twofold predestination. The fifteen bishops who were present at the council, nearly all of them suffragan bishops of Hincmar, imposed a severe sentence on Gottschalk. He was flogged, forced to burn his writings and sent off to be imprisoned in the monastery of Hautvillers. Moreover, the bishops condemned Gottschalk to *perpetuum silentium,* eternal silence, to prevent his heresy from spreading any further[9]. Yet the monk did not keep his silence. He continued

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[5] Six texts of Gottschalk on the Trinity and on Trinitarian vocabulary (five essays and one collection of excerpts) have been transmitted in the famous Gottschalk manuscript, BERN, Burgerbibliothek, ms. 584, dating to the end of the ninth century. The texts are edited by C. Lambot, *Œuvres théologiques et grammaticales de Godescalc d'Orbais*, Louvain, 1945, p. 81–130 and 259–279. Another essay of Gottschalk on the same topic is integrated in Hincmar's response to Gottschalk's challenge (see previous note).

[6] The acts of the Council of Soissons of 853 have not been preserved, but Hincmar alludes to the discussion breaking off. Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2) with reference to *PL* 125, cols. 512 ff.

[7] Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate* (*PL* 125), cols. 473–618. It is unclear in what year precisely the text was issued. Hincmar started working on the text after the Council of Soissons in 853, and may have published it in 856/857. In 857 he was still working on the text, and again in c. 869, in the year of Gottschalk's death, but he probably issued an earlier version in 856 or 857. For a discussion of the dating of the text, see Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2), 163 ff. and G.H. Tavard, *Trina deitas. The Controversy between Hincmar and Gottschalk,* Milwaukee, 1996 (Marquette Studies in Theology, 12), p. 35–38. Tavard believes Hincmar started on his research already in the summer of 850.

[8] Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate* (*PL* 125), cols. 473–474 : *Hincmarus, nomine non merito Rhemorum episcopus, ac plebis Dei famulus, dilectis Ecclesiae catholicae filiis et comministris nostris.* According to Flodoard of Reims (894–966) the audience of Hincmar's *De una et non trina deitate* were not « all the faithful of the catholic church », but the faithful of Hincmar's own diocese : *Scripsit praeterea multa : Librum quoque collectum ex orthodoxorum dictis Patrum, ad filios Ecclesiae suae, quod divine trinitatis deitas trina non sit dicenda, cum sit ipsius summe trinitatis unitas, ad refellendas praememorati Gothescalci blasphemias.* Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae,* III, 15, ed. M. Stratmann (*MGH SS* 36), p. 241.

[9] The ecclesiastical sentence ran : « We decree by episcopal authority that you be punished with the severest beatings and that according to ecclesiastical regulations you be confined to a cell, and lest you presume for yourself the teaching office, *we impose perpetual silence on your mouth by the power of the eternal word*. » (*Durissimis verberibus te castigari et secundum ecclesiasticas regulas ergastulo retrudi auctoritate episcopali decernimus et, ut de cetero doctrinale tibi officium usurpare non presumas, perpetuum silentium ori tuo virtute aeterni verbi imponimus*). Hincmar included the sentence in his treatise *Ad reclusos et simplices* to warn off others from following Gottschalk's example. Hincmar's letter to the « monks and simple folk of his diocese » is edited by W. Gundlach, « Zwei Schriften des

sending letters and treatises from his monastic prison and managed to spark a new controversy, this time over the Trinity, and drew his adversary Hincmar into a fierce dispute.

One may well wonder why Hincmar was willing to engage in a debate with Gottschalk, long after the latter had been condemned. Why did Hincmar allow Gottschalk to write instead of enforcing the verdict of *perpetuum silentium* more strictly ? Hrabanus Maurus, at the time archbishop of Mainz, must have asked himself that very question, for he wrote a letter to Hincmar asking him why he did not silence Gottschalk once and for all:

> I am surprised at your judgment that you allow this noxious man, this Gottschalk, who has been found censurable in all things, to write […] Therefore it seems good to me, if you agree, that no occasion and permission is given to the above mentioned heretic to write and dispute with anyone[10].

Hincmar did not heed Hrabanus' advice. Gottschalk continued to distribute pamphlets and raise new topics for debate in the years in which he was imprisoned at Hautvilliers. In this paper, it will be shown that this does not necessarily imply that Hincmar did not have the means or the authority to restrain an incorrigible monk[11]. We want to show that he chose a different strategy to conquer and curb the flow of heterodoxy and dissidence that continued to emanate from Gottschalk's prison. For although the archbishop did not take away Gottschalk's « licence to write and dispute » (*licentia scribendi atque disputandi*), as Hrabanus had recommended, he did exert control over Gottschalk's writings. When Hincmar wrote his treatise *De una et non trina deitate* against Gottschalk's teaching, he incorporated his adversary's

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Erzbischofs Hinkmar von Reims », in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 10, 1889, p. 309. For a translation of the episcopal sentence, see V. Genke and F.X. Gumerlock (ed. et trans.), *Gottschalk and a Medieval Predestination Controversy: Texts Translated from the Latin*, Milwaukee, 2010 (Medieval philosophical texts in translation, 47), p. 169. The acts of the Council of Quierzy of 849 are lost, but the proceedings of Gottschalk's condemnation have been recorded in the Annals of St-Bertin; see *Annales Bertiniani* (*MGH SS rer. Germ.* 5), p. 36–37 ; translated in J.L. Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, Manchester, 1991, p. 67. The entry of 849 was written under the redaction of Prudentius of Troyes. Hincmar also describes the events of the council in his third treatise on predestination, Hincmar, *De praedestinatione Dei et libero arbitrio, posterior dissertatio* (*PL* 125), cols. 85–86.

[10] Hrabanus Maurus, *Epistola ad Hincmarum Remensem* (*MGH Epp.* 5), p. 496–497 : *Miror enim prudentiam vestram quod istum noxium virum hoc est Gotescalcum qui in omnibus vituperabilis inventus est* […] *scribere aliquid permisistis.* […] *Unde mihi bonum videtur si vobis ita placet quod supra memorato heretico nulla detur occasio atque licentia scribendi atque cum aliquo disputandi.* Cf. C. Lambot, *Œuvres* (quoted n. 5), p. 12–13.

[11] According to Hrabanus' letter (see previous note), Hincmar *allowed* Gottschalk to write (*permisistis*). Moreover, according to the episcopal sentence imposed on Gottschalk at Quierzy (see note 9), the verdict of perpetual silence pertained to his mouth (*ori tuo*) to prevent Gottschalk from taking up the teaching office (*ut de cetero doctrinale tibi officium usurpare non presumes*). The verdict said nothing about silencing Gottschalk's pen or about disputing with his intellectual peers (which is not the same thing as preaching to a wider audience). If the episcopal sentence was meant to keep Gottschalk from preaching orally, the verdict was enforced.

writings on the topic into his own text and thus physically confined Gottschalk's statements to his own premises[12]. Moreover, he marked Gottschalk's assertions with the sign of the *obelus* (÷) : the mark of disapproval and rejection, while annotating his own arguments with the sign of the *chresimon* (⳨), the symbol that expressed approval and confirmed the solid orthodoxy of Hincmar's position. Thus the archbishop established his authority and supremacy over Gottschalk by clearly marking his opponent's teachings as heretical, and his own statements as fully orthodox. With the help of this textual strategy, Hincmar used his opponent's heterodox teachings for his own purposes, namely to establish himself as the champion of the debate and the guardian of orthodox discourse. This was the message he conveyed to all the faithful and to his co-ministers when he published his *De una et non trina deitate*; the text that carried critical signs meant to confirm the bishop's ultimate victory over the heretic in his custody.

Hincmar's textual strategy, we argue, was also employed by other Carolingian bishops and theologians during the theological disputes of the ninth century. They used critical signs to regulate orthodox discourse and exert control over heterodoxy. The ninth century witnessed many theological controversies : on the liturgy, the Eucharist, the soul, on the Trinity and, last but not least, on predestination, the topic of this collection of papers[13]. We argue that the practice of attaching graphic symbols to the opinions of an opponent or fellow contestant in a theological debate was a powerful strategy to neutralize an adversary's claim. We will first discuss two texts written during the theological debates of the ninth century, concerning the debate on the Trinity and that on predestination, which received critical signs. Then we will explore the historical roots of the practice of adding symbols to heterodox, dissident or otherwise offending texts. One of the questions we would like to address is why this practice of using critical signs, which (as we will see) had a long history, resurfaced at that particular time. Did it serve practical needs, in the sense that this method suited the conditions of a culture of debate that became more and more oriented towards the correct interpretation of texts? Was it perhaps stimulated by a growing interest in textual criticism that gave rise to other forms of critical assessment of texts? Or did this annotating practice reflect specific ideals of discussion and debate in the ninth century; ideals that concerned the right way to establish orthodoxy and deal with heterodoxy?

I. - Annotating Heresy

In the course of the debate on the Trinity (c. 850 – c. 857) Gottschalk wrote several essays in which he challenged Hincmar's position on Trinitarian vocabulary. In one of

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[12] Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate* (*PL* 125), cols. 473–618.

[13] On the theological debates of the ninth century and their social implications, see the seminal study of D. Ganz, « Theology and the organization of thought », in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1995, p. 758–785.

these essays, directed at Hincmar, he addressed the archbishop in a most insulting manner : « O wretched measly power, inflated balloon, swollen puffy skin, arrogant decaying pelt, why does God displease you so[14] ? » Hincmar responded to the provocation. He had been criticized for not debating Gottschalk publicly on the topic of predestination and for condemning him as a heretic without a proper discussion of his ideas[15]. Florus of Lyon (c. 810 – c. 860) protested against the hasty proceedings of Gottschalk's trial[16]. He argued that Gottschalk's writings should have been « discussed in a rightful and peaceful investigation », not thrown into the flames[17]. After Gottschalk's condemnation, however, Hincmar did engage in debate with his prisoner. Earlier he had taken up a leading role in the debate on predestination, now

he was ready to discuss Gottschalk's ideas on the Trinity[18]. In 856/857, he published the treatise *De una et non trina deitate*, in which he refuted Gottschalk's arguments in

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[14] *Œuvres,* ed. Lambot (quoted n. 5), p. 96–97 : *O misella potentiola inflata vesica cutis tumida turgida elata pellis morticana, cur tibi displicuerit deus ita…* The text that has been edited as Gottschalk's third essay on the Trinity consists of two parts, of which only the second is directed at Hincmar, see Tavard, *Trina Deitas* (quoted n. 7), p. 41.

[15] Hrabanus, when he sent Gottschalk to Hincmar after his condemnation in Mainz, advised Hincmar to become better acquainted with Gottschalk's doctrines and hear « from his own mouth » *(de ore eius)* what he thought and make a just decision about what should be done. *Haec ergo paucis vobis scripsimus, intimantes qualem eius doctrinam reperimus : vos etiam valebitis de ore eius quid sentit plenius audire et quid inde agendum sit iuste decernere.* (*PL* 125, col. 85). There is no indication that Hincmar ever let Gottschalk argue his case orally, before his trial at the Council of Quierzy, or discuss his ideas publicly during the council, see the criticism of Florus in the note below. Hincmar does say that Gottschalk was « heard » at the Council of Quierzy, *PL* 125, col. 84 : *a synodali conventu in Carisiaco palatio iterum auditus ab episcopis, et caeteris quam plurimis viris ecclesiasticis atque religiosis.* The expression *auditus ab episcopis*, however, suggests an interrogation rather than a debate.

[16] Florus' protest, however, came rather late : three, perhaps four years after the Council of Quierzy (849) had condemned Gottschalk ; Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2), p.129. Florus' *Liber de tribus epistolis*, in which he voiced his protest against a condemnation without proper discussion appeared around 852–3.

[17] Florus of Lyon (pseudo-Remigius), *De tribus epistolis liber* (*PL* 121), col. 1030 : *nec ignibus damnandi sed pia et pacifica fuerint inquisitione tractandi.* There is some confusion as to what exactly Gottschalk was forced to throw into the flames at the Council of Quierzy. According to the Annals of St-Bertin he had to burn « the books with his own statements » *(librosque suarum adsertionum igni cremare compulsus est)* ; *MGH SS. rer. Germ.* 5, p. 37. According to Florus, it was a dossier of patristic texts that Gottschalk had brought along for discussion. Only the last 'opinion' in that dossier was Gottschalk's own, *PL* 121, col.1030 : *…accenso coram se igni libellum, in quo sententias Scripturarum sive sanctorum patrum sibi collegerat, quas in concilio offerret, coactus est pene emoriens suis manibus in flammam projicere, atque incendio concremare […] maxime cum illi sensus, qui ipso continebantur libello, excepto uno qui extremus ponitur, non essent sui, sed ecclesiastici.* On the symbolic nature of this particular act of book burning, see the perceptive discussion of R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge, 2004, p. 218–219.

[18] Although Hincmar had already discussed Trinitarian vocabulary at the Council of Soissons in 853, this was not yet in response to Gottschalk's challenge. It was Ratramnus of Corbie who first opposed Hincmar's interdiction of the formula *trina deitas* and who

favour of the liturgical formula *trina deitas.* The sole surviving manuscript of the text (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 1831–1833, ff. 40r-140v) dates to the second half of the ninth century. It was copied in Reims under Hincmar's supervision between 865 and the bishop's death in 882[19]. The manuscript bears Hincmar's stamp, in the sense that each quire carries his monogram. As can be clearly seen from the lay-out of the pages, Hincmar incorporated Gottschalk's *schedula*, his pamphlets, into his own treatise. As already mentioned, Hincmar marked his adversary's statements with the sign of the *obelus* thus indicating that Gottschalk's arguments were false and dangerous (see **Figure 1**). In the introduction to the text, he took the time to explain his method of attaching graphic symbols to the text and explained precisely what the signs meant :

> I will include into this minor work of our humbleness the pamphlets (*schedulas*) of Gottschalk in their integrity and I will mark the individual statements with an *obelus*, i.e. a lying stroke, according to ancient custom, so that it may pierce through his false arguments as an arrow. I will also place the symbol which is called *chresimon* at the head of those sayings of the orthodox [Fathers] which shall provide evidence against his [Gottschalk's] statements, so that by means of this sign, the testimonies of the Catholic [Fathers], the antidote to his poisonous interpretations, may be highlighted, and the only true Christian knowledge, just as it was handed down from Christ against the Anti-Christ, shall be made known with clarity to simple and devout minds[20].

A few years earlier, in the context of the dispute on predestination, a similar set of signs was used by Bishop Prudentius who was eager to refute the teachings of his opponent John the Scot, a controversy in which, in fact, Hincmar was also involved. When Hincmar found he had few supporters in his crusade against Gottschalk's doctrines among his ecclesiastical colleagues, he invited the famous scholar John the

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assembled a collection of patristic and canonical excerpts in defense of the term. Gottschalk joined the debate at a later stage.

[19] Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2), p. 157, n. 208. The manuscript is composed of two parts, of which the first part (ff. 1–32v) dates to the tenth or eleventh century. The second part, however, containing Hincmar's *De una et non trina deitate,* dates to the ninth century and was written in Reims. See the description in B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts I. Aachen-Lambach*, Wiesbaden, 1998, n. 704.

[20] Hincmar, preface to *De una et non trina deitate* (*PL* 125), cols. 473c–476c : *ponens cum integritate sui in hoc opusculo nostrae servitutis ejusdem Gothescalci schedulas, et per singulas sententias more veterum obelum ÷, id est jacentem virgulam eis opponemus, ut quasi sagitta falsa illius dicta confodiat (Isidore, Etymologiae, I, 21, 3), his vero quae opponentur ex orthodoxorum dictis ejus sententiis figuram ⳨, quae chresimon dicitur praenotabimus, ut per eam catholicorum testimonia, quae resistunt venenosis ejus sensibus, demonstrentur, et sana ac vere Christiana intelligentia, ut revera a Christo contra antichristos tradita, evidenter simplicibus et devotis mentibus ostendatur.* In the edition of the text, *PL* 125, cols. 473–618, the marginal symbols are indicated in the text. Hincmar's chresimon (⳨) is typographically rendered as XP, his obelus as ÷. In the edition, however, we find the obelus only at the beginning of a paragraph, whereas in the manuscript the whole paragraph is marked, i.e. there is an *obelus* (sometimes in the shape of a dotted obelus, ÷, sometimes of the undotted variant –) in front of each line of every section that Hincmar took from Gottschalk's pamphlet on the Trinity.

Scot (fl. 845–877) to investigate the matter of predestination. John accepted the commission and the resulting treatise, *On Divine Predestination* (*De praedestinatione divina*), did indeed counter Gottschalk's teaching on double predestination, just as Hincmar had asked, but it had an unwarranted side-effect. John's own highly original views on the topic caused a shockwave among the bishops and scholars in the realm, and if anything they weakened instead of strengthened Hincmar's position[21]. Hincmar had taken a great risk by inviting a philosopher (without a clerical grade) to reflect on such a highly contentious theological problem as predestination. The main effect of John's treatise against Gottschalk was to muster more support for the idea of double predestination and to further polarize the positions in the debate. Archbishop Wenilo of Sens, one of the prelates shocked by the audacity of John the Scot's thinking, asked bishop Prudentius of Troyes (d. 861) to repudiate John's statements and sent him a set of extracts from John's controversial treatise to work with[22].

In his *On Predestination against John the Scot* (*De praedestinatione contra Ioannem Scotum)* written in 851, Prudentius used a set of graphic symbols similar to those used by Hincmar. Prudentius, too, chose the *chresimon* (℟) to signal the orthodoxy of his own statements. To indicate John's arguments which he considered heretical, however, Prudentius did not choose to attach the sign of the *obelus* (as Hincmar would do with Gottschalk's arguments) but he used the sign of the *theta* (Θ), which was believed to derive from the Greek word Θάνατος (« death »). It was a very strong judgment to pass on an adversary, as if designating his opinions for execution. Prudentius' decision to mark his opponent's words with the symbol of death is remarkably bold, especially since John's doctrine was not officially condemned at the time and the scholar enjoyed the protection of the king. Prudentius was well aware of the meaning of this *theta*, and had not just randomly picked it, as becomes clear from the introduction to his treatise :

> I have gone through the testimonies of the Fathers, unanimous in all matters, and took the effort to excerpt faithfully what antidote each of them provided against this poison [of John]. I prefixed each excerpt with the name of the Father and likewise I referred to the work in question. I also inserted multiple times the words of this John, as they are found in

[21] It has often been maintained that John's treatise on predestination was misunderstood and that he was so far ahead of his contemporaries that they were unable to follow his reasoning. As John Marenbon has argued, however, John's main critics Prudentius and Florus were perfectly capable of understanding (and refuting) John's arguments ; they simply did not agree with him. J. Marenbon, « John Scottus and Carolingian theology : From the *De praedestinatione,* its background and its critics, to the *Periphyseon* », in T. Gibson, J.L. Nelson and D. Ganz (ed.), *Charles the Bald. Court and Kingdom*, Oxford, 1990, p. 302–325.

[22] Another critic of John's treatise on predestination was Florus of Lyon, who, when writing his response to John (*Adversus Johannis Scoti Erigenae erroneas definitiones liber*), used the same set of extracts already used by Prudentius. See D. Ganz, « The debate on predestination », in M.T. Gibson, J.L. Nelson and D. Ganz (ed.), *Charles the Bald. Court and Kingdom*, Oxford, 1990, p. 294.

his work, and prefixed them with his name and the sign, which is called *theta* in Greek and which the men of old used to affix to the decrees of capital punishment of those to be executed. In many instances, in fact, I did not insert his words, since they tire the reader with too much verbosity, but I rather expressed faithfully their gist to an extent my simple mind was able to. However, when my own statement was necessary, so that I would not ascribe to myself the good thoughts that the Divine mercy would express with the use of my tongue, I hastened to add a sign, which is called *crisimon* by the grammarians, since it is considered to portray in a particular manner the monogram of Christ's name, in order to make clear that all the favors, which I acquired thanks to his lavish, undeserved gifts, are fully His[23].

Of Prudentius' treatise only the author's working copy has survived (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. Lat. 2445, ninth century, provenance Troyes). The manuscript carries many annotations by the hand of the author, who continued to work on the text until his death in 861[24]. The lay-out of the pages clearly shows the rubricated symbols that Prudentius employed to set his own statements in a positive light, and condemn those of John (see **Figure 2**). This is also one of the crucial

differences between Prudentius and Hincmar : whereas Hincmar used one mark, that of the *chresimon*, to accentuate the testimonies of the church fathers as well as his own interpretations of them, Prudentius wished to distinguish his own statements from those of the patristic authorities he quoted. The excerpts from the latter he indicated with the name of that father, or sometimes with an abbreviation of the name, such as AUG for Augustine, while he marked his own statements with the sign of the

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[23] Prudentius of Troyes, preface to *De praedestinatione contra Joannem Scotum* (*MGH Epp.* 5), p. 632–633 : *Revolutis patrum consonis per omnia paginis, quid quisque eorum antidoti contra eadem venena confecerit, decerpere fideliter curavi, praefixo cuiusque doctoris nomine libroque pariter intimato. Verba quoque eiusdem Iohannis, ut ab eo digesta sunt pluribus locis, inserui, praeposito etiam nomine ipsius cum praecedente illud nota, quae grece dicitur theta, quam sententiis capitalibus damnandorum antiqui praescribere solebant* (Isidore, *Etymologiae,* I, 3, 8). *In multis enim non verba eius interposui, quae loquacitate nimia legentibus fastidium ingerunt, sed sensibus eorum pro captu meae pusillitatis veraciter obviavi. Ubicumque autem mei sermonis interpositio necessarium locum expetit, ne quid michi tribuerem, si quid boni superna gratia per meae linguae organum loqueretur, notam superponere studui, quae ab artigraphis crisimon nuncupatur, quoniam velut monogramma nominis Christi effigiare quodammodo cernitur, ut eius totum ostenderem quicquid benignitatis ipsius largifluis indebitisque muneribus inbibissem.*

[24] The annotations in the margin are in Prudentius' hand, but the main text was written by a scribe. According to Pierre Petitmengin, who studied the manuscript in depth, one copy of Prudentius' *De praedestinatione* was sent to Bishop Wenilo of Sens, who had requested the treatise, and another copy (PARIS Lat. 2445) was made for Prudentius' own use. This is the copy to which he kept adding comments and revisions until his death. P. Petitmengin, « D'Augustin à Prudence de Troyes : les citations augustiniennes dans un manuscrit d'auteur », in L. Holtz, J.-C. Fredouille et M.-H. Jullien (ed.), *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes : mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine, à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire, par ses élèves, amis et collègues*, vol. II, Turnhout, 1992 (Collection des études augustiniennes, Série Moyen-Âge et Temps Moderne, 26), p. 229–251. There is also a seventeenth-century copy of Prudentius' treatise, which is a copy of PARIS Lat. 2445, see *ibid*., p. 232.

chresimon, here called *crisimon*, which Prudentius believed to be the monogram of Christ's name. Interestingly, Prudentius used the same traditional metaphor of poison and antidote as Hincmar to describe the juxtaposition of heresy (as propounded by John the Scot) and orthodoxy (as represented by the church fathers and by himself). His criticism of John the Scot was at the same time criticism of Hincmar, since it was Hincmar who had authorized John to write on predestination in the first place. Hincmar did not take kindly to Prudentius' attack on his authority, nor did his community of loyal supporters in Reims, as we will see later.

II. – Critical signs : A Historical Perspective

Both Hincmar and Prudentius used critical signs to indicate the orthodox and heretical sections of their texts and to set up clear boundaries between the two. By integrating their opponents' statements into their own texts, they gave the impression of an actual debate between two contenders disputing orthodoxy[25]. They annotated their texts with graphic symbols with opposite values, creating a dialectical engagement between opposing viewpoints, which was visibly rendered on the page[26]. The authors showed in their introductions that they knew precisely what the graphic symbols they had chosen to mark their texts signified, yet at the same time they must have felt it was necessary to explain their method and the meanings of the signs to their readers. This does not necessarily mean that the practice of using signs in the margins was as such novel or unknown. Quite the contrary, we have sufficient evidence that signs had been used for centuries before Hincmar and Prudentius by scholars practising textual criticism and by scribes copying manuscripts[27]. Yet what required explanation was their particular *choice* of signs and their use in a context of a theological dispute. To better understand the practice that both Hincmar and Prudentius engaged in, we will now discuss the history of critical signs and present some other Carolingian examples.

Annotation symbols are attested from as early as the fifth century BCE in documents written both in Aramaic and Greek[28]. By the third century BCE,

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[25] See the similar practice of Augustine in, for example, his treatise against Faustus the Manichean. There was also a practical aspect to integrating the statements of one's opponent : in a period of limited manuscript distribution it could not be taken for granted that every reader had access to the text that was being refuted.

[26] W. Pezé speaks in this regard about « la mise en page de l'exclusion » ; see « Hérésie, anathème et exclusion dans l'Occident carolingien (742–années 860) », in G. Bührer-Thierry and S. Gioanni (ed.), *Exclure de la communauté chrétienne : Sens et pratiques sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication (IVe–XIIe siècle)*, Turnhout, 2015 (Haut Moyen Âge, 23), p. 175–196.

[27] For the overview of the practice of using marginal symbols for the annotation of manuscript texts, see E. Steinova, *Notam Superponere Studui: the Use of Technical Signs in the Early Middle Ages*, Ph.D. dissertation, Utrecht University, 2016. On Prudentius' and Hincmar's use of critical signs to anathametize the opinions of their opponents, see now also : W. Pezé, « Hérésie, exclusion, anathème… » (quoted n. 27), at pp. 192–194.

[28] These oldest signs were text-structuring ; E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, Leiden, 2004 (Studies on the Texts of the

manuscript evidence implies that scribes used certain symbols regularly[29], and the first traditions which would later be committed to writing emerged[30]. One such tradition credited Zenodotus of Ephesus (fl. 280 BCE), the first librarian of Alexandria, as the first to use the sign of the *obelus* (Gr. ὀβελός, « javelin, spear blade ») to mark certain passages in Homer, because he considered them interpolated, corrupted, or « unhomeric »[31]. By the times of Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 220 BCE – c. 143 BCE), the greatest Homeric scholar of the Hellenistic period, this Alexandrian tradition encompassed six or seven signs which could be combined to create a kind of *apparatus criticus* to Homer[32]. This form of textual criticism was by no means similar to modern practices of editing. Rather, an *apparatus* of signs expressed a personal, authoritative judgment of a particular scholar[33] and might serve to declare certain passages spurious or attack other scholars who had expressed different opinions about the text[34]. The exercise of authority over the interpretation of

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Desert of Judah, 54), p. 172. The sign of *chresimon* (⚹) introduced above was employed in a non-critical context to mark a passage of interest, just as a *nota* sign would be in the Middle Ages. The oldest witness of the *chresimon* in this capacity is P. Oxy. 8.1086 (London, British Library, P. inv. 2055), a fragment of a commentary on Homer dated to the mid-first century BCE ; see F. Schironi, « The Ambiguity of Signs: Critical ΣΗΜΕΙΑ from Zenodotus to Origen », in M. Niehoff (ed.), *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, Leiden, 2012 (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture, 16), p. 96 ; and K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*, Bruxelles, 1992 (Papyrologica Bruxellensia, 26), p. 45.

[29] This is clear from the fact that certain signs began to appear consistently in the margins of the papyrus rolls. The oldest papyrus fragments listed by McNamee in her overview of annotated papyri date to the third century BCE ; see McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* (quoted n. 29), p. 43 and 48. The oldest papyri containing annotation symbols listed by Turner were dated to the turn of the fourth century BCE ; E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, London, 1987 (Bulletin Supplement, 46), p. 8.

[30] The oldest technical treatises dedicated to marginal symbols were produced in the first centuries CE by Greek grammarians active in Rome ; see M.L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad*, Munich, 2001, p. 47–48.

[31] For the most recent study of Zenodotus' activities and their nature, see *ibid.,* p. 33–45.

[32] These signs are described in McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* (quoted n. 29), p. 8. See also the very handy overview of the signs used in the *Venetus A* (tenth century), the only surviving manuscript of Homer's Iliad equipped with critical signs, in G. Bird, « Critical Signs — Drawing Attention to 'special' Lines of Homer's Iliad in the Manuscript Venetus A », in C. Dué (ed.), *Recapturing a Homeric Legacy: Images and Insights from the Venetus A Manuscript of the Iliad*, Washington D.C., 2009, p. 89–115.

[33] Accordingly, the « editions » (εκδόσεις) of Homer were known by the name of their maker ; West, *Studies* (quoted n. 31), p. 43 and 52 ; and F. Montanari, « Correcting a Copy, Editing a Text. Alexandrian Ekdosis and Papyri », in *From Scholars to Scholia: Chapters in the History of Ancient Greek Scholarship*, Berlin, 2011 (Trends in Classics, Supplementary Volume, 9), p. 3.

[34] One of the signs, the διπλῆ περιεστιγμένη (Gr. « dotted *diple* », ⋗), was coined to mark passages deemed 'misjudged' by others, specifically by Zenodotus. Cf. Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I, 21, 15 : *Hanc antiqui in his opponebant quae Zenodotus Ephesius non recte adiecerat, aut detraxerat, aut permutaverat.*

a text, in this case Homer, was already then a feature of the use of critical signs, even in cases in which philology and not doctrine was at stake.

In the third century CE, Origen, himself trained at Alexandria, adopted two Alexandrian signs in order to « reconcile » the discrepancies between the Septuagint and the Hebrew-based versions of the Greek Old Testament in his *Hexapla*[35]. He used the *asteriscus* (Gr. ἀστερίσκος, « star-shaped »), a sign in the shape of a star (※) employed earlier to mark the correct location of duplicated Homeric verses[36], to identify passages that were present in these Hebrew-based versions, but missing in the Septuagint. He altered the function of the *obelus* (– or ÷), which had marked interpolations and corruptions[37], to mark passages which were found in the Septuagint, but missing in other versions of the Greek Old Testament. By using these particular signs, Origen implied that the Septuagint contained interpolations and that the Greek translations that followed the Hebrew closely were more authentic than the Septuagint. Just as in the case of the Alexandrian Homeric scholars, Origen's method was philological, but his aims were exegetical, apologetic and doctrinal[38]. Origen was explicit about the need to exercise control over the copies of the Scripture circulating in Christian and Jewish hands[39].

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[35] A. Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the 'Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim'*, Oxford, 1993, p. 5–6. When referring to Origen's *Hexapla* in his *Hexameron*, Basil the Great called the *obelus* « a sign of athetesis » (ἀθετήσεως σύμβολον) ; *Ibid.,* p. 6. However, a consensus on Origen's use of these signs has not been reached so far. For the overview of the debate, see Schironi, « The Ambiguity of Signs » (quoted n. 29), p. 100–107.

[36] McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* (quoted n. 29), p. 8. See also the *Anecdoton Romanum* (second half of the ninth century) : « The asterisk by itself, to signify that the verses are apposite in the place where the asterisk alone is put » ; in *Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer*, ed. M.L. West, Cambridge, MA, 2003 (Loeb Classical Library, 496), p. 452–453.

[37] McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia* (quoted n. 29), p. 8. According to the *Anecdoton Romanum*, a ninth-century Greek list of marginal signs, « The obelos for what is athetized in the text, that is, what is spurious or interpolated » ; West, *Homeric Hymns* (quoted n. 37), p. 452–453.

[38] R. Clements, « Origen's Hexapla and the Christian–Jewish Encounter in the Second and Third Centuries », in T.L. Donaldson (ed.), *Religious Rivalries and the Struggle for Success in Caesarea Maritima*, Waterloo, Ontario, 1999, pp. 303–329. Cf. also Y. Moss, « Noblest Obelus : Rabbinic Appropriations of Late Ancient Literary Criticism », in M. Niehoff (ed.), *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*, Leiden, 2012 (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture, 16), p. 263.

[39] Cf. Origen, *A letter from Origen to Africanus*, 4 : « And, forsooth, when we notice such things [i.e. the discrepancies in the readings], we are forthwith to reject as spurious the copies in use in our Churches, and enjoin the brotherhood to put away the sacred books current among them, and to coax the Jews, and persuade them to give us copies which shall be untampered with, and free from forgery! » Translation in : A. Roberts et J. Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers: the writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, vol. IV, Buffalo, NY, 1885, p. 387.

Origen's enterprise marked a turning-point in the history of critical signs, since it drew the practice into the orbit of Patristic scholarship. Importantly, Origen's method, while subtle and sophisticated in its range of signification, was also simple. He downsized the original Alexandrian set to two signs with opposite values[40], and in this respect he was a forerunner of Hincmar and Prudentius. It was, however, not Origen, but rather his « disciple » Jerome, who introduced Origen's critical method to the Latin West by employing the *asterisci* and *obeli* in his own translations of the Old Testament[41].

The so-called Gallican Psalter, Jerome's translation of the Psalms based on Origen's *Hexapla*, is a prime example of Origen's critical method and its reception in the West. The text of the Psalms in this version is dutifully marked with *asterisci* and *obeli*, whose function is described in Jerome's prologue.[42] The Gallican Psalter was used in parts of Merovingian Gaul since Late Antiquity and in Ireland since at least 600, but did not attain popularity in other regions. The situation changed in the second half of the eighth century, when the Gallican Psalter was adopted by the Carolingians in their liturgical reforms. Thanks to the impressive manuscript output of the Carolingian scriptoria, the *Gallicanum* rapidly overtook the Continent in the following centuries and became the predominant form of the Psalter in the Latin West[43]. With it came also the *asterisci* and the *obeli,* which in turn stimulated interest in and inquiry into the use of critical signs[44].

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[40] Schironi, « The Ambiguity of Signs » (quoted n. 29), p. 103. F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, vol. I. Prologomena. Genesis-Esther, Oxford, 1875, p. lii.

[41] On the non-neutrality of this enterprise and Jerome's self-presentation as the true disciple of Origen, see M. Vessey, « The Forging of Orthodoxy in Latin Christian Literature: A Case Study », in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 4:4, 1996, p. 510–511. In the Greek East, Origen had a disciple in Epiphanius of Salamis, who composed an influential account of Origen's critical method for his *De mensuris et ponderibus*; see E. D. Moutsoulas, « Τὸ 'Περί μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν' ἔργον Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Σαλαμίνος », in *Theologia*, 44, 1973, p. 157–209. Although a Latin version of Epiphanius' account does not survive, we know it circulated in the Latin West for it was known to Isidore of Seville ; J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, Paris, 1983, p. 77.

[42] Jerome, *Praefatio in libro Psalmorum (iuxta LXX)* : *Notet sibi unusquisque uel iacentem lineam uel signa radiantia, id est uel obelos uel asteriscos, et ubicumque uirgulam uiderit praecedentem, ab ea usque ad duo puncta quae inpressimus sciat in septuaginta translatoribus plus haberi; ubi autem stellae similitudinem perspexerit, de hebraeis uoluminibus additum nouerit, aeque usque ad duo puncta, iuxta theodotionis dumtaxat editionem qui simplicitate sermonis a septuaginta interpretibus non discordat*; Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem, Stuttgart, 1975, p. 767.

[43] B. Fischer, « Bibeltext und Bibelreform unter Karl dem Grossen », in H. Beumann *et al.* (ed.), *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben. II. Das Geistige Leben*, vol. II, Düsseldorf, 1965, p. 193–194 ; and B. Fischer, « Die Texte », in B. Bischoff and F. Mütherich (ed.), *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter: Bibl. fol. 23, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart*, vol. II, Stuttgart, 1968, p. 224.

[44] *Asterisci* and *obeli* are treated, even if only superficially, by almost every commentary on the Psalter. They are discussed in several commentaries on the Psalter of Irish provenance, e.g. the « Irish Referential Bible » (MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. Clm 14276), see M. McNamara, « Psalter Text and Psalter Study in the Early Irish Church (600–1200 CE) », in *The Psalms in the Early Irish Church*, Sheffield, 2000, p. 139 ; the *Eclogae*

In his study of the Septuagint Psalms, Alfred Rahlfs showed that the *asterisci* and the *obeli* had been gradually dropped from the Gallican Psalter in the course of Late Antiquity and the early centuries of the Middle Ages because of their interference with liturgical performance. Efforts to restitute them took place already from the early seventh century, but accelerated in the ninth century with the result that manuscripts sometimes contain critical signs that were added hypercorrectly[45]. Bonifatius Fischer showed that the Tours Bible, which programmatically contained the revised *Gallicanum*, was an important medium to spread this innovation.[46] In the ninth century, moreover, Origenian critical signs « spilled over » into texts other than the Bible, most notably the Rule of Benedict, which was annotated with critical *obeli* by two monks from Reichenau, Tatto and Grimald.[47] The works of Jerome, in which he described Origen's practice, were studied with attention[48]. His letter 106, which is entirely devoted to textual criticism of the Psalter, was annotated in the ninth century[49] and served as a model for Carolingian revisers of the Psalter[50]. By and large,

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tractatorum in Psalterium, see ST. GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 261, p. 155, at : http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0261/155/medium ; and the *Old-Irish treatise on Psalter*, see K. Meyer, *Hibernica Minora: Being a Fragment of an Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter with Translation, Notes and Glossary and an Appendix Containing Extracts Hitherto Unpublished from Ms. Rawlinson, B. 512 in the Bodleian Library*, 1894 (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series, 8), Oxford p. 33. The two signs were glossed by John Scot in his *Glossae divinae historiae* ; see *Glossae Divinae Historiae. The Biblical Glosses of John Scottus Eriugena*, ed. J.J. Contreni et P.Ó. Néill, Florence, 1997 (Millennio Medievale, 1), p. 120. Alcuin also mentions the *asterisci* and *obeli* as an example of signs that can be found in the Bible. Alcuin, *De grammatica* (*PL* 101), col. 858.

[45] A. Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-psalters*, Göttingen, 1907 (Septuaginta-Studien, 2), p. 131–133. The date given here is based on the oldest thus revised *Gallicanum*, the Cathach of St. Columban, which was possibly copied around 630 ; see McNamara, « Psalter Text and Psalter Study… » (quoted n. 44), p. 31.

[46] Fischer, « Bibeltext und Bibelreform » (quoted n. 44), p. 176–177; and Fischer, « Die Texte » (quoted n. 44), p. 224 and 259.

[47] See L. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, Munich, 1910, p. 65. Grimald and Tatto describe their undertaking in a letter addressed to Reginbert, the *librarius* of Reichenau (*MGH Epp.* 5, p. 302-303). A copy of the Reichenau manuscript survives as ST. GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 914). Other texts that were annotated with Origenian *obeli* in the ninth century include Paterius, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, the Apocalypse and the *Dionysio-Hadriana*; see Steinova, *Notam superponere studui* (quoted n. 28), pp. 135-136.

[48] Jerome's *Praefatio in Pentateuch* is, in fact, the very first text that one can see when one opens the Tours Bible, e.g. in the Vivien Bible, PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 1, f. 8r (845–851, Tours), where the two signs are highlighted by rubrics, at : http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8455903b/f23.image.

[49] B.M. Kaczynski, « Greek Glosses on Jerome's Ep. CVI, Ad Sunniam et Fretelam, in E. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, ms. Phillipps 1674 », in *The Sacred Nectar of the Greeks: The Study of Greek in the West in the Early Middle Ages*, vol. II, London, 1988, p. 217–218.

[50] Carolingian revisers of the Psalter include Florus of Lyon, an anonymous Frankish reviser whose prologue survives in the Stuttgart Psalter, STUTTGART, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, ms. Cod. bibl. fol. 23 (c. 820–30, Northern France), and an anonymous reviser working in Milan in the ninth century, who compared the Ambrosian Psalter against

the impression is that, at least in the highest intellectual echelons, scholars were familiar with critical signs used by Origen and Jerome and, moreover, actively engaged and experimented with this tradition.

III. - A Tool of Doctrinal Criticism

While critical signs as a method of annotation developed in the context of philological criticism, late antique Christian users began to employ them with a novel purpose : to assess the doctrinal veracity of a text. The purpose of this type of annotation was to create an interpretative framework that guided the reader towards a correct, that is orthodox, reading of a text. In order to distinguish this practice from philological criticism discussed above, we will refer to it as doctrinal criticism.

Doctrinal criticism had two dominant forms. In one, a manuscript was equipped with a set of signs, each of which represented a particular interpretative theme. This is the case with the oldest attested example of doctrinal criticism preserved in Epiphanius of Salamis' treatise *On Measures and Weights* (*De mensuris et ponderibus*)[51]. According to Epiphanius, one could annotate « prophetic writings »[52] with signs « for the rejection of the ancient people », « for the rejection of the law that is in the flesh », « for the new covenant », and others[53]. Clearly, such an *apparatus* geared the reading of particular Old Testament books towards a standardized, orthodox Christian interpretation. In the sixth century, a similar *apparatus* was imposed on the Psalter by Cassiodore in his *Commentary on the Psalms* (*Expositio Psalmorum*)[54], and by an anonymous annotator on the *Orationes* of Gregory of

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the *Gallicanum.* The latter refers to Jerome's letter in his preface to the emended Psalter ; McNamara, « Psalter Text » (quoted n. 44), p. 66 ; Kaczynski, « Greek Glosses » (quoted n. 50), p. 217. On Florus of Lyon as a reviser of the Psalter, see P.-M. Bogaert, « Florus et le Psautier. La lettre à Eldrade de Novalèse », in *Revue bénédictine*, 119:2, 2009, p. 403–419. On the reviser, whose prologue survives in the Stuttgart Psalter, see Fischer, « Die Texte » (quoted n. 44), p. 256-283. The letter to Sunnia and Fratela was also used for the correction of the Gallican Psalter at Tours ; see Fischer, « Bibeltext und Bibelreform » (quoted n. 43), p. 170.

[51] See the translation from Syriac and the facsimiles of the oldest Syriac manuscript in J.E. Dean, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*, Chicago, 1935 (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations, 11), p. 15 and 87. The Greek equivalent in B. de Montfaucon, *Paleographia graeca, sive de ortu et progressu literarum graecarum, et de variis omnium saeculorum scriptionis graecae generibus*, Paris, 1708, p. 370 and 373.

[52] It is unclear what was meant by the expression « prophetic writings ». This term might refer to the prophetic books of the Old Testament proper as much as to the Psalms. That the term was ambiguous already at the time of copying of the Syriac manuscript is evidenced by the presence of an explanatory gloss ; Dean, *Epiphanius' Treatise…* (quoted n. 52), p. 15.

[53] No manuscript that has been annotated in this manner has survived, or at least none has come to our attention.

[54] Edited in M. Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmorum I-LXX* (*CCSL* 98), Turnhout, 1957. One should note, however, that Cassiodore employed his layer of symbolic annotation primarily in order to frame the Psalter as a textbook of the Liberal Arts, not in order to superimpose a doctrinal interpretation on it.

Nazianzus[55]. While we have no evidence that Carolingian scholars and scribes were familiar with the annotated orations of Gregory, Cassiodore's *Commentary* was a Carolingian classic as much as Jerome's *Gallicanum*, and just as important as an access point to the knowledge of this type of critical signs.[56]

The second form of doctrinal criticism made use of two signs, one of which had a positive, affirmative meaning, and the other a negative one. This method of doctrinal criticism was very similar to the method developed by Origen and –an ironic twist of fate – it came to be used against Origen himself. The most notable proponent of this approach is again Cassiodore. In his *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning,* he recommended two works of non-orthodox authors – Origen and Tyconius – and declared that he had marked the books in question with signs to discern the orthodox and acceptable from the unorthodox and unacceptable[57]. The terms Cassiodore used to describe them are *chresimon* and *achresimon/achriston,* which may be translated as a « sign of approval » and a « sign of disapproval ».[58] With the help of these aids,

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[55] See C. Astruc, « Remarques sur les signes marginaux de certains manuscrits de S. Grégoire de Nazianze », in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 92:1–2, 1974, p. 289–295. Additional manuscripts are discussed in L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 13–15. One of the oldest manuscripts from this family is the famous PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. gr. 510 (879–883, Constantinople), digitized at : http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522082/f37.item. This manuscript was produced under the auspices of Photius as a gift to the emperor Basil I. Then there are two volumes, MILAN, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. E 49–50 inf. (ninth century), which were produced possibly in Italy ; *Ibid.,* p. 15. Again, only some of the signs employed in these manuscripts are doctrinal in character : the ἀστερίσκος ※ was used to mark passages where the Incarnation of Christ was discussed ; the περιεστιγμένη καί διεστραμμένη μακρά (Gr. « a wavy (?) dotted stroke », i.e. a type of *obelus*) was used to mark passages containing the heretical opinions of Gregory's adversaries ; and the ἡλιακόν (Gr. « a sundial », �), was used to mark passages containing « important theological arguments », either from the beginning or at least by the ninth century almost exclusively with reference to the Trinitarian theme ; see Astruc, « Remarques sur les signes marginaux » (quoted n. 56), p. 290 and 292. For dating of the critical signs, see G.A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*, Princeton, 1983 (A History of Rhetoric, 3), p. 238.

[56] The work contains a preface with an overview of the graphic symbols that were employed and with an instruction for their use, not unlike Hincmar's and Prudentius' treatises. See for example in SCHAFFHAUSEN, Stadtbibliothek, ms. Min. 78 (c. 800, region of Bodensee), digitized at : http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/sbs/min0078/1v. Note also that one of the signs that Cassiodore used has the same shape as the *chresimon/crisimon* (⚹) and it is used « for very important doctrines » (*hoc in dogmatibus valde necessariis*).

[57] Cassiodore, *Institutiones*, I, 1, 8 ; and I, 9, 3. Throughout this article we refer to the text of *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford, 1963. The translation used is J.W. Halporn, *Cassiodorus: Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning and On the Soul*, Liverpool, 2004 (Translated Texts for Historians, 42).

[58] Halporn even adds into the text of his translation : « <indicating 'not to be read'> » ; Halporn, *Cassiodorus* (quoted n. 57), p. 114. Cassiodore did not explain what the symbols he used and recommended looked like, see *ibid.,* p. 132, n. 138; and A. Tura, « Essai sur les 'marginalia' en tant que pratique et documents », in D. Jacquart et C.S.F. Burnett (ed.), *Scientia in margine : études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen*

readers would be able to read and appreciate those parts that were valuable and true, without running the risk of being misled by the error of heresy. Cassiodore's attitude towards heterodox authors and texts was not that of straightforward rejection. To his mind, the work of authors such as Origen and the Donatist Tyconius still contained much that was beneficial and useful to the orthodox reader, even if on some points they had erred[59]. When it came to interpreting Origen, Cassiodore followed Jerome, who was of the opinion that learned men should not be kept from reading the indispensable parts of Origen's work. On the other hand, Jerome had said, one should take care that « incautious readers are not brought to ruin »[60]. Therefore, Cassiodore declared, Origen should be read with caution : « We must read him cautiously and judiciously, to draw health bringing juices from him, while avoiding the poisons of his perverted faith that are dangerous to our way of life »[61]. By adding symbols in the margin, Cassiodore offered the monks of Vivarium a reading aid that would help them detect which parts were poisonous and which were beneficial. Cassiodore wished to protect the readers of his monastic community from heretical contamination, but he also wanted to train the learned among them as critical readers who were able to distinguish right from wrong. He developed different editorial strategies to protect the minds of orthodox readers apart from using critical signs. Sometimes he cleaned up a text by removing certain errors, so that a reader could safely draw on the teaching of a heterodox author[62], or he made a compilation of only the fully orthodox parts of a suspicious author.[63] At other times he would let those monks he could trust to make a right decision read the whole undigested text and decide for themselves what should be removed[64]. Cassiodore saw no need to be too

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Âge á la Renaissance, Genève. 2005, p. 278. We will come back to the question of what these signs might look like later.

[59] When discussing Origen, Cassiodore quoted Sulpicius Severus, saying : « When he (Origen) writes well, no one writes better, when he writes badly, no one writes worse » ; Cassiodore, *Institutiones* (quoted n. 57), I, 1, 8, Halporn, *Cassiodorus* (quoted n. 57), p. 114. Cf. Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi* I, 6–7.

[60] Jerome, *Epistulae*, 62 (*CSEL* 54), p. 583–584. Cassiodore's rendition in *Institutiones*, I, 1, 8 : *ut nec studiosos ab eius necessaria lectione remoueat, nec iterum incautos praecipitet ad ruinam.*

[61] Cassiodore, *Institutiones* (quoted n. 57), I, 1, 8, *Et ideo caute sapienterque legendus est, ut sic inde sucos saluberrimos assumamus, ne pariter eius uenena perfidiae uitae nostrae contraria sorbeamus.* Translation Halporn, *Institutions* (quoted n. 57), p. 114.

[62] This is how Cassiodore treated Clement of Alexandria's commentary on the letters of Peter, John and James (*Adumbrationes in epistolas canonicas)*, Cassiodore, *Institutiones* (quoted n. 58), I, 8, 4.

[63] Cassiodore used Tyconius' commentary on the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse — the same texts he had marked with *chresima* and *achresima* according to the *Institutes* — to produce a shorter commentary on the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse around 580, the *Complexiones*. In this preface, Cassiodore, again, made use of the metaphor of poison and antidote to justify his use of a non-orthodox author, even if in a « sanitized » form.

[64] The text concerned is Pelagius' exposition on the letters of Paul, which Cassiodore considered to be full of Pelagian poison, without realizing the author was in fact Pelagius himself. He expurgated the *expositio* (which he called « glosses ») partly, but copied the rest

afraid of the poison of heresy, as long as one took proper precautions[65]. After all, heresy played a valuable role in the construction of orthodoxy, for God, said Cassiodore, « prepares the antidote of our salvation from the poison [of heresy] »[66].

Not every annotated « suspicious » text was marked with a set of two signs with opposite values. In some cases, only one sign, the *obelus* (÷), was used to signal passages with doctrinally tainted content. In the fifth century, this strategy was employed in a text known as the *Praedestinatus*, a treatise aimed against an ultra-Augustinian position on predestination. The anonymous author of this text included passages from a *libellus* of the predestinarians in his work, marking them with *obeli* to indicate their heretical content.[67] This form of doctrinal criticism was also commonly deployed in manuscripts containing the acts of Church councils. Since it is neither possible nor desirable to treat all the *acta* that received *obeli* or discussed this method of marking offending passages, we will focus here on one particular set of acts : the Acts of the Third Council of Constantinople, i.e. the Sixth Ecumenical Council.[68]

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uncensored in a separate codex for the monks to purge ; Cassiodore, *Institutiones* (quoted n. 57), I, 8, 1. Also, similarly on Tyconius' commentary on the Apocalypse, which Cassiodore annotated with the marks of disapproval (*achriston*) and approval (*chresimon*) : « I urge you to do likewise on suspect commentators, so that the reader will not be bewildered by the admixture of unacceptable teachings. » Cassiodore, *Institutiones* (quoted n. 58), I, 9, 3 ; Halporn, *Cassiodorus* (quoted n. 57), p. 132. In *Institutiones* I, 29, 2 he recommends the monks to read Cassian's *De institutis coenobiorum* but « to read him with some care, because he has gone beyond the mark in such matters » ; *Ibid.,* p. 162.

[65] Cassiodore, *Institutiones* (quoted n. 57), I, 1, 8.

[66] Cassiodore, *Complexiones,* preface, in which he explains why and how he used the commentary of the heretic Tyconius (see note 63), *PL* 70, col. 1382a : *Deo, qui saluti nostrae antidotum conficit ex venenis.*

[67] The author of the *Praedestinatus* describes the use of *obeli* in his prologue, *PL* 53, col. 585: Quem librum non discerpentes, sed integrum cum ab initio usque ad finem praescribentes, nonagesimae haereseos projecimus silvae …Ubicunque autem eiusdem libri sunt dicta, lineis a tergo versuum jacentibus deteguntur. Quae licet pro ipsa sui perversitate ultro se legentibus prodant, tamen egimus ut veritas a mendacio non solum verbis rationabilibus, sed etiam alogiis increpantibus discernatur.

[68] We can, nevertheless, mention two examples of obelized manuscripts directly relevant to Carolingian theological debates, PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 1572 and PARIS, Bibliothèque national de France, ms. lat. 11611. The first, PARIS Lat. 1572 (digitized at: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9078172j), is a Latin translation of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus made at Tours in the second half of the eighth century connected with Alcuin and his anti-Adoptionist treatises (See *CLA* V.530), discussed in I. van Renswoude, 'The art of disputation: dialogue, dialectic and debate' in: *Early Medieval Europe* 27: 1 (2017), pp. 38-54. The passages that were annotated with *obeli* reflect Nestorian theology. Since Adoptionism was considered a revival of Nestorian heresy, it is possible that the *obeli* were added in the context of the anti-Adoptionist debate. The second example, PARIS Lat. 11611 (digitized at : http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90683096/f3.item), is a copy of the *Synodicon* of Rusticus which was copied in the mid-ninth century at Corbie. Here, four passages in ff. 2v-3v are annotated with *obeli* (÷) to indicate four statements of Eutyches reflecting his unorthodox doctrine. The symbols in this codex were noticed by David Ganz, who discusses them briefly in his dissertation, D. Ganz, *The Literary Interests of the Abbey of Corbie in the First Half of the Ninth Century*, Oxford, 1980, p. 78. and in D. Ganz, *Corbie in*

These acts are the ideal case in point, because they offer a direct link to the debate on the Trinity and to Hincmar's decision to « obelize » Gottschalk.

IV. - Suspected Forgery at the Third Council of Constantinople

In the Acts of the Third Council of Constantinople (680–681), we read how bishop Macarius of Antioch (d. 681) was summoned to the council to defend himself against charges of heresy. He was accused of having introduced « new expressions » that supported the doctrine of Monothelitism. Macarius countered that these « new expressions » were hardly new at all[69]. They could already be found in texts of the church fathers, in conciliar acts and even in documents that formed part of the proceedings of the previous council. The documents that Macarius referred to were letters of St. Mennas, the Patriarch of Constantinople (536–552) and letters of Pope Vigilius (d. 555). The codices containing the acts of the previous council were brought forward and it turned out that the letters indeed contained the problematic terminology in support of Monothelitism, just as Macarius had said[70]. The attendants of the council, however, judged the letters to be forgeries and they accused Macarius of being the mastermind behind the falsification of the acts[71]. The folia containing the offending terminology were removed from the codices, and where this was not possible, the incriminated passages were marked with *obeli*, to indicate that they had to be « cut away »[72]. The three volumes of patristic excerpts that Macarius and his supporters had brought forward in support of their claim were sealed up for later inspection[73].

As already mentioned in the introduction to this article, Gottschalk referred to precisely these acts, the Acts of the Third Council of Constantinople, in his pamphlet against Hincmar on Trinitarian vocabulary, which Hincmar incorporated in his *De una et non trina deitate*. According to Gottschalk, the acts offered support for his argument that the term *trina deitas* was fully orthodox. For in the edict of Emperor Constantine IV, in which Constantine promulgated the decisions of the council, the emperor had used the expression *tritheoteia*, which according to Gottschalk meant :

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the Carolingian Renaissance, Sigmaringen, 1990, p. 69. For more examples of early medieval manuscripts containing doctrinal *obeli*, see Steinova, *Notam superponere studui* (quoted n. 28), pp. 143–45, and I. van Renswoude, « The censor's rod. Textual Criticism, judgment and canon formation», in M. Teeuwen et I. van Renswoude (ed.), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages. Practices of Reading and Writing*, Turnhout: Brepols 2018 (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 38), p. 555-595.

[69] All references to the acts of this council are made to *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, Series secunda, volumen secundum, pars prima, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin, 1990/1992. *Ibid.,* p. 23.

[70] *Ibid.,* p. 41.

[71] *Ibid.,* p. 41 and p. 647.

[72] *Ibid.,* p. 647–649 : *Chartacium quidem volumen, qui falsatum est, decernimus* (p. 649) *caxari in locis, in quibus adiectiones sunt factae, verum libros etiam eos* ΟΒΕΛΙΣΘΗΝΑΙ *obelis obduci in locis, quibus depravati sunt, et caxari.*

[73] *Ibid.,* p. 179.

trina deitas[74]. Moreover, in the Latin version of the edict, said Gottschalk, the phrase *trina et glorificanda deitate* occurred. Apparently all bishops present at the council had agreed to that expression, seeing that they had signed the acts for approval. Hincmar, who appears not to have been well acquainted with the Acts of the Third Council of Constantinople before Gottschalk referred to it, consulted his own copy of the acts and discovered that his exemplar offered a different reading of the contested passage. Needless to say, Hincmar regarded his own copy as the « authentic » version and dismissed Gottschalk's copy as a *codex novus*[75]. He accused Gottschalk of having forged the acts, when he copied them in his cell in Hautvillers (*sic*) and had surreptitiously inserted the disputed words in both the Greek and Latin version of the edict of Emperor Constantine IV[76]. Hincmar stubbornly held on to his allegation, even when others informed him that Gottschalk's version could in fact be found in other « old codices » (*in libris vetustis*)[77]. To his mind, Gottschalk was just as bad as the heretic and forger Macarius of Antioch, and so was his accomplice Ratramnus of Corbie[78]. Ratramnus' collection of patristic excerpts in support of the expression *trina deitas* that he had offered to Charles the Bald, contained forged excerpts, just like the volumes Macarius and his supporters had presented to the bishops at Constantinople for their inspection[79]. Hincmar expressed his dismay over these two outrageous acts

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[74] Gottschalk, *De trina deitate,* in Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate* (*PL* 125), col. 477b : *ut qui credunt atque dicunt quod non possit auctoritative neque vere dici Deitas trina, cernant et legant in libro de sancta Synodo, qui scriptus est in Graeco, scilicet Constantinopoli, sub Iuniore Constantino* […] *et tamen in ipso consequenter continetur volumine, in edicto scilicet Constantini, conglorificandam trinam Deitatem* […] *Ac per hoc sicut ab eis catholicissime dicitur tritheoteia, sic et a nobis catholicissime trina Deitas.* For the edict of Constantius IV, see Reidinger, *Acta Conciliorum* (quoted n. 70), p. 835–857.

[75] Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate* (*PL* 125), col. 512b. Hincmar tells us that he had obtained his « authentic copy » of the acts from Bishop Peter of Arezzo (*PL* 125), col. 512c. In Hincmar's copy that passage read : *ter glorificanda.* Devisse is tempted to see Gottschalk's *novus codex* in PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. n.a.l. 1982, in which the disputed passage has been corrected and which contains a correction on f. 99r that can also be found in the manuscript of Hincmar's *De una et non trina deitate,* BRUSSELS, KBR 1831–1833, f. 53v. Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2), p.172.

[76] Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate*, (*PL* 125), col. 512c : *A Gothescalco quando prefatus liber in monasterio Altivillaris, ubi ipse morabatur, ex authentico, quem mihi Petrus episcopus Aretinus commodaverat, scriptus fuit, adulteratum credimus, sicut multoties ab aliis haereticis factum legimus.* […] *Dat quoque certum indicium Gothescalcum falsasse hunc librum… Ibid.* col. 527c : *quomodo Gothescalcus veritatem quantum ex ipso est in mendacium commutavit, trina pro ter vel Trinitatis deitate, in sextae synodi edicto immutans.*

[77] *Ibid.,* col. 527c : *…vel si in aliis libris vetustis ita ab aliquis haberi contenditur, nec sic quiddam suffragi ex hoc Gothescalci vel eius complicum adinventio potietur.*

[78] *Ibid.,* col. 475a : *Ratramnus, Corbeiae monasterii monachus, ex libris beatorum Hilarii et Augustini, dicta eorumdem detructando, et ad pravum suum sensum incongrue inflectendo, sicut et Macarium Antiochenum episcopum de quamplurimis catholicorum libris fecisse in sexta synodo legimus…*

[79] See previous note and *Ibid.,* col. 512c : *Ratramnus* […] *ex libris sanctorum Hilarii et Augustini de Trinitate (Augustini liber falsatus) non modicae quantitatis volume compilavit, volens asserere trinam esse deitatem, cuius compilatio evidenter compilatoris sui*

of forgery, but also argued, on a more positive note, that something good could come out it. In the past, debates with heretics had stimulated the Catholic fathers to formulate clear doctrines on contested articles of faith[80]. Heretics provoked scholars and interpreters of Scripture to formulate answers to difficult questions, and challenged them to study their sacred texts much more thoroughly. They prevented scholars, as it were, from becoming too lazy and complacent[81]. The same is happening now, so Hincmar seems to imply with his examples from church history, with the recent debate on the Trinity. Gottschalk's heretical challenge stimulated him to read the Acts of the Council of Constantinople carefully, and thanks to a thorough study and comparison of texts and manuscripts Hincmar was able to unmask Gottschalk's deceitful forgery[82]. In that sense, the dispute over the Trinity not only sparked a revival of a late antique practice of annotation, but also stimulated interest in textual criticism. Hincmar quoted from the Acts of the Third Council of Constantinople frequently in his treatise *De una et non trina deitate.* His reading of these acts, and in particular the story of the forger Macarius, provided him with an

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demonstrate mendacium. Ratramnus had sent his collection of excerpts on the Trinity to Bishop Hildegard of Meaux, but also presented a copy to King Charles the Bald, see Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2)*,* p. 175. Hincmar, moreover, accuses Ratramnus (although in this accusation he does not mention his name) of having inserted the phrase *una et trina veritas, trina et una unitas* into (Ps-)Augustine's *Adversus quinque haereses*. He describes (col. 513c) how he borrowed a manuscript of the *Adversus quinque haereses* from the library of the king and compared it with other manuscripts of Augustine's text which he had collected from cities and monasteries. The only copies that indeed contained the contested phrase were, according to Hincmar, copied from Ratramnus' exemplar. In the *PL* edition of (Ps-)Augustine's *Adversus quinque haereses* the disputed passage was left out (*PL* 42, col. 1115), because the editor took Hincmar's word for it that it was a spurious (forged) passage. This editorial decision shows how authoritative Hincmar's judgments were long considered to be : Cf. Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2), p. 176, n. 334.

[80] Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate* (*PL* 125), col. 482a : *Multa quippe ad fidem catholicam pertinentia, dum haereticorum calida inquietudine exagitantur, ut adversus eos defendi possint, et considerantur diligentius et intelligentur clarius, et instantius praedicantur* (Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, XVI, 2) : *et multi qui optime poterant Scripturas dignoscere et pertractare, latebant in populo Dei, nec asserebant solutiones quaestionum difficilium, cum calumniator nullus instaret. Nunquid enim perfecte de Trinitate tractatum est antequam oblatrarent Ariani ? Nunquid enim perfecte de poenitentia tractatum est antequam obsisterent Novatiani ? Sic non perfecte de baptismate tractatum est, antequam contradicerent foris positi rebaptizatores* (Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 54 (55), 21).

[81] *Ibid.,* col. 482a–482d, esp. 482a : *Multos enim sensus sanctarum Scripturarum latent, et paucis intelligentioribus noti sunt, nec asseruntur commodius et acceptabilius, nisi cum respondendi haereticis cura impellit. Tunc enim etiam qui negligunt studia doctrinae, sopore discusso, ad audiendi excitantur diligentiam, ut adversarii repellantur* (Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 67 (68), 36).

[82] According to Jean Devisse, Hincmar used the Acts of the Third Council of Constantinople of 680 frequently, but only from from 857 onwards. Citations from the acts occur in *De una et non trina deitate* and in Hincmar's third treatise on predestination (*PL* 125, cols. 55–474), written around the same time. Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2), vol. III, p. 1427. This seems to suggest that Hincmar became acquainted with these particular acts only after Gottschalk had brought them to his attention in his pamphlet on Trinitarian vocabulary.

analogy to accuse Gottschalk of being not only a heretic, but also a malicious forger[83]. Did the acts of the council also inspire him to « obelize » the arguments of Gottschalk in his *De una et non trina deitate*? This is very well possible, since this was precisely what the bishops of the council of Constantinople had done to the evidence of the heretic Macarius. The acts, however, do not say what shape the *obelus* had, nor do they mention a *chresimon* : the graphic sign that Hincmar used as the positive counterpart of the *obelus*, to indicate the orthodoxy of his own statements. That knowledge must have come from elsewhere.

V. - Sources of Inspiration

Jean Devisse, in his magnum opus on Hincmar, suggested that Hincmar took the symbols he used in *De una et non trina deitate* from Prudentius' treatise on predestination against John the Scot, which had come to Hincmar's attention a few years earlier[84]. This does not seem plausible, since Hincmar and Prudentius, as we have seen, used similar but not identical sets of signs[85]. We would like to suggest instead that both Hincmar and Prudentius tapped from the same pools of knowledge. As we have shown, there were several forms and examples of critical signs around in the mid-ninth century, from which well-read bishops such as Hincmar and Prudentius could have taken their inspiration. They were almost certainly familiar with Jerome's practice of annotating the Gallican Psalter, so omnipresent in Carolingian intellectual culture. More importantly, they may have taken their cue from Cassiodore's strategies of annotation to « edit » heretical texts[86], and in the case of Hincmar also from the *Praedestinatus*.[87] Cassiodore, however, did not tell his readers what the positive and

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[83] Hincmar also compared Gottschalk to the adoptionist Felix of Urgel (condemned for heresy for the third time in 799). Felix, Hincmar claimed, had forged patristic evidence for his heretical doctrine on adoptionism by interpolating all copies (sic) of Hilarius' *De trinitate* that he could lay his hands on, and had changed *carnis humilitas adoratur* into *carnis humilitas adoptatur*. Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate*, (*PL* 125), col. 527b.

[84] Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2), p. 167. He also showed parallels between Hincmar's use of the two signs and the description of these signs in a list of signs known as the *Anecdotum Parisinum* found in PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 7530, ff. 28r-29r ; *Ibid.,* p. 167.

[85] Hincmar, moreover, was already in the habit of using the symbol of the *chresimon* as a *nota*-sign, *Ibid.,* p. 167. Also in his later writings, Hincmar kept using symbols to annotate texts, see further on in this article.

[86] Prudentius was familiar with Cassiodore's *Institutes,* cf. Petitmengin, « D'Augustin à Prudence » (quoted n. 25), p. 231, n. 11, with reference to Prudentius, *De praedestinatione* (quoted n. 24), col. 1193c. Petitmengin postulates the hypothesis that Prudentius took his inspiration to use the *crisimon* to annotate John from Cassiodore's description in the *Institutes* of how he annotated Tyconius the Donatist. *Ibid.,* p. 233, n. 25. Hincmar uses the metaphor of poison and antidote in connection with the sign of *chresimon*, just as Cassiodore had done. The name he gives to this sign is identical with the name that Cassiodore gives to his « sign of approval », in contrast to how this sign is called by Prudentius (*crisimon*) and by others.

[87] The *Praedestinatus* was certainly known to Hincmar. A copy of this text was made in Reims in the third quarter of the ninth century, perhaps even in the context of the ongoing doctrinal disputes, and survives today as REIMS, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 70 ; see B.

negative signs that he used to annotate heretical texts looked like[88]. Readers who wished to follow the practice that Cassiodore recommended in his *Institutions*, needed to guess the shape of his *chresimon* and *achresimon* signs or decide for themselves what signs of approval and disapproval they wished to use.[89] To solve this problem, another major source of knowledge on critical signs came in handy : the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville.

Isidore of Seville (c. 560 – c. 636) included a list of twenty-six annotation symbols in his book one of the *Etymologiae* on grammar, under the chapter heading *On the signs of judgment* (*De notis sententiarum)* (see **Figure 3**). This list was an attempt at a synthesis of multiple sets of signs, the majority of which were bequeathed to Isidore

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Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts III. Padua-Zwickau,* Wiesbaden, 2014, n. 5251, and Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2), vol. III, p. 1513. The codex contains not only *obeli* but also Hincmar's *ex dono* and his personal notes; see Pezé in this volume. That Hincmar drew his inspiration for *De una et non trina deitate* from the *Praedestinatus* is suggested not only by the similarity in execution, but also by parallels in the diction of the prefaces of the two works, in particular the claim that they both included the words of their opponents in full (*cum integritate sui, integrum eum ad initio usque ad finem praescribentes*). See notes 20 and 67.

[88] Cassiodore may have been inspired by the *asterisci* and the *obeli* as these were signs with an established positive and a negative value which he would certainly have encountered through the writings of Jerome. He mentions that his library includes the book of Job as translated by Jerome ; Cassiodore, *Institutiones* (quoted n. 57), I, 6, 1. The Vulgate version of Job contains *obeli*. He also mentions numerous other works by Jerome, including his many scriptural commentaries ; see the overview in the thesis of Vuković ; M. Vuković, *Classics in Vivarium: The Survival and Transmission of Classics in the Early Middle Ages*, Budapest, 2007, p. 66–67. It is not improbable that the *obelus* was one of the graphic symbols he meant, when he advised the monks of Vivarium to use *chresimon* and *achresimon/achriston* signs when annotating suspicious texts. This seems to be supported also by the recent discovery of Jérémy Delmulle, who showed that a set of manuscripts of *Pro predicatoribus gratiae Dei contra librum Cassiani presbyteri* of Prosper of Aquitaine contains 'signs of approval' and 'signs of disapproval' in the form of tilted *obeli* (⨪) and *obeli* (÷), respectively. Cf. J. Delmulle, *Prosper d'Aquitaine contre Jean Cassien. Introduction, édition critique, traduite et annotée du Liber contra collatorem*, Thèse de l'université Paris IV Sorbonne, 2014, p. 463–475 ; Tura, « Essai sur les 'marginalia' » (quoted n. 65), p. 278. One of the manuscripts examined by Delmulle is PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. lat. 12098 (ninth century, Corbie), digitized at : http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9068399m/f95.item. At ff. 90r–112r one can see the passages that were annotated with *obeli* and tilted *obeli*. These manuscripts of Prosper's *Contra librum Cassiani* belong to the family that has a link with Vivarium and might reflect Cassiodore's remarks about John Cassian in his *Institutes*, cf. D. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (quoted n. 69), p. 64.

[89] Even though ninth-century readers could not know what the *chresimon* and *achresimon* signs looked like, at least some did understand its application in « editing » heretical texts, as is attested by an annotation in a ninth-century manuscript of the *Institutions* from St Gall (ST. GALLEN, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 199). In the margin, the word *achresimi* (p. 20) received the annotation : *aliter heresiae*. The scribe who made this note made the association with heresy, at : http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0199/20/medium.

second hand. Isidore mentions the *obelus*[90], and also a siglum *theta* that had a similar negative connotation as the *obelus*[91]. He also described a sign which he calls *crisimon* that can be applied, according to his definition, for whatever purpose and with whatever design of the user[92]. The function of the *crisimon*, as described by Isidore, has little in common with the ⳨ symbol that Hincmar and Prudentius used. Rather, it was meant to be used as an interest-drawing sign similar to a *nota* sign. The name of the sign, however, *crisimon*, resembles the name that Cassiodore gave to his « sign of approval », *chresimon*[93]. It seems probable that Hincmar and Prudentius syncretized several practices and that Isidore's account was one of their sources. Both authors quote from Isidore's *Etymologies* for a definition of the graphic symbols of their choice[94]. They may have turned to Cassiodore's *Institutes* for the *idea* of annotating (heretical) texts with positive and negative signs, and consulted the sign list of

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[90] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I, 21, 2–3 : *Obolus, id est, virgula iacens, adponitur in verbis vel sententiis superflue iteratis, sive in his locis, ubi lectio aliqua falsitate notata est, ut quasi sagitta iugulet supervacua atque falsa confodiat. Sagitta enim Graece* ὀβελός *dicitur.*

[91] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I, 24, 1 : *Theta vero ad uniuscuiusque defuncti nomen apponebatur. Vnde et habet per medium telum, id est mortis signum. De qua Persius ait : Et potis est nigrum vitio praefigere theta.* Note, however, that this sign is not one of the *notae sententiarum*, but features in a different section of book one, *De notis militaribus* (« On the signs used in the army »). Rufinus of Aquileia (d. 410) compared the *obelus* to the *theta*. Just as a general, Rufinus said, adds the sign of the *theta* to the name of a deceased soldier not to condemn him to death, but simply to state a fact, so the *obelus* states the fact that words are spurious. Rufinus, *Apologia contra Hieronymum* II, 40, ed. SIMONETTI (*CCSL* 20), p. 114.

[92] Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I, 21, 22 : *Haec sola ex voluntate uniuscuiusque ad aliquid notandum ponitur.*

[93] It should be noted that while Prudentius calls his « sign of approval » *crisimon*, just as Isidore, and provides it with a reference to the *Etymologies*, Hincmar's 'sign of approval' is called *chresimon*. The chi-rho symbol was also used as the Christogram which gave it a further powerful connotation. The latter connection between the Isidorian *crisimon* and the Christogram *chi-rho* was highlighted by Hraban Maur in his *In honorem sanctae crucis*, roughly thirty years before Hincmar and Prudentius wrote about the symbol in their own texts. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, I, 22 : *Quid itaque haec figura sit, et quid significet, ut exponatur necesse est. Vna quidem ista est figurarum, quae appellantur notae sententiarum* (Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I, 21), *speciali que uocabulo haec a Graecis uocatur chresimon*, « *ex uoluntate uniuscuiusque ad aliquid notandum* » *inuenta.* (Isidore, *Etymologiae*, I, 21, 22) *Sed maiore dignitate nunc a Christianis ad exprimendum nomen Christi assumitur, quasi duae litterae primae nominis eius uno monogrammate simul sint conprehensae, id est,* X *et* P. Similarly, the Isidorian *crisimon* and the Christogram were conflated into one by the Milanese reviser of the Psalter mentioned in note 50, just like Prudentius did in his preface to his treatise against John the Scot. *Tertia nota est quae chrismon* ⳨ *nuncupatur. Haec quidem ex voluntate scriptoris ad aliquid notandum ponitur. Ego quippe ea usus sum in his locis, ubi in Latino minus habetur quam in Graeco consonanti Hieronimo, eo quod, si ipsa nota altius consideretur, apud Graecos per eam solam nomen Christi exprimitur, quia duae litterae, hoc est* X, *quam Graeci* « chi » *nominant, necnon* P, *quam ipsi* « ro » *nuncupant, quibus nomen Christi legitur, concatenatae sibi in una videntur, unde apud illos monogrammon dicitur, id est unalis scriptio. MGH Epp.* 6, Berlin, 1925, p. 204.

[94] See notes 20 and 23.

Isidore's *Etymologies* as a catalogue from which to select suitable shapes for such signs[95].

VI. - Guardians of Orthodoxy

When Hincmar and Prudentius annotated the treatises in which they refuted their opponents with critical signs, they presented themselves as guardians of orthodoxy, who had the authority to assess their theological adversaries. They did so by using a method which had been acknowledged, described and practised by ecclesiastical authorities, such as Jerome, Cassiodore and the bishops of the Third Council of Constantinople. They were keen to stress that they made use of a long-established tradition, and were not inventing a new practice[96]. By using symbols of doctrinal criticism, such as *obelus* and *theta*, they tried to place their opponents Gottschalk and John the Scot into the same category as Origen, Tyconius and other heretics who had been annotated and censured by authorities in earlier ages[97]. They created a specific discursive framework for their writings, which were to be read as a legitimate and legitimizing continuation of a particular theological tradition. When they annotated the opinions of their opponents with signs of disapproval, Hincmar and Prudentius claimed the authority to discuss and decide on doctrinal matters, similarly to the church fathers. In this way, they determined the *modus disputandi* and also negotiated their own authority. This construction of an interpretative framework involved also the audiences on which the authority was to be imposed. It is difficult not to see parallels between the addressees of Hincmar's treatise and the addressees of Cassiodore's *Institutions*. The latter annotated the codices in the library at Vivarium and in this way pre-ruminated them for his monks. Hincmar took up the role of pre-

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[95] Isidore's catalogue of signs offered room to select and combine different sets of symbols, which may explain the different selections that Hincmar and Prudentius made from the available repertoire of signs to annotate their texts. Isidore may have been the source which their respective audiences could identify and recognize as an *auctoritas* on the matter of signs more readily than other sources they referred to and drew inspiration from, e.g. the Acts of the Third Council of Constantinople or the *Institutes* of Cassiodore.

[96] Prudentius speaks of the *theta* as a sign used by the *antiqui* and for the sign of *crisimon* mentions the *artigraphi*, i.e. authors of the *artes grammaticae* as his authority. Hincmar states that he inserted *obeli* into his treatise « in accordance with the ancient custom » (*more veterum*), see notes 20 and 23.

[97] In this regard, it can be also noted that Hincmar's preface to *De una et non trina deitate* is very similar to the preface of Jerome's treatise against Jovinianus. Hincmar presents the *causa scribendi* of this treatise against Gottschalk in almost the same wording as Jerome did when he attacked Jovinianus. In his *Contra Iovinianum*, Jerome integrated statements of his opponent *verbatim* into his text, just like Hincmar would do later. Interestingly, in a ninth-century manuscript of Jerome's treatise, these integrated statements from Jovinianus have been marked with *obeli* (BAMBERG, Staatsbibliothek, ms. Patr. 86, see ff. 3r and 5v). The manuscript was probably made for Bishop Jesse of Amiens. Jerome explains in the preface to his polemical work that he will argue against Jovinianus' statements one by one, because the *fratres* who sent him the offending text asked him to. Jerome, *Contra Iovinianum*, PL 23, col. 221.

reading Gottschalk's pamphlets in order to show the faithful of his diocese and his co-ministers how these should be read and refuted.

The practice of marking texts with symbols must have agreed with Hincmar. After his experiment with the « annotated Gottschalk » he continued to use symbols to annotate texts, albeit in a different manner[98]. Yet Hincmar's and Prudentius' textual strategies were not very successful in the long run. The debate on the Trinity remained unresolved. None of the bishops followed Hincmar's example to forbid the singing of hymns containing the formula *trina deitas* in their dioceses[99]. Gottschalk appears to have been the only person who took the archbishop's objections seriously, by disagreeing with him. Hincmar and Gottschalk remained at loggerheads until the death of the latter in 868 or 869. « He has gone to the place where he belongs » (Acts 1, 25), Hincmar wrote maliciously when his old adversary had passed away. He added the insult by way of postscript to his *De una et not trina deitate*[100]. The manuscript of Hincmar's treatise against Gottschalk survived only in one copy, made in Reims. Apparently the text knew no further distribution[101]. Prudentius' treatise on predestination against John suffered a worse fate. After the bishop's death, the working copy of his treatise ended up in Reims, where the censor was himself

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[98] In his *Vita Remigii* (c. 877) Hincmar employed symbols as reading marks to indicate which parts should be read publicly and which ones should be reserved for private study, see Hincmar, *Vita Remigii*, ed. B. Krusch (*MGH SS Rer. Merov.* 3), p. 250–341. For the probable context of these two types of reading and comparable examples of annotation, see now T. Webber, «Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England c. 1000 - c. 1300 », London University Annual John Coffin Memorial Paleography Lecture, 18 February 2010. Hincmar also added « signs in the margin of pages » (*signa in marginalibus paginarum*) when he annotated Ratramnus' *Contra Grecorum opposita* (868) to signal which parts should be revised, see Hincmar's letter to Odo of Beauvais : *Nunc autem transcucurri eum sub oculis et sicut petisti, in quibus locis mihi aliter visum fuit, adnotare curavi, ponens viritim signa in marginalibus paginarum et secundum eadem signa haec scedula quae mihi visa sunt tuae dilectioni scripsi. Quae sit ita et tibi visa fuerint, retractabis* ; cf. C. Lambot, « L'homélie du Pseudo-Jérôme sur l'assomption et l'évangile de la nativité de Marie d'après une lettre inédite d'Hincmar », in *Revue bénédictine*, 46, 1934, p. 270. It should be noted that Hincmar was not aware that Ratramnus was the author of the *Contra Grecorum opposita.* A copy of the signs used by Hincmar to annotate Ratramnus' text may perhaps be found in VATICAN, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Reg. lat. 151, but this needs further investigation. The authors wish to thank Zachary Guilliano for checking the Vatican manuscript and drawing the signs for us. The signs of Vat. Reg. lat. 151, however, are not signs of doctrinal criticism and do not correspond to any of the signs in the lists of Isidore or the *Anecdotum Parisinum*.

[99] According to Devisse, Rodulf of Bourges followed Hincmar, but this was recently disproved by Pezé. Devisse, *Hincmar* (quoted n. 2)*,* p.156; Pezé, *Le virus de l'erreur* (quoted n. 3), p. 65.

[100] Hincmar, *De una et non trina deitate*, postscript (quoted n. 3), col. 618b :…*sicque indignam vitam digna morte finivit, et abiit in locum suum.*

[101] It should be noted that theological treatises such as Hincmar's *De una et non trina deitate* and Prudentius' *De praedestinatione* were usually not written for a wide audience but served as dossiers for a particular debate or synod, cf. D. Ganz, « The debate on predestination » (quoted n. 23), p. 291. Yet Hincmar had addressed his *De una et non trina deitate* to « all the faithful » so he may have expected a wider circulation.

censured : « be careful when reading this work », a Reims annotator wrote on a slip of parchment that he added to the manuscript, « for its author, Prudentius, does not hold catholic opinions »[102] (see **Figure 4**). The tables had been turned.

VII. Conclusion

In the mid-ninth century, when the theological disputes on predestination and on the Trinity reached their height, critical signs were given a new purpose as a tool to regulate orthodox discourse and keep dangerous texts in check. While annotation symbols had a long history, this was the first time that they provided the means for negotiating and maintaining one's authority in the midst of heated debates and shifting allegiances.[103] Archbishop Hincmar, in his treatise on the Trinity against Gottschalk, tried to establish his supremacy over Gottschalk by clearly marking his opponent's teachings as heretical and his own statements as fully orthodox. Instead of silencing Gottschalk, he used his heterodox teaching for his own purposes and turned it into something that confirmed instead of undermined his episcopal authority. By annotating Gottschalk as a heretic, and using him as the dark contrast that let his own orthodoxy shine forth all the brighter, Hincmar established himself on the page as the champion of the debate on the Trinity – even though in reality the dispute remained unresolved.

Yet the practice of doctrinal criticism was more than a manifestation of (episcopal) power play. It also reflected specific ideals on the usefulness of debate that flourished in the mid-ninth century. Florus of Lyon, for example, but also the mighty Hincmar, who seems to have tolerated no opposition or dissidence, expressed the opinion that a debate with heretics furthered the cause of orthodoxy. Heretics were considered a gift to the church, in the sense that they offered a challenge to formulate Catholic doctrine more perfectly. To borrow the metaphor of Cassiodore – a metaphor that was also used by Hincmar and Prudentius – heretics provided the poison from which the antidote of salvation could be produced. Confrontations with heretics, said Hincmar,

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[102] PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2445, f. 1bis (i.e. slip of parchment preceding f. 1r) : *Iste liber qui quasi ad defensionem fidei contra infidelitatem loquitur et testimonia scripturarum atque catholicorum nomina profert caute legendus est et in eius lectione apostoli est sequenda sententia qua dicit* omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete (1 Thess 5, 21). *Nam compositor eius Prudentius de quibusdam ecclesiasticis dogmatibus non sensit catholice sicut alia eius scripta demonstrant. PL* 115, col. 1009c.

[103] Another early medieval example of the use of critical signs is the eighth-century *Cosmographia Aethici Istri*. The author of this fantastic travelogue, posing as Jerome, talks about marking the manuscript he used as a source with critical signs in order to remove problematic material. *The Cosmography of Aethicus Ister*, §66a, ed. HERREN, pp. 142-143: "*nonnulla quaedam peregrina et incredibilia in multis assertionibus titulauit, quae nobis nimis laboriosa curiositate cursim ad duo puncta posuimus caraxaturas et uirgulas*" ("... some of their strange and incredible doings in numerous statements, which we by degrees and with very painstaking caution affixed with cancellation marks and *obeli* up to the two points (= metobeli)"). This passage is discussed in I. van Renswoude, 'The censor's rod.Textual criticism, judgment and canon formation (quoted n.68).

led to a careful and more thorough study of texts. In this period of fervent theological debates and intensified engagement with heterodoxy, scholars developed methods of philological criticism to detect forgeries and unmask heretically tainted texts that, to their mind, hindered fruitful debate and obfuscated the quest for truth. Critical signs offered a suitable tool for philological as well as doctrinal criticism. The tradition was already there; it only needed to be revived. None of the elements of the annotation used by Hincmar or Prudentius were novel as such. However, the manner in which they were put together and how they were employed was a novelty. In this respect, Hincmar and Prudentius entered an uncharted territory. They failed to sell their method : later Carolingian scholars who got involved in theological debates did not adopt their *modus operandi*. Yet for Hincmar this had been a useful experiment. He continued to use symbols to annotate texts until at least the late 870s.

The idea that orthodoxy could not exist without heresy and that truth emerged from debate was not new, but in the mid-ninth century it was put to use with fresh vigor. Graphic symbols, added in the margin or inserted into the main text, provided a way to control heterodoxy and censure deviant thought. At the same time, this critical practice kept the discussion between opponents going. We can see this ongoing debate exemplified in the lay-out of Prudentius' and Hincmar's treatises. What we see rendered on the page, visualised through the juxtaposition of antithetical critical marks, is a dialectical engagement between opposing viewpoints from which the truth (orthodoxy) is supposed to emerge all the more clearly, because it is juxtaposed to un-truth. Hincmar and Prudentius preserved the deviant thinking of their opponents in their own texts, albeit clearly marked, because it enabled them to engage with « heresy » and thus clarify their own stance. By means of a dialectical engagement with deviance, in such a way that it was clearly visible on the parchment, they were able to construct an orthodox discourse according to their own norms, *and* to establish themselves as the guardians of that orthodoxy, just like the church fathers before them.

Deniq; post premissas suas indm blasphemias contra quas ex catholi
corū doctorū sententiis et generalium synodorum iudiciis supra res
pondimus gotescalcus sub nexu dicens. Qui credunt atq; dicunt
quod non possit auctoritate ue neq; uere dici deitas trina cernant
et legant In libro de sca synodo qui scriptus est In greco scilicet constan
tino poli sub iuniore constantino a centū quinquaginta patri
bus iure damnatos & anathematizatos arrianos colentes tritheo
teias ide tres deitates. & tam in ipso consequenter continetur
uolumine in edicto scilicet constantini conglorifican da trinam
deitatē. Hic & ipse se redarguit & compilatorem esse ostendit.
quia illū ipsum librum & tres deitates respuere. & profiteri tri
nam deitatem conglorificandam quasi receptibiliter dicit;

Figure 1: Brussels, KB, ms. 1831-1833, f. 65r (*Hincmar, De una et non trina deitate*)

pulsa tua necessitas dicitur. Neq; ibi meritum liber tatis aufertur. sed adcrescentibus malis atq;
de bono qd prius habuerat In malum conuersis. seuerius iudicatur atq; dam natur
Proinde In quis nulla causa constringit hominem seu bene seu male uiuere. & quidē quod
apr apud corinthios eum qui uxorem patris sibi contra fas copulauerat. tradi iubet satane In in
teritum carnis ut spiritus saluus sit In die dni. quid e quod & auctoritas canonica precipit &
consuetudo eccte tenet. Adeo excercenda uitia ut uerberibus carceribus neruis excommuni
cationibus aliisq; compluribus disciplinae medentia generibus. unde beatus augustinus In
libro enchiridion cum de dimittendis ageret. Inter cetera dixit Aug. Et qui emendat uerbere
In quem potestas datur ut coherceat aliqua disciplina. & tamen peccatum eius quo ab illo lesus aut oc

Figure 2: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2445, f. 28r (*Prudentius, De praedestinatione contra Joannem Scotum*)
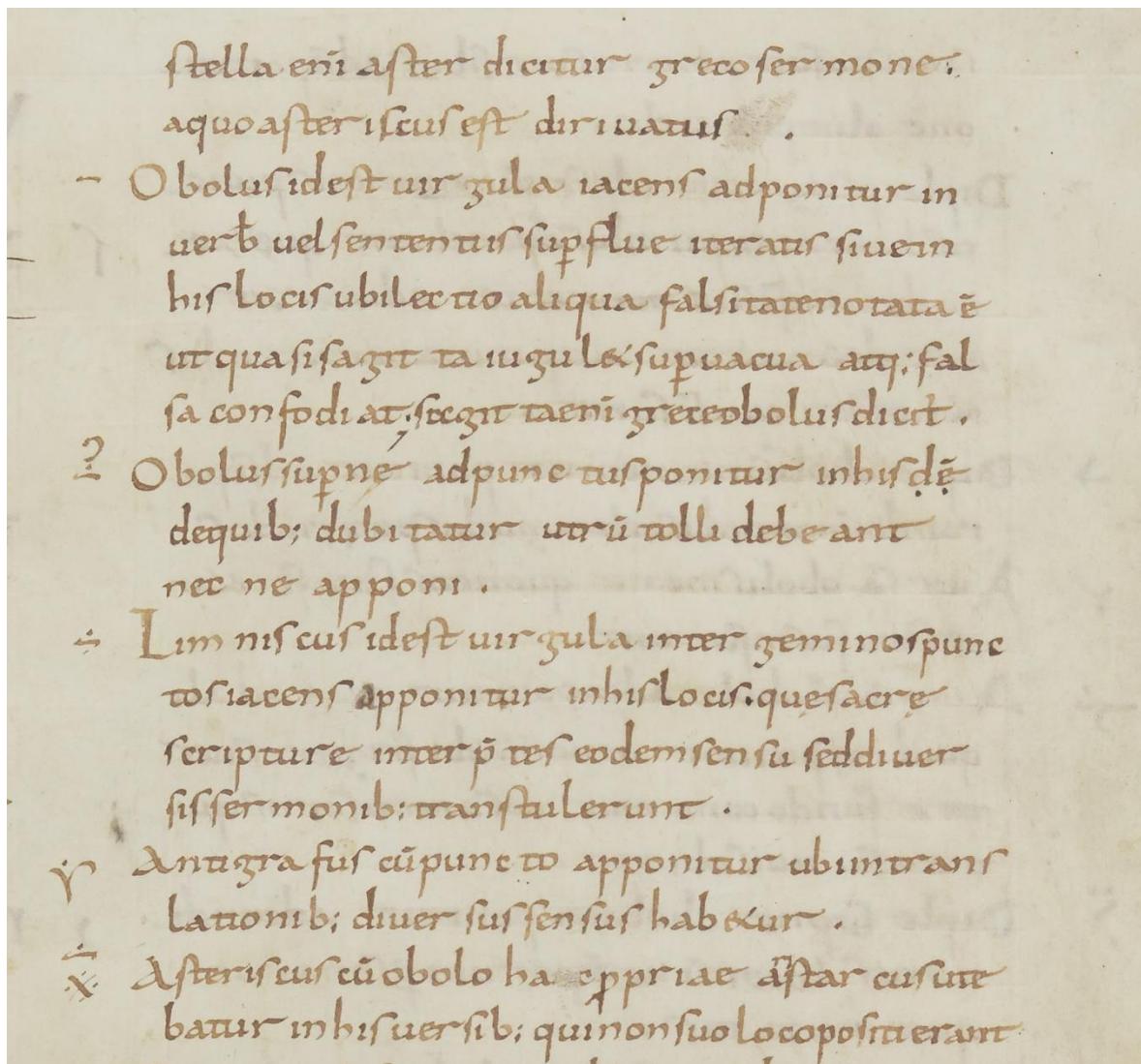
Figure 3: Paris, BNF, ms. Lat. 10292, f. 10r (*Isidore of Seville, Notae sententiarum*)
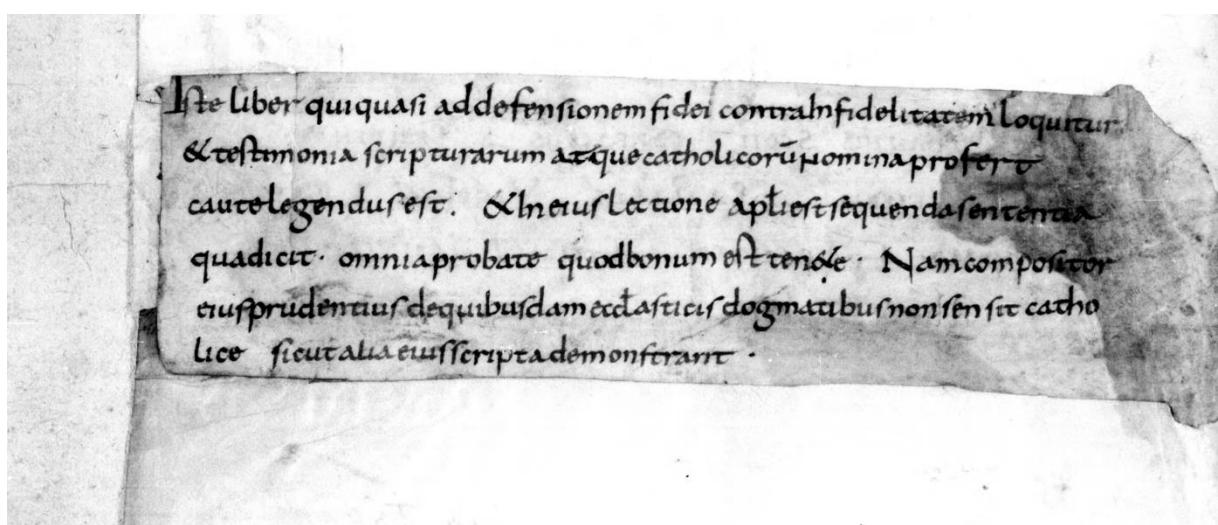
Figure 4: Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2445, slip of parchment attached in front of the codex
(*Prudentius, De praedestinatione contra Joannem Scotum*)