Pastoral Eschatological Exegesis in Burchard of Worms’ *Decretum*.

A thesis submitted by George David Capability House to the University of Exeter for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, 20th October 2014.

This thesis is available for Library use on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

(Signature)……………………………………………………………………………………………………...
Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship between Western eschatological traditions and Bishop Burchard of Worm’s extended exegesis on the subject of ‘speculative theology’ within Decretum, Liber Vicesimus (c. 1012-1025). Its purpose is to explore the influence of eschatological theology upon the composition of canon law and its relationship with the administration of pastoral care in the early eleventh century. This will be achieved by investigating the authorities Burchard employed, and the unique ways in which he structured his interpretation of the subject. Chapter one reviews the scholarship on early medieval eschatological exegesis, canon law, and penance, alongside that on Burchard of Worms. Chapter two provides an overview of the history of early medieval western eschatological exegesis (c. 33-1050) and the general conditions that contemporary ecclesiastics would have experienced in relation to the study and construction of eschatological texts. Chapter three considers the historical context for the composition of the Decretum and the manuscript traditions of the Liber Vicesimus. Chapters four, five, and six, extensively analyse the structures and contents of the Liber Vicesimus: Burchard and his team of compilers are shown to have drawn extensively and developed their interpretation of eschatology from Gregory the Greats’ exegetical works, as well as identifying other unique influences. Consequently the thesis demonstrates how Gregory’s exegetical works played a central role in building the textual foundations which shaped the theological parameters governing the eschatological thoughts, beliefs, and writings, of many ecclesiastics during this period. The thesis concludes that Gregory’s work provided churchmen with an authoritative moral framework and rhetoric for the discussion of eschatological phenomena that could be utilised in a variety of ways. It also suggests new ways in
which historians should interpret the written traditions that shaped the structure and content of orthodox eschatological texts in this period.
# Table of Contents

**Acknowledgements**

**List of Plates**

**List of Tables**

**Abbreviations and Conventions**

**Definitions**

**Chapter 1.0: Introduction: The Context and Focus of the Thesis**

1.1 Introduction to the Thesis

**Part I: An Introduction to Burchard and the *Decretum*: Considering its Historical Role and Significance**

1.2 Burchard and the *Decretum*

1.3 The Value of Burchard’s *Decretum* in Relation to the Development of Canon Law

**Part II: The Factors that Give Impetus to this Thesis and How they Relate to One Another**

1.4 The Role of the *Decretum* in Recent Work on Penance

1.5 The Significance of *Liber Vicesimus* in Relation to the Study of Early Medieval Eschatological Theology

1.6 Interpretations of the *Decretum*’s Role in Current Studies on Eschatological Exegesis

1.7.0 Research Aims and Agenda

1.7.1 Key Aims, Questions, and Relevant Issues of Interest to Address

1.7.2 Thesis Agenda
Part III: A Short Review of the Historiography of Early Medieval Eschatological Exegesis 47

1.8.0 Present Scholarship, Methodologies, and New Approaches 47

1.8.1 Notable and Recent Reviews of Scholarship 47
1.8.2 Initial Approaches of the ‘Weak Thesis’ 50
1.8.3 Criticisms, Responses, and Alternative Proposals 58
1.8.4 The Reintegration of Gregorian Exegesis 76

Chapter 2.0: The History and Interpretation of Eschatological Exegesis: Intellectual Traditions and Educational Practices, c. 33-1050AD

Part I: Eschatological Exegesis c. 33-1050AD: Key Authors, Texts, and Theological Outlooks 79

2.1.0 Exegetical History (c. 33-1050AD) 80

2.1.1 A Summary of Core New Testament Eschatological Theology 80
  2.1.1.1 Synoptic Theology 80
  2.1.1.2 Apostolic Eschatology 83

2.1.2 A Brief History of Western Eschatological Exegesis (c. 100-950AD) 87
  2.1.2.1 Post- Apostolic Eschatology in the Early Church Period (c. 100-367AD) 88
  2.1.2.2 High Patristic Era Eschatology (c. 367-430AD) 92
    2.1.2.2.1 Augustine’s Influence and Authority 96
    2.1.2.2.2 Parallel Alternative Perspectives 100
  2.1.2.3 Late Patristic, Late Antique Eschatological Exegesis (c. 430-750AD) 102
    2.1.2.3.1 Late Antique Eschatological Commentaries 104
    2.1.2.3.2 Late Antique Patristic Eschatological Exegesis 108
    2.1.2.3.3 Gregory’s Influence and Authority 112
    2.1.2.3.4 Late Antique Eschatological Exegesis 113
  2.1.2.4 Early Medieval Eschatological Exegesis (c. 750-950AD) 114
  2.1.2.5 Summation of Early Medieval Eschatological Exegesis 117

2.1.3 Late-Tenth- and Early-Eleventh Century Exegetical Texts (c. 950-1050 AD) 118

Part II: Intellectual Traditions and Educational Practices 121

2.2.0 The Study and Composition of Eschatological Text during the Early Medieval Period 121

2.2.1 The General Conditions for the Composition, Dissemination, and Transmission, of Early Medieval Text 121
2.2.1.1 Focus of Analysis

2.2.2 The Eschatological Exegeses and Discourses Generally Available to Most Western Ecclesiastics

2.2.2.1 The Range and Variety of the Eschatological Materials Inherited by Early Medieval Ecclesiastics

2.2.2.2 The Availability of Biblical Materials

2.2.2.3 Case example: Rev.

2.2.2.4 The Availability of Exegetical and Ecclesiastic Eschatological Materials

2.2.2.5 Establishing a Patristic Exegetical Basis

2.2.2.6 Educational Guides to the Study of Exegetical Texts that Treat the Subject of Eschatological Theology

2.2.2.7 The Presence of Augustine and Gregory’s Exegetical Works

2.2.2.8 The Presence of Bede’s Exegetical Works

2.2.2.9 The Core Exegetical Texts

2.2.3 Reading Religious Authority and Memory

2.2.4 Literary Style

Part III: Conclusions

2.3.0 Preliminary Conclusions

Chapter 3: The History and Context in which the Decretum was Composed

3.1.0 A Biography of Burchard

3.1.1 Introduction to Biography

3.1.2 Primary Sources

3.1.2.1 Vita Burchardi episcopi

3.1.2.2 Decretum

3.1.2.3 Lex Familiae Wormatiensis

3.1.2.4 Libellus de studio poetae qui et scolasticus

3.1.2.5 De diversitate temporum

3.1.3 Burchard’s Early Life

3.1.4 Burchard’s Education

3.1.4.1 Historical Context for Burchard’s Education

3.1.4.2 Reconstructing the Sources Burchard Studied in his Early Career

3.1.4.2.1 Reconstructing Burchard’s Education from Liber Vicesimus

3.1.4.2.2. The Role that Liber Vicesimus’ Formal Authorities Played within Contemporary Education

3.1.4.2.3 Contemporary Accounts of Burchard’s Education as Evidence for his Encounters with Fundamental Eschatological Authorities
3.1.4.2.4 The Influence of Secular Textual Sources of Burchard’s Education
3.1.4.2.5 Surmising Burchard’s Education and Influences

3.1.5 Burchard’s Adult Career
3.1.5.1 Early Ministry, Politics, and Violence at Worms
3.1.5.1.1 Burchard’s Time at St Victor
3.1.5.1.2 Secular Politics at Worms
3.1.5.2 Ecclesiastical Reforms as the Bishop of Worms and Composing the Decretum
3.1.5.2.1 Physically Reconstructing the Ecclesiastical Institutions of Worms
3.1.5.2.2 Regulating Ecclesiastical Life in Worms
3.1.5.2.3 Educating the Ecclesiastics of Worms

3.1.6 Evaluation

3.2.0 The Manuscript Traditions and Recent Editions of Burchard’s Decretum
3.2.1 Summary and Objectives of Section
3.2.2 Dating the Decretum
3.2.3 Extant Manuscripts and their Distributions
3.2.4 Examination of MS V and MS F
3.2.4.1 General Stages of Composition of MS V and MS F
3.2.4.2 The Initial Stages of Production of MS V
3.2.4.3 The Continual Revisions of MS V and MS F
3.2.5 The Authorship of the Decretum: Compilers or Complier?
3.2.6 Was Liber Vicesimus a Later Addition to an Already Planned Twenty Book Volume or a Last Minute Inclusion to a Nineteen Book Volume? What are the Implications of the Answer to This?
3.2.7 Modern Editions of Burchard’s Decretum

3.3 A Working Interpretation of the Environment in which Liber Vicesimus was Composed and the Apparent Problems that Arise from it

Chapter 4.0: The Context for the Analysis of Liber Vicesimus
4.1 Introduction to the Analysis of Liber Vicesimus
4.2.0 Approaches to the Analysis of Liber Vicesimus
4.2.1 Analytical Approach towards Liber Vicesimus
4.2.2 The Limitations of my Analysis of Liber Vicesimus
4.3.0 The General Presentation of Liber Vicesimus
4.3.1 Layout and Presentation of Liber Vicesimus
4.3.2 Canonical Sources of Liber Vicesimus
# 4.3.2 Purpose for Examining the Sources of Liber Vicesimus

4.3.2.1 Formal Sources of Liber Vicesimus  
4.3.2.2 Intended sources of Liber Vicesimus  
4.3.3 Structure and Arrangement of Liber Vicesimus

## 4.4 Overview of the Thematic Structure of Liber Vicesimus

4.4.1 The Argument: the Definitions of its Terms  
4.4.2 The Argument: Defining ‘Speculative theology’  
4.4.2.1 The Applicability of High Medieval and Modern Definitions of the Term ‘Speculative Theology’ to Determine the Focus and Structure of Liber Vicesimus  
4.4.2.2 Historical Context and Modern Understandings of the Term ‘Speculative Theology’  
4.4.2.3 The ‘Speculative’ Framework for Discourse on Moral Theology  
4.4.3 Expressing ‘the Salvation of the Soul’ in Liber Vicesimus

# Chapter 5.0: Analysis of Theme Groups One to Eight of Liber Vicesimus

5.1 Approaches towards Analysing Thematic Groups 1-8 in Liber Vicesimus  
5.2 Summation of Thematic Groups 1-8 in Liber Vicesimus  
5.3 Re-summation of the Key Points from Theme Groups 1-8 in Liber Vicesimus  
5.4 Initial Observations Regarding the Eschatological Content of Liber Vicesimus  
5.4.1 Questions to Consider at this Stage to Interpret Burchard’s Eschatology and Determine the Full Extent of Eschatological Discourse within Liber Vicesimus  
5.4.2 Signs of Eschatological Discourse in Thematic Groups 1-8 and Burchard’s Method Towards their Inclusion  
5.4.3 Characterising the Form and Nature of Burchard’s Eschatology within Theme Groups 1-8

# Chapter 6.0: Analysis of Theme Group Nine of Liber Vicesimus

6.1 Approaches towards Analysing Burchard’s Eschatology in Theme Group Nine  
6.2 Theme Group Nine’s Context in Relation to all the Previous Theme Groups
6.3 The Main Theological Content and Focus of Theme Group Nine

6.4 The ‘Incomplete’ Prophetic Structure of Theme Group Nine

6.5 The Theological Content of Theme-Group Nine’s Four Sub-Groups

6.6 Surmising the Character of the Eschatology Presented in Theme Group Nine

Chapter 7.0: Conclusions

7.1 The Internal Structure and Arrangement of Both the Subject and Canons of Liber Vicesimus

7.2 The Sources of the Canons of Liber Vicesimus

7.3.0 The Theology of Liber Vicesimus

7.3.1 The Overarching Theological Focus of Liber Vicesimus

7.3.2 The Form and Nature of the Eschatology of Liber Vicesimus

7.4.0 Contextual Implications and Resolutions from the Findings of the Analysis of Liber Vicesimus

7.4.1 Reconciling the Context and Manner in which the Decretum was Produced with the Contents of Liber Vicesimus

7.4.2 How does Liber Vicesimus relate to the Other Nineteen Books of the Decretum?

7.4.3 The Role of Liber Vicesimus in the Development of Ecclesiastical Education at Worms and its Other Audiences

7.4.4 What the Findings of the Analysis Reveal about Contemporary Eschatological Thoughts and Beliefs

7.5 How the Findings of the Thesis Impact Upon our Current Understanding of Contemporary Approaches towards the Exegesis of Eschatological Theology

7.6 Final Comments

Appendix: Redacted Translation of Decretum, Liber Vicesimus

Bibliography
Acknowledgements

There is simply no way I could have completed this thesis, an endeavour which I have found to be particularly demanding, without the care, patience, love, and support of many people and pets - most living, some dead. It is to the following that I owe an enormous debt of gratitude:

I am incredibly thankful for having had Prof. Sarah Hamilton as my PhD supervisor over the last five years. Sarah has not only been extremely generous with her time, but has afforded me a great deal of useful advice, understanding, and patience. She has also granted me several fantastic opportunities to get my foot into the world of professional academia. I could not have asked for a better mentor.

I would also like to thank Prof. Simon Barton and Dr Catherine Rider, my secondary and tertiary supervisors, for all their useful comments and criticisms of my work.

Prof. William North, at Carleton College, Minnesota, Dr. Alwyn Harrison, formerly at Exeter University, and my brother Joshua House, have my most sincere thanks for all their significant contributions towards my working translations of Burchard’s *Decretum: Liber Vicesimus* and Hoffman and Pokorny’s study of the *Decretum*. They offered a considerable amount of their time and skills without hesitation and with great enthusiasm.
I am indebted to the College of Humanities at the University of Exeter for not only awarding me a three-year doctoral bursary, but allowing me to take advantage of their yearly personal research allowance.

I also wish to recognise my friends and good acquaintances; Joe, Carpenter, Dan, Alwyn, Nick, and Sammi, for all the banter, friendship, and counsel they have given me, especially when listening to my radical socio-political theories and traditionalist-influenced philosophy.

Some of the works by the following musicians, bands, and composers, were a great source of inspiration and helped me to focus on my work during some very testing times: Bach, Beethoven, Black Sabbath, Debussy, Don Felder, Iron Maiden, Jerry Bryant, Led Zeppelin, Meatloaf, Megadeth, Metallica (pre-1991), Mozart, Pearl Jam, Ravel, Saxon, Slayer, Stravinsky, The Doors, and too many more to mention.

Whilst I cannot thank them in person, I would like to note that it has been a privilege to study and learn from the works of great, learned men such as Augustine, Gregory, Isidore, Bede, Adso, Abbo, Glaber, Wulfstan, and (especially) Burchard. Without their work this thesis would not exist.

Finally, I’d like to give my deepest thanks to Dad, Mum, Joshua, my beloved Jessica, Bess (d. 2012), and Little Jack, for their unswerving love, loyalty, and support throughout the last five years. You’re the best.
List of Plates

Fig. 1 Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 119, fol. 5v 215
Fig. 2 Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 119, fol. 104r 215
Fig. 3 Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 119, fol. 189v 216
Fig. 4 Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 119, fol. 191r 216

List of Tables

Chapter 3.0
Table x: The Textual References for the Formal Sources of all 110 Canons within Liber Vicesimus 156
Table y: Historical Breakdown of all (Extant) Decretum MSS (based on information given in the studies by Hoffmann and Pokorny, Kéry, and Austin) 186
Table z: Hoffmann and Pokorny’s Interpretation of MS V and MS F’s Stages of Production 191

Chapter 4.0
Table a: Formal Sources of Liber Vicesimus (One per Canon Discounting Formal Repeats) 225
Table b: Intended Sources of Liber Vicesimus 225
Table c: Formal Sources of Liber Decimus Quartus (Including Multiple Canon Sources) 226
Table d: Formal Sources of Liber Decimus Octavus (Including Multiple Canon Sources) 226
Table e: The Formal Sources of the Canons in Liber Vicesimus According to their Canons 230
Table f: The Formal Sources of the Canons in *Liber Vicesimus*: Their Contents, Frequency of Use within the Entire Book, and their Historical Date

Table g: The Intended Sources of the Canons in Book XX According to their Canons

Chapter 6.0

Table h: The Biblical References for the Events Discussed in the Theme Group Nine’s Sub-Groups

Table i: A Colour-Coded Comparison of the Order of Prophetic Events Inherent to Burchard’s Canons with that of Scripture and Bede’s *DTR*
### Abbreviations and Conventions

The following abbreviations are used throughout the course of this study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACW</td>
<td>Ancient Christian Writers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD</td>
<td>Anno Domini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Anno Mundi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANF</td>
<td>Ante-Nicene Fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AST</td>
<td>Anglo-Saxon Texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>Before Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BN</td>
<td>Bibliothèque Nationale de France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCSL</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCM</td>
<td>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSEL</td>
<td>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EETS</td>
<td>Early English Texts Series, Ordinary Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EETS ss</td>
<td>Early English Texts Series, Supplementary Series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>The Fathers of the Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCS NF</td>
<td>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH</td>
<td>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH AA</td>
<td>MGH Auctores antiquissimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH DD</td>
<td>MGH Diplomata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH Epp.</td>
<td>MGH Epistolae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH Ldl</td>
<td>MGH Libelli de lite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH SS</td>
<td>MGH Scriptores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH SSRG</td>
<td>MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH SSRG NS</td>
<td>MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum nova series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MGH SSRM</td>
<td>MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIC</td>
<td>Monumenta Iuris Canonici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIÖG</td>
<td><em>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>New Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OT</td>
<td>Old Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Sources Chrétiennes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRHS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Books of the Bible used in this thesis are abbreviated as follows:

All Biblical citations and references follow the Douay-Rheims Catholic Bible (DRV) unless otherwise stated.

**Old Testament (OT)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genesis</td>
<td>Gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exodus</td>
<td>Exod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus</td>
<td>Lev.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>Num.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuteronomy</td>
<td>Deut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua</td>
<td>Josh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges</td>
<td>Judg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth</td>
<td>Ruth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4 Kings</td>
<td>1-4 Kings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 Chron.</td>
<td>1-2 Chron.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esdras</td>
<td>Esd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah</td>
<td>Neh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esther</td>
<td>Esth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>Job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>Psa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proverbs</td>
<td>Prov.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastes</td>
<td>Eccles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song of Solomon</td>
<td>In Cant. Cant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisdom</td>
<td>Wisd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiasticus</td>
<td>Ecclus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah</td>
<td>Isa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah</td>
<td>Jer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamentations</td>
<td>Lam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baruch</td>
<td>Bar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezekiel</td>
<td>Ezek.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>Dan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osee</td>
<td>Hos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel</td>
<td>Joel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos</td>
<td>Amos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obadiah</td>
<td>Obad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonas</td>
<td>Jon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micheas</td>
<td>Mic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahum</td>
<td>Nah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habacuc</td>
<td>Hab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sophonias</td>
<td>Zeph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggeus</td>
<td>Hag.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zacharias</td>
<td>Zch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malachi</td>
<td>Mal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Machabees</td>
<td>1 Mac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Machabees</td>
<td>2 Mac.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**New Testament (NT)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>Matt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark</td>
<td>Mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acts</td>
<td>Acts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romans</td>
<td>Rom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st-2nd Cor.</td>
<td>1st-2nd Cor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galatians</td>
<td>Gal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephesians</td>
<td>Eph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippians</td>
<td>Phil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colossians</td>
<td>Col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st-2nd Thessalonians</td>
<td>Col.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st-2nd Timothy</td>
<td>1 Cor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Titus</td>
<td>Titus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philemon</td>
<td>Philem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrews</td>
<td>Heb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st-2nd Peter</td>
<td>1st-2nd Pet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jude</td>
<td>Jude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revelation of St. John</td>
<td>Rev.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16
Definitions

Below, I have provided brief definitions for the various specialist terms that will be used within this thesis. Despite the widespread use of these concepts by historians there is some difference of opinion regarding their exact meaning. As such, I have set out below how I understand them.

*Eschatology:* The belief and study in the last things to occur at the end of time. This is the basic spiritual concern of how and when to prepare for death, judgement, and heaven or hell. Specifically, this relates to how and when God will judge every human soul to have ever existed (after the resurrection), to determine where they will spend their afterlife.

*Apocalyptic(ism):* The belief that the end of time is not only an ontological certainty, but also imminent. *This can range from a few days to a few decades or centuries,* yet the idea remains that one is living in a period directly *preceding* the end of time. All eschatologically-relevant phenomena are widely viewed to be occurring, or about to occur, in this time, whereas before this point it is believed that they were not present. The *Revelation of St John* is generally considered to be the Ur-example of an apocalyptic text within the Christian canon.

*Pro-Apocalyptic(ism):* I have used this term to convey the idea that an author, or group of authors, appear to be *qualitatively* expressing, through contextual reference(s), the belief that the end of time is *temporally* close, but without specifying a specific date or time for its occurrence.
**Agnosticism:** In this context the belief that the end of time is not impending, or cannot be known by mankind. Essentially, all readings of any orthodox, eschatological text, especially the Bible should be allegorical in nature.

**Millennialism:** This is a form of apocalyptic eschatology. It is the belief that at the end of the thousand-year cycle (an age of the earth), after the sixth age of the earth, the rule of Christ on earth or ‘penultimate age’ is expected to occur and last for a thousand years, or a millennium, before the final judgement takes place.

**Millenarianism/Chiliasm:** A nuanced form of millennialism in which the second coming of Christ brings about a millennial age of material (materialist) peace as the world’s ruler. This will be accomplished by stripping society of its imperfections, such as violence, oppression and suffering. This belief is somewhat political as the inadequacies in society are seen to stem from the wicked ruling classes, who will be swiftly eradicated by the rule of Jesus and the saints.

**Ethical:** Being in accordance with the rules, or principles of conduct, that govern the correct practice of any given profession.
Chapter 1.0

Introduction: The Context and Focus of the Thesis

1.1 Introduction to the Thesis

The late-tenth- to early-eleventh-century has long been identified by scholars as an important stage in the development of early medieval eschatological thought. The debates and discussions surrounding this particular subject are predominantly grounded upon the rhetoric and ideas contained within a distinctive range of eschatological, and eschatologically-themed, texts that were produced during this period (c. 950-1050AD). However, there is one extant contemporary work that extensively engages with eschatological exegesis which has not been noticed, or analysed, to any significant degree: Bishop Burchard of Worms’ *Decretum, Liber Vicesimus*. This is important for two key reasons: Firstly, both Burchard and the *Decretum* are well known and widely discussed in many other fields of inquiry, primarily canon law and the practice of penance. Secondly, the *Decretum* was a very popular and widely circulated legal compendium that was frequently utilised and adapted by both ecclesiastics and institutions across central Europe well into the late-

---

1 See sections 1.7, 1.8.0, and 2.1.3 for discussions and debates on the key eschatological, and eschatologically-themed, texts produced during this particular period.


3 See section 1.4 for a discussion on the role of the *Decretum* within recent work on the subject of penance.
twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries. As an important and influential collection, detailed study of its twentieth and final book, *Liber Vicesimus*, therefore has the potential to offer new perspective on the underlying form and character of early medieval eschatological thoughts and beliefs. This thesis will therefore seek to contextualise in a number of ways both Burchard, as a churchmen and scholar, and his *Decretum*, and then analyse the *Liber Vicesimus*, so that we are able to better understand how and for what purpose, eschatological exegesis was taught, interpreted, constructed, and transmitted by ecclesiastics to their intended audiences at this time.

*Part I: An Introduction to Burchard and the Decretum: Considering its Historical Role and Significance*

1.2 Burchard and the Decretum

The *Decretum* of Bishop Burchard of Worms (c. 950–1025), is widely acknowledged to have been one of the most influential canon law collections produced in Western Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Compiled c. 1012-1023, Burchard’s extensive compilation of legal texts was ambitious in its scope, size, and structure. Consisting of one thousand, seven hundred and eighty five canons systematically organised into twenty topically distinct books, the *Decretum* is a substantial, codified guide that was designed to inform its readers on an encyclopaedic

---

4 See section 3.2.3 for discussions on the dissemination and transmission of the *Decretum*.
6 See section 3.2.2 for discussions on the dates for the composition of the *Decretum*. 
range of Church rules. Generally speaking, the topics discussed within each of the Decretum’s books cover the legal issues pertaining to one of four key areas of Church jurisprudence: the structure and organisation of the Church; its rights as an independent secular institution; the correct interpretation of Christian theology and practice, focusing on the administration of the sacraments; and the nature of morality in relation to lay behaviour. Due to its widespread popularity, deceptively simplistic, yet elegantly cohesive content, and broad thematic focus, the Decretum is more than just an innovative legal document that profoundly influenced the form and function of the canon law collections that preceded it. It is a platform from which we can observe the diverse range of pastoral, practical, and theological needs and beliefs, of not only Burchard, but those of his collaborators, many of his ecclesiastical contemporaries, and through them, the Christian laity to whom they ministered. The Decretum is a product of the considerable intellect and extraordinary vision of one of the foremost legal, political, and academic, minds of the age.

1.3 The Value of Burchard’s Decretum in Relation to the Development of Canon Law

Liber Vicesimus has attracted scant attention from scholars to date. As the following review of the historiography suggests, research on the Decretum thus far has been mainly preoccupied with establishing the role of the entire volume within the development of medieval canon law and understanding the reason for its immense popularity through investigating how it was used within the communities where it was read.

---

8 Ibid., 15-16.
It is widely accepted that Burchard’s *Decretum* was the first collection to delineate (almost) the entirety of canon law into a consistent, manageable reference handbook for everyday use. The authoritative collections which circulated widely in Western Europe prior to its composition, works including the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* (Saec. VIII), *Pseudo-Isidorus Mercator, Decretales* (Saec. IX\textsuperscript{mid}), and Regino of Prüm’s (d. 915) *Libri Duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis* (c. 906), featured various organisational flaws that made them incredibly difficult resources to use when searching for clear, authoritative answers to the sorts of legal questions likely to be commonly asked by practitioners, or students of church law. Essentially, these earlier canonical collections suffered from either trying to incorporate a huge, unwieldy number of poorly codified canons, or presenting only a relatively limited range of sources, some with inadequate, or disputed theological authority. These issues meant that most contemporary canonical collections tended to either be so large and comprehensive in their design that they would inadvertently produce contradictory legal advice on multiple subjects of church law, which made it very difficult to find a clear solution to a particular issue, or were too specific in their subject matter to be practical for general purposes. They also tended to be written

---


for those with an advanced understanding of church law. For instance, Regino of Prüm’s *Libri Duo*, a canonical collection from Lotharingia, featured a wide range of contemporary, yet discordant, conflicting canons.\(^{12}\) This type of arrangement was deliberately chosen so that the reader, who was presumed to be highly learned in law already, could select the most appropriate canons for the particular legal issues they were dealing with at any given time.

Quite unlike its predecessors, the *Decretum* was envisaged by Burchard, in part, to be a practical resource that provided clear, complementary, authoritative answers to legal questions that would typically be asked by a wide range of ecclesiastics and laypersons concerning an array of theological topics.\(^{13}\) He achieved these goals by first, limiting the amount of authoritative sources of canons from which he cited in the *Decretum*. Then, Burchard utilised this select pool of canons to provide the broadest possible set of thematic Church principles that could be applied, or adapted, to most situations that required legal answers.\(^{14}\) Burchard thus drew from a compact range of more ancient, widely established biblical, patristic, papal, and councilial texts in the *Decretum*. For example, over one third (c. 600) of the *Decretum*’s canons are drawn from just the writings of the eight highly influential patristic authors what are listed in the preface (in the following order): St Gregory, St Jerome, St Augustine, St Ambrose, St Benedict, St Isidore and Bede.\(^{15}\) To draw a quick comparison, only six percent of


\(^{13}\) Austin, *Shaping Church Law Around the Year 1000*, 16; C. Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres*, 59.


the canons which feature in Regino’s *Libri Duo* can be attributed to these particular patristic authorities, as he predominantly used canons from sixth- to ninth-century European church councils, such as the Fourth Council of Toledo (633) or the Council of Meaux (845). In her recent study, Greta Austin has demonstrated that Burchard edited the *Decretum* to ensure that all the canons in each book were theologically harmonious with one another, thereby enabling any ecclesiastic with a basic, rather than advanced, level of knowledge, to utilise each the canons they wished in any particular legal context, without having to first reconcile disparities or conflicts. [In this respect Austin’s work confirms the seminal analysis of Paul Fournier, that the *Decretum*’s popularity can be explained by its practicality within a pastoral context, but she rejects his assertion that Burchard composed it without an underlying, or guiding, ‘theory of law’.]

Burchard innovated not only in the way he compiled the *Decretum* and intended it to be used, but in its scope which is much wider than that of previous collections. For example, the late-ninth century northern Italian *Collectio canonum Anselmo dedicata* (c. 882-896), was aimed just at bishops, covering twelve subjects, all of which would only be of interest to the episcopate, such as ‘Synods’, ‘The Life of Clerics’, ‘Monks and Nuns’, whereas Burchard’s *Decretum* provides rules for some twenty topics, many of which meet the multifaceted needs of a much wider group of secular clerics, with books on ‘Homicide’, ‘Fornication’, and ‘Consanguinity’. Burchard had

---

produced a very different kind of reference text to its predecessors: it was flexibly arranged, yet detailed enough to enable a vast variety, rather than small minority, of clerics to determine answers to newly emerging legal problems.

Part II: The Factors that Give Impetus to this Thesis and How they Relate to One Another

1.4 The Role of the Decretum in Recent work on Penance

It has been posited by historians including Kerff, Kottje, Hamilton, Körntgen, and Meens, that Burchard developed some of the topics and contents of his books to provide his ecclesiastics with the basis for the necessary training to administer some of their practical pastoral duties.\(^\text{19}\) This perspective has principally, but not exclusively, been supported by the contents and format of the Decretum in three key places. The first is in the preface to the Decretum, wherein Burchard states very clearly that existing texts (specifically, ‘statements of the holy fathers, from the canons, and from diverse penitentials’), fail to ‘prescribe for each and every offence the gravity of the sin and the amount of time for doing penance… in order to tell for

individual cases how each sin should be corrected’. The second is the premise of book nineteen, titled the *Corrector and Medicus* (*Corrector* for short), in which Burchard states that the book ‘deals with the corrections of bodies and the medicines of souls, and teaches each and every priest, even the simple, how and in what measure he is able to help each and every one’. And the third is the entirety of the *Corrector*, the penultimate book of the *Decretum*, which Burchard devoted to the subject of penance. Specifically, the *Corrector* is a substantial penitential handbook which provides a detailed and extensive series of questions that a confessor would typically put to a penitent seeking contrition. Clearly these particular passages, in conjunction with the unique content and structure of book nineteen, indicate Burchard’s belief that his clerical audience should use their knowledge for the benefit of others in a practical setting, especially in relation to the practice of penance.

Yet the manner in which Burchard intended the *Corrector*, and to a lesser extent, the *Decretum* as a whole, to function and be used by ecclesiastics, has been the subject of considerable debate. For instance, Hamilton believes that the *Corrector* was designed and intended to be used as a reference tool for both Burchard and his clerical community to administer, and teach young clerics about, penance, but not as a direct aid for the practice of penance by priests. Contrasting, Körntgen contends that, in

---

20 Preface, 99-100.
22 Although Burchard stated that all known pre-existing penitentials do not prescribe for enough eventualities on a range of subject, he still borrowed extensively from Regino’s text. In fact, as Hamilton, Körntgen, and Austin, have highlighted, Burchard in many respects simply lifted the majority of Regino’s canons and thematic framework and then developed it in more detail by adding more questions. See, Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance*, 900-1050, 25-33; L. Körntgen, ‘Fortschreibung frühmittelalterlicher Bußpraxis. Burchards “Liber corrector” und seine Quellen’, in W. Hartmann, (ed.), *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte*, 100 (Mainz, 2000), 211-213; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 39-43.
actually, the Corrector was designed as an ‘exemplary penitential’ that would not only function as ‘practical tool’ for the practice of penance by his clerical community, but a summary of ‘the content of the preceding eighteen books’.\(^\text{24}\) In essence, with the possible exception of Liber Vicesimus, the entire Decretum was designed to operate both as a ‘disguised’ penitential and a repository for canon law.\(^\text{25}\) Meens has recently echoed this perspective by asserting that the Corrector’s long questionnaire served to frame all the canonical material of the previous eighteen books of the Decretum within a ‘penitential setting’.\(^\text{26}\) In this respect the Corrector acted as a ‘culmination of the whole work’ as it (the Decretum) was ‘subservient to a penitential use’.\(^\text{27}\) The general implication of these arguments is that either pastoral care was the central focus of the Decretum - and that penance was simply a relevant subject Burchard wanted his ecclesiastics to be educated about, or that the entire volume, in principle, operated as an extended penitential, so as to practically aid ecclesiastics in their pastoral duties.

As there is currently no definitive sense of whether penance defined the fundamental character and purpose of the Decretum, there is a need to examine Burchard’s pastoral concerns, as most scholars agree that it does have a strong bearing upon the intended purpose and function of the text. If one considers that the theological purpose for practicing penance and pastoral care was, ultimately, to enable individuals to attain salvation, then it is likely that there is an underlying spiritual dynamic, or core, to the volume, which has, so far, been neglected. Liber Vicesimus’s focus on last things therefore offered Burchard an opportunity to explain to his audiences the overall point

\(^{24}\) Ibid., 103-106, 113.
\(^{26}\) Meens, Penance in Medieval Europe, 148-151.
\(^{27}\) Ibid., 148-150.
behind the practice of penance, and other pastoral duties. Exploring the concerns of *Liber Vicesimus* therefore has the potential to modify current understandings of the intended functionality and utility of the entire collection, including the *Corrector*, particularly when we factor in the place of *Liber Vicesimus* as the final book in the entire collection. As we shall see, my own reading of *Liber Vicesimus*, particularly in chapters 3.0-6.0 below, suggests that it is more plausible to interpret all the books of the *Decretum* as primarily intended as educational aids for ecclesiastics, on certain theological topics, of which penance, or ‘penitential theology’, was but one.

### 1.5 The Significance of *Liber Vicesimus* in Relation to the Study of Early Medieval Eschatological Theology

It is quite clear that the work of other scholars has, by situating the *Decretum* in the context of the development of canon law, including that of penitentials, helped to identify both its historical novelty and some of Burchard’s motives and intentions in compiling his collection. But one of the *Decretum*’s most striking aspects is the inclusion of a book concerned with explaining the form and nature of key issues and events that pertain to eschatology, such as ‘the advent of Antichrist, his works, the resurrection, day of judgement, damnation, and the felicity of eternal life’.28 *Liber Vicesimus*, aptly titled, ‘the Speculator’, is the earliest extant canon law text to directly, or extensively codify the exegesis of eschatology.29 Whilst the inclusion of the phrase, or subject, of either the Second Coming of Christ or the Day of Judgement (*Die judicii*) occurs within certain classical or early medieval canonical collections, they were only used to explicate upon non-eschatological issues. For instance, the

---

28 [Preface, 103; Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1017B.](#)
29 See chapter 4.0 for a discussion of the terms used by Burchard to describe the title, argument, and theme, of *Liber Vicesimus*.  

---

28
chapter titled ‘On incontinent clerics’ (*De Clericis incontinentibus*), within the *Epistola decretalis Papae Siricii* of Dionysius Exiguus (c. 470-544) explicitly refers to the day of judgement and the return of Christ when discussing the theological need for clerical sexual purity. What is most curious about *Liber Vicesimus* is not only that it is the first codified legal guide to what were considered to be relevant eschatological issues, but the fact that Burchard states in the preface that he selected the canons for each book in the *Decretum* that were ‘necessary for our time’. This is quite an enigmatic phrase that requires consideration. In what way was the inclusion of a book of eschatological canons, in addition to their content and presentation, ‘necessary’ to the composition of the *Decretum*? It is feasible that Burchard may have selected the canons which feature in *Liber Vicesimus* to ensure a greater degree of practicality and theological consistency to the study and practice of canon law in order to facilitate the attainment of salvation. Perhaps Burchard included *Liber Vicesimus* not only to consolidate the salvific function of the *Decretum* (by explaining all ‘final things’ at the end of the collection), but to set the tone for eschatological expectations and beliefs within his community? Or, given that the *Decretum* was composed in what some historians contend to be an especially eschatologically sensitive period (the millennial anniversary of the incarnation and passion of Christ, c. 1000-1033), it may be that that *Liber Vicesimus* was, in actual fact, an expression of the eschatological thoughts and beliefs of Burchard and his community. Considering the multifunctional, overlapping nature of the impetuses behind the composition of the text, and its various intended purposes, these possibilities need to be thoroughly  

---

31 Preface, 104.  
32 See section 1.8.0 for discussions concerning interpretations of the form and nature of eschatological thoughts and beliefs during the late-tenth and early-eleventh century.
explored by analysing both the text of *Liber Vicesimus* and the context of its composition.

1.6 Interpretations of the *Decretum*’s Role in Current Studies on Eschatological Exegesis

No historian interested in the development of early medieval eschatological exegesis, or apocalyptic thought, has examined the way in which the form, nature, and events surrounding God’s final salvation are portrayed within *Liber Vicesimus* in any detail.\(^{33}\) At first glance, there would appear to be a very obvious reason for this oversight: the first nineteen books of the *Decretum* (excluding the preface) do not explicitly refer to the subject of eschatology in any way.\(^{34}\) The absence of any overt engagement with eschatology in these nineteen books could explain why scholars have simply viewed the whole work as a legal text concerned with subjects that are practical and administrative in nature.\(^{35}\) Indeed, this particular understanding of the *Decretum* is conveyed through Sylvain Gouguenheim’s use of the *Corrector* to critique the (then emerging) ‘weak thesis’ position (on the nature of early medieval apocalyptic beliefs) within *Les fausses terreurs de l’an mil* (1999).\(^{36}\) Specifically, Gouguenheim stated that the *Corrector* was a ‘rationalist’ text that not only reflected Burchard’s

\(^{33}\) See section 1.8.0, chapter 2.0, and the bibliography, to review the literature I have consulted to make this observation.

\(^{34}\) *Decretorum libri viginti*, PL 140:541-1014C.

\(^{35}\) See sections 1.2-1.4 to review the current studies that explore the role of the *Decretum* within the context of early medieval canon law and penance. Additionally, all of Burchard’s other extant writings, of which there are only two pieces, are completely non-apocalyptic in scope as well. For details and discussions on these texts see section 3.1.0. Also see E. Peters, *The Magician, the Witch, and the Law* (Philadelphia, 1978), 71-74.

‘pedagogical concern’ to simply make the faithful aware of ‘the works and beliefs necessary to their salvation’, but the need for prelates to ‘eradicate superstitious and magical behaviour’, such as ‘a sense of urgency born of the approaching end of the world’.  

Evidently both the Decretum in general and the Corrector in particular have been cited to discuss the form and nature of early medieval eschatology, but only in relation to ecclesiastical approaches to penance and to the denouncement of popular superstitions. There is no clear indication that Gouguenheim had any awareness of Liber Vicesimus or its eschatological contents.

However, it is commonly acknowledged that the extant sources available to historians interested in early medieval eschatological exegesis, especially late-tenth and early-eleventh century apocalypticism, are scarce. As such it is quite peculiar that scholars have passed up the opportunity to use or examine such an extensive eschatological piece with a phenomenally pastoral bent as Liber Vicesimus, especially when some have demonstrated an awareness of its contents and purpose. For instance, when discussing the influence of Julian of Toledo’s (c. 624-690) Prognosticum futuri saeculi in early-eleventh century Aquitaine, Richard Landes explicitly noted that ‘…Burchard of Worms (ca. 1012) made the unprecedented addition of a section on orthodox eschatology to a canonical collection that, if it did not use Julian’s work, drew on the same sources (Isidore and Gregory, Collection canonum, 93-110, PL 140:1052-1058)’. Similarly, David C. van Meter, when explaining the role of the Antichrist as a prominent eschatological theme in eleventh century literati circles, noted that it (Antichrist) was also ‘drawn upon… by Burchard of Worms in his Liber

As these two passages indicate, some historians have recognised the eschatological exegetical materials that Liber Vicesimus was constructed upon and some of the key eschatological issues it engages with. But they have not offered any analysis of the text beyond this point: indeed mention of Burchard’s work in these two particular passages was relegated by both authors to footnotes. In fact, when one considers the extensive size and - as we shall see in chapter 3.0 - widespread popularity of the Decretum, the study of its theology, along with its impact, dissemination, and transmission amongst ecclesiastics and lay audiences, has the potential be one of the most revealing texts about eschatological exegesis, as well as apocalyptic thoughts and beliefs, endorsed by clerical communities at this time.

So why have scholars of early medieval eschatology passed over the opportunity to develop their arguments using Liber Vicesimus? There are two plausibly defensible explanations. The first may be the logical consequence of the focus of scholarship prior to this point. As we will observe in section 1.8.0 and chapter 2.0, throughout the history of the study of early medieval eschatological exegesis and apocalyptic thought (c. 400-1050), most historians appear to have concentrated on examining West Frankish and Anglo-Saxon sources. The reason for this stems from the simple fact that the majority of eschatological, or eschatologically themed, texts composed during this period are of West Frankish or Anglo-Saxon origin. In fact, the extant West Frankish and Anglo-Saxon eschatological works composed between c. 950-1050 outnumber

---


40 I refer the reader to the texts discussed in section 1.8.0, chapter 2.0, and the extended list of primary sources in the bibliography.
those by East Frankish or Italian authors by a factor of (approximately) eight.\textsuperscript{41} Such a striking disparity suggests that either the composition of eschatological texts was not as common in East Frankia as it was in West Frankia and England, or that East Frankish eschatological texts have not had the same rates of survival.\textsuperscript{42} At the same time, there is an underlying understanding that some of the most dramatic transformative events which took place in Western Europe from the late-eighth- to the early-twelfth century, such as the Carolingian Renaissance, the Peace and Truce of God initiatives, intermittent widespread religious and political reforms, and the (initial) Crusades, not only originated (largely) in West Frankia, but were influenced, in part, by eschatological thoughts and beliefs of an apocalyptic nature.\textsuperscript{43} Due to the

\textsuperscript{41}My calculations are based on the earliest extant incidence of the eschatological and eschatologically-themed literature from this period that I have consulted. I have not accounted for all the copies or variations of each work. It is also worth noting that there is no up-to-date or fully comprehensive list of all the relevant literature from this period. However I refer the reader to the following work by Richard Landes as it still constitutes one of the most extensive lists of the primary literature: Landes, ‘The Apocalyptic Dossier: 967-1033’, at: http://www.bu.edu/mille/scholarship/1000/1000-dos.html (Last visited: 31/06/15).

\textsuperscript{42}It is also worth noting that this apparent discrepancy may be due to East Frankish literary culture having emerged in the late eighth century, which is much later than the traditions of Anglo-Saxon England or West Frankia.

conflation of the provenance of the textual evidence with the historical views regarding the motivation of these particular events, most historiographical debates concerning the form and nature of these phenomena have been naturally directed towards West Frankia and England. It may be that Landes and Van Meter, and any others who had (unwritten) knowledge of this text, did not believe that Burchard’s eschatology, as presented within a legal text, had any significant bearing on the core issues of their arguments concerning the predominantly (West) Frankish nature of contemporary eschatological theology and its relationship with certain socio-political events.

The second explanation may be a result of the poor awareness historians have had of canon law studies and the inadequate availability of Burchard’s work. Indeed, the reason Burchard’s Decretum has received little attention from most modern medieval scholars (excluding canon lawyers), is probably due to the relatively meagre interest that the subject of medieval canon law has received from non-specialists until recent decades. For instance, the first complete detailed palaeographical analysis and overview of the Decretum was not published until 1991, which is, approximately the same time that rebuttals to the ‘anti-terrors’ (of the year 1000) school began to emerge. Furthermore, the most recent, in-depth analysis of the Decretum’s canons, and extended discussion of Burchard’s reasoning for their selection, was not published


44 Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 1-18.
45 Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms. See section 1.8.0 for a review and discussion of the historiography of medieval eschatology and apocalyptic thought.
until 2009 by Austin.\(^{46}\) The studies previously utilised by scholars, which were conducted by French historians Fransen, Fournier and Le Bras, were published between forty - and just over - one hundred years ago, and do not take account of the immense palaeographical information that is now available through Hoffmann and Pokorny’s seminal study.\(^{47}\) Certainly, Austin and, to a lesser degree, Brundage and Rolker have made some minor comments about the content and purpose of Liber Vicesimus.\(^{48}\) However these comments cannot be considered to constitute a formal, extensive and developed examination of the text as they are fleeting observations that were made within the context of discussions about other themes and issues pertaining either to the Decretum, or the legal works of Ivo of Chartres (d. 1115). Furthermore, they have not explained the reasoning behind some of the terms they have employed to describe the thematic focus of the Liber Vicesimus (i.e. ‘speculative theology’). The absence of scholarship, when coupled with the absence of a modern edition, let alone a translation, is compounded by the specialist nature of the text. Indeed, Austin has gone so far to suggest that most canon law collections are, by their nature, ‘more forbidding (in size) than theological commentaries’, which can often be off-putting to non-specialists (i.e. non-canon lawyers).\(^{49}\) Furthermore as there are very ‘few reliable printed editions and few translations of medieval church law’, in comparison to other forms of medieval text, say theological treatises or charters, most of the primary materials are not in an easily accessible state.\(^{50}\) Nor is the subject of canon law at all easy to interpret without specialist knowledge and training.

\(^{46}\) Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000.
\(^{47}\) In other words, their work was outmoded in part, for over twenty years (1991-2009), before being updated. So as we can see, before these newer works were produced, the availability of Burchard’s work was largely limited to its modern editions in the PL or MGH SS, and a small selection of partial, or older studies found in monographs and journals.
\(^{48}\) Brundage, Medieval Canon Law, 33; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 11, 15-16, 225-227, 233; Rolker, Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres, 77, 79, 173-174, 252.
\(^{49}\) Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 33.
\(^{50}\) Ibid., 33.
The identification of these two problems leads to the conclusion that, in all likelihood, the poor general awareness of Liber Vicesimus by historians of early medieval eschatology is simply due to its limited availability. This lack of awareness may also be compounded by the strong Franco-centric focus of the current historiographical debates on late-tenth and early-eleventh century eschatological theology.

1.7.0 Research Aims and Agenda

There are currently significant limitations on our knowledge regarding the basic contents and structure of Liber Vicesimus, its function and purpose within the Decretum as a whole (especially its relationship to the Corrector), in addition to its place within the development of early medieval eschatological exegesis. As such, I will now set out and explain the key questions and issues that need to be addressed in order to expand our understanding of Liber Vicesimus, and which will allow us to integrate it successfully within the relevant areas of historiographical discourse (1.7.1). Then, I will delineate the processes that will be undertaken in order to realise these aims in the succeeding sections and chapters of the thesis (1.7.2).

1.7.1 Key Aims, Questions, and Relevant Issues of Interest to Address

The first aim is to establish a working understanding of the contents and structure of Liber Vicesimus. Specifically, I will provide detailed explanations to the following fundamental questions: What are the contents of Liber Vicesimus? Are its canons structured in any way? What are its key features? What are the principal authorities and sources used in this legal text? How does Liber Vicesimus relate to the other
books of the *Decretum*? How was its content influenced by Burchard, his team of compilers, and the socio-political context in which it was composed? How was it likely intended to influence its intended audience? What were the processes by which *Liber Vicesimus* was initially composed, and how does this contribute towards our understanding of its function and utility?

Secondly, what is Burchard’s significance in relation to the development of early medieval eschatological exegesis within Western Europe? Is Burchard presenting an orthodox, conventional, approach to eschatology? Or, is he offering his audiences an entirely unique, or potentially heretical, understanding of the subject? Currently these fundamental questions are almost impossible to answer as we only have a few, very short sentences and notes from which to speculate about Burchard’s likely eschatological outlook, and the relationship of *Liber Vicesimus* to long-term and contemporary exegetical traditions.\(^5\) Consequently we need to reconcile *Liber Vicesimus* with the historiography and history of early medieval eschatological exegesis. This will enable us to situate it within its relevant intellectual context, which will reveal the prominent exegeses that are most likely to have influenced Burchard’s eschatological outlook. Thus having analysed the content and structure of *Liber Vicesimus*, we will then be able to fully ascertain the theological orientation and impact of Burchard’s work, alongside its relationship to certain exegetical trends. Furthermore, we will be able to begin to establish substantively the relationship between penance and eschatology within the *Decretum*, and how this would likely influence Burchard’s audiences in the administration of pastoral care.

\(^5\) See sections 1.6 and 4.4.1 for discussions on *Liber Vicesimus* within the current historiography.
Thirdly, does *Liber Vicesimus* constitute an exegetical text? Or is it simply an eschatologically-themed legal text that cites from existing exegetical works and authorities? The fact that *Liber Vicesimus* was the first legal work to engage with eschatological exegesis strongly indicates that Burchard did not draw *Liber Vicesimus*’ eschatological canons from other canonical collections, but direct from eschatological works. As such, we need to ascertain the key types of exegetical texts composed throughout the history of early medieval eschatological thought, and then determine if Burchard’s understanding and utility of eschatological exegesis has any parity with the textual structures and theology exhibited in any of them. By doing this we will be able to see if Burchard adopted or adapted a traditional, or common, didactic framework within which to set his own eschatological canons, or if they were simply extracted from certain exegetical works without any apparent methodological or theological underpinning.

Fourthly, in what way does *Liber Vicesimus*’ s engagement with eschatological exegesis develop current historiographical conceptions of the underlying exegetical and hermeneutic traditions that shaped contemporary eschatological discourse? Currently, the approaches used by historians to interpret the dynamics of late-tenth and early-eleventh century apocalyptic thought, are predicated upon the fact that, with very few exceptions, ecclesiastics did not produce any exegetical texts, or any other works that exclusively treat the subject of eschatology.\(^{52}\) Broadly speaking, eschatological discourse during this period appears to be heavily blended with socio-political, historical, or religious, issues in very complex, nuanced, and idiosyncratic ways. Moreover, the exegetical authorities or source(s) that shaped eschatological

\(^{52}\) Instead of listing all the relevant literature here, I direct the reader to sections 1.8.0 and 2.1.3 where the studies conducted on this central issue are discussed in greater detail.
rhetoric or outlook are not explicitly stated within many of these texts. For example, in his popular homily *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (hereinafter *Sermo Lupi*, c. 1009-1013/1014), Wulfstan of York (d. 1023) lamented the current political and moral state of England, whilst seeming to proclaim the end of the world:

‘Beloved men, know that which is true: this world is in haste and it nears the end. And therefore things in this world go ever the longer the worse, and so it must needs be that things quickly worsen, on account of people's sinning from day to day, before the coming of Antichrist. And indeed it will then be awful and grim widely throughout the world’.\(^{53}\)

Similarly, Ademar of Chabannes (c. 989-1034), in his *Chronicon Aquitanicum et Francicum* (hereinafter *Chronicon*, c. 1028), recorded that the key events which took place in Limoges during the year 1010 included eschatological portents:

‘In these times there appeared signs in the stars, harmful droughts, excessive rains, great plagues, terrible famines, and numerous eclipses of the sun and the moon, and the river Vienne dried up for two miles around Limoges for three nights’.\(^{54}\)

---


In both instances Wulfstan and Ademar evoked some of the key figures and phenomena inherent to Christian eschatology to express their perceptions of recent events, but they did not critically explain their interpretation and meaning, or specifically from where they derived their theological ideas. As such we are left wondering: Are their comments purely stylistic? Were they re-iterating a traditional exegetical perspective on eschatology? Or, were they expressing a unique approach towards interpreting apocalyptic scripture? The general ambiguity of the comments made across the extant eschatological literature makes it very difficult to definitively situate their respective author’s outlooks within any known exegetical tradition. In response to this collective problem, most historians have had to infer or anticipate the basis for contemporary eschatology from earlier exegetical works and traditions (c. 400-950), and then explain the how contemporary texts conform to their theoretical models. As we will see in section 1.8.0, the lack of a critical eschatological exegesis from this period has led to the development of competing schools of thought that have very distinct interpretations of the mindset that guided the textual expression of eschatological rhetoric. In each case, there are distinct implications concerning the role and significance of eschatology within medieval life. Remarkably, Liber Vicesimus has the potential to change the way historians approach this issue because it does explicitly list all the exegetical sources and authorities which Burchard used to construct all its canons. If analysis reveals that Burchard provided his audiences with a substantive, or ‘pure’, exegesis with which to interpret eschatology, then Liber Vicesimus could offer historians a foundation with which to more accurately discern the general development of early medieval exegetical traditions. In turn, this would enable them to better understand the intellectual parameters for the textual expression

55 See my analysis of Liber Vicesimus in chapters 4.0-6.0 to observe all the exegetical sources that Burchard drew on to construct his canons.
of eschatological rhetoric, and its meaning(s), within contemporary eschatological, or eschatologically-themed, works.

1.7.2 Thesis Agenda

In light of these research tasks, the remainder of the thesis will proceed as follows in order to address them in a logical and thorough fashion:

In **Part III** of chapter 1.0, I will review the historiography of early medieval eschatological exegesis and, to a lesser extent, apocalyptic thought (1.8.0). Initially, I will outline the seminal and most comprehensive scholarship on the historiography of the subject (1.8.1). This is so that the reader can understand why my discussions will be very selective in many respects. Then, I will provide a limited exposition of the key ideas of the individuals that established the current methodological and theoretical basis for the interpretation of eschatological exegesis and its traditions (1.8.2). Special attention will be given towards explaining the value and influence of the early work of Johannes Fried and Richard Landes in response to the ‘anti-terrors’ school. The reason for doing so is that their seminal studies on late-tenth and early-eleventh century eschatology have significantly impacted upon the way many historians interpret the underlying exegetical authorities, texts, and theologies, that governed the expression of orthodox eschatology in earlier centuries. Afterwards I will set out some of the leading responses and counter-proposals to these models, such as those presented by Bernard McGinn, Conrad Leyser, Dominique Barthélemy, Hans-Henning Kortüm, Hannes Möhring, Jean Flori, and James Palmer, in addition to

---

56 As these issues are so intimately related it is not impossible to separate the discussion of one from the other, my approach has been to treat both simultaneously whilst laying emphasis on the historiography of eschatological exegesis.
other recent research developments, and explain how they also influence our understanding of the subject (1.8.3). The review will conclude by discussing how Bernard McGinn’s ‘psychological imminence’, Conrad Leyser’s ‘ethical apocalyptic tradition’, and James Palmer’s ‘Augustinian-Gregorian matrix’ hypothetical models offer the best route towards interpreting the exegetical influences which are most likely to have shaped Burchard’s eschatology, and how they have my shaped my own approach towards the analysis of Liber Vicesimus (1.8.4).

Chapter 2.0 will broadly establish the historical development and intellectual traditions of early medieval eschatological exegesis, in addition to discerning the authors and sources that are most likely to have shaped and influenced late-tenth- and early-eleventh century Western European ecclesiastics’ interpretation of eschatology during their formative years and adult careers.

In Part I, I will provide a broad overview of the history of orthodox eschatological exegesis amongst Western ecclesiastics from its inception up to the first millennium (c. 33-1050AD), whilst highlighting its key features (2.1.0). In Part II, I will first set out the general (non-specific) conditions for the study of eschatological and eschatologically-themed texts within Western Europe during the early medieval period (2.2.1). Then, I will determine the essential didactic texts that are both cited and most likely to have been available to, and read by, ecclesiastics before and during the late-tenth to early-eleventh century, to learn about eschatological theology (2.2.2). Afterwards, I will briefly consider the ways in which it is understood that medieval ecclesiastics are most likely to have interpreted, understood, and written their perspectives on, religious authority and memory (2.2.3-2.2.4). By bringing these three
general factors forward together in **Part III**, we will be able to observe not only the most common types of exegetical perspectives available to ecclesiastics through the core didactic texts inherent to the West, but the way in which these theological outlooks would likely be interpreted, understood, and then utilised by their readers and wider audiences to communicate their own thoughts and beliefs (2.3.0).

From the findings of these inquiries we will have obtained a working sense of the fundamental theological and rhetorical parameters within which learned ecclesiastics, such as Burchard, were most likely to have framed and set down their discourse of eschatological issues within texts (2.3.0).

Chapter 3.0 will explore the historical, socio-political, and intellectual context in which the *Decretum*, in particular *Liber Vicesimus* was developed. This is in order to establish an understanding of three critical factors: the likely theology of the composers of *Liber Vicesimus*; its likely readership; and the types of messages that it was intended to impart to its audience.

In the initial section I will set out what is currently known about Burchard’s life up to and during the composition of the *Decretum*: considerable attention will be paid towards his education and academic interests, his approach towards the administration and regulation of ecclesiastical life, and the key relationships that impacted upon his role as Bishop of Worms (3.1.0). From this approach, we will be able to glean an awareness of the likely parameters of Burchard’s eschatological outlook, his responses to the pastoral needs of his community, and the socio-political issues Burchard would have likely sought to address in *Liber Vicesimus*. I will then provide a detailed review
of the Decretum’s various manuscripts as they presently exist along with their modern editions, which will be compiled from the recent work conducted by Hartmut Hoffmann and Rudolf Pokorny, Greta Austin, and many others (3.2.0). I will include within this section a short consideration of the principles that are most likely to have governed the original collation and organisation of the Decretum as a whole, including Liber Vicesimus as a separate entity. I will conclude by bringing together the findings of the biographical and manuscript review to construct an interpretation of the intellectual and physical environment in which Liber Vicesimus was composed, and any questions, or points of contention, that need to be resolved through an analysis of the text proper (3.3).

Having situated both Burchard and the Decretum within their relevant contexts, we will then proceed to analyse Liber Vicesimus directly. The reader should be aware that chapter 4.0 constitutes the first of three chapters (4.0-6.0) that will examine the entire contents of Liber Vicesimus. In this chapter I will establish the basis of the approach I will take towards exploring the one hundred and ten canons in Liber Vicesimus within the proceeding chapters (5.0-6.0). To begin I will introduce and explain the preparation that has been required to conduct the analysis, including some of the limitations to the text that have needed to be addressed in order to correctly interpret Burchard’s understanding of eschatology (4.1-4.2.0). I will then proceed to describe the layout and presentation of the book, which will include a comprehensive examination of all the sources that Burchard utilised to construct each canon, along with a discussion of any apparent patterns or trends that emerge from them (4.3.0). By considering these aspects we will be able to deduce not only the type of canonical text Burchard had produced - which, in turn, will inform us of the utility of the text-, but
its overarching focus. Once we have considered the terms that define the subject of the whole text, I will then explain how the underlying principles and thematic structures guide the placement of the canons in implicit, though inferentially discernable, groupings, along with the broad nature of their contents (4.4.0).

Chapter 5.0 will continue the analysis of Liber Vicesimus by exploring the content and structure of the first ninety-two canons (canons I-XLII).57 This chapter will describe, explain, and summarise, both the key ideas and theological points raised within this portion of the text (5.2-5.3). Then I will establish the various ways in which we can attain a sense of Burchard’s eschatology up to this point, and any questions or issues that may arise from it (5.4.0). Essentially this component of the analysis will ground Burchard’s eschatology within a (near) complete reading of the text, whilst indicating a strong sense of the fundamental theological and pastoral purposes that Liber Vicesimus served within the Decretum as a whole.

Chapter 6.0 will conclude the analysis of Liber Vicesimus by exploring the content and structure of the final eighteen canons of the text (canons XCIII-CX).58 As these canons constitute the core of the eschatological lore that Burchard presented to his audiences in Liber Vicesimus, the focus of the chapter will be to ascertain both their individual and collective theological form and nature. I will initially explain how these canons relate to the previous ninety-two canons I analysed in chapter 5.0 from a thematic point of view (6.2). I will then describe how the eschatological contents of these final canons are broadly structured, in addition to explaining their theological focus. This will include a consideration of the prophesised eschatological phenomena

57 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1017B-1052B.
58 Ibid., PL 140:1052B-1058C.
that they do and do not engage with, and why (6.3-6.4). The reason for examining these factors are so that we are able to determine if Burchard’s engagement with eschatology parallels the approaches found within some of the leading early medieval exegetical texts, and the ways in which he deviates from them. The findings from this section will provide great insight into the novelties of the text, the traditions in which Burchard’s work was set, and some of the rules that are likely to have governed ecclesiastical interpretations of scripture and authority. Afterwards, I will proceed to describe, explain, and summarise, in great detail, the various eschatological phenomena and issues that Burchard has engaged with in the text (6.5). I will end the analysis by surmising the character of Burchard’s eschatology, its parities and deviations to the eschatology of leading exegetical authorities, and how it concludes the principal subject and theological progression of the whole text (6.6).

Chapter 7.0 will bring this thesis to a close by reconciling the various findings of the previous chapters to offer responses to the outstanding questions, aims, and issues, established prior to the analysis of Liber Vicesimus (specifically, this concerns chapters 1.0-3.0). I will first provide a holistic overview to the structure and arrangement, the sources, and the theology (including the eschatology), of the canons in Liber Vicesimus (7.1-7.3.0). By doing so we will have a clear sense of the dynamics of text, the principal ideas and perspectives that it is intended to impart to its readers, and its relationship to early medieval exegetical traditions. I will then move on to discuss how the findings from the analysis can be integrated into our current understanding of four key contextual factors (7.4.0): first, the socio-political and pastoral needs of the Worms community of Worms (7.4.1); two, the relationships between Liber Vicesimus and books I-XIX of the Decretum (7.4.2); three, the role of
the Decretum in relation to the development of ecclesiastical education within Worms and other parts of Europe (7.4.3); and four, contemporary eschatological thoughts and beliefs within certain areas of Western Europe (7.4.4). The penultimate section will discuss how all the findings of the thesis can both enhance and revise certain aspects of the underlying approaches that ground modern historians’ interpretations of the form and nature of early medieval eschatological rhetoric, thoughts, and beliefs (7.5.). I will end with a few final comments about how I would hope scholars receive the information and ideas I have presented within this thesis, in relation to developing their understanding of early medieval eschatology (7.6).

Part III: A short Review of the Historiography of Early Medieval Eschatological Exegesis

1.8.0 Present Scholarship, Methodologies, and New Approaches

1.8.1 Notable and Recent Reviews of Scholarship

The historiography of early medieval eschatological exegesis and apocalyptic thought, particularly that which pertains to studies which are focussed on the late-tenth and early-eleventh century, has been extensively detailed in a number of works, some of them relatively recently.59 Indeed, whilst the modern historiography stretches back at

least forty years to Bernard McGinn’s formative article ‘Apocalypticism in the Middle Ages: An Historiographical Sketch’ (1975), it is clear that scholarly interest in late-tenth and early-eleventh century eschatological theology and apocalypticism rapidly accelerated from (approximately) 1996 onwards, once Johannes Fried and Richard Landes had made a number of significant contributions to the subject. Collectively, though not exclusively, the relevant sections from the studies cited present the necessary information from which to understand the current state of research in the field, as well as the historical development and methodological underpinnings of the three schools of thought; the ‘strong thesis of the terrors’ (‘terrors’), the ‘strong


counter-thesis’ (‘anti-terrors’), and the ‘weak thesis’, which have, thus far, governed the approaches of historians interested in this subject.61

As the (now) outmoded theories of the ‘terrors’ and ‘anti-terrors’ schools have been covered at length in the recent work of Richard Landes, Hans-Henning Kortüm, Peter Darby, and James Palmer, the present study will assume a working knowledge of the historiography from 1830s-2002 (that is, from the publication of Jules Michelet’s History of France (1833-35), which established the argument for the ‘strong thesis’, to Edward Peters’ notable review ‘Mutations, Terrors, Adjustments, Historians, and the Year 1000’ (2002)).62 As such, my engagement with the historiography will broadly centre on the work of scholars that explicitly, or in general principle, falls under the rubric of the ‘weak thesis’, the prevailing school of thought on the subject.63 In particular, I will concentrate on exploring the strands of interpretations about early medieval exegetical authorities and texts that established the theological and intellectual parameters for the expression of eschatological thought in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.64

It is also worth noting that Richard Landes’s, Daniel Verbist’s, Immo Warntjes’s, and James Palmer’s recent works have investigated at length the relationships that are

61 Peters, ‘Mutations, Terrors, Adjustments, Historians, and the Year 1000’, 9-28; Darby, Bede and the End of Time, 6-9; Palmer, The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages, 4-9.


63 See sections 1.8.2-1.8.4 for further discussions and examples concerning the various distinctions between the historians and the theories that comprise the recent historiography of the subject.

64 See section 1.8.2 for a detailed description of the general premise of the ‘weak thesis’ school.
currently understood to exist between early medieval dating systems and eschatological interpretations of time, and have shown these to be very complex.\textsuperscript{65} Whilst relevant to debates about the significance of the year 1000, they only represent one perspective on the matter and cannot be easily reconciled with our inquiries into the form and nature of late tenth and early eleventh century eschatological exegesis.

1.8.2 Initial Approaches of the ‘Weak Thesis’

The dominant school of thought with regards to interpreting the character and dynamics of early medieval eschatological exegesis and apocalyptic thought is what is commonly referred to as the ‘weak thesis’.\textsuperscript{66} It was chiefly developed and popularised by Johannes Fried in his seminal article ‘Endzeiterwartung um die Jahrtausendwende’ (1989) (‘Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000’), and was quickly built upon by a number of scholars, most notably Richard Landes in ‘\textit{Millenarismus absconditus}: L’historiographie augustinienne et le millénarisme du haut Moyen Age jusqu’à l’An Mil’ (1992), and ‘Sur les traces du Millennium: La via negativa’ (1993), \textit{Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes (989 – 1034)} (1995), and ‘Apocalyptic Expectations around the Year 1000’ (1996), and ‘On Owls, Roosters, and Apocalyptic Time: A Historical Method for Reading a Refractory Documentation’ (1996), as a direct response to the extreme


\textsuperscript{66} Peters, ‘Mutations, Terrors, Adjustments, Historians, and the Year 1000’, 16-18; Darby, \textit{Bede and the End of Time}, 6-8; Palmer, \textit{The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages}, 4-5.
literalism of the ‘anti-terms’ school.\textsuperscript{67} That is, the specific perspective that there were no widespread apocalyptic responses to the passing of the year 1000, and the more general position that apocalypticism did not play an influential, or central, role within medieval history.\textsuperscript{68}

The basic premise of the revisionist perspective set out by these historians was that eschatological expectations appear to have been a reality during the early medieval period, but they could not be explicitly limited to ‘a particular status’, or ‘confined to the year 1000’.\textsuperscript{69} That is to say, the traditional notions of ‘crippling anxiety’, ‘paralysing fear’, or ‘terror’, were not the only reactions to the perception of the imminence of apocalyptic phenomena; contemporary ecclesiastics could adopt a wider range of mindsets, approaches, or emotions, towards apocalyptic issues and concerns - ones that were rational in context and subject to change over time.\textsuperscript{70} In this


\textsuperscript{70} Fried, ‘Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000’, 18-20, 23, 45, 62; Landes, \textit{Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History}, 16-19, 24-49; Landes, ‘On Owls, Roosters, and Apocalyptic Time: A Historical Method for Reading a Refractory Documentation’, at:
respect the expression of eschatological thoughts and beliefs was relative, but also subject to the intellectual traditions, political conventions, and social conditions of the environments in which they appear to have arisen, not an arbitrary, universal perception of time. In actuality, these responses appear to have been constructed during relatively broad periods of heightened apocalyptic awareness amongst certain ecclesiastics, not necessarily in relation to a specific date (such as the year 1000 or 1033). Specifically, the historical spread of the documentary evidence (most of which does not mention, or refer explicitly to, the year 1000) suggested that they occurred over the course of a ‘millennial’ era; this period was initially set by Fried as c. 979-1042, but later expanded by Landes (and others) to c. 950-1050. For instance, as Landes has argued at length, some apocalyptic expectations, such as those conveyed by Ademar in his Chronicon between the years c. 1024-1029, can be interpreted to have been positive in their outlook. The reasoning for this being that some ecclesiastics could have been harbouring chiliastic beliefs, or simply anticipating their


imminent salvation, rather than eternal damnation at the time of God’s final judgement, hence Landes’s dualistic notion of apocalyptic ‘hopes and fears’ from both a theological and emotional standpoint.\(^74\) In this respect, the ‘weak thesis’ argued that early medieval apocalypticism was not strictly constrained to pure millennialism, thereby dislocating it from the terreaurs; it could be much more varied, complex, nuanced, and at times understated, both in scope and character, than previously contended. Such a ‘down-to-earth’ approach fundamentally revised the premise of the subject and, in turn, how scholars could identify and engage with eschatological or eschatologically-themed works.

In a similar fashion, both Fried’s and Landes’s arguments were constructed upon the theory that contemporary eschatological thoughts, beliefs, and expectations, including the significant lack of evidence thereof, can be collectively and individually understood once historians account for the form of the theology and rhetoric of the mainstream exegetical tradition ecclesiastics drew upon to construct their texts.\(^75\) Certainly, they acknowledged that biblical scripture set the ‘mystical’ foundations and tenets of apocalyptic prophesy and served as the backdrop to all eschatological discourse (such as Matt. 24, Luke 21, Mark 13, and especially Rev. 20), but they contended that the subject only took on ‘existential significance’ within a historical


context, in relation to the ‘momentary intensity and coloring’, or interpretations, it received within contemporary exegesis. However, one of the problems with determining the nature of the tradition upon which ‘millennial’ era eschatology was based, was the understanding that ‘with the exception’ of Adso of Montier-en-Der’s ‘tract on the Antichrist’, Epistola ad Gerbergam reginam de orlu et tempore Antichristi (hereinafter Epistola) (c. 950/4), no other contemporary ecclesiastics appeared to have produced a new ‘“textbook” on the theme [of the Apocalypse’]. As Adso’s work was restricted to the ‘context of tenth-century France’, and was not an exegetical commentary on the apocalypse (Rev.), Fried and Landes referred to certain Carolingian commentaries and seminal patristic works to explain the broad nature of widespread eschatological responses during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

Due to its significant influence upon all known early medieval commentaries on Rev., it was posited that the ‘anti-millennial, anti-apocalyptic’ outlook of the influential church father St Augustine of Hippo (354-430), as principally expressed in his seminal work De Civitate Dei (hereinafter DCD), defined the parameters of orthodox

---


eschatological exegesis. Specifically, Augustine’s authoritative series of arguments against millennialist predictions and the literalist anticipation of eschatological phenomena were thought to have dominated the strategies and reactions of most ecclesiastics and exegetes in an eschatological context from the early fifth century to (approximately) the late twelfth century. In effect, Augustinian eschatology explicitly condemned millennialism and literalism, but still acknowledged ‘that the end will come at some point’ in the unknown future. Consequently, all ‘millennial’ eschatological dialogue occurred within a broadly ‘negative’ tradition, one that was radically agnostic in outlook, but also anti-apocalyptic on the issue of quantitative (and literalist) predictions.


80 See sections 2.1.2.2-2.1.2.2.1 for an in-depth discussion on the historical context and theological origins of Augustine’s approach towards eschatological theology. It is worth noting that Fried’s article does acknowledge the fact that contemporary ecclesiastics would typically have to ‘sort through the contradictory exegetical traditions’ in order to respond to issues concerning the end of time, not a singular one per se. Whereas Landes’s work is much more certain of the ‘unconscious’ nature of the exegetical authorities and models that ecclesiastics drew upon to construct their eschatological discourse. Landes, ‘Millenarismus absconditus: L’historiographie augustinienne et l’An Mil’, 355-377, esp. 355-356, 362-367, 370-374; Landes, ‘Sur les traces du Millennium: La via negativa’, 13-19; Landes, Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History, 30, 91-97, 144, 152, 206, 285-308, 323, esp. 291-294; Landes, ‘Apocalyptic Expectations around the Year 1000’, at: http://www.mille.org/scholarship/1000/1000-br.html (Last visited: 31/06/15); Landes, ‘On Owls, Roosters, and Apocalyptic Time: A Historical Method for Reading a Refractory Documentation’, at: http://web.bu.edu/mille/people/rlpages/landes-rob.html (Last visited: 31/06/15).


82 Fried, ‘Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000’, 22, 24-25, 61-63; Landes, ‘Millenarismus absconditus: L’historiographie augustinienne et l’An Mil’, 355-377, esp. 364-365; Landes, ‘Sur les traces du Millennium: La via negativa’, 5-26, esp. 6, 10-11; Landes, Relics,
That said, Fried and Landes differed in their interpretation of the application of Augustinian eschatological orthodoxy throughout the ‘millennial’ era. In Fried’s work the apocalypse is thought to have been generally treated by ecclesiastics as a taboo subject, even though eschatological expectation appeared to be ‘stronger at some times, weaker or even imperceptible at others’, and that ‘different models for the explanation of [eschatological] signs’ were available in various locations to particular circles of ecclesiastics. In this broad scenario ecclesiastics were ‘remaining silent on the issue or [were] explicitly discounting it’ in their eschatological, or other, day-to-day writings – the ‘argumentum e silentio’ did not necessarily demonstrate a lack of ‘millennial expectation’, simply the possibility that some ecclesiastics may have chosen not to write about it. At the same time, any ecclesiastics who appeared to compose ‘apocalyptic’ texts were only nourishing a general ‘fear of the end’ that had been collectively building up in Western European society from the early ninth century, as they were not attempting to ‘break theological rank’ per se. Consequently, heightened eschatological expectations were typically realised in a qualitative fashion via ongoing ‘monastic and church reform’, anti-Jewish violence, or artistic means. Yet Landes’s ‘Roosters and Owls’ model proposed that the Tyconius-Augustine position was institutionalised within the mainstream church to such an extent, that ecclesiastics throughout the ‘millennial’ era were ardently anti-apocalyptic.

---

Fried, ‘Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000’, 47-49.

---

Fried, ‘Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000’, 47-49.

---

Fried, ‘Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000’, 47-49.

---

Fried, ‘Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000’, 47-49.
in outlook (essentially) by default. As such Landes believed that the extant evidence revealed the dynamic interplay of two fundamentally opposed stances towards the temporal nearness of eschatological phenomena and apocalyptic dates. On one hand were the Augustinian, orthodox ‘Owls’, who actively worked to confront, ‘play down’, ‘denounce’, and retrospectively erase, all forms of imminent apocalyptic expectation, especially those centred on a sabbatical millennium. On the other, there was the anti-Augustinian, unorthodox ‘Roosters’, who sought periodically to subvert the mainstream tradition by rousing apocalyptic expectations. In this respect, the evidence for eschatological expectations and records of popular movements that has come down to historians are only the meagre traces of an ‘apocalyptic crisis’ that either tacitly or explicitly fit an Augustinian narrative. And, at the same time, the general lack of eschatological or eschatologically themed sources was, in actuality, direct evidence of a mainstream ‘consensus’ of silence, wherein the ‘editorial blade’ of the Augustinian ‘owls’ has censored the embarrassing fact that ‘the end did not

---

come’. When brought together, Fried’s and Landes’s models indicate that there were constraints to contemporary eschatological theology when it was constructed upon an Augustinian interpretation of exegesis, either through direct reading or filtered through later ecclesiastical sources. Certainly, contemporary apocalyptic thoughts and beliefs could be quite variable, but their expressions were limited to agnostic, non-apocalyptic, or anti-apocalyptic, modalities. In effect, the apocalyptic was a reality, but all the extant evidence now indicated that it had a highly muted, diffuse nature (Fried), or wholly subversive character (Landes).

1.8.3 Criticisms, Responses, and Alternative Proposals

It is quite evident that Fried’s and Landes’s theoretical models concerning the character of early medieval eschatological exegesis and ‘millennial’ forms of apocalyptic thought generated a great deal of interest, controversy, and a wide variety of mixed responses from scholars. In many respects the strongest, most critical reactions came from West-Frankish historians Dominique Barthélemy in *La mutation de L’an Mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et Chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles* (1997), Sylvain Gouguenheim in *Les fausses terreures de l’an mil* (1999), and, more recently, Simon Maclean in ‘Apocalypse and Revolution: Europe around the Year 1000’ (2007), and ‘Reform, Queenship and the End of the World in Tenth-Century France: Adso’s “Letter on the Origin and Time of the Antichrist” Reconsidered’ (2008), as they rejected most of, if not all [in Gouguenheim’s case],

---

the ideas of the ‘weak thesis’. The main argument of these scholars was that evidence of eschatological discourse within the extant sources from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries should not be interpreted literally as a reflection of contemporary ‘millennial anxiety’, or widespread ‘belief that the end had come’. In fact, they proposed that many of the eschatologically-themed, texts, especially Adso’s *Epistola*, should actually be read as a reflection of contemporary ecclesiastical rhetorical strategies and methods to achieve certain goals within a non-apocalyptic context.

In this particular scenario, certain aspects of scripture (*Dan* 7-14, *Matt*. 24, *Rev*. 20-22) encouraged societies’ leaders to engage in ‘permanent watchfulness’ for particular eschatological signs in the present (typically ‘false prophets’, or ‘Antichrists’) in order to continually strengthen their relationship with God, whilst adopting a ‘Semi-Augustinian’ approach towards the temporal significance of prophetic numbers and dates. In other words, the Last Judgement was spiritually important, but was

---


94 Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, 245-301, esp. 290-296, 296-301; Gouguenheim, *Les fausses terreures de l'an mil*, 9-202, esp. 9-11, 52-63, 199-202; MacLean, ‘Apocalypse and Revolution: Europe around the Year 1000’, 86-106, esp. 95-101; MacLean, ‘Reform, Queenship and the End of the World in Tenth-Century France’, 648-653, 673-675. It is worth noting that there is a clear distinction between Gouguenheim’s approach to the subject in comparison to Barthélemy and Maclean, even though they come to similar conclusions about the treatment of the extant sources: Gouguenheim’s work sought to reassert the ‘Anti-terrors’ argument via an extreme positivist reading of the sources, whereas Barthélemy and Maclean rejected the premise of both the ‘Anti-terrors’ and ‘weak thesis’, and were broadly asserting that Fried and Landes’ narratives of the so-called ‘millennial’ era were constructed upon an interpretation that was far too literal.

95 Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight, and the Historian*, 284-290, 296-301; Gouguenheim, *Les fausses terreures de l'an mil*, 39-43, 48-52, 72-73, 78-88, 136-145; MacLean, ‘Reform, Queenship and the End of the World in Tenth-Century France’, 645-75, esp. 648-658, 669-673, 673-675. It is worth noting that MacLean did warn that ‘not everything is discourse’, in the sense that ‘some level of millennial belief’ was suggested by one or two of the extant sources, but that it would be very difficult to prove that it was evidence for ‘widespread anxiety’ of the end times. See, MacLean, ‘Apocalypse and Revolution: Europe around the Year 1000’, 105; Palmer, *The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages*, 7.

generally treated with very little sense of urgency as people did not commonly adopt a 'literal belief in an imminent apocalypse'. As such, apocalyptic imagery and themes were routinely adapted by intellectuals simply to suit the needs of both the author and intended audience within a diverse range of (broadly secular) situations. For instance, the extant texts could reveal discursive methods to deal with ‘political tensions’; instead of exposing ‘subversive “terrors’” they could indicate the ‘pedagogic instilling of fear’ amongst secular audiences by ecclesiastical institutions; they could be evidence for the ‘internalised religious anxieties’ of certain individuals and groups; or they could signify strategies to shape and highlight the ‘dynastic identity’ of contemporary monarchs (such as Queen Gerberga of West Frankia (d. 969)). In this respect, there was no clear agnostic, or anti-apocalyptic exegetical tradition that was directly linked to the expression of eschatological thoughts and beliefs – exegetical materials were ‘scattered’, and could not provide a cohesive basis for widespread ecclesiastical strategies to deal with millenarian ““flare ups””. At best, passages from the exegetical works of certain patristic authorities, such as Augustine, Gregory the Great (c. 540-604), and Bede (c. 672-725), could be lifted and moulded to construct a particular text, but this only served the needs of the author to ‘rationalise present events’. 

---

97 See sections 2.1.2.2-2.1.2.2.1 for details and examples on Augustine’s eschatological exegesis.


101 See sections 2.1.2.2-2.1.2.3.4, and 2.2.2 for in-depth discussions on the historical contexts and theological origins of Augustine’s, Gregory’s, and Bede’s of approach towards eschatological theology.
Supplementing the points raised by these ‘non-apocalyptic’ historians, we can observe the (comparatively) moderate responses of scholars who accepted the premise of the ‘weak thesis’, but were quite sceptical of Fried’s and Landes’s interpretations of the mentality of ecclesiastics towards the apocalyptic throughout the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. Specifically, Hans-Henning Kortüm, in ‘Millenniumsängste: Mythos oder Realität? Die moderne Mediävistik und das Jahr Eintausend’ (2000), and Hannes Möhring, in ‘Die renovatio imperii Kaiser Ottos III. und die Antichrist-Erwartung der Zeitgenossen an der Jahrtausendwende von 1000/1001’ (2008), argued that throughout the Middle Ages, particularly ‘at the turn of the millennium’, eschatological (or ‘end-time’) expectations ‘can be detected’ in a range of extant sources, though few in number. In this respect there was a clear need for Fried’s and Landes’s work ‘to be taken seriously’, especially since the reality of belief in ‘signs of the end times’ impacts upon scholarly interpretations of the behaviour, ‘reforming activities’, and policies, of contemporary rulers, such as Robert II (“the Pious”) of West Frankia (972-1031) and Otto III of East Frankia (983-1002). However, they contended that Fried’s and Landes’s impressions of the sources as a ‘psychological-social totality’ was quite flawed in places.

With respect to this broad criticism of Fried’s and Landes’s models, Kortüm and Möhring made a number of supporting observations. The principal issue was the simple fact that it is very difficult to reconstruct and characterise the ‘varied mental landscape’, the ‘emotional model’, or the entire ‘mental constitution of the Latin West’ throughout the ‘turn of the millennium’ (c. 970-1040) from the limited extant sources.105 Undoubtedly, some texts indicated the ‘apocalyptic “consciousness”’, or interests, of particular intellectuals in relation to the eschatological significance of certain issues or events. Two clear examples would be Robert II’s correspondence with Abbot Gauzelin of Fleury (d. 1030) and Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (c. 952–1028), and Rudolfus Glaber’s Historiarum Libri Quinque (hereinafter Historia, c. 1044).106 But, apocalyptic phenomena do not appear to have been paid ‘significantly greater attention’, either qualitatively or quantitatively, across this period, especially in comparison with previous centuries.107 That is to say, there is no ““mathematical-statistical” proof” for widespread similarities regarding ecclesiastical thoughts and beliefs on eschatological matters, such as an exaggerated sensitivity to ‘susceptibility

107 It is worth noting that Möhring did consider the possibility that the lack of contemporary interest in the apocalyptic may have simply been ‘due to the general source of poverty that time’, rather than an intellectual or spiritual malaise regarding the subject. Kortüm, ‘Millenniumsängste: Mythos oder Realität? Die moderne Mediävistik und das Jahr Eintausend’, 179-180, 186-187; Möhring, ‘Die renovatio imperii Kaiser Ottos III. und die Antichrist-Erwartung der Zeitgenossen an der Jahrtausendwende von 1000/1001’, 333-338, esp. 338.
to supernatural signs and natural phenomena’. At the same time, they drew attention to the way Fried and Landes interpreted the exegetical tradition and framed it as being largely anti-apocalyptic, in order to broadly account for the general ‘silence’ of the contemporary sources. Certainly, Augustine’s agnostic position towards calculating a date or time for the advent of ‘the end of the world and the Last Judgment’ of apocalyptic scripture, played a significant role in contemporary eschatological thought. Yet, the understanding that Augustine’s theology was accepted as the dominant orthodoxy, and then applied in such a way that the whole Church suppressed all rhetoric and ‘non-orthodox literature’ on the matter was not considered to be a ‘satisfactory explanation’. Ultimately Kortüm sought not to render any clear judgment on the issue, or provide a new interpretive model for the primary materials, whereas Möhring suggested that the apocalyptic does appear to have been treated as a ‘taboo’ subject by certain ecclesiastics, and that efforts were made to assuage more specific expectations, such as the ‘arrival of the Antichrist’.

The criticisms of those who rejected the premise of the ‘weak thesis’ or were sceptical of its conclusions, were subsequently addressed in a series of reviews that sought to counter certain preconceptions towards the theological dynamics of early medieval apocalypticism, including non-apocalyptic, literalist readings of the extant materials.

---

Indeed, Landes, McGinn, and Fried, when writing in the early 2000s, in particular against Gouguenheim’s work, argued that some scholars had restricted their understanding of apocalypticism ‘to events and persons seen in the light of John’s Revelation’, as well as ‘Augustine’s antiapocalyptic reading’ in DCD, and were looking to confirm the reality of apocalyptic expectations only through ‘explicit proof’ of expressions of ‘terror’. In this sense, as these historians had adopted a narrow understanding of the parameters for ‘the semantics of perception’ that ecclesiastics would use to engage textually with the apocalyptic [i.e. what constitutes as apocalyptic rhetoric], they were unable to analyse adequately and describe the patterns that emerge from the eschatological expressions inherent within the extant texts.

Indeed, by arbitrarily expecting only literal apocalyptic dialogue (of a particular form), they negated the underlying truism that ‘expensive parchment’ could not fully reflect ‘the totality’ of ecclesiastics’ eschatological thoughts and beliefs, or indeed, what would have been, ‘basic knowledge’, or obvious ‘attitudes’ towards the apocalyptic. Consequently, it was established that the ‘millennial’ texts must be

---

113 It is worth noting that whilst Landes’, McGinn’s, and Fried’s reviews were principally directed towards Gouguenheim’s extreme ‘positivist’ re-assertion of the ‘Anti-terrors’ theory, they do address some of the issues that other scholars, such as Barthélemy, touched upon in their recent work. Moreover, McGinn did point out that Gouguenheim had made a number of useful points against Fried’s and Landes’s exaggerated utility of the “‘argument from silence’” as evidence for ‘a vast clerical plot to combat widespread popular foreboding’ during the ‘millennial era’. See, Landes, ‘The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern’, 97-145, esp. 131, n. 145, 133-134, n. 156, 135, no. 163, 138-141, 145; McGinn, 'Review: Les fausses terreures de l'an mil: Attente de la fin des temps ou approfondissement de la foi?, by S. Gouguenheim; Apocalypse et salut dans le christianisme ancien et médiéval, by C. Carozzi’, 164-166, esp. 165; Fried, ‘Die Endzeit fest im Griff des Positivismus? Zur Auseinandersetzung mit Sylvain Gouguenheim’, 281-321, esp. 283-287, 288-289, 312; Landes, ‘Introduction: The Terribles espoirs of 1000 and the Tacit Fears of 2000’, 3-15, esp. 4-5, 7-9, 11.


read against a wider range of narratives and sources of eschatological lore, such as the ‘Last Emperor legends’, and that historians must account for the fact that they do not provide a complete account of their respective authors’ interpretation of eschatological theology.¹¹⁶

In addition to these direct defences of the ‘weak thesis’, Fried and Landes produced a number of texts that further developed and refined both their initial ideas and conclusions. With respect to Fried’s work, ‘Papst Leo III. besucht Karl den Großen in Paderborn oder das Einhards Schweigen’ (2001), and ‘“999 Jahre nach Christi Geburt: der Antichrist” Wie die Zerstörung des Heiligen Grabes zum apokalyptischen Zeichen wurde und die Denkfigur universaler Judenverfolgung hervorbrachte’ (2011), it is evident that he modified his stance on two key issues: one, the way in which scholars should handle the extant literature; and two, the nature of ecclesiastical approaches towards the early medieval exegetical tradition.¹¹⁷ Concerning the first issue Fried emphasised a more individuated, nuanced understanding of the sources with respect to the ideas and memories their authors were seeking to present. As each text expressed the differing perceptions of ‘individuals and groups of people’ towards reality, they must by ‘analyzed separately, but [then] considered together’, in order to understand fully their ‘construction methods’, and any discrepancies between their utility of


eschatological rhetoric. In other words, as one cannot expect to encounter a ‘pure text’, they all need to be understood within their own ‘different cultural contexts’, before bringing them together to make broad hypothetical ‘approximations of the past’ concerning the nature of eschatological expectation ‘around the turn of the millennium’. In relation to the second point, Fried indicated that it was possible for some ecclesiastics to express pro-apocalyptic expectations within the Augustinian tradition depending on the education they received. In this revised situation the ‘date and time’ for the Last Judgment still ‘remained a divine mystery’, and could not be calculated in a quantitative fashion as it was prohibited in scripture and key patristic exegetes. Yet, as the ‘perception and interpretation’ of ‘Christ's return and the end of the world’ was learned in relation to the manifestation of signs (as described in the ‘little apocalypse’ of Matt. 24 and Luke 21 – see section 2.1.1 for further details on the characteristics of Synoptic eschatology), not dates – as they were understood to be allegorical in nature - ecclesiastics were ‘not prohibited’ from discussing and ‘signifying’ their worldly occurrence or nearness in qualitative terms. In other words, ‘medieval scholars’ such as Adso and Glaber, could be interpreted to have conveyed their ‘perception and interpretation’ of eschatological signs, so as to ‘steer the behaviour and actions of believers’ in order to prepare them for their imminent salvation. In this respect the apocalypse did not necessarily have

119 Ibid., 110, 121-122
120 Ibid., 125-128.
121 Ibid., 125-126, 127.
122 Ibid., 125-128, esp. 125, 127.
123 Ibid., 122-126, 128-135, esp. 122, 128.
to be treated as a taboo issue, it could be engaged with in a spiritual context without technically contravening scripture, as exegesis was not ‘universally binding’.  

In contrast, Landes’s later work; ‘The Apocalyptic Dossier: 967-1033’ (c. 1999), ‘The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern’ (2000, 2003), and, Heaven on Earth: The Varieties of the Millennial Experience (2011), only sought to reiterate and entrench his previous ideas about Augustinian historiography and its particular utility by ecclesiastics during the ‘millennial’ era [i.e. the ‘Roosters and Owls’ model].  

Essentially, Landes advocated that Augustine’s ‘school of historiography’ continually ‘dominated the thought of Latin Christian writers’ throughout the middle ages (c. 400-1200) to such an extent that (essentially) all orthodox ‘millennial’ eschatological discourse occurred within a tradition that was completely ‘anti-millennial, anti-apocalyptic’ in nature.  

In fact Landes went so far as to suggest that Augustinianism was so pervasive, that not only were Christian scholars taught to ridicule and despise ‘millennial believers whose work they disliked’, but it acted as a unconscious ‘“apocalyptic buffer”’ in the minds of ecclesiastics to the extent that they readily invoked his eschatological outlook in their work.  

Indeed, Landes has suggested that Gregory the Great, who is widely understood to have ‘thought he lived at the end of time’, tacitly paid exclusive homage to Augustine’s (not Christ’s) tradition because he included ‘indefiniteness’ in

---

124 Ibid., 124-125.  
some of his eschatologically themed works.128 As such, any historical interpretation of
eschatological ‘signs and wonders at the approach of an apocalyptic year 1000’ within
the extant texts produced prior to and during the ‘millennial’ era were simply
instances where ecclesiastics had ‘incorrectly’ invoked Augustine.129 At the same time
expressions of apocalyptic imminence, especially chiliasm and millennialism, were
treated as ‘distinctly subversive’.
In this respect Landes’s model set up a mutually exclusive, false dichotomy regarding the way in which historians should treat the
contemporary sources: either the authors were respectively unorthodox ‘apocalyptic
enthusiasts’, or they were elitist ‘sober antiapocalyptics’, without room for any middle
ground.131 It would therefore seem that in his efforts to escape the dogmatic approach
of the anti-apocalyptic school, Landes ended up constructing his own doctrinaire
methodology.

Prior to, and parallel with, the developments within these historiographical currents
(c. 1989-2011), we can observe the emergence of distinct strand of interrelated
scholarship which argues that the mainstream eschatological tradition throughout
early medieval period was fundamentally pro-apocalyptic in character.132 That is to

128 Ibid., 30-31.
129 Landes, ‘The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and
130 Landes, ‘The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and
131 Landes, ‘The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and
Emmerson, B. McGinn, (eds.), *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 1992), 3-19; B.
Apocalypticism in the Histories of Ralph Glaber’, (unpublished paper presented at Boston, 3-5th
November, 1996); 2-16; R. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World* (Cambridge, 1997), 34-50, 51-
67, 204-205; C. Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford, 2000),
3-32, 131-159, 160-187, esp. 135-141, 150-157; Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist*, 108-114; Flori,
say, a pervading sense of ‘imminence’ and ‘urgency’, regarding the nearness of the end of the world and the Last Judgment, broadly defined the way in which many contemporary ecclesiastics engaged with eschatology.\textsuperscript{133} Before I explain this theoretical understanding of the extant materials, it is worth noting that Palmer has recently identified this particular approach as a discrete ‘fourth position’ in relation to the other three schools of thought.\textsuperscript{134} However, it remains the case that some of the historians involved do, at least in principle, accept the core premise of the ‘weak thesis’ - even through their conclusions are quite different from Fried, Landes, Möhring, and the other scholars identified above.\textsuperscript{135} As such, I have treated their reading of the source materials as a distinctive variation of the ‘weak thesis’, rather than a wholly separate explanation of the subject at hand.

Fundamental to this branch of thought are the ideas set out by Bernard McGinn, in ‘Introduction. 1: John’s Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality’ (1992), and ‘The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom’ (1995), in relation to the development of the eschatological exegetical tradition within the late antique and early medieval period.\textsuperscript{136} Specifically, McGinn contended that whilst church fathers such as ‘Jerome, Tyconius, and Augustine’ managed to successfully establish a ‘spiritual and nonmillennarian’ exegesis of aspects of Rev., in particular Rev. 20, in the

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., 7-9.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., 7.
\textsuperscript{135} It is necessary to point out that a number of the historians that I have identified as part of this pro-apocalyptic reading of early medieval eschatology do not directly engage with the debates concerning the late-tenth and early-eleventh century, such as Markus, Darby, and Wallis who analyse the eschatology of Gregory and Bede. In this sense these scholars have made important contributions towards interpreting and defining the intellectual parameters of the early medieval exegetical tradition which ‘millennial’ ecclesiastics are likely have drawn from to construct their own texts, but have not had any direct impact upon the debate itself.
early fifth century, they did not remove its ‘historically apocalyptic dimension’.\textsuperscript{137} That is to say, apocalyptic readings of \textit{Rev.} within a historical framework, or context, could continue to be made by ecclesiastics as it ‘remained, not lurking under the surface of the text but rather openly in the structures and symbols of the book’.\textsuperscript{138} As such, most ecclesiastics did not relate to the apocalyptic in terms of ‘chronological imminence’, but continually approached the issue with a sense of ‘psychological imminence’ – wherein God’s Final Judgement could (quite literally) come at any time.\textsuperscript{139} This observation was buttressed by his reading of Augustine’s eschatological exegesis, wherein the prohibition against quantitative eschatological prediction gave way to the possibility that Judgment could ‘come at any moment’.\textsuperscript{140} In this respect McGinn suggested that the mainstream tradition was anti-millennial, but also radically apocalyptic in its outlook [for further details regarding the mechanics of Augustine’s eschatology see section \textbf{2.1.2.1}].

Supporting McGinn’s theory, are a small number of scholars who have explored the form and nature of Pope Gregory the Great’s eschatological outlook, and the subsequent impact of his moral exegeses within the early medieval exegetical tradition.\textsuperscript{141} In particular, Robert Markus, Conrad Leyser, Kevin Hughes, Jean Flori, Jane Baun, and James Palmer, have all indicated that the historical impact of Augustine’s highly sceptical, agnostic [not anti-apocalyptic] brand of eschatology,

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{137} See section \textbf{2.1.2.2-2.1.2.2.1} for contextual and bibliographical details on Tyconius’s, Jerome’s, and Augustine’s eschatological theology. McGinn, ‘Introduction. 1: John’s Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality’, 19.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., 19; Flori, \textit{L’Islam et la fin des temps}, 99-107.
\textsuperscript{140} See sections \textbf{2.1.2.2-2.1.2.2.1} for details and examples on Augustine’s eschatological exegesis. McGinn, ‘The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom’, 58-89; Palmer, \textit{The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages}, 8-9.
\textsuperscript{141} See sections \textbf{2.1.3.2-2.1.3.4} for contextual and bibliographical details on Gregory’s eschatological outlook.
\end{flushright}
was, in actuality, partly muted, by the seminal exegetical works of Gregory which were produced in the late sixth-century: *Moralia in Iob, Homiliae in evangelia, and Dialogi.* As these scholars have shown, Gregory’s popular texts candidly and extensively discussed his intense anxiety and ‘sense of urgency’ regarding the ‘remaining time of the world's sixth age’, along with his belief that there was a dire need for Christians to engage in moral reform before the ‘death and desolation’ of the world. Certainly, Gregory did not profess to know ‘the [exact] time of the end’ (as it was prohibited in the Gospels), but in relation to his experiences of the ‘devastation and trauma caused by the barbarian invasions’ across Western Europe both before and within his own time (c. 420-620), it was evident that literal, physical signs directly reveal that mankind was ‘on the verge of judgment’, as he was living within the ‘imminent end of the sixth age’. The general understanding is that as Gregory constructed his eschatology in relation to his knowledge and ‘experience of disaster’, and the view that people should immediately take ‘responsibility for the fate of their souls’, it was evident that apocalyptic expectation was not always treated as an inherently taboo, or subversive topic of discussion. Clearly, prominent early medieval ecclesiastics could historicise ‘prophetic symbols’ and signs in order to


generate pastoral discourse that addressed their growing moral concerns and spiritual needs, including those of their audiences.\(^\text{146}\)

Following on from these observations it has been argued that the language and framework of Gregory’s moral eschatology, as conveyed through his key works, constituted a major component within the mainstream exegetical tradition from the early seventh century onwards. This is despite the fact that his authority was, at times, ‘silent’ within many of the extant sources, primarily because he preferred to ‘anchor his eschatology in the Synoptics’ rather than Rev.\(^\text{147}\) Indeed, as Peter Derby, in \textit{Bede and the End of Time} (2012), and Faith Wallis, in \textit{Bede: Commentary on Revelation} (2013), have recently advocated, Gregory’s ‘ethical and pastoral eschatology’ can be seen to have had a ‘deep impact on Bede’, which is revealed, in no small part, through his heavy use of the ‘\textit{Moralia} and other works’ within his well known \textit{Expositio Apocalypseos, In Lucae evangelium expositio, De Temporibus} (hereinafter \textit{DT}), and \textit{De temporum ratione} (hereinafter \textit{DTR}), all of which deal, to varying degrees, with elements of the apocalyptic.\(^\text{148}\) In many respects Bede’s engagement with eschatology and end-time chronography within these texts has been shown to have a clear intellectual alignment with many aspects of Gregory’s treatment of the subject: Bede was ‘vehemently opposed to overt apocalyptic speculation of any kind’, as he ‘refused to speculate on dates’, but at the same time is understood to have had ‘a sense that the end of the world was approaching’.\(^\text{149}\) As such it is thought that Bede broadly ‘viewed


\(^{147}\) See sections \textit{2.1.2.3.1, 2.2.2.8, and 6.4}, for contextual, bibliographical, and analytical details on Bede’s eschatology. Leyser, \textit{Authority and Asceticism}, 131-159, esp. 133-135, 140-141, 147-150; Hughes, \textit{Constructing Antichrist}, 108-114, esp. 108-109; Darby, \textit{Bede and the End of Time}, 212, 218; Wallis, \textit{Bede: Commentary on Revelation}, 20.


\(^{149}\) Darby, \textit{Bede and the End of Time}, 154-158, 161-163; Wallis, \textit{Bede: Commentary on Revelation}, 16-
the contemporary world through a Gregorian lens’, though he did not make statements that advocated the same degree of apocalyptic urgency.\textsuperscript{150} Again, as with Gregory, historical analysis of Bede’s approach towards the composition of eschatological exegesis reveals the continuity of a current within the mainstream tradition that was, despite the varying idiosyncrasies of its proponents, pro-apocalyptic in its approach towards eschatological discourse.

The final historiographical link in the ‘pro-apocalyptic’ interpretation of the ‘weak thesis’, centres on the theories of two scholars who, taking forward McGinn’s ideas, advocated comparable reformulations of two fundamental elements of the apocalyptic tradition during the late-tenth and early-eleventh century. They are: one, the principle exegeses that constituted the textual basis of the tradition; and two, the basic intellectual practices and principles that guided ecclesiastical interpretations of patristic authority and rhetoric, when engaging in eschatological discourse. Broadly speaking the mainstream eschatological tradition is thought not to have been grounded upon any one exegesis or authority, but rather was fundamentally dualistic in form. Moreover, ecclesiastical eschatological thoughts and beliefs were not bound, or restricted, to an anti-apocalyptic tautology; they could be quite colourful and rest anywhere within a broad pro-apocalyptic-to-agnostic dynamic. To be exact, Conrad Leyser, in ‘Avarice and Antichrist: Ethical Apocalypticism in the Histories of Ralph Glaber’ (1996), and James Palmer, in \textit{The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages} (2014), have contended that the contemporary apocalyptic tradition was not centred just on Augustine’s work or an anti-apocalyptic reading of Rev. (like Landes and Fried (initially) contended), but, in actuality, was situated between Augustine’s authoritative

\textsuperscript{22, 33-34.} \textsuperscript{150} Darby, \textit{Bede and the End of Time}, 162-163.
anti-millennial agnosticism on the one hand and Gregory’s pastoral radicalism on the other.\textsuperscript{151}

In Leyser’s much earlier work, he demonstrated that contemporary discussions of the manifestation of eschatological themes, signs, and characters, such as ‘avarice’, ‘iniquity’, and ‘Antichrist’, were more likely an affirmation of authorial identity with Gregorian ‘moral teaching’, which was traditionally ‘couched in an apocalyptic frame’, rather than an deliberate attempt to subvert any Augustinian anti-apocalyptic status quo.\textsuperscript{152} In other words, some ascetic authors, such as Ademar and Glaber, constructed ‘eschatologically charged descriptions of the onset of avarice’ within an historical setting, as they were trained, primarily using John Cassian’s and Gregory’s works, to measure personal and social ‘moral progress’ prior to the Last Judgment (which was considered to be imminent).\textsuperscript{153} As Augustine’s scepticism in \textit{DCD} did not provide a suitable framework for the ‘assessment of moral progress’, ecclesiastics would circumvent what he said by utilising Gregory’s moral language as a template for discourse, but at the same time, due to his ‘formidable authority’, they would often invoke Augustine’s authority in their works.\textsuperscript{154} In this sense Leyser believed that the mainstream tradition was unashamedly ‘pro-apocalyptic… [but] also authoritarian and elitist’.\textsuperscript{155} Such a unique dynamic was referred to as the ‘ethical apocalyptic tradition’.\textsuperscript{156} This is because Leyser believed that Ademar and Glaber’s works sought to reflect the fundamental principles of ‘Latin moral culture’, whilst seeking to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{152} Leyser, ‘Avarice and Antichrist’, 2-4, 5, 7-9, 12-15.
\item \textsuperscript{153} Ibid., 2-4, 6, 7-9, 10-11, 12-15, esp. 4.
\item \textsuperscript{154} Ibid., 6, 12-15.
\item \textsuperscript{155} Ibid., 5.
\item \textsuperscript{156} Ibid., 7-9, 12-15, esp. 7-8.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
demonstrate their ‘faithful discipleship’ to Augustine.\textsuperscript{157} What Leyser’s theoretical model revealed was that apocalyptic expectations were not inherently subversive within a moral context; they were, in fact, grounded upon clear institutional principles and a long-established scribal tradition.\textsuperscript{158}

Although he did not go into quite as much technical detail as Leyser, Palmer’s more recent, up-to-date work, argued, in a broad fashion, that the basic parameters of the exegetical tradition, can be defined as the ‘Augustinian-Gregorian matrix’, or the ‘Augustinian-Gregorian paradigm’.\textsuperscript{159} Within this somewhat imprecise model, the extant materials revealed that the post-Roman world was fundamentally defined by Augustine’s rule against ‘literal’ millennarianism’ and Gregory’s profound moral ‘sense of urgency’.\textsuperscript{160} That is, Augustine’s and Gregory’s texts were widely understood to be authoritative sources by ecclesiastics and were employed as part of a general strategy to ‘postpone the end indefinitely’ and ‘maintain anxiety through uncertainty’, in order to ‘stoke the ‘fires of ‘psychological imminence’’.\textsuperscript{161} Indeed, when examining the ‘millennial era’ sources [which Palmer defined as c. 911-1033], it is clear that some leading intellectuals, such as Wulfstan, in his \textit{Sermo Lupi} and eschatological homily \textit{Secundum Marcam}, and Ælfric of Eynsham (c. 950-1010), in his \textit{Sermones Catholici} (c. 990-995), sought to emphasise ‘the imminence of the world’s end’ by using aspects of Gregory’s moral rhetoric to ‘cajole audiences into taking care of their souls’ during periods of profound socio-political crisis.\textsuperscript{162} At the

\begin{thebibliography}{162}
\bibitem{157} Ibid., 4, 6.
\bibitem{158} Ibid., 6-7, 8-9.
\bibitem{160} Ibid., 18-27, 35-42, 55-68, esp. 23.
\bibitem{161} Ibid., 22.
\bibitem{162} See sections \textbf{1.7.1} and \textbf{2.1.3} for contextual and bibliographical details on Wulfstan’s and Ælfric’s eschatology. Ibid., 189-235, esp. 210-214.
\end{thebibliography}
same time, their work also conveyed the fact that ‘no one could actually know the hour or moment’ when the Antichrist would come, or the Last Judgment take place, thereby confirming Augustine’s anti-millennial influence.\textsuperscript{163} In other words, some contemporary ecclesiastics were adopting a ‘non-millenarian, non-predictive’ position in relation to the literal manifestation of apocalyptic phenomena [i.e. a specific date or time for their occurrence], whilst simultaneously advocating that people prepare their souls as last days were ‘close at hand’.\textsuperscript{164} In this sense, Palmer’s work illustrated that both of the core aspects of Augustine and Gregory’s eschatology could be synthesised by leading, orthodox ecclesiastics to create a normative mode of moral and pastoral discourse that was essentially pro-apocalyptic in character.

\textbf{1.8.4 The Reintegration of Gregorian Exegesis}

Despite a few detractors, it is evident that the fundamental premise of the ‘weak thesis’ has generally been accepted by most scholars of early medieval eschatology. That is to say, there is, in principle, agreement that apocalyptic thoughts and beliefs were a reality during the late-tenth and early-eleventh century, and their expressions are reflected through the rhetoric and dynamics of some contemporary ecclesiastical compositions, even though it was a subject that ‘was not always important in every way’ to all people.\textsuperscript{165} Moreover, there is a clear conformity on the position that, for orthodox ecclesiastics, not only did the fundamental parameters of eschatological theology remain rooted in specific parts of scripture, but the Last Judgment and its preceding prophesised phenomena (such as the coming of Antichrist), were understood to be inevitable metaphysical certainties, though they could not be

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., 208-214, esp. 210.
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., 211.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., 7.
explicitly, that is quantitatively, predicted. In this sense there was no distinct break, or unique change, in the intellectual development of eschatological theology itself during this particular period.

However, it is also very clear that there is no broad, or clear, consensus regarding the basic form and nature of the tradition, or traditions, through which ecclesiastics would learn to communicate their interpretation of eschatological theology. Specifically, there is considerable disparity regarding the methodological treatment and interpretation of two key issues that, essentially, have been caused by the lack of contemporary evidence for any critical eschatological exegeses (aside from Adso’s *Epistola*, which is specific to the figure of Antichrist), or apocalyptic commentaries.\textsuperscript{166} They are: one, the exegesis, or exegeses, that constituted the basis of the contemporary textual tradition, and two, the way(s) in which ecclesiastics were influenced by the views of the exegetical authority, or authorities, that set the intellectual parameters of the tradition, and subsequently reflected their theology within their own works (if at all).

That said, the historiography is beginning to appear to lean more towards the understanding that the late-tenth and early eleventh century apocalyptic tradition was pluralistic (at the very least dualistic) and subject to the needs and perceptions of individuals to a certain extent. In short there were few critical rules, and a lot of room for interpretation and nuance. The more recent arguments and theories put forward by Fried, McGinn, Leyser, Flori, Hughes, Derby, Wallis, and Palmer all indicate, in differing ways, that the exegetical basis of contemporary eschatological thought was

\textsuperscript{166} See section \textbf{2.1.3} for contextual and bibliographical details regarding the extant exegetical materials that were composed throughout the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.
likely constructed upon not just upon Augustine’s seminal exegetical treatises, but Gregory’s key moral tracts, and, to a lesser extent, some of Bede’s commentaries and computistical works. Furthermore, they have convincingly argued that the written tradition in which ecclesiastics could engage in eschatological discourse cannot be restricted to a singular, anti-apocalyptic paradigm; methods and modes of ecclesiastical education could be varied and subject to regional or personal circumstances and idiosyncrasies that the earlier work of the anti-terrors’ and ‘weak thesis’ did not fully take into consideration. As such we should expect Burchard’s eschatological theology to broadly reflect some of the key elements of the most historically influential exegetes and their texts, but also those he would have been taught at a young age, and most familiar with throughout his adult life. ¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ See sections 3.1.4.2.3, 3.1.4.2.5, and 3.1.6, for in-depth discussions regarding the likely texts, authorities, and events that shaped Burchard’s approach towards eschatological theology during his formative years and adult career.
Chapter 2.0

The History and Interpretation of Eschatological Exegesis: Intellectual Traditions and Educational Practices, c. 33-1050 AD

Part I: Eschatological Exegesis c. 33-1050 AD: Key Authors, Texts, and Theological Outlooks

In the first part to this chapter I will contextualise Burchard’s place within the historical development of orthodox eschatological exegesis from c. 33-1050 AD from a (largely) Western European perspective. The central focus of this overview will be to trace not only the fundamental dynamics of eschatological exegesis throughout this period, but the utility of exegetical authority over time, and any trends concerning the ways in which the exposition of exegesis varied in format. From this we will be able to establish broadly the principal traditions of early medieval eschatological exegesis, in particular the key schools of thought that delineate intellectual or interpretive trends over time. Moreover, we will also be able to discern how this exegetical legacy would likely have governed Burchard’s understanding of the basic principles of eschatological theology and his approach towards the composition of an exegetical text.

In light of Palmer’s recent extended study on the growth of the forms of apocalyptic ideology and mythology in the Latin West from c. 380-1033, this historical review will concentrate on mapping the exegetical patterns inherent to the progression of
Western eschatological theology.¹⁶⁸ In this fashion it will act as a supplement towards understanding the fundamental permutations and developments within Western apocalypticism, rather than all its broad influences.

2.1.0 Exegetical History (c. 33-1050 AD)

2.1.1 A Summary of Core New Testament Eschatological Theology

This section is intended to acquaint the reader with the founding dynamics and guidelines of Christian eschatology in a concise manner, not to give a detailed explanation as to their contents and theological nuances. To do so would require multiple volumes. As such the reader is encouraged to familiarise themselves with the language of the biblical texts cited below to acquire a full understanding of the respective authors’ theological perspective on the subject of eschatology. The following two sub-sections (2.1.1.1-2.1.2.2) aim to provide a short account of the core theological principles that are expounded within the major eschatological texts of the NT and to establish the beginnings of orthodox eschatological exegesis, so that it is evident where, how, and why later works deviate from its founding principles.

2.1.1.1 Synoptic Theology

During the time following his condemnation of the Scribes and Pharisees in the Second Temple of Jerusalem, but prior to his betrayal by Judas and the Last Supper, Christ gave a short discourse to his apostles on the Mount of Olives (Jebel et Tür).

The purpose of this particular discussion was to respond to two questions they had asked of him: one, when the Second Temple would be destroyed (as he had recently prophesised such an event (Matt. 24:1-2)), and two, what signs would herald his Second Coming, God’s final judgement, along with the end of the world. Needless to say, Christ’s response to these fundamentally significant spiritual questions was robust, detailed, and extensive. But it was also removed from either any quantitative, or temporal, fixity; the key commandments Christ issued to his apostles about the character, nature, and certainty of the apocalyptic events surrounding the Last Judgement were defined, but in an open-ended, qualitative, universally vague, manner. Quite simply, the scale, form, and future timing of the phenomena he had prophesised were unspecified. One can best grasp the sense of Christ’s apocalyptic message through the most crucial and oft cited sections from all three Synoptic records of these events (Matt. 24-25, Mark 13, and Luke 21):
'Then he [Christ] said to them: Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there shall be great earthquakes in divers places, and pestilences, and famines, and terrors from heaven; and there shall be great signs... And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, by reason of the confusion of the roaring of the sea and of the waves...For there will rise up false Christs and false prophets, and they shall shew signs and wonders, to seduce (if it were possible) even the elect... So you also, when you shall see these things come to pass, know that the kingdom of God is at hand. Amen I say to you, this generation [the age of the world] shall not come to pass away, till all things be fulfilled... But of that day and hour no one knoweth, no not the angels of heaven, but the father alone... For as a snare shall it [the Final Judgement] come upon the face of the whole earth... Take ye heed, watch and pray. For ye know not when the time is'.

It is clear that Christ issued two key commandments within each of the three Evangelists respective accounts of the ‘little apocalypse’ discourse:

- The first is that the general signs which will precede Christ’s Second Coming, the Last Judgement, and the end of the world, are going to be made apparent to mankind at some point in the future. However, the faithful will have to rely on their own observations and experience to recognise the eventual occurrence of these events. That is to say, Christ declared that it was up to the faithful to

watch for the future expression and completion of events such as ‘kingdom against kingdom’, ‘plagues’, ‘famines’, ‘signs’, etc.\textsuperscript{170}

- The second is that whilst the actuality of all these prophesised eschatological events is a certainty, and that mankind is currently living within the final generation, that is, age of the world (\textit{Matt. 24:34}, \textit{Mark 13:30}, and \textit{Luke 21:32}), when they will actually become manifest is something only known to God.\textsuperscript{171} This means, fundamentally, that the faithful cannot, and are unable to, calculate the day and hour of the apocalyptic events that are to take place at the end of time. Put bluntly, quantitative determination of future apocalyptic events is either unattainable or impracticable by any means in both a material and abstract sense. Yet the faithful can prepare for them, by, again, watching for, or observing, in real-time, their temporal occurrence. This means that qualitative surveillance is a precondition to prepare for, and possibly achieve, salvation.

It is these two principles that form the very bedrock of Christian eschatological theology; an assured promise of impending but undetermined tribulation, destruction, death, and judgement, that can only be assuaged with salvation through faith in Christ.

2.1.1.2 Apostolic Eschatology

Throughout the apostolic era, c. 33-100AD, the remaining scriptural foundations for the eschatological dimension of Christian theology were set-down within many of the

\textsuperscript{170} \textit{Matt. 24}; \textit{Mark 13}; \textit{Luke 21}.

texts that would later come to form part of the NT canon. Specifically they include the Pauline, Petrine and Johannine epistles of Rom., 1-2nd Cor., 1-2nd Thess., 1-2nd Tim., 2nd Pet., and 1-3rd John, as well as the Revelation of St John (hereinafter Rev.), an extremely dramatic, elaborate, and extensive prophetic vision of the apocalypse and God’s final judgement.172 Within all these apostolic works Christ’s eschatological commandments were re-affirmed and reiterated, without direct contradiction, to greater and lesser extents. Moreover, they fleshed out, in differing, but mostly harmonious ways, – that is, relative to the ‘little apocalypse’ –, the nature of the events and actors that were prophesised to arise before, during, and after the Last Judgement. In various instances, these works embellished upon certain elements of Christ’s prophecy, principally through the use of language, ideas, and characters from events previously foretold in the prophetic texts of the OT, such as Psa., Eccles., In Cant. Cant., Isa., Ezek., Dan., and Mal.173 It is understood that the apostle’s eschatological passages and chapters sought to develop and explain how and in what order various apocalyptic phenomena are to become manifest. They do not precisely predict or calculate when they will come about in a temporally quantified, literal sense. Specifically, none of them give an explicit day or hour for the real-time occurrence of prophesised eschatological events through the use of a historically or chronologically grounded frame of reference. Indeed, even in 2nd Thess. 2:7, when we are told that

172 The dates for the composition of Rev., the only book in the biblical canon completely devoted to the subject of apocalyptic eschatology, are contentious but generally accepted to fall between c. 68-96AD. That is, between the final years of the reigns of Emperor Nero (c. 37-69AD) and Diocletian (c. 51-96AD). See, L. L. Thompson, The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire (Oxford, 1997), 14-17; M. L. Hitchcock, ‘A Defence of the Domitianic Date of The Book of Revelation’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Dallas, 2005).

‘the mystery of iniquity is now at work’ before the arrival of Antichrist, Paul makes no claim as to the time when it began, or the time in which it will become, or is, manifest, or when it will end in the future: we are given a linear prophecy that explains about ongoing and future events without any clear sense of temporal fixity.\textsuperscript{174}

As this is a contentious issue I will elaborate my point a little further: it is very clear that all the eschatological apostolic texts use words and phrases that qualitatively evoke time to express the inevitability and perceived temporal proximity of the Second Coming and God’s Judgement, such as ‘soon’, ‘will’, ‘shall’, ‘when’, ‘shortly come to pass’, ‘now at work’, ‘already’, ‘close at hand’, and ‘he shall come’.\textsuperscript{175}

However, these expressions are not calibrated to conform, or relate, to any form of temporal exactitude, unlike, say, a ‘minute’, an ‘hour’, or a ‘week’. They are highly subjective, relative terms that, typically, convey a perception of temporal nearness or contemporaneity that is predicated upon one’s circumstantial disposition, influences, and outlook. But they are not, at least in any measurable, quantitative, way, a literal calculation, or specific delineation, of time. In other words, they have no temporarily definitive parameters. Granted, in certain instances, Rev. does cite the passing of quantified, worldly, time, in both a literal and allegorical sense, that will exist between, or for, the duration of some prophesised apocalyptic events. For instance, John mentions that locusts will torment men for ‘five months’ (Rev. 9:5) after the sounding of the fifth trumpet, and that the binding of Satan and the rule of the elect

\textsuperscript{174} \textit{2nd Thess.} 2:7. Depending on the translation, \textit{2nd Thess.} 2:7 is sometimes conveyed as: ‘for the mystery of iniquity already worketh’. Regardless of which version is more valid or accurate (my position is that both are equally valid and workable), the fact remains that the manifestation of iniquity is depicted to be ongoing in a qualitative sense; there is no quantitative demarcation as to its past, current, or future occurrence.

\textsuperscript{175} \textit{Matt.} 24; \textit{Mark} 13; \textit{Luke} 21; \textit{Rom.} 8, 11; \textit{1st Cor.} 13, 15; \textit{2nd Cor.} 12; \textit{1st Thess.} 5; \textit{2nd Thess.} 1-2; \textit{1st Tim.} 4; \textit{2nd Tim.} 2-3; \textit{2nd Pet.} 2-3; \textit{1-3rd John}; \textit{Rev.} 1-21. It is worth noting that the DRV interpretation accords with the Vulgate edition See, \textit{Biblia sacra Vulgatae editionis Sixti V, Pont. Max. Jussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita} (Paris, 1862).
will last ‘for a thousand years’ (Rev. 20:2-5) after the unknown future destruction of Antichrist. But as the phenomena he discusses are again not given a defined temporal start or end date for their occurrence, and, more significantly, are framed within a letter of a prophetic vision (that is, outside the confines of worldly time), one would be hard pressed to justify the real-time application of these dates and times in any meaningful, contextualised, or universally acceptable way, especially when one considers the fundamentality of Christ’s prior dictates in the synoptic gospels.

Given that most of the apostle’s eschatological verses are cited quite liberally in later chapters of this thesis it seems unnecessary to exemplify my historical observations using a significant range of their work in this introductory section. Consequently I believe that the point can be adequately illustrated with an excerpt from 2nd Thess. 1:7-10, wherein Paul gives thanks to the Thessalonians for their constancy by explaining how they will be rewarded after the Second Coming of Christ:

‘…And to you who are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with the angels of his power: In a flame of fire, giving vengeance to them who know not God and who obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Who shall suffer eternal punishment in destruction, from the face of the Lord and from the glory of his power: When he shall come to be glorified in his saints and to be made wonderful in all them who have believed; because our testimony was believed upon you in that day’.

\[^{176}\text{2nd Thess. 1:7-10.}\]
From this example, and our wider understanding of the function of these apostolic texts, it is evident that Christ’s fundamental eschatological commandments were kept intact, in highly embellished forms of course, and were clearly integrated. Collectively the aforementioned apostolic texts can be understood, as with the Synoptic gospels, to convey a layered, but simple prophetic message which can be approximated in the following terms:

The time of mankind’s judgement is an approaching inevitability (2nd Thess. 2:1-2, Rom. 8:19, Rev. 1:1-3). It will be heralded by momentous events of a certain nature (2nd Tim. 3, Rev., 1-3rd John, 2nd Thess. 3-8), but their future occurrence cannot be literally predicted in a quantitative, time-specific manner (Acts 1:7, 1st Thess. 5:2, 2nd Pet. 3:10, Rev. 3:3). One must therefore watch and wait for them, then prepare for salvation as and when they do become manifest (1st Thess. 5:6-10, 2nd Pet. 3:12-14, Rev. 16:15).177 The exposition of these written apostolic perspectives illustrates the short-term continuation of written eschatological outlooks that accord harmoniously with the Gospel’s record of Christ’s message concerning the way in which apocalyptic phenomena were to be interpreted and related to.

2.1.2 A Brief History of Western Eschatological Exegesis (c. 100-950AD)

The following section provides a very broad overview of Late Antique and early medieval eschatological exegesis from c. 100-950AD by illustrating when the most prominent, or well-known, eschatological perspectives were established within Latin Christianity and their basic form(s).

177 Acts 1:7; Rom. 8:19; 1st Thess. 5:2, 6-10; 2nd Thess. 2:1-2, 3-8; 2nd Tim. 3; 2nd Pet. 3:10, 12-14; 1-3rd John; Rev. 1:1-3, 3:3, 16:15.
2.1.2.1 Post- Apostolic Eschatology in the Early Church Period (c. 100-367AD)

The first two and a half centuries of the post-apostolic church, c. 100-367AD saw Christians engaged in the haphazard process of developing their religion as a centralised institution within the Roman Empire, initially without an established creed of faith and complete scriptural canon. As such, many contemporary and emergent Christian communities existed throughout this period lacking any form of shared, or widely accepted, doctrinal system that was underpinned by a parallel textual foundation. These conditions are understood to have been partly elicited and exacerbated by the extended geographical detachment of the early churches, including the deleterious effects of spurious, even contentious, oral traditions and myths, often of an apocalyptic nature, that were largely unsupported in scripture.¹⁷⁸ As a consequence of their relatively limited access to, or misguided interpretations of, the aforementioned synoptic and apostolic texts, many groups and individuals developed extremely disparate interpretations of the form, nature, and timing of the inevitable apocalypse.¹⁷⁹

The extant eschatological literature from this period indicates that one of the most controversial and highly debated apostolic eschatological texts was Rev. Indeed it would seem that the interpretation of Rev. 20, in particular Rev. 20:1-7 - John’s depiction of the thousand year binding of Satan and the reign of the saints with Christ after the first resurrection - caused significant confusion and conflict throughout the early Church. So much so, that it can be seen to have had a large hand in influencing a host of contrasting eschatological outlooks and semi-formalised traditions that can be broadly defined as being either allegorical, spiritual, unorthodox, or heretical in scope. For instance, the millennialist works of Justin Martyr (c. 100-165), Melito of Sardis (d. 180), Irenaeus of Lyons (c. 130-202), Hippolytus of Rome (c. 170–235), Julius Africanus (c. 160-240) expressed literalist interpretations of the impending millennial reign of Christ - some of which set a date for the end of the world at 6000AM (c. 500AD). At the same time, Chiliastic theologians such as Barnabas of

---


Alexandria (Saec. I-II), Papias of Hieropolis (d. 130), Tertullian (c. 160-225), Lactantius (c. 240-320), Victorinus of Pettau (d. 303), and Methodius of Olympus (d. 311), advocated that the impending ‘Kingdom of the Saints’ would be one of an earthly, material nature. On the other hand, more ‘orthodox’ ecclesiastics such as Origen (c. 184-254), Gaius of Rome (Saec. III) and Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260-340), rejected many of the theological interpretations of the aforementioned authors. They achieved this by either heavily allegorising and rationalising the millennial and chiliastic elements of Rev. in their works, or by rejecting outright several of the apostles eschatological texts as ‘official’ canon (by their knowledge), principally Rev. A very clear example of this particular position is exhibited in Bk. I, Ch. 6 of Origen’s De principiis, when he discusses the uncertain nature of the ‘end or consummation’ of the human soul:


These subjects, indeed, are treated by us with great solicitude and caution, in the manner rather of an investigation and discussion, than in that of fixed and certain decision... The end of the world, then, and the final consummation, will take place when everyone shall be subjected to punishment for his sins; a time which God alone knows, when He will bestow on each one what he deserves.¹⁸⁵

Taken together, and even within the defined groupings themselves, these exegetical perspectives convey a wide spectrum in which the intended parameters of Christ’s eschatology were either being reiterated, adapted spiritually, bent out of shape - if not outright broken - through interpretive mediation during this developmental period.

Setting aside these interpretive differences, it is clear that some elements of the perspectives and textual frameworks crafted by these particular theologians were quite influential on later eschatological authors either through direct quotation, citation, or inference.¹⁸⁶ The eschatological commentaries and eschatologically-themed texts of Origen, Hippolytus, Victorinus, and, especially, Eusebius (Origen’s student), were the primary antecedents to some of the leading exegetical works composed not only by the preeminent theological authorities within the significant future ‘period of fixation’, as well as certain intellectual circles for centuries afterwards, though to a much lesser extent.¹⁸⁷ Their differing interpretations of scripture came to form a thin


layer of useful, if highly debatable, work that linked synoptic and apostolic exegesis on the one hand, and the eschatological treatises and commentaries that some of the Great Fathers (and their learned contemporaries) would soon come to develop on the other. In short, the corpus of texts from which the future ecclesiastical authorities could be used to interpolate an approach to eschatology that would influence and accord with their own reading of scripture, was not only highly limited, but theologically marred and, indeed, intellectually challenged, by those who had previously promulgated multiple strains of literalist, millenarian, and chiliastic apocalyptic thoughts and beliefs.

2.1.2.2 High Patristic Era Eschatology (c. 367-430AD)

Within a year of Christianity’s official adoption as the state religion of the Roman Empire in 380 via the Edict of Thessalonica, a fixed biblical canon was successfully devised and promulgated by Pope Damasus (c. 305-384) at the Council of Rome in 382. By c. 405, after a succession of regional church council debates, the Latin Vulgate Bible (which had been developed and translated by St. Jerome (c. 347-420)), was accepted by the Western Church. This was a significant milestone in the history of the early church, as the establishment of a shared literary foundation, enabled

leading Latin Christian scholars, now working within an established creed [via the council of Nicaea 325], to begin to develop normative forms of theology, exegesis, and doctrine. It also meant that they were now able systematically to treat and comment upon the entire gamut of biblical texts relative to either each other, any current socio-cultural-political issues, or when seeking to explore or develop a particular branch of theology.

During the decades immediately surrounding these seminal events, several early church fathers composed a range of what would become authoritative texts that set specific theological boundaries on the accepted form and transmission of eschatological thoughts and beliefs within orthodox Christian practice. Collectively and individually, the writers Tyconius (c. 370-390), Augustine, John Cassian (360-435), and Jerome, wielded the newly established biblical canon to methodically dispel many of the extreme, literalist, and materialistic eschatological traditions that had developed within the post-Apostolic era, namely chiliasm (millenarianism) and millennialism. This was principally achieved by encouraging either an allegorical


or spiritual understanding of the more contentious messages within the Bibles eschatological passages and texts, especially Rev. 20:1-7. By utilising the full range of the eschatological canon with their own unique understandings of time, written apocalyptic traditions, and extant apocalyptic cults, these ecclesiastics were not only able to reiterate the immutable historical certainty of Christ’s eschatological precepts [synoptic eschatology], as well as the apostles’ embellished prophesies, but argue against the spiritual need to determine a literal, exact date for their manifestation, even though the world was currently within its final, that is sixth, historical age.

In essence, the eschatological work of these authors had re-asserted Christ’s dictates regarding the inevitable, but unknowable, certitude of nearly all the known, major apocalyptic events and conditions. They did so by imploring the faithful to have an unchanging disposition of ‘cautious ignorance’, whilst still encouraging them to watch for their future passing so as to prepare themselves for the impending kingdom of God, which could obviously happen at any time. The reason for adopting this theological position was twofold: one, it would seem to be the case from a Christian Neo-Platonist interpretation of scripture that one should not authoritatively claim certainty of knowing whether any material, worldly actions were in accordance with God’s plan for the coming eternity, or that which is described to be currently

---


underway. In other words, as none of events that take place within the sixth age, except those recorded in scripture alone, can be divined with any degree of certitude by man, the unfolding of eschatological prophecy cannot be plotted onto, or imposed upon the developments of worldly time, or ‘public’ history. Two, because these authors believed that their writings were pre-emptively thwarting the theological strife, social anarchy, and decline in faith that would inevitably come from any failed apocalyptic prediction of a quantitative nature. This was because they themselves had read about, previously witnessed, and continued to observe first-hand, how the prevalence of extreme, materialistic, apocalyptic fervour and ‘authoritative’ claims of apocalyptic fulfilment had been, and indeed were, detrimental to community cohesion and political stability across the Mediterranean, in particular North Africa.

Certainly, from a purely intellectual and philosophical perspective, this particular school of interpretation of the rules from Christ’s ‘little apocalypse’ makes a lot of sense. That is because a Christian community that maintains a non-apocalyptic, non-material, ‘agnostic’ outlook on eschatology, cannot be held hostage to, or have their faith compromised by, any made-up, scripturally inaccurate, or literal eschatological predictions that could be evidenced by, or linked to, historically common, worldly events and activities (disease, earthquakes, war, etc.). Yet at the same time the same community’s faith is kept ‘intact’ through the notion that the fulfilment of apocalypse is being held over them (metaphorically speaking), with the presumption for the future manifestation of apocalyptic signs. This is why the implicit central moral

---

196 Certainly, those types of naturally occurring phenomena had regularly taken place in the centuries years since Christ’s passion without signalling the imminent end of the world.
197 The effect of this particular frame work was to passively enforce and imply the need for fellow
The imperative presented in the texts of these theologians is for one to employ an understanding of eschatology that is, in essence, disconnected from temporal developments. Essentially, these theologians had created a ‘nullifying’ exegetical system that was designed to prevent apocalyptic eschatology from having any form of temporal relationship, or bearing, outside of its own ‘spiritual’ context. As such, they would be able to maintain, preserve, and defend both Christianity and Christian identity, during times of increased, or relatively profound, socio-political unrest within the Roman Empire, without directly compromising Christ’s fundamental tenets along with nearly all the inevitable, prophesised events that featured throughout the rest of the apostolic texts. This particular agnostic perspective became especially pronounced towards the closing years of the fourth and well into the opening decades of the fifth century, in relation to the widespread perception of Empire’s profound state of decline as the pagan Vandals and Burgundians encroached ever deeper into Gaul and the Balkans, as people began to complain about and question Christianity’s role in creating this particular period of crisis.

2.1.2.2.1 Augustine’s Influence and Authority

Though these seminal authorities all contributed to the development and promulgation of a spiritual, non-millennial form of eschatological exegesis, it was principally book twenty of Augustine’s seminal work, DCD, which was grounded in the earlier work of Tyconius (Liber regularum and Commentarius Expositio Apocalypsoeos), along with ecclesiastics and the laity to engage in moral behaviour in order to attain salvation.

---

Jerome’s *Commentarii in Danielem* (hereinafter *Comm. in Dan.*), that would have one of the most lasting, prominent roles in shaping the conception and expression of future eschatological discourse by churchmen well into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and even beyond. The core of Augustine’s ‘rules’ should really be understood as a composite re-iteration of Christ and the apostles’ eschatological framework and imagery: they are not ostensibly new theological regulations *per se.* Despite the fact that he was the first Western theologian to reconcile (nearly) all the various figures, phenomena and factors inherent to the eschatological sections of the *NT* into one cohesive expositional ‘book’, as a (relatively) concise, reactionary treatise to rampant and largely unmitigated popular Apocalypticism, Augustine’s core eschatological ‘rules’ are the *NT*’s rules. The reason for this is because he did not add any majorly significant or ‘heretical’ deviation to their interpretation apart from underpinning his opinions, regarding the unfolding of end times, with the perception that there had not yet been any fulfilment of eschatological prophecy since its initial declaration. This is a relatively ‘static’ theological position wherein everything ‘eschatological’ or ‘apocalyptic’ is yet to happen even though the final age of the world is currently underway. In other words, all prophesised apocalyptic events are yet to occur in the unknown future (i.e. the coming of Elijah, the conversion of the Jews, and the persecutions of Antichrist).


200 See section 1.8.0 for discussions on the interpretation of the nature of Augustinian exegesis within the current historiography of late-tenth and early-eleventh century eschatological exegesis and apocalyptic thought.

201 Augustine, *DCD*, Bk. XX, Chs. 5-7, 900-910.
With Augustine’s work there is the inherent presumption that almost every sign and event of significance is not related, or necessarily bound, to the unfolding of prophesised apocalyptic events. This approach is based on his belief that their nature is beyond human understanding or comprehension [DCD, Bk. XX, Ch. 30]. Quite simply, Augustine’s perspective is staring down the future unfolding of sixth age with such a profound sense of intellectual humility, meekness, and lack of material certitude that he does not wish for either himself or others to comment seriously about its temporal unfolding. Basically, Augustine believes that mankind cannot perceive the passing of events until they happen, which will be in a profound, transcendent manner that will surpass ‘anything our human understanding is now capable of understanding’.

A good example of this can be found in DCD, Bk. XX, Ch. 19, when he outright refuses to interpret or comment on the meaning and implications of Thess. 2:7:

‘…For what does he mean by saying, ‘For the secret power of wickedness [mystery of iniquity] is already at work; only let him who now restrains, restrain him until he is removed from the scene, and then the wicked one will be revealed’? I admit that the meaning of this completely escapes me’.

As we can observe, Augustine is at such pains to work intellectually around the unequivocal statement of the ongoing occurrence of eschatological phenomena that not only does he claim not to know what it means, but states quite clearly (slightly)

---

202 Augustine, DCD, Bk. XX, Ch. 30, 958-963.
203 Ibid., DCD, Bk. XX, Ch. 30, 963.
204 Ibid., DCD, Bk. XX, Ch. 19, 932-933.
further in the chapter his astonishment ‘at the great presumption of those who venture such guesses’. 

In principle Augustine’s particular mediation of biblical eschatology attempted to directly return to Christ’s apocalyptic vision in an immediate sense, to ‘hard reset’ the outlook of the faithful to the original synoptic perspective (or historical condition, as it were), whilst trying plausibly to account for the imagery and complicated time-issues inherent to the supplementary apostolic ones. By setting out this theological position, Augustine hoped to illustrate two fundamental points to his contemporary and future audiences, in relation to the recent sacking of Rome, the Holy City, in 410 by the Visigoths under Alaric (c. 370-410), an event that had dealt a shocking blow to most of its citizens and leaders. The first was that whilst the sacking had been calamitous and was indicative of a period of decline within the empire, it did not mean that it was at an end altogether, or that people should criticise Christianity unduly. The reason being that the Empire had already experienced multiple catastrophes throughout its long history that were, in many respects, quite profound, without destroying it, and that the length of these previous wars continued at God’s discretion. The second was that this particular event alongside the encroachments of the barbarian peoples cannot be directly, or specifically, observed as an indication of the unfolding of the time of eschaton, again for similar reasons.

---

205 Ibid., DCD, Bk. XX, Ch. 19, 933.
207 See section 2.1.1 to review the fundamental rules for understanding and interpreting eschatological theology. Also see, Marcus, Saeculum, 43-44; Daley, The Hope of the Early Church, 132-133; Fredriksen, ‘Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity’, 160; Leyser, Authority and Asceticism, 7-8; Palmer, The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages, 25-27, 35-42.
2.1.2.2 Parallel Alternative Perspectives

Despite their future use as core exegetical templates for orthodox discourse on eschatology, it is necessary to point out that the anti-literalist, anti-materialistic, and non-apocalyptic, theological outlook crafted by Tyconius, Augustine, and Jerome, was not rapidly established, or widely accepted relative to both its place and time in history. When faced with the increasing pressure placed on the Western Empire by escalating barbarian migrations, invasions, and battles, it was simply unacceptable to many ecclesiastics to endorse such a seemingly ‘disengaged’ spiritual disposition regarding what they perceived to be the current manifestation of apocalyptic signs, that is, events, which indicated the imminent end of the world.208 Certainly, a considerable number of Augustine and Jerome’s correspondents and near contemporaries were sufficiently secure in their own judgement and authority to produce eschatological texts that can be plainly observed to have diverged from, or significantly challenged, some, if not all, of their particular precepts. This was either due to ignorance, disagreement, or simply a different interpretation of scripture, along with their perception of both time and their own moral authority. For example, some of the writings of St Ambrose, another of the four Great Fathers (c. 340-397) and Bishop Hilarianus of Timidia Regia (Saec. IV-V) both expressed differing types of millennialist interpretations of history which predicted the remaining time in which the future resurrection would occur in (500AD).209 Furthermore, Martin of Tours (c. 316-397), Sulpicius Severus (c. 363-425) (one of Martin’s students), Augustine’s

208 Daley, Hope of the Early Church, 124-167; Fredriksen, ‘Tyconius and Augustine on the Bible’, 35.
famous correspondent, Bishop Hesychius of Salona (Saec. IV-V), and Bishop Evodius of Uzala (Saec. IV-V), are all recorded to have stated that that they could directly observe the fulfilment of prophetic signs which, indicated that the time of the Antichrist and Second Coming was ‘at hand’. Indeed, even Quodvultdeus (d. 453), one of Augustine’s students, in a later text (c. 445-449), decided to underpin his interpretation of scripture, like Hesychius, with an historical [linear], literalist conception of time by claiming that the recent invasions of the Aryan Vandals were a clear sign of the persecutions of Antichrist (Liber de promissionum et praedictorum Dei, Chs. IX-X). From this limited range of examples, it is clear that the Tyconius-Jerome-Augustine interpretation of eschatology and history was not (initially) widely adhered to by contemporary ecclesiastical leaders and authors. Moreover, all the texts by these pro-apocalyptic authors not only illustrate that eschatological exegesis continued to be relatively subjective and divisive, but that ecclesiastical authors were aware of their lack of consensus on this issue. In other words it remained relatively commonplace to debate and conjecture the nuances of this fundamental religious subject within very broad theological parameters.

210 Sulpicius Severus, Dialogi, Bk. I, Chs. 20-21, Bk. 2, Chs. 3-4, ed. C. Halm, CSEL 1 (Vienna, 1886), 172-174, 183-185; Augustine, Epistola, no. 199, CSEL 57, 279-92; Daley, The Hope of the Early Church, 117, 124-127, 150; Fredriksen, ‘Apocalypse and Redemption in Early Christianity’, 160-161, 173-174, 179; Hughes,Constructing Antichrist, 33-34, 97-103, 150. It is worth noting that we do not know if Hesychius changed or altered his perspective on the recent fulfilment of many of Christ’s signs (as his reply to Augustine’s 199 letter is no longer extant, but the 199 letter does reflect what was likely to be something closer to the common, orthodox perspective of Christian leaders at this time in comparison to Augustine’s minority view.

2.1.2.3 Late Patristic, Late Antique Eschatological Exegesis (c. 430-750)

It is worth reminding the reader that during this period in particular (c. 430-750AD), not only is the extant evidence for the development of western eschatological exegesis quite sparse, but the historiography concerning its overarching shape and normative forms is, in comparison to other eras, somewhat minimal and speculative in places.\textsuperscript{212}

As Daley, Hughes, and Matter have indicated quite clearly in their work on early medieval exegesis, from c. 485-750, only thirty-five biblical commentaries were produced in the West, fourteen of which were produced by Bede (c. 672/3-735). Setting aside Bede’s work, only nine are eschatological in focus. Consequently, there is not as much primary material to explore as previous periods within the Latin West. [To an extent this is also the case for the succeeding period of exegetical history (c. 750-950)]. The reader is reminded that the overview I have set out below can only provide, at best, an incomplete impression of early medieval eschatological exegetical traditions and perspectives within this set time frame, compared to those either side of it. Awareness of the increased restriction and decay of both literacy and text production in the West, in addition to the shifting focus and impulses of Christian leaders to inspire, secure, and restore the faith of their communities, as the Western Empire dissolved, must underlie any account of this period. Moreover I will only begin to address how some of the complexities of the societal collapse that transpired in the West affected the dynamics of the production, transmission, and dissemination of ecclesiastical literature in general, especially eschatological texts, from c. 430-1050, in part two of this chapter (2.2.0).

Parallel to, and for centuries after, the production of the non-apocalyptic exegetical texts, by Tyconius, Jerome, and Augustine, the West entered into what would transpire to be an ever-accelerating, extended period of profound socio-cultural decline and transformation. Broadly speaking it can be observed that within the approximate time span c. 400-750, the established structures of the Western Empire stalled, fragmented, and then irrevocably changed to give way to new polities, whilst the Eastern Empire, Byzantium, endured as a power in its own right. These changes impacted upon and were recorded by churchmen and local churches. Indeed, whilst the Church was initially able to retain its integrity whilst maintaining good relations with the East to continue developing an orthodox consensus on doctrine, both its internal and external associations became ever more strained, fractured and controversial, as ecclesiastics increasingly sought to deal with regional pressures and the limitations of localised economies. In short, as the apparatus of Empire crumbled, the Western Church struggled to support intellectual development to the extent that it had in the fourth and fifth centuries.213

Alongside the widespread degradation and increasing restriction of both education and the promotion of Latin culture in the West, including the continued, albeit limited, negotiation of Christian orthodoxy, we can detect the construction of a moderate number of exegetical texts that authoritatively engage with the subject of eschatological theology. These particular exegeses appear to conform to two particular types of textual format through which their respective authors expressed their interpretation of eschatological theology. Specifically, these two textual forms can be

---

appropriated by the following terms: firstly, exegetical commentary on the books of either 2nd Thess. (as typically expressed within larger commentaries on the Epistles of Paul) or Rev.; secondly, patristic eschatological exegesis within a moral, or dogmatic, theological framework.\textsuperscript{214} As many of these late antique texts seem to have emerged in very loose, but discernable, linear patterns of time (in what can only be described as ‘fits and starts’), it seems appropriate to briefly describe each format in turn, so as to illustrate how and where they correspond to one another (if at all), along with any similarities or patterns concerning the form and nature of their eschatological outlook.

2.1.2.3.1 Late Antique Eschatological Commentaries

It is quite evident that by the end of the fourth century, churchmen in Northern Africa and Western Europe were either unable, or no longer sought, to produce theological commentaries on any of the eschatological texts that featured within the orthodox biblical canon (and for that matter any other book of the Bible). Indeed, it would appear that Tyconius’ \textit{Expositio Apocalypseos}, and Jerome’s \textit{Commentarius in Apocalypsin} (a revision and expansion upon Victorinus’ \textit{Commentarius in Apocalypsin}), were the last eschatological biblical commentaries on Rev. to be composed in the Latin world for almost a century and a half.\textsuperscript{215} However, by the mid-

\textsuperscript{214} See chapters \textbf{4.0-6.0} to observe the theological framework within which Burchard set the eschatological exegesis within \textit{Liber Vicesimus}.

\textsuperscript{215} As I have already asserted there is no clear or singular reason for this lengthy dearth in the composition of Western exegetical texts. However the two most likely factors are; one, the severity and scale of the disruption that the disintegration of the Western Empire brought to the integrity and stability of the continuation and development of Western theology; and, two, the fact that most ecclesiastical efforts spent towards negotiating points of orthodoxy, especially after the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451 were principally directed at resolving the Christology controversy. In other words, it would seem as though eschatology became a relatively marginal theme in the West both by design and circumstance, rather than a collective belief in the unassailable veracity of the tents set by Tyconius, Jerome, or Augustine. See Daley, \textit{Hope of the Early Church}, 205-215; Matter, ‘The Apocalypse in Early Medieval Exegesis’, 41-24; Palmer, \textit{The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages}, 27-42.
sixth century, once the decline and collapse of the Roman Empire in the West had become increasingly palpable to the European peoples, we can see a renewed wave of interest in the creation of eschatological commentaries that exclusively treat Rev. and, in one instance, 1st.-2nd Thess.. The particular texts can be understood to conform to two partially distinct (though related) traditions, which draw on slightly different configurations, or ranges, of authority and theology to construct their eschatological outlooks:

- This first group entails the commentaries that were independently composed by Primasius of Hadrumetum (d. 565), Caesarius of Arles (c. 470-542/3), Apringius of Beja (Saec. VImed), and Cassiodorus (d. 580), between c. 537-580. Not only were these commentaries on Rev. written within a relatively short space from one another, but they emerged in very different localities, such as Visigothic Spain, Merovingian France, Ostrogothic Italy, and

---

216 It is essential to point out that, with one exception, exegetical commentaries on the works of Paul, in particular 1.-2nd Thess, essentially end with the writer simply known as ‘Ambrosiaster’ (Saec. IVmhd) and Augustine in DCD, and do not appear again until we see a significant revival during the Carolingian renaissance throughout the late eighth and ninth centuries. See, Ambrosiaster, Commentarii ad Thessalonicensis II, Chs. 1-3, ed. H. J. Vogels, CSEL 81.3 (Vienna, 1969), 235-248; F. Gumerlock, ‘Patristic Commentaries on Revelation’, in Kerux, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Sept. 2008), 3-13.

Byzantine Northern Africa. What distinguishes these particular commentaries on *Rev.* is that their interpretations of eschatological theology are very heavily, almost exclusively, drawn from the linguistic, intellectual, and theological apparatus of the Victorinus/Jerome-Tyconius-Augustine tradition, with very little deviation. Indeed, none of the exegetical works by this small group of ecclesiastics seeks to comment upon either the temporal manifestation of eschatological phenomena, nor do they try to apply eschatological prophecy to human history. In actual fact it is apparent that they developed allegorical interpretations of *Rev.* that were largely Christological and ecclesiastical in focus.\(^{218}\) That is to say, their exegeses explain the events, actors, and themes inherent to *Rev.* only as symbolic representations of either the life of Christ or the history of the early Christian church. It is these works that provided a direct channel for the increased diffusion and widening circulation of the Tyconius-Augustinian position throughout Western Europe during the early medieval period.\(^{219}\)

- The second exegetical vein solely concerns the eschatological commentary composed by Bede: *Expositio Apocalypseos.*\(^{220}\) The reason for this exception to the previous grouping derives from the fact that Bede’s work was composed not only after the death of Pope Gregory the Great, the last of the four great fathers (and, arguably, founder of the medieval church), but with reference to many of the mid-sixth-century commentaries that drew almost exclusively

from the Tyconius-Jerome-Augustinian tradition (above). In this sense Bede’s work is not simply, or exclusively, a ‘first wave’ reiteration and adaptation of high-patristic era exegetical works, but a contemporaneous document that builds on the theological outlooks conveyed by its immediate predecessors. We can observe this through the fact that Bede’s work was drawn from not only the structural arrangements and rhetoric inherent in Tyconius’, Caesarius’, and Primasius’ commentaries, but also the ethical and moral interpretation of synoptic eschatology expressed in Gregory’s *Moralia in Iob, Homiliae in evangelia*, and *Dialogi*, texts that are acknowledged to have been available to, and read, by Bede. Certainly it is clear that Bede’s commentary accepts the primacy of the Jerome-Tyconius-Augustine tradition, but at the same time he tacitly weaves in pastoral elements of Gregory’s work that indicate an underlying conviction regarding the perceived nearness of the end of the world. That aside, Bede’s commentary also reveals a limited, or ‘silent’, acceptance of Gregory’s own unique eschatological outlook within a few generations of its initial composition and the ability of intellectuals to use both positions in a complimentary fashion.

Collectively all of these eschatological commentaries would go on to influence the exegetical texts which were later produced during the beginning of the early medieval

---


period as well as the Carolingian Renaissance (Saec. VII\textsuperscript{ex}-IX\textsuperscript{ex}).\textsuperscript{224} However, it must be stressed that they would predominantly impact upon the development of commentaries on Rev., not necessarily those pertaining to the Synoptic Gospels, or 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess.

2.1.2.3.2 Late Antique Patristic Eschatological Exegesis

Parallel to the composition of this small corpus of eschatological commentaries on Rev. and 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess., we can observe the re-emergence and establishment of exegetical approaches towards eschatological theology that contrast with, but (in principle) do not oppose the theological foundations of the Tyconius-Jerome-Augustine tradition. To be more precise, it is clear that two highly influential patristic authors, who were (arguably) as learned and erudite as Jerome and Augustine, chose to compose and promulgate exegetical works that do not appear to adopt, or conform to (either fully or in part) an understanding of the Synoptic rules, the prophesised phenomena inherent to 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess., and a vision of Rev., within an purely agnostic, non-apocalyptic historical framework. That is to say, these authorities developed, produced, and successfully transmitted, their own re-iterations of the Synoptic rules, either with or without reference to other biblical texts (i.e. 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. or Rev.), or exegetical texts, that were eschatologically immersed (situated) within a qualitative impression of pro-apocalyptic, linear history.

Specifically, some of the letters, homilies, and seminal theological treatises of the last of the four Great Fathers, Pope Gregory the Great, can be observed to qualitatively

\textsuperscript{224} See section 2.1.2.4 for a discussion on the exegetical texts that were produced during, and influenced by, this seminal early medieval cultural movement.
express the sentiment that the passing of certain historical and contemporary events, such as the fall of the Christian Empire in the West, and the subsequent large-scale persecution of Christians, not only indicate the continuing fulfilment of Christ’s prophecy, but mankind’s increased, if unknowable, proximity to the Second Coming. In Gregory’s case the expression of this perspective is constructed almost exclusively through the application of the language inherent to the eschatological chapters of the Synoptic gospels within both a moral and pastoral framework. He took the un-contextualised, universal nature of the signs and events described by Christ and then applied them to his own historical and contemporary environment. The reason for doing this lies with Gregory’s belief that ecclesiastics should nurture and convey their moral authority through the observation of visual signs ‘present in time’. Therefore the purpose of constructing eschatological text in this manner was not only to express his perception of the near realisation of the time of the Last Judgement but to encourage his audiences to prepare for their imminent salvation by engaging in good deeds. The clearest example of this position can be found in Gregory’s *Homilia I* (homily on Luke 21:25-3) from his *Homiliae xl in evangelia*:

---


‘Just before the passage form the holy Gospel you have just heard, dear friends, the Lord says that nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom; there will be great earthquakes in various places, and pestilence and famine. Then comes what you have just listened to: There will be signs in the sun and the moon and the stars, and on the earth distress of nations with perplexity, the roaring of the sea and the waves. We see some of these things already coming to pass, and dread that the rest are soon to follow… Before Italy was handed over to be struck by the pagan’s sword, we saw fiery flashes in the sky indicating the blood of the human race was shed… I am saying these things dearly beloved, for this reason, that your minds may be watchful and disposed to caution, that they not grow lax… Let fear make them ever alert, and alertness strengthen them in good works… At the coming our severe Judge they [angels] will appear… to demand of us an exact account of all the things our unseen creator patiently tolerates’.227

From this excerpt we can see that Gregory has not broken Christ’s, or by extension, Augustine’s rule regarding the quantitative calculation of the date or time of the occurrence of prophesised eschatological phenomena. Yet at the same time he has also clearly communicated, in a qualitative sense, his observations regarding his perception of their ongoing occurrence. In this respect Gregory’s core exegetical ‘rules’ are the NT rules. The only thing that sets Gregory theology apart from Augustine’s is that he underpinned his outlook with the qualitative view that there had been some fulfilment of eschatological prophecy since its initial declaration, but that

227 Gregory the Great, Homiliae xl in evangelia, Homilia I, ed. R. Étaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout, 1999), 5-11; trans. D. D. Hurst, Forty Gospel Homilies: Gregory the Great (Kalamazoo, 1990), 15-20. It is worth noting that I have chosen to follow Étaix’s numeration for this source rather than Hurst’s, who has set this to be Gregory’s third homily.
events of a similar nature would continue to occur during the remainder of the sixth age, whilst others had not yet come to pass.

In a similar fashion, some of the encyclopaedic, historical, and theological treatises of the last Latin Church father, Bishop Isidore of Seville (560-636), factually and scripturally illustrate the disposition that not only has the sixth age been underway for sometime (albeit with its end known only to God), but that the ‘mystery of iniquity’ is currently being worked by the Antichrist before he is revealed.228 This is something that we know Augustine claimed to not understand and worked into his non-apocalyptic eschatological treatise.229 This position is best illustrated in Bk. I, Ch. 25 of Isidore’s Sententiae (a book that provides proscriptions on theology and ecclesiology), when engaging with the subject of the Antichrist and how his coming will impact upon the both humanity and the faithful to attain salvation:

‘Everyone who either does not live according to the rule of his profession, or teaches otherwise is an Antichrist. But there are many that will not be seen in the time of the Antichrist, but they are to be found among the members of the Antichrist. Before the Antichrist should come, many of his followers will proceed him... according to the Apostle’s sentence, who affirms that he is now working the mystery of iniquity, even before he is revealed’.230


229 See, Augustine, DCD, Bk. XX, Ch. 19, 932-933. See section 2.1.2.2, esp. 2.1.2.2.1, to review Augustine’s eschatological outlook.

230 Isidore of Seville, Sententiae, Bk. I, Ch. 25, CCSL 111, 79-81. Translation by Dr Alwyn Harrison, University of Exeter 20/08/2013. See 3.4.5.2.3 for more details.
From this we can see that Isidore has stated, though in a less assertive manner than Gregory, that the present condition of history is directly tied to, and an expression of, the ongoing fulfilment of a component eschatological prophecy. As such, Isidore is situating mankind somewhere (just) inside the final, apocalyptic, stages of the sixth age, and ultimately, closer to the end of the world. But, he has refrained from quantifying or predicting the day and time of the arrival of Antichrist himself.

Both Gregory and Isidore’s positions are very simple but highly effective from a pastoral point of view, as they are both stating, essentially, the same ‘rules’ as Augustine (and to a lesser extent Jerome). But the difference is that their exegetical frameworks allow for the passing and experience of both previous and current events to illustrate qualitatively the unfolding of prophesised eschatological events within the sixth age, whilst tempering it with the belief that one cannot quantitatively predict the future manifestation of apocalyptic phenomena (as there are certainly more signs to be fully expressed before that point). It can be best described, functionally, as the continual immersion of mankind into apocalyptic time, but without any clear end: it is a perpetual culmination that waxes and wanes with the passing of events. In sum, their exegetical frameworks are nearly identical to Augustine’s except that they can account for, accommodate (either through dismissal or slow accretion), and weather a more realistic, human, fallible observation of linear events.

2.1.2.3.3 Gregory’s Influence and Authority

It is quite evident that Gregory and his works had an immense impact upon the survival, reunification, and development of both the Latin Church and Christianity
itself from the late-sixth to the early-seventh century and beyond. Such was his influence that not only were his principle works on morality - *Moralia in Iob*, *Dialogi* and *Homiliae in evangelia* - widely disseminated, but they were quickly considered to form part of the core corpus of fundamental Christian texts.\(^{231}\) Indeed, from as early as the late-seventh and early-eighth century, his authority was almost universally accepted by Carolingian ecclesiastics to be on par with that of Ambrose, Jerome, and Jerome.\(^{232}\) In this sense, Gregory’s approach towards eschatological theology after this period can be considered to be just as orthodox and authoritative as Jerome’s and Augustine’s within the Western canon.

2.1.2.3.4 Late Antique Eschatological Exegesis

As a consequence of these factors and conditions, it would appear that late antique Western eschatological exegetical discourse could be relatively flexible. Or at the very least, was subject to both the relevant hermeneutic texts available to, and the theological preferences of, the ecclesiastical writer in question at the particular time they composed an eschatological text. More significantly, it is also evident that the indeterminate, unfixed nature of the use of high-patristic eschatology did not discourage the continuing transmission and dissemination of qualitative apocalyptic thoughts and beliefs. Quite the contrary, given the centrality of eschatological events to Christian salvation, it is clear that the audiences of the later patristic texts were being encouraged to ‘watch for the signs’ of apocalypse in a relatively urgent,

\(^{231}\) See section 2.2.2 for extended discussions on the general availability and promotion of Gregory the Great’s seminal moral works within ecclesiastical institutions across Western Europe.

forward-looking fashion, in contrast to Augustine’s sober, low-key, unassuming modesty.

2.1.2.4 Early Medieval Eschatological Exegesis (c. 750-950AD)

During the opening centuries of the early medieval period, that is, the post-patristic period between (c. 750-950), the West experienced what is widely recognised to be, an extremely significant, if historically short lived, period of stability and cultural revitalisation through the establishment of the Neo-Roman, Carolingian Empire under Charlemagne (c. 742-814), which lasted from c. 768-888. Under the auspices of a small circle of *literati* at the Carolingian court, chief among them Alcuin of York (c. 735-804), concerted efforts were made to renew and develop both the quality and availability of leaning and literature in the West. It is recognised that the work begun at Charlemagne’s court would develop into a major cultural movement that is now referred to as the Carolingian Renaissance.

During the time of this cultural revival, we can observe moderate increases of ecclesiastical interests in the composition of exegetical commentaries, particularly on *Matt.*, 2nd *Thess.* and *Rev.*. The extant exegetical works that can be securely dated to this period were produced mostly by those with a connection to the Carolingian revival. They are: Alcuin, Beatus of Liébana (c. 730-800), Christian of Stavelot (Saec. XI), Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780-856), Florus of Lyons (c. 810-860), Paschasius

---


Rabertus, (c. 786–865), Haimo of Auxerre (d. 875), and Remigius of Auxerre (841–908). Although the majority of their commentaries predominantly appear to have drawn upon the authority and language of Augustine’s DCD and Jerome’s Ep. no. 121, we can also observe a few instances of brief citations from Gregory’s Homiliae in evangelia, Homiliae in Ezekiel, and Ambrosiaster’s In Epist. B. Pauli Ad Thessalonicenses Secundam. What is most interesting about many of these commentaries is the fact that whilst they formally acknowledge Augustine’s exegetical model as a traditional source for eschatological discourse, they also seek to establish their own place in history by recognising the events of the past through the expression of some of the apocalyptic events described in 2nd Thess. For instance, in Haimo’s Expositio in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses (hereinafter Exp. in ep. II Thess.), there is a clear recognition of the historical and ongoing reality of the ‘mystery of iniquity’ when reflecting on the realities of the past, in particular the Roman persecutions of Christians. This because we are told that:

---


236 Hrabanus Maurus, Expositio in Matthaeum, Bk. 7, Ch. 24, CCCM 174A, 610-647; Hrabanus Maurus, Expositio in epistolam secundam ad thessalonicenses, Chs. 1-2, PL 112:567B-574D; Hughes, Constructing Antichrist, 38-48, 73-80, 84, 121-123, 139-141, 144-69, 169-173, 189-190, 220-222.
‘(2:7) For the mystery of iniquity is already at work

*Mysterium* in Greek is something hidden and secret in the Latin vocabulary. Thus he calls the murder of the holy martyrs and the persecution of Christ’s faithful carried out by Nero and his princes as the ‘mystery of iniquity’. This is called a ‘mystery’ because what the devil works openly through Antichrist when he kills the holy martyrs Elijah and Enoch and all the rest, that he already does secretly through his own members. Nero and his princes, killing through those princes the apostolic martyrs. Thus the mystery of iniquity was begun by Nero, who, with his father the devil secretly urging him on, killed the holy martyrs in his zeal for idols. It continued up to Diocletian and Julian the Apostate, who slew many saints’.237

Whilst Haimo provides a much more detailed and lengthy discussion of this issue, the point remains clear that whilst no quantitative date or time has been formally set for the occurrence of this particular facet. Begun under Nero’s reign, it is depicted as continuing to occur as a facet of reality. In this sense Haimo is expressing an approach towards the composition of exegetical text that matches Isidore’s, and in an indirect sense, Gregory’s. Certainly it is not clear that his work is using these particular authorities, but it is only Christ, and by extension, Augustine’s rule that is being accepted on the discussion of this particular issue.

As a small collective the works of these particular ecclesiastics can be seen to have both directly, and indirectly, influenced the shape and form of some eschatological and eschatologically themed texts well into the late-tenth- and early-eleventh

---

centuries, both as theological and literary models, in particular commentaries on 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. and Rev..

2.1.2.5 Summation of Early Medieval Eschatological Exegesis

Considering the above factors, it is apparent that throughout the mid-fifth to the mid-tenth-century, the discussion of eschatological subjects, eschatological issues, and apocalyptic expectations, endured as a resurgent, sometimes prominent theme within the written theological commentaries, treatises, and historical records, of a wide range of preeminent theologians, noted ecclesiastics, and Christian institutions. In this sense, the continuation and development of this eschatological exegesis created a relatively loose, informal continuum that accumulated and projected the works of a variety of ecclesiastics that held fairly different eschatological outlooks, some more consistently and strongly than others. But what is important to note is that some of these patristic and ecclesiastical sources did not blindly accept all the facets of Augustine’s eschatological exegesis as conveyed in \textit{DCD}, and \textit{Ep. no. 199}: in some cases the recorded language of Christ himself and the apostle Paul was utilised directly to convey approaches towards interpreting both the historical and ongoing reality of eschatological sins and events in a qualitative manner that was not in any measurable way quantitative. This indicates that a degree of interpretive autonomy was employed by a number of ecclesiastics when constructing exegetical texts that engage with eschatological theology.
2.1.3 Late-Tenth- and Early-Eleventh Century Exegetical Texts (c. 950-1050)

Once the Carolingian Empire began to fracture and dissolve during the mid-to-late-ninth century, the cultural impetus and resources necessary to produce new exegetical commentaries in the West were, once again, severely diminished. As such, between the mid-tenth- and the late-eleventh-century, only two exegetical works, appear to have been produced within the extant Western canon.238 No exegetical commentaries on any biblical book, or series of eschatological issues, appear to have been produced in the West between Thietland of Einseideln’s (d. 965), *Expositio in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses* (c. 945-964), and Atto of Vercelli’s (c. 924-961) *Expositio in Epistola II ad Thessalonicenses* (Saec. Xmed), on the one hand, and Lanfranc of Canterbury’s (c. 1005-1089) *Gloss* on 2nd *Thess*. (c. 1055-1060), along with Bruno of Segni’s (c. 1050-1123) and Rupert of Deutz’s (d. 1129) *In Apocalypsim* (c. 1085-Saec. XIIim), on the other.239 Such a significant lull in the composition of exegetical texts suggests two things about the nature of exegesis during this period. The first is that there may have been a general hiatus in ecclesiastical attention towards re-interpreting, re-formulating, and debating eschatological exegesis. The second is that churchmen throughout the late-tenth- to early-eleventh-century would have likely based their interpretations of eschatology upon some, if not many, of the works of exegetes and theologians produced from c. 400-950. From this perspective,

238 Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist*, 115-176.
contemporary interpretations and approaches towards eschatology exegesis are likely to have been relatively static and retrospective, in a fashion similar to that which we previously observed between the early-fifth to early-sixth-century. That is to say, with no clear sense of the dynamics of the exegetical tradition during this timeframe, we cannot simply assume that any singular exegetical outlook or text held a dominant position. Given the nuance and complexity of the way in which exegesis was synthesised over time, it is more likely that contemporary eschatology was situated within a pluralistic continuum of many converging influences. Was this, indeed, the case?

Whilst there is little formal exegesis, this period witnessed a veritable explosion in the production of texts with eschatological concerns comparable in scale only to that of the late patristic period. To specify the most well-known exemplars: this collection of ‘millennial’ texts typically begins with Adso of Montier-en-Der’s (d. 992) Epistola (c. 950/4), along with Thietland and Atto’s commentaries on 2nd Thess. (Saec. X\textsuperscript{med}); it then develops and peaks with Gerbert of Rheims’ (c. 945-1003) Acta concilii Remensis (c. 995), Abbo of Fleury’s (c. 945/50-1004) Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum reges Francorum (hereinafter Apologeticus, c. 996), Ælfric of Eynsham’s (c. 950-1010) Sermones Catholici (c. 990-995), Byrhtferth of Ramsey’s (c. 970-1016) Enchiridion (c. 1010), and Wulfstan’s Sermo Lupi (c. 1009-1013/1014); it then wanes and formally ‘ends’ with Ademar’s Chronicon (c. 1028), and Rudolfus Glaber’s (c. 985–1047) Historia, c. 1044.\footnote{Adso of Montier-en-Der, Epistola ad Gerbergam reginam de ortu et tempore Antichristi, ed. D. Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976); trans. B. McGinn, Apocalyptic Spirituality. Treatises and Letters of Lactantius, Adso of Montier-en-Der, Joachim of Fiore, the Franciscan Spirituals, Savonarola (New York, 1979), 89-96; Thietland of Einsiedeln, Expositio in epistolam II ad Thessalonicenses, 41-72; Atto of Vercelli, Expositio in epistolarum Pauli, PL 134:655-664; Acta concilii Remensis, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 3 (1839), 658-686; Apologeticus ad Hugonem et Rodbertum
these texts, it is currently accepted that their respective authors intended to either record or to respond to both ecclesiastical and lay interpretations of perceived eschatological phenomena, religious concerns, and issues pertaining to the interpretation of eschatological theology.\textsuperscript{241} At the very least, these texts demonstrate that interest in discussing and recording eschatological issues continued to be commonplace within certain ecclesiastical circles across Western Europe.

However, as we discussed in chapter \textbf{1.0}, it is very difficult to establish the form and nature of the eschatological outlooks expressed within this accepted corpus. The majority of these works do not conform to the style or format of what could be called a typical early medieval commentary or exposition on the exegesis of eschatology. In other words, these ‘millennial’ texts engage with eschatology, but do not clearly situate their discussion within an established textual tradition, or cite explicitly most, if any, of the authorities and texts that they are using to construct their theology.\textsuperscript{242} In this respect their eschatological comments are ambiguous as it is not possible to determine accurately if they are simply stylistic in nature, if they are expressing an eschatological outlook that is completely unique, or if their views are based upon a particular exegesis (or combination thereof). At this stage there only appear to be

\begin{flushleft}

\textsuperscript{241} See section \textbf{1.8.0} for discussions on the form and nature of eschatological exegesis and apocalyptic thought in the late-tenth and early-eleventh century.

\textsuperscript{242} See chapter \textbf{1.0}, especially section \textbf{1.8.0}, for discussions concerning the form and nature of late-tenth and early-eleventh century eschatological exegesis and apocalyptic thought as expressed within the extant literature.
incidental parallels or similarities between the likely exegetical authorities and textual traditions that guided each of these texts, or indeed the nature of the outlook they are trying to convey.

Part II: Intellectual Traditions and Educational Practices

2.2.0 The Study and Composition of Eschatological Text during the Early Medieval Period.

Having traced the evolution of Christian eschatological thought and exegesis up to the eleventh century, in the second part of this chapter we will contextualise these major exegetical authorities with an investigation of the educational practices of the early medieval period in order to understand the context in which Burchard’s exegetical work was composed.

2.2.1 The General Conditions for the Composition, Dissemination, and Transmission, of Early Medieval Text.

Early medieval literate culture was almost completely limited to the institutions of the Church, and its textual inheritance was at best, at replacement levels. In order to understand and determine the form and nature of the eschatological thoughts and

---

beliefs influencing Burchard, it is worth understanding the general types of reading and writing practices of Western European ecclesiastics, as well as the available textual materials and intellectual traditions that shaped the contemplation and transmission of eschatological exegesis.244

2.2.1.1 Focus of analysis

My exploration of the origins and development early medieval eschatological exegesis will predominantly concentrate on the literate culture of the regular clergy (monks), as opposed to that of the secular clergy (deacons, priests and other orders). I have chosen to do this for two reasons. Firstly, most of the extant ecclesiastical sources from the early medieval period concerning eschatology were written by monks, or leading churchmen who had been educated within the monastic system. For instance, Gregory the Great, Bede, Alcuin of York, Hrabanus Maurus, Haimo, Abbo, Adso, Glaber, and Ademar, were either monks or had received a degree of monastic training. Secondly, monastic ascetic practices, such as *Lectio Divina* (divine reading) which will be discussed in-depth further on (see 2.2.3), typically encouraged a greater, more detailed interaction with texts than the secular clergy on a daily basis, either by means of reading or writing.245 Obviously, this is a somewhat simplistic distinction, but as Burchard’s career exemplifies (as we shall see in chapter 3.0), secular clergy often received a monastic education, therefore such distinctions between monastic and secular are, necessarily, somewhat artificial. By addressing these issues, we will be able to provide answers the following questions: which of the eschatological texts

---


245 The religious role of secular clergy did not require them to possess any substantial literacy skills, or skills that would equal the scholarly capabilities of most monks. As their mission was to spread the word of God to secular society, they needed to be proficient orators, not necessarily readers or writers.
discussed in 2.1 were actually widely available to educated churchmen of Burchard’s time, and how were they read and understood? Furthermore, are there any stylistic conventions or themes which can be traced across different eschatologically themed works?

2.2.2 The Eschatological Exegeses and Discourses Generally Available to Most Western Ecclesiastics

2.2.2.1 The Range and Variety of the Eschatological Materials Inherited by Early Medieval Ecclesiastics

It is now quite evident that the extant eschatological and eschatologically-themed texts that were composed between the late-tenth- and the early-eleventh century were not just ‘created within a vacuum’. Collectively, eschatological authors from Western Europe, especially Anglo-Saxon England, West Frankia, and the East Frankish Empire, can be seen to have drawn and developed their written and unwritten understanding of eschatological theology from an extensive repertoire of historical written works that were available within Christian libraries and composed at a variety of ecclesiastical institutions, throughout the early medieval period. These texts ranged from biblical chapters, to patristic theological commentaries, papal letters, homilies, sermons, hagiographical works, as well as wide a range of exegetical

\[247\] See sections 2.1.0 to review the key exegetical, eschatological, and eschatologically-themed, texts produced throughout the early medieval period that broadly constitute the intellectual inheritance of ecclesiastics in the late-tenth and early-eleventh century.
commentaries, and miscellaneous florilegia written predominantly, but not exclusively, between c. 405-950.248

2.2.2.2 The Availability of Biblical Materials

Given that it was a cleric’s duty to ‘control the future… through the written word’ it would have been very difficult for most religious institutions not to have had access to at least some of the fundamental materials that explained the principal tenets of eschatological theology.249 In fact those who had received a monastic education, or a degree of monastic training would have had, at the very least, some basic aural and oral knowledge, or idea, of the rhetoric of Dan., Mal., Isa., Matt., Mark, Luke, 2nd Thess., 2nd Peter, and Rev. amongst the other prophetic texts of the OT and NT, as they were read once a year, every year during the Lectio Continua (yearly reading of scripture).250 However, when we consider the direct textual relationship that these types of ecclesiastics may have had with biblical materials, we can see that, for many, it would have been extremely limited.

248 Although I have covered the key extant literature within sections 1.7.0, 1.8.0, and 2.1.0, and will consult more material in section 2.2.2, I have not been able to comprehensively treat all the various eschatological, or eschatologically-themed, works that were available to late-tenth- and the early-eleventh century ecclesiastics (especially the computistical materials). As such I would (again) direct the reader towards the following lists and studies of all the various types of eschatological texts that were being circulated across Western Europe at this time: McGinn, Visions of the End, 43-121; Landes, ‘The Apocalyptic Dossier: 967-1033’, at: http://www.bu.edu/mille/scholarship/1000/1000-dos.html (Last Visited: 31/06/15); D. C. Van Meter, ‘Select Documents on Eschatological Expectations and Social Change around the Year 1000’, in A. Gow, R. Landes, D. C. Van Meter, (eds.), The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050 (Oxford, 2003), 337-345; L. Roach, ‘New Approaches to an Old Problem: Otto III and the End of Time’, (paper presented at Leeds IMC, 12th July, 2012); Palmer, The Apocalypse in the Early Middle Ages, 42-208.


2.2.2.3 Case example: *Rev.*

As a significant, but not exclusive, degree of the eschatological theology of the Latin Church was structured upon the rhetoric, imagery, actors, and events contained in *Rev.*, one would assume that copies of this sacred book would be widely available to, and commonly read by, early medieval Western European monks.\(^{251}\) However, as a general rule this is simply not the case. Most members of the regular and secular clergy did not have regular or complete contact with the text proper. This is primarily due to the fact that Bibles were not widely available to be read by most early medieval ecclesiastics for that matter as vast resources were required just to produce a single copy.\(^{252}\) Only bishops and abbots who were wealthy enough to acquire their own copy, or the very few churchmen who had managed to pass their ‘preliminary training in the liberal arts’, had access to a Bible or a biblical pericope of *Rev.*.\(^{253}\)

At the same time, the use of *Rev.*, either in a complete or excerpted form, in other religious texts used by monks, such as sacramentaries or missals, was relatively minimal throughout Western Europe. In comparison to the popular use of the Gospels or Psalter, Flannigan notes that within the context of the daily or yearly observance of the Eucharistic celebration or the Divine office, *Rev.* ‘was seldom used’.\(^{254}\) At best only small excerpts and muted echoes of its rhetoric were present within early medieval monastic lectionaries, antiphons, the Sanctus and even florilegia.\(^{255}\) From

---


252 A whole flock of sheep (c. 200-300) was usually required to produce all the vellum needed for one Bible. Not many people or institutions would have had enough disposable income to be able to weather the loss of so many valuable animals (c. £20,359 – £31,811. See, M. Walsh, ‘Illuminated Manuscripts’, at: http://www.slideshare.net/mkwalsh55/mauras-manuscripts-presentation (Last visited: 31/06/15).


255 J. L. Kovacs, C. Rowland, R. Callow, *Revelation: The Apocalypse of Jesus Christ* (Oxford, and
this we can get the sense that for the majority of Western ecclesiastics, exposure to *Rev.* as a ‘primary textual source’, when learning and teaching about eschatology, was relatively limited.

The effects of this general lack of physical acquaintance with *Rev.* can be practically observed within the eschatological texts of monks from the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh-century. For instance, when we take a close look at France’s and Landes’s records of the sources quoted within the eschatologically-themed historical works of Glaber (*Historia*) and Ademar (*Chronicon*), both of these monks only directly quote from *Rev.* a handful of times.²⁵⁶ In comparison, the rhetoric of other patristic and early medieval texts, such as Augustine’s *DCD*, are all referenced dozens of times when interpreting what were believed to be contemporary eschatological phenomena such as plagues, famines, and eclipses of the moon.²⁵⁷ Although this is only a glimpse at the sources used by two monks contemporaneous with Burchard, these two texts begin to support the idea that many ecclesiastics, in all probability, only had a minimal knowledge of the text of *Rev.* before and during this particular period. As there would have been little room for an individual to construct a new interpretation of the written rhetoric of *Rev.*, we cannot include it as a fundamental text from which early medieval written exegetical traditions were developed; it is, at best, an indirect, heavily filtered, source.

So if early medieval ecclesiastics were not able to easily access the key biblical materials that contained the principle tenets of eschatological theology, from where

---

else could they consult them? The answer may instead lie with the exegetical and ecclesiastical materials that appear to have been more widely available to them.

2.2.2.4 The Availability of Exegetical and Ecclesiastic Eschatological Materials

Due to the financial and socio-political semi-independence of each monastery and cathedral in Western Christendom, there was inevitable diversity in the exegetical and ecclesiastical eschatological texts available to each respective Anglo-Saxon, West Frankish, and East Frankish library. This is particularly noticeable in relation to differences in time and geography. For instance, Lapidge’s work on extant Anglo-Saxon library book lists strongly suggests that Ælfric has access to Augustine’s DCD, Gregory’s Dialogi and Homiliae in evangelia, Julian of Toledo’s Prognosticum futuri saeculi (hereinafter Prognosticum), Remigius’ Comm. in Apoc., and Adso’s Epistola, but not Haimo’s Exp. in Apoc., or Abbo’s Apologeticus, even though he had access to a copy of Abbo’s Passio Sancti Eadmundi. On the other hand, we know that when Abbo was staying at the monastery of Ramsey c. 985-987, he did have access to Augustine’s DCD, Gregory’s Dialogi, Bede’s DTR, Haimo’s Exp. in Apoc., but not Julian’s Prognosticum or Adso’s Epistola. Additionally, the work of Verhelst, Matter, and Hughes, on early medieval eschatological exegesis and commentary, demonstrates that Adso’s Epistola was influenced by his reading of Jerome’s Comm. in Dan., Haimo’s Exp. in II Thess., and Bede’s Exp. Apoc., whereas neither Abbo’s (and Byrhtferth’s), or Ælfric’s libraries, can be seen to have had a copy of either

259 Lapidge, The Anglo-Saxon Library, 250-266.
260 Ibid., 242-247, 250-266.
Jerome or Bede’s respective texts, though they had access to Haimo’s commentary.\textsuperscript{261} From these written records, we can begin to see that no two individual ecclesiastical writers, or scriptural communities, would have had access to exactly the same eschatological sources. Consequently, this implies that the eschatological written traditions of various monastic and learned ecclesiastical communities may have been relatively divergent from one another as they were not all exposed to the same exegetical materials.

However, these examples do indicate some parallels between the exegetical texts that were available to, and perhaps used by Adso, Abbo, Ælfric, and Byrhtferth, and to construct their respective eschatological texts in the late-tenth- and early-eleventh century. As such it is necessary to consider if there was a small group of ‘core’ exegeses that were widely and consistently available to ecclesiastics during the era in question. This will enable us to determine if Burchard’s training in, and understanding of, eschatological exegesis had any parity with other individuals or groups within the diocese of Worms, the Rhine region, Germany, or parts of Western Europe.

2.2.2.5 Establishing a Patristic Exegetical Basis

From my reading of a wide range of ecclesiastical library inventories, extant manuscripts, various citations, and book lists, it is apparent that there was indeed, what could be called a ‘core staple of exegetical texts’ that appear to have formed a

written theological foundation upon which scholars throughout this period could draw for the development of their own thoughts and beliefs on eschatological theology.\textsuperscript{262}

Specifically it is my contention that most monks and learned clerics can be interpreted as having shared a common bond in their fundamental knowledge and understanding of eschatological theology through four key patristic texts: St Augustine’s \textit{DCD} and Gregory I’s \textit{Dialogi}, \textit{Homiliae in evangelia}, and \textit{Moria in Iob}. This is because these written works (including certain texts composed by other Church Fathers) were widely adopted as some of the chief authoritative guidelines to the establishment of the theory and practice of ‘models of monasticism’ and ecclesiastical authority in the Latin West during the fifth and eighth centuries.\textsuperscript{263} Put simply they single-handedly defined the spiritual and orthodox theological practices of Western European regular and secular clerical communities after the late fifth century. As there were, relatively speaking, ‘very few… struggles over definitions over orthodoxy’ in the Latin Church from c. 600-1100, the eschatological tone of these four texts can be seen to have remained relatively unchallenged within Western ecclesiastical circles before and after the late-tenth to early-eleventh century.\textsuperscript{264}

\textsuperscript{262} Lapidge, \textit{The Anglo-Saxon Library}, 127.
2.2.2.6 Educational Guides to the Study of Exegetical Texts that Treat the Subject of Eschatological Theology

When one examines some of the extant citations from contemporary ecclesiastical sources it is abundantly clear that *De Civitate Dei*, *Dialogi*, *Homiliae in evangelia*, and *Moralia in Iob* were the most extensively disseminated and widely read sources on the intrinsic nature of eschatological theology. As McKitterick, Matter, Kabir, Baun, and Palmer, contend these two authorities and their four works consistently feature as the most prominently cited sources within a range of early medieval monastic teaching guides concerning the study of eschatological theology. In fact there are two clear examples of this perspective before and during the late-tenth- and early-eleventh century. The first is the widely circulated *Notatio de viris illustribus* by the Carolingian monk Notker Balbulus of St Galen (c. 840-912). Within this text he advocates the works of ‘Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Bede, Tyconius, and Primasius’ as leading authorities for understanding *Matt.*, *Mark*, and *Rev.*, in relation to interpreting apocalyptic eschatology. The second can be found within Ælfric’s *Sermones Catholic* i, in which he shares similar sentiments to Notker by repeatedly making repeated reference to ‘Augustine, Jerome, [and] Gregory the Great’, as pre-eminent authorities, when discussing eschatological issues. From these texts we can

---

begin to see that these patristic authors and their texts were widely regarded and promoted as authoritative theological sources in relation to studying eschatology in certain ecclesiastical circles throughout the early medieval period up to the late-tenth century.

2.2.2.7 The Presence of Augustine and Gregory’s Exegetical Works

From my reading of the various studies of the extant inventories of the texts that western ecclesiastical communities collectively had access to we can see that these four key patristic texts were physically present within almost all those libraries during the early medieval period.269 For example:

Saec. VII

Canterbury Cathedral Library: Dialogi.

St Carthage at Lismore Church Library: Moralia in Iob.

Saec. VIII

Hexham library: Dialogi, Moralia in Iob, and Homiliae in evangelia.

Malmesbury Abbey Library: DCD, Dialogi, Moralia in Iob, and Homiliae in evangelia.

Wearmouth-Jarrow Monastery Libraries: *DCD*, *Dialogi*, *Moria in Iob*, and *Homiliae in evangelia*.

Würzburg Cathedral Library: *Dialogi* and *Moria in Iob*.

**Saec. IX**

Canterbury Cathedral Library: *Dialogi*, *Moria in Iob*.

Cologne Cathedral Library: *DCD* and *Homiliae in evangelia*.

Durham Cathedral Library: *DCD*, *Moria in Iob*, and *Homiliae in evangelia*.

Fulda Monastery Library: *Homiliae in evangelia*.

St Gall Abbey Library: *DCD*, *Dialogi*, and *Homiliae in evangelia*.

Peterborough Abbey Library: *DCD* and *Moria in Iob*.

Sherborne Cathedral Library: *Dialogi* and *Moria in Iob*.

Worchester Cathedral Library, *Dialogi* and *Homiliae in evangelia*.

York Cathedral library: *Dialogi*.

**Saec. X**

Ramsey Monastery Library: *DCD*, *Dialogi*, *Moria in Iob*, and *Homiliae in evangelia*.

Winchester Cathedral library: *DCD*, *Moria in Iob*, and *Homiliae in evangelia*.

**Saec. XI**

Cluny Abbey library: *DCD*.
Exeter Cathedral Library: *DCD* and *Homiliae in evangelia*

Orleans Cathedral library: *DCD*.

Saint-Benigne at Dijon Monastery Library: *DCD*.

Saint-Vaast at Arras Monastery Library: *Dialogi* and *Moralia in Iob*.

York Cathedral Library: *Moralia in Iob*.

Although this is only a select group of samples, it is reasonably clear that at least one or more of these four texts were widely and consistently present within ecclesiastical libraries across Western Europe and were intended to be used as the foremost authority on the exegesis of eschatological theology. Certainly the recent studies of Leyser, Weidman, Mews, and Renkin, would further attest to the widespread availability and accessibility of Augustine and Gregory's respective works. In this sense both Augustine and Gregory’s key exegetical works on eschatology were central to the Western European canon throughout the early medieval period, in particular the tenth and eleventh centuries.

2.2.2.8 The Presence of Bede’s Exegetical Works

After the mid-to-late eighth century, two of Bede’s eschatological works can also be seen to have become as widely ‘read and respected’ by Western European ecclesiastics as the aforementioned patristic texts. Without a doubt, *DTR*, and, to an extent, its smaller precursor, *DT*, were the most ‘fruitful source’ for teaching about

---


computus and the historical ages of the world amongst the regular and secular clergy up until the early eleventh century.\textsuperscript{272} As McKitterick explains, these eschatological texts not only played a ‘dominant role… within the (Frankish) school system’ but were also used as standard hand books for English and Irish monks to study the history of time.\textsuperscript{273} Additionally, as Jones, Matter, Lapidge, Kendall and Wallis, and Westgard, collectively demonstrate, Bede’s texts were physically present within nearly every Christian library.\textsuperscript{274} For example, not only do the aforementioned ecclesiastical libraries all contain Bede’s works from the eighth century onwards, but they are also incorporated as major, fundamental sources for the widely disseminated \textit{Annales Regni Francorum}, Haimo’s Exp. in Apoc. and Alcuin’s Comm. in Apoc..\textsuperscript{275} Indeed, Bede’s extant manuscript collections demonstrate that \textit{DTR} was at the height of its popularity across the majority of Europe from the ninth- to the eleventh century, particularly in Anglo-Saxon England, West Frankia, and East Frankia. As Bede’s texts were commonly available and highly valued as standard pieces for computus, historical, and eschatological (prophetic) studies, they can be interpreted to have been vital components of the refinement of the written eschatological theological tradition that many Western European ecclesiastics would have been accustomed to.

\textsuperscript{273} McKitterick, \textit{History and Memory in the Carolingian World}, 94.
2.2.2.9 The Core Exegetical Texts

Although not every single one of these six patristic texts may have necessarily been accessible to every single Western European ecclesiastic, as I have demonstrated, they were broadly present en masse, and highly regarded within, English, West Frankish, and East Frankish education circles. They formed the basis of a written theological ‘groundsheet’ that was extensively recognised throughout the early medieval period leading up to the late-tenth- and early-eleventh century.

2.2.3 Reading Religious Authority and Memory

During the early medieval period (Saec. V\textsuperscript{in}× Saec. XI\textsuperscript{med}) most churchmen spent vast quantities of their formal education and religious lives participating in Lectio Divina. Lectio Divina was the universal ritualistic practice of meditating and contemplating on sacred texts. These texts would have included titles such as Psalms, St Jerome’s Epistulae (c. 371-418), John Cassian’s (c. 360-435) Conlationes, Isidore’s De ecclesiasticis officiis, and many others.\textsuperscript{276} As one of the three fundamental ‘triple bases’ of monasticism advocated within the Rule of Saint Benedict (the others being Opus Manuum (manual labour) and Opus Dei (liturgical observation)), most monks and learned churchmen practiced, or had practiced, Lectio Divina by consecutively reading through, and writing, sacred texts for at least four hours every day, ideally ‘between the celebration of liturgical hours’.\textsuperscript{277} The time spent on the practice of

\textsuperscript{276} D. Robertson, Lectio Divina: The Medieval Experience of Reading (Trappist, KY, 2011), 76-89, 96-99, 100-101. It is worth noting that this formal practice of grammar would remain unchanged until the beginning of the latter half of the eleventh century, when it became less systematic and more speculative over the context and meaning of any given text.

\textsuperscript{277} R. Studzinski, Reading to Live: The Evolving Practice of Lectio Divina (Trappist, KY, 1989), 123; J. Coleman, Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past (Cambridge,
Lectio Divina varied throughout the year (usually between 2-4 hours a day), but for most of the liturgical year (Easter - 14th September), four hours was the most common amount of time. The purpose of this ritual was so that ecclesiastics could read, recite and ruminate upon the letters (litterae) of biblical and patristic commentaries, in order to bind themselves to their language.278 At the same time it was undertaken so that a cleric could experience ‘a foretaste of an anticipated eschatological order’, whilst developing a good knowledge of the forms of the morals, discipline and type of faith required in orthodox conduct.279 Through this training each cleric would become a living embodiment of the word of God, and as such continue the preservation of the ‘canon, creed and authority’ of the Christian belief system.280

In its most basic form, the practice of Lectio Divina did not encourage any substantial intellectual engagement with the written theological material that its practitioners studied, as it was intended to be a meditative and contemplative endeavour.281 The discussion of metaphysical or interpretive properties of words would not have been valuable to the ecclesiastical readers of a text since the objective of this practice was to learn the text through reading and writing in order to ‘re-hear, re-see, re-feel’ the experience contained within a text, not objectively question its nature.282 As Haren and Robertson note, questions that related to ‘the nature of universal concepts’, or perhaps ‘the meaning and reference of term(s)’ were not considered to be particularly

---

278 Coleman, Ancient and Medieval Memories, 139.
280 Noble, ‘Literacy and the Papal Government in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages’, 82.
281 Robertson, Lectio Divina, 46-47.
282 Carruthers, The Book of Memory, 211.
logical by ecclesiastics throughout this period.\textsuperscript{283} In order to achieve this ‘experience’, sacred texts were to be perfectly indoctrinated within a churchman’s memory. Quite literally: ‘the letter by the letter’.\textsuperscript{284} Therefore we must be very aware of the fact that the theological rhetoric (or ‘law’), contained within a text was typically understood by clerics in the \textit{exact way} that it was presented on the page.

Moreover, it is apparent that early medieval churchmen would not necessarily consider the historical circumstances of the creation of a sacred text to be an important factor when meditating on its theological message or experience. For example, many would not necessarily know, or recognise the relevance of the fact, that Augustine composed \textit{DCD} during the decades in which the Roman Empire beginning to break apart, nor that Pope Gregory I wrote \textit{Dialogi} during the onset of the Lombard invasions of Italy (c. 569-590).\textsuperscript{285} Indeed, early medieval ecclesiastics would not have deduced from their reading that both these pieces were responses to signs and events of an eschatological nature, or widespread apocalyptic expectations, they would only concentrate on understanding their literal message to their audiences, regardless of their context.\textsuperscript{286} As Coleman, Carruthers, and Roberson, explain that this was due to the perspective that many ecclesiastics treated the memory, contained within a sacred text, to be everlastingly present, its message a ‘self-sufficient object of inquiry and understanding’, which would be as relevant ‘today’ as it was maybe decades, or centuries before.\textsuperscript{287} As a consequence of this, every ecclesiastic would

\textsuperscript{283} R. Haren, \textit{Medieval Thought: The Western Intellectual Tradition from Antiquity to the Thirteenth Century}, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed. (Toronto, 1992), 84; Robertson, \textit{Lectio Divina}, 35.
\textsuperscript{284} Coleman, \textit{Ancient and Medieval Memories}, 150.
\textsuperscript{287} Coleman, \textit{Ancient and Medieval Memories}, 3, 155; Robertson, \textit{Lectio Divina}, 141.
exercise deference and humility to the authority and temporal significance of each of these texts when writing their own thoughts and beliefs on any given theological subject by not explicitly contradicting their perceived message.

From these factors we can see that most monks and learned ecclesiastics both before and thorough the late-tenth- to early-eleventh-century would have had a very ingrained and unembellished understanding of the rhetoric in any given sacred text that they read and ruminated upon. Furthermore, they would have treated these immaculately preserved and permanently relevant memories with a great deal of authority as they believed that they explained everything they would ever have to know about theology in the exact way it would need to be known.

2.2.4 Literary Style

Having set out a basic, general outline for the standard theological and rhetorical parameters for the reception and transmission of orthodox eschatological thoughts and beliefs, let us turn to consider briefly the stylistic conventions regarding the depiction of the theological outlook of the author(s) within eschatological texts. It is necessary to do so for two key reasons: One, most of the extant eschatological texts composed between c. 950-1050 are not exegetical commentaries on singular or multiple biblical texts in the same sense that we find from c. 400-950.288 Rather, they are examples of ‘applied-exegesis’ commenting upon, or recording, a particular event (or series thereof) of a socio-political or religious nature. As such they do not, by their very nature, conform to what one could call a ‘traditional’ written model for the subject of

288 See section 2.1.0 to review the eschatological and eschatologically-themed texts produced during these particular periods.
eschatological theology. Two, as most of the extant eschatological texts from this period are riddled with fantastical, disturbing images of phenomena that are not necessarily drawn directly from the NT and OT, we need to consider the literary intentions of these ecclesiastical writers. Are they simply injecting exegetical elements into predominantly political or historical works? Are they framing either historical or contemporary events using eschatological rhetoric? The responses to these questions are likely to impact on our reading of Burchard’s Decretum as they may indicate the manner in which he used, or did not use, exegesis to construct certain passages, if not large sections, of Liber Vicesimus.

The answer lies in the fact that early medieval writers were practically compelled by necessity to adopt rhetorical allegory, and invention within their narratives and structures in order to present a truthful, or plausible, account of both history and current events. As I have demonstrated, the source materials that most likely were to be used to construct eschatological text, in particular the eschatological books of the NT, were either rarely produced, or unevenly disseminated, or seldom encountered by most ecclesiastics (see 2.2.1-2.2.2). If contemporary writers were to flesh out their outlook on eschatological matters, or incorporate eschatological rhetoric into their written records of particular issues and events, more often than not they would have had to rely on the scraps of eschatological rhetoric they had committed to memory, unsubstantiated rumours, and pure imagination to fully convey their sentiments to their respective audiences.

See sections 1.8.0 and 2.1.0, for examples and studies of the extant literature produced throughout the late-tenth and early-eleventh century.


At the same time, early medieval writers could extend their use of ‘discovered’ or *ad hoc* material on any given subject, so that it conveyed their perspective on ‘what ought to have been’, within the realms of plausibility.\(^{292}\) As we have already discussed (see 2.1.1-2.1.2), the imagery contained within the eschatological texts in the *NT* are almost completely *qualitative* in both form and nature and, most importantly, universally *vague* – that is, almost completely removed from removed from either any quantitative, or temporal, fixity. Consequently it is quite probable that an ecclesiastical writer would employ a limited degree of autonomy, or ‘artistic licence’, when expressing their eschatological outlook on eschatological, or eschatologically related, issues to conform to their understanding of both history and current events.\(^{293}\) Yet, given the primacy of Christ’s rules, even if these writers contextualised, or fabricated eschatological signs ‘for literary effect’, it is reasonable to contend that the theological sentiments expressed within early medieval eschatological texts were not wholly compromised or mutated by the use of stretched truths, fictive illustration, or indeed contextualisation.\(^{294}\) What this approach indicates is that we should expect some aspects of originality, inventiveness, and error, with regards to the sources, and possibly the authorities, that Burchard used to construct his eschatology. At the same time, whilst it may be possible to ascertain a sense of his theological outlook, Burchard may have used some rhetoric that cannot be clearly identified to have been drawn directly from any known exegetical or ecclesiastical textual source. That is to say, some of the citations from the works and ecclesiastics that Burchard drew upon could be incomplete, inexact, half-remembered, or completely fabricated, so as to give


Liber Vicesimus a greater sense of verisimilitude and authority according to his outlook and current needs as a bishop.

Part III: Conclusions

2.3.0 Preliminary Conclusions

The evidence uncovered through our enquiries in this chapter provides strong material to substantiate the context in which we would anticipate Burchard’s exegetical work to feature and the type of eschatology Liber Vicesimus would use to engage with issues pertaining to morality. At the same time it verifies and supports both the hypotheses and observations made by McGinn, Leyser, Wallis, Hughes, Darby, and Palmer, about the significance of Gregory the Great as an early medieval eschatological authority that we covered in section 1.8.0. This is because, when brought together, the evidence for the historical development and intellectual traditions of eschatological exegesis highlight that Gregory the Great’s moral works played a significant, central, and consistent role within the Western tradition up to the late-tenth and early-eleventh century.

As we have seen, Gregory’s Dialogi, Moralia in Iob, and Homiliae in evangelia, were quickly accepted into the exegetical canon and considered to have comparable theological weight to the works of Jerome and Augustine from the early-seventh century onwards. This is demonstrated by the fact that not only were his works and eschatological outlook cited and synthesised by prominent theologians such as Bede, Hrabanus Maurus, Haimo of Auxerre, and Thietland of Einseideln, to construct their
own eschatological exegeses, but they appear repeatedly to constitute a core component of the patristic texts that featured in the library of many cathedral, monastery, and abbey, libraries across Western Europe throughout the seventh to the eleventh centuries. In addition, there are a few critical indications that contemporary ecclesiastical tutors taught the fundamental principles of eschatological theology using these particular moral works, along with Augustine’s DCD, and Bede’s DT and DTR. As a consequence of this, it would be completely logical and reasonable to now expect, that to a certain extent, Burchard would have an understanding and awareness of one, if not all three, of Gregory’s core moral works. Furthermore, his utility of these works would be strongly oriented towards the discussion of morality and salvation within an eschatological context.
Chapter 3.0

The History and Context in which the Decretum was Composed

3.1.0 A Biography of Burchard

3.1.1 Introduction to Biography

In this chapter we will explore the context in which Burchard wrote the Decretum, in particular Liber Vicesimus. Specifically this entails: the intellectual context in which Burchard was working, in relation to the types of sources that were accessible to him, as well as the types of eschatological theology that were currently available; his own motives in composing the Decretum and Liber Vicesimus, which could include the political world in which he operated, and his role as a bishop; and his intended audience. As such I will provide a detailed summary of the events of Burchard’s life and relationships, including a partial reconstruction of his education and academic interests up to the composition of the Decretum. A comprehensive investigation of Burchard’s upbringing and subsequent career will not only give a fuller picture of his intellectual horizons and the role he played within the political and ecclesiastical spheres in which he operated, but will reveal some of the day-to-day objectives and concerns he had when composing the Decretum. More importantly, the observation of Burchard’s literary and theological influences, his key interpersonal relationships, and personal motivations, both ecclesiastical and secular, will also inform us about several key points that pertain towards attaining a fuller understanding of Liber Vicesimus.
The reason for this biographical approach stems from the recognition that as a bishop, Burchard’s status afforded him a unique position of influence within his community. Burchard had many responsibilities: he was, simultaneously, Worms’ leading academic, its most influential patron and statesman, its key legislator and foremost pastor. Burchard was therefore not just the spiritual figurehead of a significant diocese; his role also required him to deal with current worldly events and issues in order to administer directly salvation and divine justice to his community.

3.1.2 Primary Sources

Despite Burchard’s highly distinguished position as a powerful prelate of the ‘Imperial church’ and secular lord of Worms, there are only five texts that can be used to piece together a partial account of his image, and the events of his life and interactions with others. Below I have set out the particulars for each of these texts and how they will be used to construct an impression of Burchard and his historical context.

---


296 Uhalde, Expectations of Justice in the Age of Augustine, 2.
3.1.2.1 *Vita Burchardi episcopi*

The first and foremost of these is the *Vita Burchardi episcopi* (*The Life of Bishop Burchard* – hereinafter *Vita*), which is widely believed to have been composed by Ebbo or Eberhard, the director of the cathedral school at Worms, within a few years of Burchard’s death (c. 1025-1027).\(^{297}\) As Schwarzmaier, Coué, North, Wolfram, Austin, and, all note, whilst we cannot accurate determine who exactly composed the *Vita*, the author was clearly a canon from Worms who knew of, and was present during, many of the events of Burchard’s life.\(^{298}\) This fact points toward Ebbo/Eberhard, given his contribution to the composition of the *Decretum*, as well as his leading position within the cathedral school. Ebbo/Eberhard’s text is, unsurprisingly, concerned with painting, in broad strokes, the key points within Burchard’s professional career that bolster his image as an exemplary educator and ecclesiastical reformer.\(^{299}\) Conversely, Ebbo/Eberhard elaborates very little upon the everyday minutiae of Burchard’s life that would otherwise not contribute to the *Vita*’s functionary objective, such as the details of his childhood before his induction into the cloister, or his everyday administrative concerns. For example, whilst Ebbo/Eberhard takes the time to explain why Burchard decided to rebuild the Worm city walls, he does not give details as to Burchard’s reasons for asking his sister to come and live with him in later life.\(^{300}\)

---


\(^{300}\) *Vita Burchardi*, Chs. 3-15.
Nevertheless, as the *Vita* was completed within just a few years after Burchard’s death, it is very likely that it is a ‘fairly reliable source of factual information’.  

This is because the continued collective memory of Burchard within the ecclesiastical community of Worms is likely to have prevented any excessive literary exaggeration or fabrication so as to not cause any unwarranted controversy.  

Given the dearth of supporting material able to validate its content, the *Vita* provides us with the most extensive material regarding the historical developments of Burchard’s career and the socio-political climate in which the *Decretum* was composed. That said, we must acknowledge that the *Vita*, like any other episcopal biography from the Ottonian-Salian period, was, in part, designed to conform to an established literary genre that sought to provide its audiences with an idealised model of an Imperial prelate. As such, the *Vita Burchardi* cannot be considered to be a completely accurate account of Burchard’s life, activities, and beliefs. Therefore it has been necessary to recognise and use the source critically as a stylistic, if at times truthful text, rather than simply accept the reality of all its contents.

3.1.2.2 *Decretum*

The second, and most obvious source, is the *Decretum* itself, which we already know to have been largely designed and compiled by Burchard himself. As a biographical reference tool, the *Decretum* is extremely valuable, as it can confirm information against other sources, whilst also indicating to us various aspects directly relating to

---

301 Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 53.
302 Ibid., 53-54.
305 See introduction to Burchard and the *Decretum* in chapter 1.0, in addition to my discussions of the manuscript tradition of the Decretum in section 3.2.0
Burchard’s upbringing, his perception of various theological subjects, and his approach to the administration of his secular and religious duties. For instance, if we examine the vast range of canons compiled in all twenty books that comprise the *Decretum*, we can see that in exactly three-quarters of them, that is every book with the five exceptions of Bks. 6-7, 12-13 and 18, Burchard has used at least one or more excerpts from either the writings of Gregory the Great’s *Dialogi, Homiliae xl. in Evangelia, Regula Pastoralis, Registrum epistolarum*, or *Moralia in Iob*. This pattern of use strongly points towards an intimate familiarity with Gregory’s work and theological outlook, which was probably imparted to him during his formative years, given the core role most of these texts had in medieval ecclesiastical education. The fairly consistent frequency of these references throughout the *Decretum* also indicates that Burchard partly based his literary and practical approaches to subjects such as ‘Clergy’ (Bk. two), ‘Homicide’ (Bk. six), and ‘Excommunication’ (Bk. eleven), on that of Gregory’s, which, in turn demonstrates that he advocated Gregory’s works and views to his students and future readers, in relation to these topics. Through reading the *Decretum* one can get a very real sense of the spiritual issues Burchard believed his audience should have a grounded knowledge in, the way in which they should be understood, and then apply them in their day-to-day activities.

---

3.1.2.3 *Lex Familiae Wormatiensis*

The third source is another, though far shorter, text composed by Burchard, the *Lex Familiae Wormatiensis* (c. 1023-25). This is a listed assortment of customary laws Burchard composed for the members of the *familiae* of Worms (the various free and un-free workers of the Worms’ episcopal estate).\(^{308}\) In a similar, though considerably more condensed, fashion to the *Decretum*, the *Lex* sought to delineate in thirty one chapters a variety of secular problems commonly experienced by the people of Worms in the final years of Burchard’s episcopate. It touches upon issues which range from marriage, to abduction, murder, theft, and perjury.\(^{309}\) For instance, in chapter four, Burchard briefly deals with the issues of inheritance when he states that: ‘If any person of the *familia* dies, his nearest heirs shall inherit any goods he did not bestow on his wife, unless the deceased made an explicit bequest to other persons’.\(^{310}\) From this text we can observe one gritty element in the local secular conditions and dynamics in which Burchard operated. This document clearly illustrates certain aspects of the motivations, interests, and concerns he had when administering his local populace, whilst providing an indirect, secular context for the spiritual jurisdiction which was the concern of the *Decretum*.

---

308 Burchard of Worms, *Lex Familiae Wormatiensis ecclesiae*, ed. L. Weiland, MGH Leges IV, Constitutiones et Acta Publica Imperatorum et Regum I (Hannover, 1893), 639-644; trans. S. Lane, at: http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/lexworms.asp (Last visited: 31/06/2015). All future references to the *Lex Familiae Wormatiensis* will be to the relevant chapter(s) in Lane’s English translation.

309 *Lex Familiae Wormatiensis*, Chs. 1-31; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 70-71.

310 *Lex Familiae Wormatiensis*, Ch. 4.
3.1.2.4 *Libellus de studio poetae qui et scolasticus*

The fourth, though more indirect, source is the *Libellus de studio poetae qui et scolasticus* (c. 984), by Bishop Walter of Speyer (963-1027), a close contemporary of Burchard’s who also helped him to compose the *Decretum*\(^{311}\). Whilst there is no mention of Burchard at all within this piece, as it is purely a description of Walter’s studies and life at the cathedral school of Speyer (in rhyming hexameters), it is valuable to us as it fills in some of the gaps regarding the type of education he (Burchard) was likely to have received as a young canon. As Walter was raised in the Rhineland area in a similar fashion to Burchard it is conceivable that both the books and authors he describes himself as having read during his ecclesiastical training in the liberal arts were both available and familiar to Burchard.\(^{312}\) Although the source is not comprehensive, it enables us to ascertain a reasonable understanding of several dynamics relating to both Burchard himself and the various people he engaged with and was influenced by.

3.1.2.5 *De diversitate temporum*

The fifth and final source is the two-part prologue to the seminal historical work *De diversitate temporum* (c. 1021-24) by the Benedictine chronicler Alpert of Metz (d. 1024), another intimate acquaintance of Burchard’s, with whom he shared his

---

\(^{311}\) Walter of Speyer, *Libellus de studio poetae qui et scolasticus*, ed. and trans. P. Vossen, *Der Libellus Scholasticus des Walther von Speyer. Ein Schulbericht aus dem Jahre 984* (Berlin, 1962). Hereinafter all references to *Libellus de studio poetae qui et scolasticus* will be made to Vossen’s edition. It is worth noting that North theorises that the *Vita Burchardi* may have been dedicated to Walter just before his death.

\(^{312}\) Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 57-58.
thoughts about the current state of ecclesiastical education. Whilst both the books of this work are principally concerned with detailing the history of Western Europe between c. 990-1021, there is a very short discussion of Burchard in its prologue (as the first volume is dedicated to him) and immediately afterward, a copy of a letter in response to the prologue by Burchard himself. Unlike Walter’s text, Alpert’s relays some first-hand knowledge of Burchard’s reading practices, whilst Burchard’s letter explicitly cites various textual influences that, as we shall see, directly demonstrate the texts and authors he was familiar with, as well as the type of education he received. Whilst brief, the text gives us more direct and reliable information to buttress some of the more speculative elements gleaned and adapted from the Vita and De Libellus Scolasticus regarding Burchard’s education. Furthermore, it highlights some of the patristic and other influential ecclesiastical authorities that shaped his thoughts and beliefs, whilst simultaneously presenting a pedagogic dimension to his concerns.

3.1.3 Burchard’s Early Life

Burchard was born at some point in the mid-tenth century (c. 950-965), to a well-connected, wealthy family in the Rhenish Hesse region of the German Empire bordering Lotharingia. He had two siblings; an older brother, Franco, who was the Bishop of Worms c. 998-999, and a sister, Mathilda, who became the Abbess of an unknown monastery close to Worms at some point around c. 1010-1015. It is evident from the Vita that Burchard’s parents, during his early life, not only possessed

313 Alpert of Metz, De diversitate temporum, Libri II, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 4 (Hannover, 1841), 700-723. Hereinafter all references to De diversitate temporum will be made to Pertz’s edition.
314 Alpert of Metz, De diversitate temporum, Libri II, 700-701, 701-702.
315 Vita Burchardi, Chs. 3, 12; Schwarzmaier, ‘Herzog Otto von Worms, der “Kirchenräuber”’, 29; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 55.
‘many properties and servants’, but had enough local influence to position directly
two of their sons on a course to becoming favoured confidants of the inner Imperial
circle and Bishops of Worms.316 Burchard’s family seems to have been of sufficient
substance to exert a reasonable measure of political influence within the diocese of
Worms.317 In fact, as Metz and Reuter have clearly pointed out, five of the Bishops of
Worms that held office between c. 999-1065 (i.e. Franco, Burchard, Azecho (d. 1044),
Adalgar (d. 1044), and Arnold (d. 1056)), seem to have shared a ‘genealogical
connection with the leading Counts and noble families of northern Hesse’.318 Their
understanding suggests all these five Bishops were of a comparable noble rank that
enabled them to mix with ‘men related by blood or marriage to the royal house’ to
ensure a long-standing influence over their kindred’s control of the see.319

Whilst Burchard’s exact family, rank, and background, is unknown it is thus likely
Ebbo/Eberhard was being modest when he stated that Burchard’s parents ‘were not
low according to the world’s dignity’.320 He may well have been born a high noble as
later in his career he operated efficiently as a ‘courtier Bishop’ within the uppermost
echelons of Ottonian society, a skill that would have usually only been expected of,
and indoctrinated to, a high noble from infancy.321 This possibility is supported by the
simple fact that, unlike the very rare cases of three of his ecclesiastical near-
contemporaries, Willigis of Mainz (c. 940-1011), Gerbert of Rheims, and Fulbert of

316 Vita Burchardi, Ch. 2.
317 T. Reuter, ‘The “Imperial Church System” of the Ottoman and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration’, in
Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte, Vol. 26 (1976), 31-42.
319 Reuter, ‘The “Imperial Church System” of the Ottoman and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration’, 652-
3. Both Metz and Reuter have stated that it was common for many German bishoprics to be held for
extended periods by local kindred groups around this time, such as Metz by the Luxemburger, or
Verden by the Billungs.
320 Vita Burchardi, Ch. 1.
Chartres, who are noted for their lowly social origins in a range of texts, the ‘overwhelming majority’ of early medieval bishops originated from the privileged, elite ranks of society.\textsuperscript{322} Ultimately it is very clear that Burchard and his older brother Franco before him (albeit briefly), held a high enough social position and were given extensive material support from an early age to provide them with a solid operating platform from which they could develop the techniques necessary to fulfil the expected duties of an Imperial Bishop.

\subsection*{3.1.4 Burchard's Education}

\subsubsection*{3.1.4.1 Historical Context for Burchard’s Education}

As a young boy Burchard was sent to the town of Koblenz, where he was entered into the monastic school of either St Florin or St. Kastor to be ‘raised a canon’ (priest).\textsuperscript{323} Due to either Burchard’s scholarly interests, or perhaps a lack of available textual materials in St Florin or St Kastor, he was ‘sent for the sake of study to various places’.\textsuperscript{324} We do not know the names of the ecclesiastical institutions that he visited, or what theological subjects he is likely to have studied there. However, he finally settled at the cathedral school at Mainz, where in short order he ‘joined himself’ to its highly capable Archbishop, Willigis, as his protégé.\textsuperscript{325} At this up-and coming cathedral school in late tenth-century Germany, which had been rapidly transformed

\begin{thebibliography}
\bibitem{Vita} \textit{Vita Burchardi}, Ch. 1; J. Staub, ‘Domschulen am Mittelrhein um und nach 1000’, in W. Hartmann, (ed.), \textit{Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025}. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 100 (Mainz, 2000), 282.
\bibitem{Vita2} \textit{Vita Burchardi}, Ch. 1.
\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid., Ch. 1.
\end{thebibliography}
by the politically influential Willigis into a highly regarded learning and economic centre, Burchard received tutelage in the standard tenets of all of the subjects of the liberal arts, along with his ecclesiastical duties. Unfortunately, Ebbo/Eberhard does not provide further details in the biography regarding the manner or form of the ecclesiastical tutelage that Burchard received at Mainz. Therefore, it is at this point that we must turn to other contemporary sources and materials so as to partially reconstruct a working interpretation of the theological and secular materials he would have been likely to encounter during his education.

3.1.4.2 Reconstructing the Sources Burchard Studied in his Early Career

In order to ascertain as much as we possibly can about the purpose and nature of Liber Vicensimus, in particular Burchard’s interpretation of eschatological theology, we should ask: from where is most likely to have acquired his ideas on the subject? Were many, or perhaps some, of these canons simply a regurgitation of the eschatological tenets held by major theological authorities whose texts he had been exposed to during his education as a student? Or were they influenced by independent reading later in his adult life, in response to contemporary events and the pastoral needs of his community? Perhaps even a complex mixture of both? There is no clear way to tell which is likely to be the case from a straightforward reading of the sources. But by reflecting upon the relationship between the Decretum’s authorities and those to be found in the curriculum of the Rhineland schools, we can observe how ecclesiastical education at this time shaped individuals’ approaches towards pastoral care and eschatology later in their adult careers, thereby indicating the possible nature

326 Ibid., Chs. 1-2; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 57.
and form Burchard’s theology. To begin to resolve these issues we need to examine the texts Ottonian churchmen were taught during their formative years, and then discern whether Burchard did indeed frequently use them in later life.

To resolve these questions, I will begin by establishing all the ecclesiastical authors that Burchard cites in *Liber Vicesimus* (3.1.4.2.1), before investigating what role, if any, these works played in clerical education in Western Europe, particularly the Rhineland (3.1.4.2.2), in the late tenth and eleventh centuries, and whether they would have been available to Burchard during his education (3.1.4.2.3). In order to test this methodology I will also investigate how far Burchard cited from secular textual sources that could have been available to him in his youth in later documents (3.1.4.2.4). The reason for this being, that if Burchard frequently cited secular authors that he had read in his youth, either directly or indirectly, in his adult life, it would support our observations regarding his use of spiritual authors, thereby setting a precedent of consistency in his written practices. In other words, we need to determine whether Burchard’s use of secular authors continued throughout his life, and if so, whether this paralleled his use of spiritual authorities. After a short summary of the findings of these five sub-sections (3.1.4.2.5), I will return to consider his career as the Bishop of Worms and its relationship to the editorial decisions he made when composing the *Decretum* (3.1.5).

3.1.4.2.1 Reconstructing Burchard’s Education from *Liber Vicesimus*

**Table x** (immediately below) sets out the textual references used for each of the one hundred and ten canons contained within book twenty. This analysis demonstrates that
Burchard shaped his interpretation of ‘speculative theology’ and, in turn, eschatological theology upon the perspectives provided by ten works written by eleven ecclesiastics.\textsuperscript{327}

\textsuperscript{327} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1017B-1058C; Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 240-244. It is critical to out that the numeration I will be using to reference Gregory the Great’s Dialogi derives from Migne’s PL edition and Gardner’s English translation of the text. I will not be using the numeration set within Hoffman and Pokorny’s work (Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms), which is based on Vogüé and Antin’s more recent SC edition. I have compared the PL and SC versions of Dialogi to the parallel text present presented within the Decretum and there do not appear to be any major discrepancies or errors, simply a different numeration of the text. The reason for using the older PL edition of Dialogi is simply because the newest translation uses its numeration, and it has been more expedient to do so in relation to determining the types of sources used within Liber Vicesimus. Sec, Gregory the Great, Dialogi, Bks. I-IV, ed. and Fr. trans. A. de Vogué and P. Antin, SC 251, 260, 265 (Paris, 1978-80); PL 77:149–430A; trans. E. G. Gardner, Saint Gregory the Great: Dialogues (London and Boston, 1911, repr. 2010), 6-258.
Table x: The Textual References for the Formal Sources of all 110 Canons within *Liber Vicesimus*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Canon number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boethius</td>
<td><em>De consolatione philosophiae</em></td>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celesine I</td>
<td><em>Epistola XXI</em></td>
<td>XI-XII, XV-XVIII</td>
<td>5.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cú Chuimne, Ruben of Dairinis</td>
<td><em>Collectio Hibernensis</em></td>
<td>LXX</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gennadius of Marseilles</td>
<td><em>De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus</em></td>
<td>I-VII, X, XL-XLIII, C-CII</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory the Great</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>IX, XIV, XIX-XX, LIII, LVI-LVIII, LX-LXIX, LXXI-LXXXIII, LXXXVII, LXXXIII-LXXXIX</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gregory the Great</td>
<td><em>Moralia in Iob</em></td>
<td>VIII, XIII, XXII-XXVII, XLIV-XLVI, XLVIII-LII, LV, LIX, LXXIV-LXXVI, LXXVIII-LXXXII, XC, XCIV-XCIX, CIV-CV, CVII</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isidore of Seville</td>
<td><em>Sententiae I</em></td>
<td>LIV, XCI-XCIII, CIII, CVI, CVIII</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julian of Toledo</td>
<td><em>Prognosticorum futuri saeculi</em></td>
<td>CIX-CX</td>
<td>1.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratramnus of Corbie</td>
<td><em>De praedestinatione dei</em></td>
<td>XXVIII-XXXIX</td>
<td>10.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rufinus of Aquileia</td>
<td><em>Verba seniorum</em></td>
<td>XLVII</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we can see, Gregory is the foremost amongst these particular authors, as the excerpts cited from his *Moralia* (36) and *Dialogi* (29) comprise over half (65 = 59.1%) of book twenty’s one hundred and ten canons.\(^{328}\) Indeed, the next frequently cited (formal) sources, Gennadius of Marseilles’ *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* and Isidore’s *Sententiae*, are only utilised in just over a tenth (15 = 13.64% and 12 = 10.92% respectively) of the book’s total canons, which only serves to highlight the significance of Gregory in Burchard’s approach towards this subject. Interestingly, it is worth noting that Burchard did not formally cite from any of the other major exegetical authorities on eschatological exegesis that we have already seen other ecclesiastics rely upon, such as Jerome, Augustine, or Bede, within *Liber Vicesimus*, though some of their works feature in the canons of books III, V, IX, XI, XII, and XVIII, of the *Decretum*.\(^{329}\)

3.1.4.2.2. The Role that *Liber Vicesimus’* Formal Authorities Played within Contemporary Education

In many ways the fact that Gregory’s work features so predominantly within such a hefty eschatological work is hardly surprising. As I have already established at length in Chapter 2.0, Gregory’s *Dialogi, Moralia, Regula Pastoralis* and *Homiliae in Evangelia* formed a key section of the (approximately) twenty fundamental patristic texts that were widely and consistently present in most (if not all) Anglo-Saxon, West Frankish, and East Frankish, cathedral and monastic libraries throughout the early medieval period. Furthermore, there is ample extant documentation which demonstrates that not only were the *Dialogi* and *Homiliae in Evangelia* continuously

\(^{328}\) Ibid., 240-244.

read, cited, and advocated as fundamental educational texts for ecclesiastics across Europe, but they constituted the principal authorities on eschatological theology (along with Augustine) at various intervals from the early-seventh- to the early-eleventh-century. These general conditions mean we should expect an intellectual such as Burchard to have encountered Gregory’s teachings concerning many orthodox theological topics, in particular eschatology, during his education as well during his time overseeing the school in Worms.

Indeed, this supposition becomes ever more of a reality when we examine the availability and use of Dialogi and Moralia on a smaller geo-political scale relative to Burchard, both before and during his time as a student. The reason for this being that many of Gregory’s major works are not only abundantly present, but considered to be immensely important tools ‘in a manner approximating to the Bible itself” for learning in many key higher education establishments in the South Eastern Reich throughout the eighth to the end of the eleventh century. For instance, Dialogi, Moralia in Iob, Regula Pastoralis, and Homiliae. xl. in Evangelia are recorded in the extant library catalogues of Würzburg, Stuttgart, Cologne, and St. Gall, from the mid and latter half of the eight century, the Bonn and Reichenau catalogues from the second half of the ninth century, and the Trier and Mainz library collections dating from the late tenth and eleventh centuries. At the same time, Jaeger, Mayr–Harting, and Westermann-

330 See section 2.2.2 for evidence and discussions on the key patristic texts present in most Western European ecclesiastical institutions.
Angerhausen, have pointed out that the ‘veneration and study’ of Gregory and his works was a central, influential aspect of Ottonian intellectual culture. Throughout the tenth century, Gregory’s works were read, copied, and disseminated by many students and notable ecclesiastics in this region. For example, the Lotharingian monk John of Gorze (c. 900-974) claimed to have memorised the *Moralia* in its entirety in order to preach its passages to his brethren. Additionally, Bishop Egbert of Trier (c. 950-993) was famously commissioned by Otto II in c. 983 to make an elaborate manuscript of the letter collection of Gregory the Great, wherein an image of the Pope is depicted as a figure of divine inspiration to the Emperor. Furthermore, all aspiring Ottonian prelates (such as Burchard and Franco) were typically instructed to base the practice of their office upon the orthodox model of the ideal bishop, as described in Gregory’s *Regula Pastoralis* (Bk. 1, Ch. 8), as they were given a copy of it along with a book of canons and ‘an injunction to live in accordance’ with his teachings when they were consecrated. Evidently, Gregory’s written work was popular with many ecclesiastics in the Rhine region during the time of Burchard’s education. It would have commonly been used to teach about the core rudiments of most theological subjects, as well as the way in which Bishops and Emperors should approach their everyday religious practices and duties. From this regional perspective it is a very plausible explanation that one of the main reasons Burchard cited from *Dialogi* and *Moralia* so extensively in *Liber Vicesimus*, was to provide his intended

http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/projekt-Muenchen-Augsburg-pdfs/Clm%20203793.pdf (Last visited: 31/06/15); Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 57-58.
audience with the fundamental eschatological teachings of an authoritative, popular theologian he had learned from during his education and whose image he was now expected to emulate as a bishop.\textsuperscript{337} This point has not, however, been addressed by Staub, Hoffmann and Pokorny, or Austin, in their work either when discussing Burchard’s education or his use of patristic authorities within the \textit{Decretum}.\textsuperscript{338}

In stark contrast to Gregory’s \textit{Dialoqui} and \textit{Moralia}, the remaining nine authors’ eight theological texts, with the potential exception of Boethius’ \textit{De consolatione philosophiae} (the reasons for which I will discuss below), would appear to have probably only been introduced to, or read, by Burchard during his own independent studies within his adult career. There are two key reasons for thinking this. Firstly, as Roberts, McKitterick, Mayr-Harting, and Lapidge have shown, none of these particular texts were widely available enough in any form of non-canonical format (complete texts, chapters or florilegia) during the early medieval period to be considered a stock text inherent to most Western European, or Ottonian ecclesiastical libraries.\textsuperscript{339} For example, the reception of Ratramnus’ \textit{De praedestinatione dei} seems to have been limited to parts of north Frankia; the only two surviving manuscripts hail from ninth-century Corbie and Lobbes, and eleventh-century France.\textsuperscript{340} Given the meagre, or specific dissemination of this particular text, it is highly unlikely that a

\textsuperscript{337} Preface, 99-104. Indeed, as \textit{Liber Vicesimus} appears to have been a wholly original composition, unlike the previous nineteen books of the \textit{Decretum}, it would only seem logical that Burchard would fall back, or rely on, Gregory’s work to compile the majority of its canons as he would have himself been trained, and would seek to encourage those he taught, to follow Gregory’s authority and theology.

\textsuperscript{338} Hoffmann, Pokorny, \textit{Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms}, 165-276; Staub, ‘Domschulen am Mittelrhein um und nach 1000’, 279-309; Austin, \textit{Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000}, 54-64.


large number of ecclesiastics would have encountered them, let alone read them. Secondly, none of these ten authors were deemed to be, or taught as, fundamental authorities on the subject of eschatology in either Europe or the Rhineland.\textsuperscript{341} Granted, certain works by the two patristic figures in this group, Isidore and Julian, such as \textit{De natura rerum}, \textit{Etymologiae} and \textit{Ars grammatica}, were often present in a vast array of Western European libraries throughout the seventh to the eleventh century, and were valued immensely for their authoritative command of encyclopaedic, computistical, cosmological, and classical lore.\textsuperscript{342} However, there is no extant evidence of any early medieval monastic teaching guides (such as those by Notker and \textepsilon Elfric), or education movements local to Burchard, advocating these works by Isidore, Julian, Celestine, Rufinus, and so forth, as dominant, major, or even supplementary eschatological authorities.\textsuperscript{343} From a general perspective it would seem that Burchard was citing from works of authors which were not particularly common, or widely used to teach about the rudimentary aspects of eschatology, or the so-called ‘speculative theology’. It stands to reason then that he only became aware of them either as a consequence of their local availability when he was conducting independent research outside his formal tutelage, or when he was searching for canons to include in \textit{Liber Vicesimus}.

Of the authors and texts that feature in \textit{Liber Vicesimus}, Burchard would have been most likely to have encountered and possibly read during his education in the tenth-


\textsuperscript{342} McKitterick, \textit{Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation}, 290; Lapidge, \textit{The Anglo-Saxon Library}, 83.

\textsuperscript{343} See section \textbf{2.2.2.6} to review the key exegetical authorities and texts advocated in early medieval monastic teaching guides concerning the study of eschatological theology.
century Rhineland only Gregory’s *Dialogi* and *Moralia*, although it is likely he knew of Isidore and Julian as authoritative ecclesiastical authors by their reputation as fathers of the church. The remaining works would probably not have featured within Burchard’s education and are likely to have only been encountered when he conducted independent reading, perhaps for the first time during the composition of the *Decretum*. Now we must turn to the written evidence of both Burchard and his contemporaries to observe the information they present about Burchard’s education and upbringing, in an effort to either verify, or modify my interpretive observations regarding his approach towards engaging with the subject of eschatological theology within *Liber Vicesimus*.

3.1.4.2.3 Contemporary Accounts of Burchard’s Education as Evidence for his Encounters with Fundamental Eschatological Authorities

As both Austin and Riché have speculated, Burchard’s education would have been, broadly speaking, quite similar to that of many of his elite ecclesiastical contemporaries, such as Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim (c. 960-1022), Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg (c. 975-1018), and Archbishop Heribert of Cologne (c. 970-1021).\(^{344}\) Whilst Ebbo/Eberhard omits specific details about the content of Burchard’s education there are a variety of ways we can plausibly recreate a sense of it by piecing together the knowledge we ascertained earlier about early medieval ecclesiastical intellectual life and educational practices, with certain elements from Walter’s *De Libellus Scolasticus*, some of the various manuscripts available at Mainz and Worms.

---

around the time of Burchard’s life, and some of the textual references used within the *Decretum*. But before we go any further, it is worth re-stating that the presence of manuscripts at the places of Burchard’s education or any references to a particular author in the *Decretum* are not necessarily evidence for him having read them in his early life, merely strong indicators he may have done so.

When learning to read, write, pray and chant in Latin from an early age, Burchard was familiarised with a range of core Classical and Christian authors. As Austin, Staub, Hoffmann and Pokorny, all demonstrate, at Mainz, and later at Worms, Burchard had access to some of the key texts written by many fundamental Church fathers, including Augustine, Gregory and Isidore either as complete works, or ‘compilations of extracts’.\(^{345}\) For instance, it is clear from the extant manuscripts that were present at Mainz cathedral library in the late-tenth and early-eleventh-century (once Burchard had completed his education), that during his time under Willigis’ tutelage, Burchard may have had access to at least seven titles by Augustine, including *DCD*, Gregory’s *Dialogi*, as well as Isidore’s *Etymologiae* and *De Officiis* (amongst others), all of which were seminal theological texts.\(^{346}\) This evidence suggests that Burchard’s extremely heavy reliance on Gregory’s *Dialogi* in book twenty was derived in part from the fact that he had been acquainted with his patristic teachings prior to, and during, his time at Mainz, probably as a result of Gregory’s central influence within


Ottonian ecclesiastical education and intellectual culture (see 3.1.4.2.2). Indeed, it seems from the preface of the Decretum, that Burchard considered Gregory to be the most significant of the church fathers, listing him before more established ones like Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose.\textsuperscript{347} Taken together, these factors indicate that Burchard attached a considerable importance to Gregory as core to spiritual teaching. As such we need to view Burchard’s focus on Gregory and Liber Vicesimus in a largely pedagogical context, rather than as a reaction to contemporary eschatological phenomena. However, this understanding does not mean that Burchard did not seek to utilise Gregory’s eschatological theology to suit his own ends.

Indeed, given the presence of at least one patristic author in most books of the Decretum it is quite evident that Burchard and his co-authors were very familiar with their views, attitudes and language on a wide array of theological issues.\textsuperscript{348} As a case in point, it is worth highlighting that, when combined, the excerpts from Gregory’s Moralia and Dialogi, along with Isidore’s Sententiae, comprise 65.5\% of Liber Vicesimus’ one hundred and ten formal sources (see Table x).\textsuperscript{349} Burchard’s extremely heavy reliance on these two particular authors in this book points towards the idea that he was well acquainted with their teachings concerning the subject of eschatological theology. Due to the fundamental role that patristic authors played in the basic education of most ecclesiastics during the early medieval period, their references in the Decretum also point towards the orthodox nature of his theological thoughts and beliefs. In turn, this tells us that the nature of the eschatological outlook that he sought

\textsuperscript{347} Preface, 104.
\textsuperscript{348} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:537A-1058C; Preface, 104; Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 165-276.
\textsuperscript{349} Ibid., 240-244.
to impart to his students was likely to have been expressed within the parameters that their works set.

In addition, it is worth noting that whilst it is almost certain that Burchard had access to a range of biblical texts at Worms, as we are told in Alpert’s preface to *De diversitate temporum* that he regularly ‘meditated upon the Bible’, it is very likely that he would not have had the same privilege as a student.\(^{350}\) As we have already discussed, due to the high production costs of Bibles, it was commonplace that they were only accessed directly by Abbots, Bishops and ecclesiastical intellectuals; it is very likely that when Burchard was a lowly student he would have only been able to read passages from the *divina pagina* within biblical pericopes.\(^{351}\) This would mean that he probably did not have a complete understanding of scriptural theology during his formative years, and would have had to have developed it later in life as he attained greater access to texts as a Bishop. However, as Ebbo/Eberhard points out, at the zenith of his career, Burchard often meditated upon sacred scripture and used it with frequent regularity to spice up his writings.\(^{352}\) This observation highlights Burchard’s dedicated approach towards the study of scripture during his adult life, and that the biblical texts available to him were, certainly when he was at Worms, a major literary source of inspiration he would have been likely to use in the underlying composition process of the *Decretum*, in particular *Liber Vicesimus*, given its unique originality.

\(^{350}\) Alpert of Metz, *De diversitate temporum*, Libri II, 701-702; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 56.

\(^{351}\) See sections 2.2.1-2.2.2 for discussions regarding the general availability of sacred text to ecclesiastics during the early medieval period.

\(^{352}\) Alpert of Metz, *De diversitate temporum*, Libri II, 702; *Vita Burchardi*, Chs. 2, 18-20.
3.1.4.2.4 The Influence of Secular Textual Sources of Burchard’s Education

It is now necessary to determine if our understanding of Burchard’s literary practices are consistent with the secular sources he encountered during his education.

It has been suggested by Glauche, Mayr-Harting, and Austin, that as most leading ecclesiastical schools in late-tenth- and early-eleventh century Western Europe held similar small repositories of core classical Latin authors in their libraries, Burchard may have read texts by Horace, Terence and Vergil, to name but a few.353 If we combine this knowledge with Walter’s account in De Libellus Scolasticus of the classical authors he read throughout the course of his education for the same subjects, the figures that may have been on young Burchard’s classical reading list begins to take shape. For example, Walter informs his reader that he knew of Homer, Persius, Juvenal, Lucan and most importantly Boethius.354

Within Burchard’s own writings there are direct references and quotations from the writings of Persius, Boethius, and Porphyry, which suggests Walter’s reading list may have been very similar to his own. For instance, in the preface to the Decretum Burchard directly cites from the Satires of Persius when he states how some envious people may accuse him from ‘collecting titbits from the ears of others’, in order to

---

353 G. Glauche, Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekanons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik- und Renaissance-Forschung, vol. 5 (Munich, 1970), 97; Mayr-Harting, Church and Cosmos, 56-59, 110-135, 145-169; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 57. The core list of classical authors given by Austin is as follows: Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Persius, Statius, Terence and Vergil.

354 Walter of Speyer, Libellus de studio poetae qui et scolasticus, 87-92; ‘Atque ubi iam cantus princeps finivit Homerus/ Felix arguto cecinit sponsalia Plectro/ Ac septem geminas recitavit Sorores rite/ Ad dulces epulas invitit Amicas Flaccus/ Persius emuncto suspendit Ludicra naso/ Planxit novels Juvenal signa coronae/ Musa Severinum plorabat Carcerclausum/ Sursulus ingenua cantavit proelia voce/ Africa presentat secum comedy Davum/ Lucanum poetae veteres non asserueret/ Preterea triplicis succincta veste coloris/ Omnibus excellens docuit nos musa Maroni/ Ocia pastorum celebrare modos que laborum’. See Mayr-Harting, Church and Cosmos, 52-63, 133, 140.
expose the *Decretum* as an unoriginal work.\textsuperscript{355} Also in Alpert’s preface, Burchard quotes from Boethius and Porphyry when describing how one should approach the understanding of a book before they read it, though it is clear he is referring to *Isagoge (ysagogarum)* rather than *De consolatione philosophiae*.\textsuperscript{356} From these examples we can begin to see that Burchard was indeed familiar with some, and maybe most, if not all of the key classical Latin authors read by Walter, Alpert, and probably many of his learned contemporaries. In turn, this perhaps suggests that Burchard incorporated *De consolatione philosophiae* into *Liber Vicesimus* for pedagogical reasons as he wanted his readers to receive some grounding in what he may have viewed as the typical components of every ecclesiastic’s basic education. The additional extant evidence that he had his students and scribes at Worms copy manuscripts of texts written by Persius, Querolus, and Platus also indicates Burchard’s continuing awareness and interest in a range of classical authors that we know he almost certainly had been introduced to during his education.\textsuperscript{357} Burchard’s use of these texts into his adult career shows that there are some lines of direct continuity between the sources he read when he was at either at St Kastor or St Florin, and Mainz, and the types of texts he encouraged his students to learn at Worms. In turn, this leads us to posit that the spiritual sources Burchard encountered during his education were likely to be passed onto his students in the same way.

\textsuperscript{355} Preface, 103; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 59.
\textsuperscript{356} Alpert of Metz, *De diversitate temporum, Libri II*, 701-702; Staub, ‘Domschulen am Mittelrhein um und nach 1000’, 286; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 59.
\textsuperscript{357} *Vita Burchardi*, Ch. 1; Staub, ‘Domschulen am Mittelrhein um und nach 1000’, 287-291; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 57-59.
3.1.4.2.5 Surmising Burchard’s Education and Influences

Burchard’s education seems to have given him to have a solid comprehension of the basic perspectives of the key patristic authorities on a range of theological subjects, as well as knowledge of some philosophy and poetry. There also appears to be a clear link between the spiritual and secular authors he studied as a boy, and the texts he incorporated into the *Decretum*, in particular the citations from Gregory and Boethius in the *Liber Vicesimus*. It seems that Burchard’s education shaped and directed his thought processes regarding the way in which particular disciplines or subjects were to be taught or understood. Indeed, the familiarity that Burchard probably had with the writings of Gregory from an early age, coupled with his extensive use of the *Moralia* and *Dialogi* when compiling the *Decretum* suggests that his theological outlook had consistency. In other words, it is likely that Gregorian eschatological thought was a prominent, or perhaps even standard, way of understanding certain topics, in the cathedral and monastic schools of the Rhineland and indeed Ottonian Germany.

At the same time, we can deduce that the other eight texts cited in book twenty, by authors such as Ratramnus, Julian, and Rufinus, were in all probability, only read by Burchard in his adult life as there is neither an indication of their presence in the Rhine region (especially the institutions he visited before Worms) before or during the mid-tenth century, or in any of Burchard’s or his colleagues’ extant writings besides the *Decretum*. It is likely that their inclusion as canons may have been due to concerns relating to contemporary events in Burchard’s career as a Bishop, or perhaps, what is more likely, the editorial decisions he chose to make, as a reforming canonical
complier, to ‘fill in’ any theological gaps that were not addressed directly in the other sources used in the *Liber Vicesimus*.358

### 3.1.5 Burchard’s Adult Career

Let us now turn to examine the ways in which events in Burchard’s adult life may have impacted upon the purpose and composition process of the *Decretum*, along with type of eschatological theology Burchard chose to impart to its audience. Is it possible that Burchard’s choice of canons for *Liber Vicesimus* was influenced by his reaction to, or interpretation of, certain real-life events in ways that were familiar to him in scripture? Did Burchard base his interpretation of eschatology upon the writings of those that reflected, or symbolised, his practical experiences and perceptions of contemporary socio-political events as we observed to be the case in Augustine’s *DCD*, Bk. XX, Gregory’s *Homilia I*, and Wulfstan’s *Sermo Lupi*?

#### 3.1.5.1 Early Ministry, Politics, and Violence at Worms

#### 3.1.5.1.1 Burchard’s Time at St Victor

Under the tutelage of Archbishop Willigis, Burchard was dutifully instructed in the tenets of ‘noble behaviour’ whist swiftly being groomed ‘through each step of the clerical grade’, until he became the provost of a ‘very poor place’; the old collegiate

---

358 See chapters 4.0, 5.0, 6.0, and 7.0 for key examples and discussions of Burchard’s approach towards editing the canons of *Liber Vicesimus*.
church of St. Victor in Mainz.\textsuperscript{359} There, Burchard transformed its material and spiritual fortunes by founding an ‘outstanding monastery along with a cloister of canons’ which Willigis financially supported and eventually consecrated around the year \textit{c.} 994-995.\textsuperscript{360} At this point within the narrative of the \textit{Vita} Ebbo/Eberhard stresses the nature of Burchard’s approach to rejuvenating the internal structures St Victor as a precursor to his work at Worms to highlight the consistency of his character and method towards ‘major tasks’. For instance, we are told that Burchard established the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs by determining that:

‘After the rulers of the cloister had been established through the election of the brethren, he ordered that the rounds of the divine office be kept and sung at certain times indicated by signals. And when ecclesiastical affairs had thus been rightly ordered in accordance with the rule of the canons…’ \textsuperscript{361}

Burchard’s efforts at St Victor to reconstitute and establish an ecclesiastical community may have led him to recognise the importance of texts to explain the end purpose and function of pastoral care, including the regulation of all the other religious and theological issues that ecclesiastics dealt with, on a daily basis. Indeed,


\textsuperscript{360} Otto III, \textit{Diploma 156: Bruchsal, Nov. 23rd 994}, ed. T. Sickels, MGH DD 2 (Hannover, 1893), 567-568; Otto III, \textit{Diploma 251: Mühlhausen, July 17th 997}, ed. T. Sickels, MGH DD 2 (Hannover, 1893), 667-668; From the sources that we have, the date of the consecration of St. Victor is somewhat unclear, however in letter 156 (cited above), the use of the phrase ‘\textit{in comitatu Burchard comitis}’ (in the county of Count Burchard) suggests that Burchard is currently presiding over locale of some importance. Given that Archbishop Willigis was the undersigned arch-chaplain for this letter, we should take 994 as the accepted year in which St Victor was put on the ecclesiastical map, so to speak.

\textsuperscript{361} \textit{Vita Burchardi}, Ch. 2; ‘\textit{Positisque ad electionem fratrum claustri primatibus, cursum certis temporibus et signis decantari servarique praecepit. Et ita rebus ecclesiasticis secundum regulam canonicam rite ordinatis…}’ (\textit{Vita Burchardi episcopi}, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS 4,833).
this event would have given Burchard the opportunity to learn firsthand what methods and texts worked in practice, to both renew and establish a functioning ecclesiastical community. In turn this endeavour would have influenced, in part, the nature of the canons and topics he selected to include within the Decretum, and may go some way to explain why he developed an original book (Liber Vicesimus) that dealt with the subject of eschatological theology, as it may have been an area he felt that canons required knowledge on. Either way, we are being led to the understanding that Burchard would first build the institutions he sought to develop, before he worked on their internal structure and day-to-day operations.

3.1.5.1.2 Secular Politics at Worms

Upon the death of Burchard’s brother on August 28th 999, Otto III, a close friend of Franco’s, ‘insisted vigorously’ that Burchard take up the ‘priesthood of Worms’, which after some reluctance, Burchard accepted. On coming to Worms Burchard set about rejuvenating the city of Worms, which he found to be almost completely abandoned and destroyed upon his arrival. This was primarily due to the constant attacks of ‘beasts and wolves’ as well as the odious, ‘outrageous deeds’ of several ‘robbers, thieves, and all who committed crimes against the bishop’ and the citizens of Worms.

363 Thietmar of Merseburg, Chronicon, Bk. IV, Chs. 61-62, ed. R. Holtzmann, MGH SSRG NS 9 (Berlin, 1935), 200-202; trans. D. A. Warner, Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg (Manchester, 2001), 194-195; Otto III, Charter of 27th December 1000, ed. T. Sickels, MGH DD 2 (Hannover, 1893), 816; Vita Burchardi, Ch. 5. It is worth noting that Burchard did not directly succeed his brother. From Ebbo/Eberhard’s Vita and Thietmar’s Chronicon, we can determine that four clerics; Herpo of Halberstadt, Rako of Bremen, and two men simply known as ‘Razo’ and ‘Erpho’, were offered the episcopate directly after Franco’s death. It was not until all four died, either of old age, illness, or suicide, within a very short time of one another, that Otto came to see that Burchard should have it.
364 Vita Burchardi, Ch. 6; Schwarzmaier, ‘Herzog Otto von Worms, der “Kirchenräuber”’, 29-32.
Worms. These criminals happened to be in the employ of the Salian Duke, Otto I of Carinthia (c. 948/50-1004), who resided in a small ancestral castle (or fort) just inside the city walls, from whence they operated in order to exert his families influence over the city. Duke Otto, was a significant political rival to Burchard not only because he was a cousin of Otto III (and a potential claimant to the throne), but due to the fact that he held secular control over the city, as well as several territories in the Rhineland-Palatinate to north and west of Worms, such as the city of Kaiserslautern and, controversially, the monastery of Weissenburg in Alsace. In short he had greater degree of political connections and resources to hand than Burchard could possibly muster to influence the fortunes and condition of the city of Worms. This rival power limited Burchard’s ability to resolve secular disputes and effectively control the townspeople, of which there were very few at this time. Undeterred, Burchard was able to replenish parts of the city’s ruined walls, build a small castle to effectively repel many of the city’s assailants, within five years, whilst simultaneously recalling most of the city’s population and raising Otto’s orphaned grandson, Conrad II (c. 990-1034), who would later become Emperor in 1027. It is evident that this

365 Vita Burchardi, Ch. 6; Schwarzmaier, ‘Herzog Otto von Worms, der “Kirchenräuber”’, 29.
366 Vita Burchardi, Chs. 6-7; Schwarzmaier, ‘Herzog Otto von Worms, der “Kirchenräuber”’, 28, 31-32. It is worth noting that on page 31 Schwarzmaier’s article provides a very clear map of the boundaries of, and fortifications that featured within, the city at this time, including the principal buildings occupied by both Otto’s and Burchard’s factions. It is also worth mentioning that Otto did not just allow his own retainers to operate from his castle, but also other ‘enemies of the bishop’.
367 Fichtenau, Living in the Tenth Century, 201-202, 390; Schwarzmaier, ‘Herzog Otto von Worms, der “Kirchenräuber”’, 28; Wolfram, Conrad II, 990-1039: Emperor of Three Kingdoms, 18-19; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 67.
368 Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 68.
369 Vita Burchardi, Ch. 7; Schwarzmaier, ‘Herzog Otto von Worms, der “Kirchenräuber”’, 29, 32, 36. As Schwarzmaier notes, Otto and Burchard’s castles were literally ‘a few hundred metres apart’ from one another, which often provided the opportunity for open hostilities between the two rival factions. This continued state of animosity and aggression partly explains why Burchard adopted the disowned Conrad, as he could use the young noble as a bargaining chip and as a way of accumulating greater
particular period of Burchard’s tenure as Bishop was largely spent dealing with many secular concerns that would prompt him to rebuild parts of the city to fend off his local political rivals. As Fichtenau has noticed, murders within the community of Worms, especially the episcopal familia, were not uncommon during this time, usually as a result of unresolved blood feuds between powerful local families. Evidently, stabilising and defining both the physical structures of Burchard’s city and the members of his community was a primary concern when he attained office. His initial approach can be compared to what we have seen regarding his renovation of St Victor. That is to say, Burchard began to advance his aims by building facilities that could both defend and nurture institutions that could then be developed internally.

This ‘second stage’ to Burchard’s method of reform is what is recorded to have happened both during and directly after the construction of the city wall and castle at Worms. As we are told, upon the untimely death of Otto on January 23rd, 1002, Burchard was approached by Henry IV of Bavaria (c. 972-1024), to help him attain a majority vote to become King, as Otto had died without issue. Being a shrewd political operator, Burchard agreed to support his claim (over Duke Otto’s, Duke Hermann II Of Swabia’s (d. 1003), Duke Otto, Ezzo of Lotharingia’s (955-1034), and Eckard I of Meissen’s (d. 1002)) on the condition that Henry would cede ‘the fortified house of (Duke) Otto and deliver it into the power of the bishop of Worms’, thereby removing the attacks and lack of secular control Worms had been afflicted

political support.

370 Lex Familiae Wormatiensis, Chs. 1, 8, 26, 28, 30; Fichtenau, Living in the Tenth Century, 201-202, 390; Wolfram, Conrad II, 990-1039: Emperor of Three Kingdoms, 18-19.
371 See Decretorum libri viginti and Lex Familiae Wormatiensis as examples of Burchard’s “internal” reforms.
372 Vita Burchardi, Ch. 8; Schwarzmaier, ‘Herzog Otto von Worms, der “Kirchenräuber”’, 32.
with for some time.\textsuperscript{373} With Willigis’ and Burchard’s aid, Henry was able to and overcome all of the other potential claimants to the throne and was crowned at Mainz on May 7\textsuperscript{th}, 1002.\textsuperscript{374} True to his word, Henry granted Burchard the rights to control the entire bishopric of Worms, with Duke Otto (now quite an old, and, possibly, sickly man) receiving in return the royal court and town of ‘Bruchsal with all its revenues and appendages’ in exchange.\textsuperscript{375} However, Burchard would have to wait until 1014 to receive complete legal control of the \textit{familia} of Worms, which included his household officials and the city’s ‘indentured workers’, from the Salian Dukes.\textsuperscript{376} From this information it is made evident that Burchard used the political and legal apparatus at his disposal to advance the interests of the people of Worms whilst establishing his own power over the city state. Clearly Burchard used the ‘soft’, indirect means at his disposal to assist his secular aims once the physical apparatus was in place to justify, support, and defend them. This dualistic, two-stage method towards advancing institutional reform is something we will encounter again in relation to Burchard’s vision to improve the spiritual apparatus of Worms.

From our observation of the accounts that detail these particular events after Burchard’s time at St Victor, it is quite clear that socio-political instability formed the immediate context in which Burchard would begin his tenure as Bishop of Worms and (shortly) start to compile the canons for the \textit{Decretum}. Moreover, it is made fairly evident that he adopted a two-part method for treating the issues that afflicted the

\textsuperscript{373} \textit{Vita Burchardi}, Ch. 9; Schwarzmaier, ‘Herzog Otto von Worms, der “Kirchenräuber”’, 32, 35-36.
\textsuperscript{374} \textit{Vita Burchardi}, Ch. 9, n. 12.
\textsuperscript{375} Schwarzmaier, ‘Herzog Otto von Worms, der “Kirchenräuber”’, 32-33, 35-36.
\textsuperscript{376} Henry II, \textit{Charter of 29th July 1014}, ed. H. Bresslau, MGH DD 3 (Berlin, 1957), 399-400; Austin, \textit{Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000}, 68. Hereinafter all reference to \textit{Charter of 29th July 1014} will be made to Bresslau’s edition. The fact that Burchard had to wait until 1014 to receive complete legal control of the \textit{familia} of Worms adds a considerable degree of credence to the view that the \textit{Decretum}, or at least its preface, was composed, or perhaps fully planned out, prior to 1014 as Burchard notes how he is Bishop ‘in name alone’ at the time of its writing.
community under his care in both a physical and intellectual manner. As we have
already seen in chapters 1.0 and 2.0, the condition of socio-political instability, on
either an imperial, national, or local, scale is widely recognised to have prompted the
composition of the eschatological texts of Augustine, Gregory, Adso, Abbo, and many
others throughout the late antique and early medieval periods. This is because they tell
us that they sought to respond to people’s concerns, as well as their own thoughts,
about their place in time in relation to what they perceived to be apocalyptic signs,
such as iniquity, avarice, and persecution. It would not be too much of a stretch to
suggest that some of the concerns of Burchard’s community in response to the
political turmoil and social violence that was taking place in Worms at this time, may
have been eschatological in nature. If so, this could have encouraged Burchard to
include Liber Vicesimus, a text that treats moral and eschatological issues at length, in
his Decretum so as to help explain to both his lay and ecclesiastical communities how
to understand and relate to these types of events once he had built the structures that
could allay these problems. Indeed, as many canons in Liber Vicesimus explain the
distinction between good and bad people within a salvific, eschatological framework,
and the fact that one canon, canon XCVIII, is explicitly designed to make clear ‘On
why in this life bad things happen to good people, and good to bad’, it may justify (to
an extent), the view that the Decretum was as much designed to help educate young
clerics as it was part of the ‘second stage’ response to the concerns of Burchard’s
community due to the (initially) unstable climate at Worms.

---

377 See sections, 1.8.0 and chapter 2.0 for examples and discussions of early medieval, eschatological
perceptions and expectations.
378 Decretum Libri Viginti, PL 140:1054C-1054D.
3.1.5.2 Ecclesiastical Reforms as the Bishop of Worms and Composing the *Decretum*

Having examined the various events and issues that impacted upon Burchard’s ecclesiastical career up until his appointment as Bishop of Worms, we will now consider not only the various concerns and duties that impacted upon Burchard’s day-to-day administration of his bishopric, but the contemporary context in which the *Decretum* was composed. From this we will attain greater insight not only into the nature of Burchard’s approach towards the composition of this text, but its principal purpose in relation to the spiritual designs Burchard had for the ecclesiastical and lay communities under his care. We will also inquire as to how, and in what ways, the composition of the *Decretum* related to Burchard’s aims for the city and its inhabitants at this time (so far as they can be ascertained from idealised texts such as the *Vita Burchardi*). I will also seek to determine how these events and actions would effect, or nuance the type of eschatological theology Burchard would be likely to present to his audience in *Liber Vicesimus*.

3.1.5.2.1 Physically Reconstructing the Ecclesiastical Institutions of Worms

The *Vita* informs us that from 1002 to 1005 Burchard spent a considerable amount of time with Henry II (later elected Emperor in 1014) largely presiding over royal councils, discussing issues at court, consolidating his territorial borders and spending time personally counselling him. After this point until his death, is made apparent that Burchard largely stayed at Worms to see to his ‘synodal cares, and the diverse rumblings of the world’, though he would continue to see the king intermittently.

---

379 *Vita Burchardi*, Chs. 9, 14; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 67.
whilst petitioning him for certain properties or rights for the diocese.\textsuperscript{380} Having forcibly demolished the Salian fort in the city, upon the removal of the political control Duke Otto had over Worms (with one notable exception until 1014), Burchard set about enacting a selection of reforms that would further advance the development of the physical, intellectual, social, spiritual, and legal integrity, of the city state and its inhabitants.\textsuperscript{381} So as to achieve this, Burchard initially ordered the construction of a monastery of St Peter, from the ruins of the aforementioned fort, along with the nearby monasteries of St Cyriacus, St. Andrew, and St Martin.\textsuperscript{382} This was shortly followed by reconstructing parts of the Cathedral.\textsuperscript{383} With obvious intent, Ebbo/Eberhard states that with the construction of St Peter’s, ‘the man of God (Burchard) transformed a house of war into a church of Christ’, and that ‘it (the monastery) did not seem to have been built through construction but… appeared suddenly there because Burchard wished it so’.\textsuperscript{384} These passages convey to the \textit{Vita}’s audience the impression of an effective, religiously minded reformist Bishop, who could easily bring about his designs for change within Worms.\textsuperscript{385} Evidently Burchard was seeking to rebuild and reinforce the religious structures of his diocese, in part, to provide his spiritual and lay communities with the necessary apparatus to nurture and develop both their religious knowledge and ascetic discipline.

\textsuperscript{380} Vita Burchardi, Chs. 10, 14; Austin, \textit{Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000}, 72.  
\textsuperscript{381} Schwarzmaier, ‘Herzog Otto von Worms, der “Kirchenräuber”’, 32-33.  
\textsuperscript{382} Ibid., 31-33.  
\textsuperscript{383} Vita Burchardi, Chs. 11, 16.  
\textsuperscript{384} Ibid., Ch. 11.  
\textsuperscript{385} Ibid., Ch. 9.
3.1.5.2.2 Regulating Ecclesiastical Life in Worms

The *Vita* then informs the audience that after such an intense period of building and reconstruction, Burchard then set about instituting commonly practiced ecclesiastical reforms that would effectively and efficiently ensure that his churchmen began to fulfil their ecclesiastical obligations to a high standard. Ebbo/Eberhard informs us that Burchard principally achieved his aims by introducing the observance of the ‘rule of the canons’ (*regulam canonicam*) whilst renewing the quality of education that they received.\(^{386}\) Although it is not clearly identified in the *Vita Burchardi*, it is likely that Burchard introduced the *Rule of Aachen* (*Institutio Canonicorum*), to his ecclesiastical community.\(^{387}\) As both Bertram and Hamilton explain, the Rule of Aachen was a development of the older Rule of Chrodegang (*c*. 775), that was widely endorsed and circulated amongst most ecclesiastical institutions in Northern France, Lotharingia, and South-West Germany, as a standard reforming and regulatory text for religious communities from *c*. 900-1050.\(^{388}\) It is stated that the purpose for Burchard introducing this set of rules was clearly to spell out all of the internal details relating to their organisation and daily practices, such as ‘housing, feeding and the disciplining of the clergy’.\(^{389}\) Ebbo/Eberhard’s depiction of Burchard’s decision to adopt this particular set of canons at Worms conveys his anxiousness to demonstrate that he was bringing a semblance of stability, or better organisational structure to their religious house. It also indicates that Burchard was seeking to provide a means to revive the wavering spiritual fortunes of his diocese at this time.

\(^{386}\) Ibid., Ch. 2, 16; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 61, 65.
\(^{387}\) *Vita Burchardi*, Ch. 2, 11-12, 16.
\(^{389}\) Ibid., 16. To give a little more detail: the Aachen rule of 816 was heavily based upon the *Rule of Chrodegang* (*Regula Canonicorum*) for canons of *c*. 755 written by the reformist Carolingian Bishop Chrodegang of Metz (*c*. 712-766), and was comprised of roughly one hundred and forty five canons.
3.1.5.2.3 Educating the Ecclesiastics of Worms

Parallel to this, we are informed that the type and standard of education Burchard and his provost, Brunicho, brought to Worms, was primarily designed to improve the level of pastoral care that could be offered to local and regional communities through the education of both clerics and monks. In order to successfully work their religious vocation, Burchard’s canons and monks were expected to attain a basic understanding of ‘the canonical rule, the computus, the lives of the fathers and the dialogue and other books appropriate to this life’, as these they would provide them with the correct guidelines to understand and practice the teachings of the Bible.\(^{390}\)

Whilst taking these initial steps to improve the education and living conditions of his clergy, we are informed that Burchard decided that it was necessary to develop a teaching tool that would familiarise its readers easily with the most pertinent aspects of canon law either not covered, or easily accessible, within the sacred texts available at Worms. As Ebbo/Eberhard tells us, many of the ‘rights of the canons and the judgments of penances had been utterly neglected and destroyed in his bishopric’ due to the abandonment and destabilisation of the city during the years previous to Burchard arrival. This had apparently made it difficult for Burchard to administer religious law efficiently, or his canons to fully understand and exercise their duties.\(^{391}\) Interestingly, this is a sentiment which is paralleled by Burchard in the \textit{preface} to the \textit{Decretum}, by making it very clear that its purpose is to aid the work conducted by fellow priests and young boys for study:

\(^{390}\) \textit{Vita Burchardi}, Ch. 12.  
\(^{391}\) Ibid., 10.
‘…because in our diocese the laws of the canons and the judgements for those doing penance are confused, varied and disordered, just as if they were completely neglected, and are both greatly in disagreement amongst themselves and supported by the authority of almost no one, so that because of the discord they scarcely can be distinguished by experts’. 392

Therefore Burchard’s purported motivation to compile and arrange the Decretum appears to be multifaceted. The reason for this being that not only did he wish to provide his students and canons with a cohesive and clear vision of divine law, but also renew the amount of reading materials available at Worms. Simultaneously it is recorded that he also wanted to reform the diocese’s reputation for religious discipline and the level of pastoral care that could be administered to the laity.

This understanding of the context in which the Decretum was composed, along with its function and purpose, from a spiritual, reformist perspective, ties in, to a certain extent, with the preliminary observations that I developed in section 3.1.4.2.3 about the type of eschatological theology that Burchard was aiming to present his readers in Liber Vicesimus. Specifically, Ebbo/Eberhard presents Burchard’s decision to provide his flock with an authoritative and reliable foundation about which to re-establish their religious lives, including their understanding of theology, within the context of long-term institutional decline. As such, it would seem that the composition of the Decretum served as one of several tools that Burchard used to regulate the operations of the ecclesiastical institutions and personnel at Worms, and by extension its laity. Certainly, from this perspective, it would seem that Burchard sought to develop a

392 Preface, 99-100.
relatively comprehensive theological manual on ‘speculative theology’, one that engaged with a range of eschatological issues, to provide answers to common questions, or inform people on important areas of interest, that may have been raised at this time, or were not adequately treated in previous canonical collections.

3.1.6 Evaluation

The Decretum was developed to help reorder and stabilise both the social and spiritual fabric of the Worms’ community in response to the endemic turmoil it had experienced from disputed leadership along with the violence and decline that had come as a result. It constituted a seminal component of the (‘typical’) dualistic reforming process that Burchard undertook, to rebuild, secure, and renew the spiritual dimension of the city. Specifically, having built several monasteries within and around Worms, whilst re-building part of its cathedral, Burchard then sought to create a text that could provide a sound foundation for the education of the ecclesiastics under his care, an introductory and reference text to the core issues pertaining to canon law. This was in order to better manage their professional development and the quality of pastoral care they could administer to his lay community. The encyclopaedic and diverse range and type of theological issues and perspectives arranged over twenty books. Whilst, as others have also emphasised, the Decretum is purely spiritual and ecclesiastical in focus, this analysis suggests that it is important to consider the secular context in which it was constructed and intended to be used.

The works of Gregory the Great are likely to have played a significant role in both Burchard’s education as a cleric, and in his understanding of the nature and pastoral
responsibilities of episcopal office. This helps to explain why 59.1% of Liber Vicesimus’ canons derive from works in which Gregory expresses an apocalyptic eschatological perspective. Clearly the Gregorian perspective was one which Burchard understood and wished to convey to his audience; that he chose to do so in the new form of the Decretum was because, as his biographer was anxious to show, he was keen to revive the disordered community in the diocese through educating them in everyday theological issues and the correct practice of pastoral care. As Burchard indicated in his preface to the Decretum, he sought to provide theological consistency so that his clergy could dispense their duties without having to worry about religious disputes over doctrine (something Burchard indicated he sought to avoid in his Preface).

Yet the existing scholarship on both historical and contemporary eschatological traditions, including concerns regarding the imminence of the Last Things, as set out in chapter 1.0, suggest that there is a contradiction between those who advocate an apocalyptic interpretation of eschatological theology (Gregorian eschatology) and those concerned with long-term social stability (Augustinian agnosticism).393 In order to understand the relationship between these apparently contrasting factors – in the next section we will turn to the composition, transmission, structure, and content of Liber Vicesimus in more detail.

---

393 See section 1.8.0 for discussions and references to debates concerning interpretations of early medieval eschatological exegetical traditions.
3.2.0 The Manuscript Traditions and Recent Editions of Burchard’s *Decretum*

3.2.1 Summary and Objectives of Section

Burchard’s *Decretum*, has been the subject of several studies by Fournier and Le Bras, van Balberghe, Hoffmann and Pokorny, Hartmann, and Austin. This section will draw upon their work to set out how the *Decretum*, in particular *Liber Vicesimus*, was composed and received. As this section relies largely on existing editions it will not be exhaustive, but selective in relation to engaging with issues that advance the wider inquiries of both the chapter and thesis. Moreover, it will not seek to ascertain the veracity and validity of each of its manuscripts or editions (as this has been done elsewhere).

In this section, we will investigate the creation of the *Decretum*. In particular the way Burchard’s vision of canon law was developed during the writing process, along with the extent of its transmission, dissemination and reception over time. By doing so we shall not only be able to better refine our observations regarding the context in which his eschatological theology is understood to have developed, but the forms in which it was conveyed through its transmission, dissemination, and reception within the early years and decades that immediately followed its creation.

---

This shall be achieved by firstly, examining the dating of *Decretum*’s earliest extant manuscripts, second, determining the shape and range of the *Decretum*’s propagation across medieval Western Europe in all its forms, and thirdly, technically analysing the various stages of the *Decretum*’s initial construction in two different manuscripts, along with any issues that arise from them. In turn we will also be able to observe, at least in material terms, the various the ways that *Liber Vicesimus* was received and, to a degree, utilised by its diverse audiences. We shall then finish by briefly considering the forms in which the *Decretum* has been recorded in more modern editions to establish the relationship between the texts I have consulted to analyse *Liber Vicesimus* and Burchard’s original work.

### 3.2.2 Dating the Decretum

As nearly all modern scholars on the subject have noted, it is very difficult to exactly specify not only when the *Decretum* was composed, but the process by which it was conceived, planned, and first drafted. These difficulties have been identified to be caused by two factors: one, the problems inherent to the manuscript history of the *Decretum*, and two, the vagaries inherent to the *Vita Burchardi*, in relation to the information it provides about Burchard’s role in the development the *Decretum*. That aside, the content of these sources does provide enough material to enable historians to determine the parameters of a relatively small time frame in which the *Decretum* was most likely to have been finalised as a working document. Specifically, most scholars agree that parts of the *Decretum* and possibly its overarching layout, were already planned before 29th July 1014 (the date when Burchard received complete legal control of the *familia* of Worms), and that it was definitely completed in its
fullest form shortly after the Council of Seligenstadt (near Frankfurt) in 1023 as twenty of the canons promulgated at this council were inserted in the end of MS V (MS Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Palatini lat. 585 and 586), the earliest extant copy of the *Decretum*, by a hand from Worms (Hand H).  

### 3.2.3 Extant Manuscripts and their Distributions

As befits one of the foremost canon law collections of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there now survive seventy-seven complete *Decretum* manuscripts, in addition to ten abridged copies, five manuscripts containing a selection of one of more of the *Decretum*’s books, and twenty-three manuscripts leaves. That is, one hundred and fourteen *Decretum* manuscripts in four distinct forms, along with thirty-eight manuscripts of old library catalogues in which the *Decretum* is mentioned. The following table (Table y) is a historical breakdown of extant *Decretum* manuscripts, clearly illustrating when they were made, thereby demarking the periods in which the *Decretum* was likely to have been used the most and in what form.

---


Table y: Historical Breakdown of all (Extant) Decretum MSS (based on information given in the studies by Hoffmann and Pokorny, Kéry, and Austin).\(^{398}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Century</th>
<th>C11</th>
<th>C11-12</th>
<th>C12</th>
<th>C12-13</th>
<th>C13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(MS Type)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full copy</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragments</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abridged copy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single book(s)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the matching historical patterns of production and survival of the complete, abridged and fragmentary forms of the Decretum, it would appear that Burchard’s canonical work was most widely copied in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, tailing off in the decades surrounding the turn of thirteenth century. The Decretum’s initial surge in production can partly be attributed to the fact that it was transmitted to other ecclesiastical establishments surrounding the diocese of Worms within a few short years of its creation, which helped facilitate its wider dissemination. As Hoffmann and Pokorny, and Kéry, demonstrate, there are at least three instances of complete Decretum manuscripts copied in the Worms scriptorium for other ecclesiastical establishments, specifically Bamberg (MS B), Cologne (MS K), and Frankfurt (MS F), by the end of the first quarter of the eleventh century, that is, within

---

two to thirteen years of the *Decretum*’s completion period (c. 1012-23 to 1025).\textsuperscript{399} The *Decretum*’s rapid regional reception indicated that it was regarded as a valuable and useful text almost immediately after its completion.

If we look at the wider geographical distributions of the complete copies of the *Decretum*, it is clear that by the end of the eleventh century they had spread across large swathes of Germany, Lombardy, Italy, Burgundy and France.\textsuperscript{400} For instance, if we just focus on the twenty-four complete *Decretum* manuscripts which were written in Italy throughout the eleventh century, we can see that they were being copied in cathedrals and abbeys that were very distant from one another such as Benevento, Rome, Lucca, and Ivrea.\textsuperscript{401} In addition, when we factor in the other twenty-four Italian copies of the *Decretum* made throughout the twelfth century, we can see that not only was the *Decretum* well-known and widely distributed, especially in the northern and central regions, but that its popularity remained fairly consistent for nearly two hundred years.\textsuperscript{402} Evidently, Burchard’s interpretation of canon law, in particular his interpretation of eschatology in *Liber Vicesimus*, was widely available and accessible to a considerable rage of ecclesiastics.


\textsuperscript{400} Hoffmann, Pokorny, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms*, 12, 30-32, 48-58; Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, 134-144; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 26.

\textsuperscript{401} Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, 137-142.

\textsuperscript{402} Ibid., 137-142.
The *Decretum*’s wide geographical distribution testifies to its popularity, especially when compared to that of other contemporary, or near contemporary canonical collections. For example, the *Collectio Duodecim Partium*, a moderately sized canon collection composed in Freising (Southern Germany) c. 1020-1050, has only five complete extant manuscripts, three manuscripts of various excerpts, and two fragments, all of which were copied between the mid eleventh to late twelfth century in Southern Germany and North East France.403 Similarly, Lanfranc of Canterbury’s *Collectio Lanfranci* (c. 1059-1075), is another moderately sized collection of canons that has only fourteen complete copies and seventeen partial, fragmentary or abridged manuscripts remain extant, all of which were only copied between the mid eleventh- to late twelfth century in England and possibly Northern France.404 Alongside other collections which have survived in comparably low numbers, such as Atto of Vercelli’s *Collectio Canonum* (Saec. Xmid), Abbo of Fleury’s *Collectio Canonum* (c. 988-996) and the ‘anonymous’ *Collectio 233 capitulorum* (Saxony, c. 964-1000), it would appear that most canonical texts did not receive that same level of interest as the *Decretum*, as they were neither copied or preserved in the same numbers, nor circulated as far internationally.405 As such comparisons make clear Burchard’s *Decretum* was the most influential collection in the Latin Church for over a century. Its influence suggests that the type of theology presented in *Liber Vicesimus* was accepted and well known to a wide array of Western European churchmen and their lay communities during this period.

---

403 Ibid., 239-241.
In actuality the utility and production of the *Decretum* became more specialised from the twelfth century, especially regarding the themes dealt with in books 17-20, all of which feature within four of the five ‘single book’ manuscripts. They are: ‘Fornication’, ‘Reconciliation of the sick’, ‘Penance’, and ‘Speculative theology’. These facts indicate that the two books in the *Decretum* which concern themselves with providing the most practical and detailed answers to some, if not the most common everyday questions (i.e. how a Bishop or magistrate should practically administer penance in an given situation, and ‘the salvation of the soul’), continued to be valued by contemporary ecclesiastics, as they do not really feature in the same way, if at all, in the later canonical works of Ivo of Chatres (*Panormia* (c. 1094-1095)) and Gratian’s (*Concordia discordantium canonum* (1139-1140)). This is significant as it suggests that the copying of *Liber Vicesimus* as a single book, or as purposely select text within a small set of books, during a time in which the majority of the contents of the *Decretum* had been largely rendered obsolete, was a focussed attempt by certain religious communities to continue the transmission of it contents to either members of the clergy or members of their laity. Considering that MS L, (MS London, British Library, Add. 18371 (Saec. XII-XIII)), (books 19-20) is located directly at the end of a copy of the *Panormia*, it is possible that certain brothers at St

---

406 *Decretum Libri Viginti*, PL 140:920A-1013C; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 15. Despite the small number of manuscripts I am dealing with, three of the four ‘single book’ manuscripts; MS London, British Library, Add. 18371 (Saec. XII-XIII), MS Pommersfelden, Gräflich-Schloßbibliothek 198 (2816), and MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 6367 (Saec. XIII), only hold copies of either books 19-20 (MS L and MS P) or just *Liber Vicesimus* (MS M).

407 Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, 254-260; Landau, ‘Gratian and the *Decretum Gratiani*’, 48-49. Very little is known about the Bolognese canon lawyer simply referred to as Gratian. It is claimed in the *Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, the abbot of Mont Saint Michel (c. 1180), that Gratian was the bishop of Chiusi in Sienna, however this information cannot be substantiated. Certainly, the fact that Ivo’s *Decretum* had such a poor reception, even though it copied and expanded upon *Liber Vicesimus* wholesale in *Pars XVII*, may be related to the *Decretum’s* preeminent status as a law collection at this time.
Georgenberg-Fiecht Abbey were using Burchard’s work to compensate for the theological topics not covered within Ivo’s collection.⁴⁰⁸

### 3.2.4. Examination of MS V and MS F

In this section we will examine the two earliest manuscripts of the *Decretum* that have been identified by Hoffmann and Pokorny to have been compiled in Worms during Burchard’s lifetime. The purpose for doing so is to gain possible insight into the composition process of the *Decretum*, which can enable us to better understand the context, focus, and intent of Burchard’s interpretation of eschatological theology, as presented in *Liber Vicesimus*.

#### 3.2.4.1 General Stages of Composition of MS V and MS F

Hoffmann and Pokorny identified six clear phases to the production and revision of MS V and MS F. Below, the developmental framework in which they set them has been reproduced in Table z, so the reader can get a clear sense of their interactions with one another and begin to engage with two key points that arise from it without having to reproduce all the various details that justify this arrangement within their very detailed study.

---

Table 2: Hoffmann and Pokorny’s Interpretation of MS V and MS F’s Stages of Production. 409


2. MS V in its first, provisionally final version.

3. Revised edition of MS V, with canons added to the ends of books, other canons erased, the wording of canons altered, and book XX added. MS F then copied from V in its original condition.

4. Parallel revisions of MSV and MS F; canons erased, canons appended to book endings, corrections within individual canons.

5a. Independent revisions of MS V; small changes, mostly in book XI, and appended canons to the end of books II, III, and IX.

5b. Independent revisions of MS F; same appended canons to the end of books II, III, and IX as MS V, plus own appended canons. 410

409 As both Austin and Winroth have pointed out, MS V, unlike MS F, was not intentionally intended to be widely circulated, which indicates that Burchard had originally planned for MS V to be a display copy that was only used as a reference text by ecclesiastics at Worms, or those who came from afar to read it. The fact that MS V was used a as a master copy for the Würzburg manuscripts, which were written at Worms in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, may have been due to the fact that MS F was unavailable at the time they were commissioned. See, Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:663B-664A; Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 12-13, 29-58; Winroth, ‘Review: Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms’, 502; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 25-26.

410 Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 29-58, Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 20-24.
3.2.4.2 The Initial Stages of Production of MS V

It is Hoffmann and Pokorny’s view that the Decretum was prepared as a nineteen volume compilation that received further revisions before Liber Vicesimus was then incorporated into it at the end.\textsuperscript{411} Hoffmann and Pokorny have justified this ‘almost certain’ interpretation through the fact that there are several erasures of text in the prologue to MS V on fol. 11\textsuperscript{vb} regarding the number of texts in the Decretum (\textit{et in viginti libros idem corpus distribui}), and the fact that the synopses of books nineteen and twenty are written in smaller lines that had previously been erased, which would point towards the conclusion that the Decretum was actually supposed to contain nineteen, not twenty books and the preface we know today was altered to suit later changes.\textsuperscript{412} This deduction calls into question Burchard’s decision to include an entire book on ‘speculative theology’ and his reasons for doing so. In particular it would (as discussed in section 3.2) suggest that Liber Vicesimus was probably conceived as an afterthought to an already cohesive nineteen volume text to justify to Burchard’s ecclesiastics why they should follow the (previously) set canons.

Whilst I would not want to dismiss this observation by Hoffmann and Pokorny, as this evidence cannot be refuted, it must be pointed out that their view does not appear to fully accord with all the evidence they provide in their volume, or the wider contextual studies I have already conducted in relation to Liber Vicesimus.

\textsuperscript{411} Hoffmann, Pokorny, \textit{Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms}, 12-13, 29-58; Austin, \textit{Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000}, 20-26.

\textsuperscript{412} Hoffmann, Pokorny, \textit{Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms}, 36-37, 40. However, it is not clear what was originally written where the erasures were made in the preface.
Below I have set out a number of reasons why there may be plausible alternatives to their view:

- Unlike many of the other books in MS V, which were completed (mostly) homogenously by a principal scribe (hand A) - including book twenty (230r-277ra), book nineteen was intermittently written by several hands, in particular towards its final pages (205rb-226ra).\textsuperscript{413} Namely, these are A, A?, B, C, D, and E.\textsuperscript{414} Moreover, the original version of book XIX, definitely contained several spare leaves at the end that were cut out between folios 222-226rb.\textsuperscript{415} As Austin and Winroth have noted, this would indicate that book nineteen was expected to be a work in progress when it was originally being copied into its deluxe manuscript, as its final canons were still being determined.\textsuperscript{416} Which, in turn, would suggest that book twenty may have been held in reserve until such time as it was ready to be copied in (3), after book nineteen was finalised. Therefore, it simply may be that the principal scribe was not aware of this fact and had to revise his error in the preface to accommodate it.

- Continuing on from the previous point, it is also evident that a small blank space was provided between the end of book nineteen and the start of book twenty in MS F from 285r – 285vb, a text break which was similar to that between many of the other books.\textsuperscript{417} Why would this be the case unless the scribes of MS F knew that only a few more canons could potentially be added

\textsuperscript{413} Hoffmann, Pokorny, \textit{Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms}, 29-31.
\textsuperscript{414} Ibid., 29-37.
\textsuperscript{415} Ibid., 29-31.
to the volume? Clearly the relatively haphazard latter stages of book nineteen’s construction in MS V would indicate that book twenty could not have been initially included (1-2) until it was in a state that did not require further substantial additions and corrections.

- As *Liber Vicesimus* is, in and of itself, an original collection of canon law, in the sense that no other previous compilation contains a parallel chapter, section, or book, on the subject of ‘speculative theology’, whereas the other nineteen books share close or partial relationships to topics that feature in other collections, such as Regino’s *Libri Duo*, Anselm’s *Collectio Anselmo Dedicata* and the *Collectio Hibernensis*, it may be the case that it took longer to compose than the other books. Indeed, the observation that the structure and arrangement of the topics and canons inherent to *Liber Vicesimus* (as we shall see in chapters 4.0-6.0) are incredibly well thought out and complex, would imply, that it had required a great deal more time and effort to plan, than (perhaps) many of the other, more derivative, books in the *Decretum*. In other words, work may have begun on copying all the other nineteen books Burchard had already (mostly) compiled whilst he worked to finish it. Certainly the fact that the principle hand A from MS V wrote the same book in MS F (hand C – the principle hand), without any revisions or additions, would indicate a degree of consistency between these versions of the book that we do not see in the composition of book nineteen (MS V has multiple hands, whilst MS F is principally written by hand C – hand A in MS V).
To follow up this point, from my reading of the formal sources of Liber Vicesimus, it is evident that there is an inordinate overreliance on excerpts taken from the exegetical works of both Gregory and Isidore.\footnote{418} Now, there are two options as to why this would be the case. One, it could be that the book was written in great haste. That is, if it was an afterthought to already an planned out and largely complete nineteen book volume (1-2), then its limited source range could be an expression of the speed at which it was completed so that work on MS F could start. Or, if a twenty book volume was originally planned, it could be that Burchard’s overreliance on Gregory, and to a lesser degree Isidore, is an indication of the type of authority and theology that he and his collaborators sought to use to convey an approach towards interpreting eschatological theology that was fundamental, consistent and authoritative. It is difficult to determine which is more likely in this instance, but given that the Decretum’s other books each have a much greater range of formal and intended authorities, there is a stronger possibility that the construction of Liber Vicesimus was not simply based on a belated decision to verify the issues of the previous nineteen books.

All these evidenced points would suggest that book twenty may have not been initially included for one or, both of, two reasons. One, book nineteen was still being worked on by Burchard when the scribes began writing it (1) and they did not know when or whether a final book would be included. And two, Liber Vicesimus had not been finished when the original draft copy of nineteen books was sent to the scriptorium (1-2), which could have caused confusion to the principal scribe, as he

\footnote{418} I refer the reader to section \textbf{3.1.4.2} and chapters \textbf{4.0-6.0} for greater details on Burchard’s utility of Gregory and Isidore’s authority.
may have assumed the draft copy was a ‘near’ complete volume. Certainly, both possibilities could have occurred simultaneously and could explain why the chapters of Liber Vicesimus were written by a different hand (hand I, fol. 227r-229v) than that which copied out all its canons (hand A, fol. 230r-277va).419 That said, the question as to why MS F was only produced once several revisions had been made and after Liber Vicesimus had been added to MS V, would also provide sufficient cause to reconsider whether Burchard had actually originally planned a nineteen book volume, even if other factors were at play that we are now not privy to that caused revisions to the preface. However, there is a hefty amount of hard evidence to support the view that a twenty volume Decretum may have been on the cards before MS V began production.

3.2.4.3 The Continual Revisions of MS V and MS F

The second point relates to the fact that Burchard continued to make a wide range of erasures, additions, and amendments to both MS V and MS F, once a ‘revised final edition’ had been produced (3). The fact that continued, parallel, and independent alterations were made to both texts (4, and to a lesser extent, 5a–5b), after he had declared it to be a finished product in the preface (c. 1014), indicates that other contextual factors determined that the Decretum continued to be part of an evolving process to further refine and develop Burchard’s vision of canon law. Moreover it would suggest that even as the ecclesiastical community of Worms began to find its feet (c. 1014-1023), especially once Burchard took over the familia, there were a wide array of issues that needed clarification and explanation in order to better enhance their training and the Decretum as a didactic text. Certainly in the case of Liber

Vicesimus this would appear to be the case with respect to the addition of an extra ‘canon’ in MS F after canon 110 (315iv), an excerpt from Isidore’s letter to Bishop Masona of Mérida (d. 610) that briefly discusses the restitution of sin amongst the clergy.420 These factors would indicate that the composition processes of both manuscripts were very much tied in with not only the ongoing restoration and reforms projects that Burchard is reported to have spearheaded, but the educational (training) and pastoral needs of his community as he got to know them better. In other words, the ‘revised edition’ of MS V and the original version of MS F, formed a core text that reflected Burchard’s and his fellow compilers’ knowledge and experience on the subjects of the book at a particular time (c. 1012-14), and was then adjusted, or ‘personalised’ (largely in tandem) (c. 1014-1023), to be more authoritative, or complete, in various areas, for the reason that their original vision did not deal with certain issues that had arisen either in practice (application) or when being taught.

These two points would both buttress our current interpretation that reform to local ecclesiastical knowledge and education were the foremost priorities to Burchard when composing the Decretum as he initially drafted, composed and then revised and added to it, between c. 1012-1023. Whilst we cannot add anymore nuance to our current understanding of the type of eschatology he would have been likely to include in Liber Vicesimus from these points, it seems that the context of rebuilding the city of Worms and reforming the knowledge and practices of its spiritual community would be factored into it in some manner.

420 This particular section of text is written like a canon but is not numerated, nor is its chapter title rubricated in the standard fashion to all of the Decretum’s other canons in MS F. See, MS Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Barth. 50 (Saec. XI/4, Worms), at: http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/msma/content/pageview/2036252 (Last visited: 31/06/2015); Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 38.
3.2.5 The Authorship of the Decretum: Compilers or Complier?

The scholarship that was produced before Hoffmann and Pokorny’s seminal study relied exclusively on the Vita, Preface, and small number of later sources, to identify the authors of the Decretum.421 From their literary content alone, it was long understood that only Burchard, Walter, Brunicho, and a monk called Olbert, who later become abbot of Gembloux (1012-1048), compiled all the canons in the Decretum.422 However the palaeographical and codicological work that Hoffmann and Pokorny conducted revealed that, in actual fact, quite a significant number of hands, including Burchard’s, were involved in the composition, editing, and revision, processes that made both MS V and MS F.423 As this fact fundamentally challenges the contemporary perspective that the Decretum was composed by a very small group of people, we need to ascertain its implications for our interpretation of not just the purpose and function of the Decretum as a whole, but Liber Vicesimus, including the type of eschatology that its canons express.

422 Direct evidence of Walter’s and Burchard’s involvement can be found in MS V, canon 227 (canon 231 in MS F 72r-73v): ‘In nomine patris π, et filii γ, et spiritus sancti α. Walterio Spirensi episcoopo, ego Burchardus sanctae Wormaciensi Ecclesiae devotus gregis Christi famulus, in Deo vero summae felicitatis beatitudinem…. Ego, inquam, Burchardus humilis episcopus, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti, et in unitate sanctae Ecclesiae, in qua Petro datum est jus ligandi et solvendi, absolvo Ecmannum presbyterum de civitate Wormaciensi, indictione X; et licentiam do vobis inquam, absolvendo, in quacunque ecclesia vultis vestrae parochiae. Hanc ergo epistolam Graecis litteris hinc inde munire decretivmus, et annulo Ecclesiae nostrae firmare censuimus. Fraternitatem vestram Christus nobis incolument conservet. π. γ. α. β. ε. ζ. ξ. α. k. η. θ. Data Wormaciae, Idibus Martii, anno Dominiacae incarnationis millesimo duodecimo, indictione X’ (Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:663B-664A); MS Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Barth. 50 (Saec. XI1/4, Worms), at: http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/msma/content/pageview/2035765, AND http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/msma/content/pageview/2035766 (Last visited: 31/06/15).
423 Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 29-58; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 16-20, 55.
Hoffmann and Pokorny’s (relatively) recent discovery is significant to our inquiries, as it would imply that either Liber Vicesimus was designed by a single person with a limited amount of help, or the expression of the thoughts and beliefs of multiple minds. This would mean that the eschatology that we encounter in this text is either (in principle) singular to Burchard, and therefore likely to be more personal in scope, or a reflection of the communal approaches of a local group. In both instances the eschatology would be regional in form, but the latter would imply a much wider orthodoxy that other eschatological texts from the millennial period do not have, which may attest (in part) to the continued proliferation of both the Decretum and Liber Vicesimus well into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Although we have essentially reached the limitations of this discussion, it is worth highlighting one last, if pre-emptive issue which will be demonstrated at greater length in chapters 4.0-6.0; that Liber Vicesimus is through-composed. That is, the structure and organisation of the canons appears to conform to a sequential series of themes based to one topic (what can be termed as: ‘the salvation of the soul’), like a symphony or a set of variations. It presents a very watertight, holistic development, or expansion, on one issue that would appear to be product of one mind, that (as we know) did not receive in MS V or MS F (with one small exception) any later revisions, redactions, or amendments as a text.424 These factors would suggest that only a very small number of people worked on it. My overall impression is that this option is more likely for the scope of the authorship of the Decretum, especially in the case of Liber Vicesimus. Specifically, that it is more likely that the few ecclesiastics named in the extant primary texts worked under Burchard to compile and draft the

424 Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 29-58; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 20-26.
whole volume before it was copied into MS V, the reason being that otherwise we would have to dilute the principle contextual purpose and function of the text – to stabilise, reform and educate Burchard’s ecclesiastical community. In other words, the Decretum must have been the product of a highly educated, limited group of minds experienced in administration, written composition, and knowledgeable on a wide array of topics; otherwise there would have been no need to make it for Burchard’s community.

3.2.6 Was Liber Vicesimus a Later Addition to an Already Planned Twenty Book Volume or a Last Minute Inclusion to a Nineteen Book Volume? What are the Implications of the Answer to This?

The simple answer is: we do not know. As we have seen from our investigation of MS V and MS F, the evidence that can be used to respond to the above question can either argue that book twenty was not originally planned to be part of the Decretum, or that it actually was, but was added later before MS F was made. The implications of which position one chooses does impact on our understanding of the broader function and purpose the Decretum served somewhat, as the original intention of a twenty book volume would indicate that the Decretum was created with its ultimate objective not only being pastoral and educational, but salvific and eternal in scope, whereas the opposite would make the initial conception of the Decretum to be far more temporal, institutional, and disciplinarian in nature (even though book nineteen was intended, in part, to facilitate spiritual improvement (‘medicines for souls’)). Following on, these options would indicate that either Liber Vicesimus was developed either as an

afterthought to justify the tenets of the previous nineteen books, or a simple finale to explain the factors and final cosmic events that facilitate a soul’s transition to the afterlife. Due to fact that this issue can be approached from either direction, we must posit that either options, or a composite form of them, are simultaneously possible at this point. The implication of this particular compromise being that the type of eschatology presented in *Liber Vicesimus* was probably intended to highlight both the reasons why one should correctly interpret the temporal practice of doctrine and explain the processes by which one will reach their eternal resting place.

That said two other factors can be considered that give us the opportunity to provide a more substantive, if slightly more conjectural, response to these questions. The first concerns that fact that a book which deals with the subject of speculative theology was added to MS V before it was formally copied into a transmission manuscript (MS F) (3 in Table z). This would attest to the view that Burchard ultimately decided, even if it was at a later point within the semi-formal production process, he wanted a salvific component to his vision of canon law. In turn, this would imply that the overall function of the eschatology theology presented in *Liber Vicesimus* would probably have been directed to serve both the temporal and spiritual needs of Burchard’s community. The second relates to the general observation that the canons of *Liber Vicesimus* do not directly discuss penance on any level whatsoever, nor do they substantially tie in with, or relate to, any of the other previous eighteen book’s topics. If book twenty was meant to justify or enforce the instructions of the previous nineteen book’s canons, then why does it not specifically refer to each, or some, of them to explain their importance? The fact that it is, in many respects, a stand alone topical collection like the other books, does not necessarily prove an original plan for
a twenty-book volume of canon law, but it does indicate that ‘speculative theology’ was a subject that Burchard believed his audience should be knowledgeable about independent from, or in parallel conjunction with, the volume’s other topics. In other words, its contents do not appear (without supporting analysis) to directly serve the contents of the other books (or vice versa), but to complement them. Consequently, it is this factor that would offer the most viable workable solution to this question when balanced with the factors that we have already considered. That is, whilst it may (or may not) be the case that Liber Vicesimus was not initially conceived to be part of Burchard’s vision of canon law, he and his collaborators quickly realised it to be a significant enough subject worth including so as to thoroughly educate his audience at large on the fundamental spiritual and pastoral issues necessary to rebuild and reform his community. In this respect, the entire compilation retains a salvific dimension that transcends purely material functionality.

3.2.7 Modern Editions of Burchard’s Decretum

The final inquiry of this section is concerned with establishing the relationship between the current editions of the Decretum and the manuscript upon which they are based. To what extent do the modern editions of the Decretum communicate Burchard’s original vision of canon law as expressed through MS V and MS F? This issue has been covered at length by Hoffmann and Pokorny, Kéry, as well as Austin, and Rolker: what follows relies on their work.

Currently there are three complete editions of the Decretum available to scholars. Two were produced during the mid-sixteenth century, the other more recently in the mid-
eighteenth century. Of these, one has been recently reprinted, but the rest are available in both textual and online formats, though they have not been updated. As such, the material which can be used to access and cite Burchard’s material aside from consulting the manuscripts directly is fairly limited, and for the most part outdated. Below I have listed each one in historical order, whilst including in each listing their respective subsequent reprints.

(1) B. de Questenburgh and M. Neuss’s edition of the *Decretum* (Cologne, 1548) was twice reprinted by J. Foucher (Paris, 1549 and 1550), followed by a second edition reprint by J. Birckmann Jr. (Paris, 1560).

(2) G. Fransen and T. Kölzer’s edition of the *Decretum* (Cologne, 1549), along with its modern reprint (Aalen, 1992).

As Van Balberghe, Hoffmann and Pokorny, Kéry, and Austin note, all three of these editions are a reproduction of the same text, which was originally derived from only one unknown extant manuscript that would appear to closely resemble MS V.426

Although it is now incomplete, the most likely candidate, given the location at which Questenburgh and Neuss’s *editio princeps* was composed (Cologne), is MS K.427 MS K has been identified by Hoffmann and Pokorny, and Austin as having been prepared at Worms during Burchard’s lifetime, possibly under his supervision in c. 1020 as it

---

427 MS Köln, Erzbishöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 119 (Saec. XII/4, Worms), at: 
shares a direct relationship to the first copies of Burchard’s original, complete work, specifically MS V, MS F, and MS B. All these historians agree that MS K is an extremely faithful to MS V and MS F as it contains only a few partial phrasing deviations from them (none of which apply to Liber Vicesimus). My own reading and comparison of MS K to MS F would support the understanding that there are very few differences between the manuscripts (aside from the incomplete form of MS K – chapters 58-110 are missing), especially with regards to Liber Vicesimus (189r-204v, MSK and 286r-315v, MSF), which is essentially a straight copy with only a number of layout differences.

Whilst it may be that MS K may not have been the original manuscript from which Questenburgh and Neuss’s edition was copied, I have still been able to compare the current editions of the Decretum directly to MS F, particularly to Liber Vicesimus, when analysing its contents. It would appear, especially in the case of canons XCIII-CX (the key eschatological canons of the book), that there are no major discrepancies between the two, which in turn would demonstrate that it is very faithful to MS V. Consequently, Migne’s PL edition of the Decretum I have principally used to analyse the text of Liber Vicesimus is, to all extents and purposes, an extremely accurate and stable copy of the text originally conceived, compiled, and partly written, by both Burchard and his small team.

---

428 Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 20-21; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 1-26.
429 Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 20-21; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 1-26.
430 One might ask the question why I have decided to use the PL edition of the Decretum when I have direct access to MS F, which was (almost) certainly prepared under Burchard’s supervision. The simple answer is that I have used MS F to determine if there are any errors of discrepancies with the PL edition, but as there does not appear to be any, and all the scribal contractions have been expanded in the PL, it has been more expedient to utilise the PL text for research purposes than having to type out all the text in MS F.
3.3 A Working Interpretation of the Environment in which *Liber Vicesimus* was Composed and the Apparent Problems that Arise from it

Bringing together our knowledge of Burchard’s life and the manuscript traditions of the *Decretum* has enabled us to establish the environment within which the *Decretum*, in particular *Liber Vicesimus*, was created and framed. In turn this has led to the formation of several working explanations about Burchard and the *Decretum*. Specifically they relate to three key areas: the authorship and readership of the *Decretum*; the mindset, aims, and theology, of the *Decretum*’s composers; and the principle messages the *Decretum* was designed to convey to its audience. As the factors that have influenced my working explanations do bear upon my objectives when reading and analysing the *Liber Vicesimus*, I will briefly re-iterate them so as to fully explain the interpretive problems that arise when we bring them together:

Firstly, although Burchard composed the *Decretum* in conjunction with several other regional bishops and leading ecclesiastics, there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that he led, and actively participated in, the composition process up until its formal completion in c. 1020-1023. This level of involvement demonstrates that whilst the theological views expressed within the *Decretum* primarily represent those of Burchard, they also convey, to a limited extent, the perspective of a wider community of prominent ecclesiastics within the province of Mainz. In turn, the collaborative nature of the *Decretum*’s authorship suggests a degree of theological cohesion within certain learned circles in the Rhine region during the time in which it was composed. Furthermore, the rapidity with which the *Decretum* was disseminated and transmitted across all of central Europe, suggests that many eleventh- and twelfth-century
ecclesiastics either shared Burchard’s vision of Christian penance and theology, or quickly adopted (either in whole or part) his views after obtaining a copy of the *Decretum*.

Secondly, Burchard composed the *Decretum* shortly after an extended period of structural and institutional decline within the city of Worms, with the primary intention of educating his clerical community. This was in order to re-establish and ensure the correct regulation of their spiritual life, moral integrity, and interpretation of divine law. In other words, Burchard created the *Decretum* to facilitate the immediate stabilisation and long-term rejuvenation, of a disordered, recently besieged community by imparting its spiritual leaders with an easily comprehensible guide to the way in which Christian society should function. Indeed, from what we have already seen regarding the novel way Burchard arranged the layout and canons of each book, it is evident that the *Decretum* was designed to be an authoritative repository for the fundamental theological, customary and legal codes of everyday Christian life. This interpretation supports the view that some of the underlying, implicit messages that Burchard sought to convey to his audience throughout the *Decretum* are those of religious order, theological consistency, and social cohesion.

Thirdly, there is enough direct and indirect contextual evidence to suggest that Burchard had an extensive knowledge of many of the major works of several patristic and classical authors, including Persius, Boethius, and Augustine. Of particular interest is the evidence that the theology of Gregory the Great exerted a strong influence on Burchard’s thought world both as an oblate and a Bishop. Burchard’s understanding of eschatological theology was thus derived from several patristic
authorities and far less grounded in Augustinian non-apocalyptic, agnostic, conservatism than it was in Gregorian apocalypticism. From this observation I can posit that Burchard’s view of the future manifestation of God’s final judgement was framed in reference more to Gregory’s interpretation of current events and signs rather than Augustine’s provisional, ‘future’ rule.431

From a practical perspective, the first two points indicate that the Decretum, in its totality, was designed to provide Burchard’s community with a manual for long-term moral, ethical, and spiritual stability. Yet the third point about Burchard’s intellectual and theological background would lead me to posit that he would be likely to impart to his audience an eschatological outlook that was, to a certain degree, apocalyptic, rather than one that was non-apocalyptic, or agnostic. When taken together these working contextual elements indicate a conflicted approach towards the composition of the text, especially when seeking to determine the type of eschatological outlook that Burchard would be likely to impart to his audience. If the primary purpose of writing such a vast literary corpus is to provide a community with long-term order and growth, then it would seem counter-intuitive to iterate any form of temporally close apocalyptic outlook, as it would only serve to undermine Burchard’s practical goals, as set out the Decretum’s preface. In order to resolve these apparent contradictions within our current working explanation for the context and purpose of the Decretum, we need to read and analyse the text of Liber Vicesimus closely, to gauge the nature and relative scope of Burchard’s apocalyptic eschatology. The reason being that as Liber Vicesimus is wholly original as a compiled canonical text, the form and nature of both its structure and contents may reveal a nuanced or idiosyncratic, approach to

431 See section 2.1.2 for critical explanations of Augustine and Gregory’s eschatological outlooks.
this subject that the exegetical and historical works we have previously encountered in the thesis do not. In short, the eschatology presented in the text may reconcile the perception of seemingly contradictory contextual issues through its unique utility of eschatological exegetical materials and topics. From this, we will be able to understand the way in which it interacts with, or perhaps complements, the wider objectives of the whole Decretum.
Chapter 4.0

The Context for the Analysis of Liber Vicesimus

4.1 Introduction to the Analysis of Liber Vicesimus

We will now turn to examine the arrangement and contents of the one hundred and ten canons of Liber Vicesimus. Primarily we will be seeking to ascertain if there are any themes and topics within the text, and if so whether they constitute a theological framework. By ascertaining the form and nature of the structure that these canons create, both collectively and individually, we will be able to not only comprehend the meaning and application of Liber Vicesimus’s title, ‘speculative theology’, but Burchard’s interpretation of, and approach towards, understanding apocalyptic eschatological theology. Then, we shall be in a position to characterise the eschatological outlook which he sought to impart to his ecclesiastical readers, and through them, to a potential lay audience. This also includes the ways this particular theological model is reconciled with the wider contextual objectives that motivated the construction of the book.
4.2.0 Approaches to the Analysis of *Liber Vicesimus*

4.2.1 Analytical Approach towards *Liber Vicesimus*

*Liber Vicesimus* is completely unique as a canonical text as it has no preceding or contemporary equals in any respect whatsoever. To the best of my knowledge, there are no other ‘speculative theology’ compendia or canon law collections within Europe before the early-eleventh century that are overtly stated by their author to be eschatologically-oriented. As such there are no extant texts with which I can draw any clear parallels to compare and contrast the thematic layout and form of Burchard’s approach to the subject of eschatology. Therefore my preparation for the analysis has necessitated the creation of an apparatus which we can use to get to grips with the content and form of the text. That is, a general framework, or a series of processes, able to break down and explain the general contents, thematic structure and eschatological components of *Liber Vicesimus* due to its unwieldy size. Indeed, *Liber Vicesimus* is a substantial text that covers forty five columns in the standard PL edition [PL 140:1013B-1058C]. As a guide to the contents of this text, I have created a redacted translation of *Liber Vicesimus* in the appendix which cites all the key themes which feature in each canon using either direct quotations or simplified phrasing in keeping with the tone of the text.

---

432 *Decretorum libri viginti*, PL 140:1013B-1058C.
4.2.2 The Limitations of my Analysis of Liber Vicesimus

My analysis of Liber Vicesimus sets out first to provide a broad summary of the general contents of the book, focussing on explaining its key theological themes and how they relate to one another, both consecutively and holistically. As no one has yet studied or explained this text in full, it is expedient to discuss how Burchard executes his entire vision of ‘speculative theology’ within the text, followed by an explanation of the ways in which he situates and leads up to his arrangement and depiction of apocalyptic eschatology. Indeed, as I will demonstrate in section 4.4.0 and chapters 5.0-6.0, Burchard’s treatment of eschatology is but one part of an extended elaboration upon a variety of interlinked processes that lead to salvation. As such the entire text must be first approached and understood as a whole before one can move on to examine Burchard’s eschatology as a unit of discourse in of itself. Secondly, I will investigate the various ways that Burchard presents and engages with the subject of eschatology. This aspect of the enquiry concerns: the type of eschatology Burchard has presented to his readers, the relationship of Burchard’s theology with temporal events and historical time, and the type of apocalyptic events that are to occur before and during the time of eschaton (including their order). By setting out the general literary framework for Liber Vicesimus and the eschatological interpretation Burchard presents to his readers, I will be laying the groundwork for the way in which this text can approached, understood, and studied both within and, to an extent, outside of an eschatological context in future.
4.3.0 The General Presentation of Liber Vicesimus

4.3.1 Layout and Presentation of Liber Vicesimus

The text of Liber Vicesimus is falls into three distinct sections - its chapter contents (or rubric), its title and general premise, and then its canons. This tripartite structure conforms to that used in the other nineteenth books of the Decretum, and was seemingly intended to support its overarching didactic function. The description which follows is based on the three editions of the Decretum discussed in section 3.2.7 above and the digital edition of MS K.433

Liber Vicesimus begins with a numbered index list (capitula) of one hundred and ten chapter headings (capitulationes). As Austin notes, in both MS V and MS F the title and rubric of each canon that features within the contents section of each book in the Decretum are marked with rubrication (red ink) and capitals to distinguish their significance to the reader. These features clearly indicate that the text was intended and designed to be used as a reference tool. Interestingly many other contemporary, or near contemporary canonical collections such as Regino’s Libri Duo, Abbo’s Collectio Canonum, or Gratian’s Decretum, do not appear to utilise any uniform practice regarding the arrangement and content of their respective text’s chapter title indices. For instance, in Regino’s text there are clear thematic breaks demarked between the canonical rubrics contained within the contents index at the start of each book,


434 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1013C-1018A.

whereas in Abbo’s there are no thematic breaks, his index is just a straight list of chapter titles, and Gratian’s collection does not even have a chapter title index of any kind.436 As there appears to be no standard approach to this feature, it would appear that Burchard’s arrangement was either deliberate or incidental to his place and time. There are no separations or breaks between any of the chapter titles in this list. In other words, each chapter title is displayed in its own individual section, or as part of a sequence within a ‘straight’, complete list. [For a clear example of the chapter list of Liber Viscesimus as set out in MS K, see plate III below].

In fact, if we look at plates I-III of the opening page of the chapter index for books, three (caps 1-30), eleven (caps 1-60), and twenty (caps 1-34), from MS K, the reader will be able to see very clearly that the rubricated chapter numbers, along with their respective chapter titles, are presented in an ordered, uniform, tight-knit pattern without any variation.437 The contiguous, linear arrangement of all the chapter headings in Liber Vicesimus implies that each canon in the book is intended to be read either as a distinct, unconnected entity from its preceding and subsequent canons, or as a consecutive segment of a greater, cohesive whole. Considering the fact that the contents sections within all the Decretum’s books are arranged in exactly the same way, with all their rubricated chapter numbers kept distinctly to the margins of each page, it would certainly seem that they are specifically arranged and marked for ease of reference on the reader’s part, which would mean that the former option is more likely than the latter. However, Liber Vicesimus was likely designed by Burchard to

cater for the needs and competencies of multiple groups of ecclesiastical readers, and would have accommodated more than one line of approach towards its comprehension and navigation. As such, this initial, surface reading may have only applied to a certain range of readers that are likely to have consulted this text in a superficial or literal sense, such as novices, casual readers of the book, or those who were using it for reference. As I will demonstrate below, there are deeper topics and thematic patterns of arrangement that feature within and across all the canons; ones that could have been navigated by ecclesiastics who were possibly more knowledgeable, or familiar, with the books’ contents and theological purpose.
Plate I: Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 119, fol. 5v.

Plate II: Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 119, fol. 104r.
Second, the reader is given the full title of the book followed by a short paragraph that explains both the premise of the text as well as the core theological themes that its canons engage with. For instance:

**BURCHARDI ECCLESIAE WORMACIENSIS EPISCOPI DECRETORUM LIBER VICESIMUS DE CONTEMPLATIONE.**

**ARGUMENTUM LIBRI.**

Liber hic Speculator vocatur. Speculatur enim de providentia et praedestinatione divina, et de adventu Antichristi, de ejus operibus, de resurrectione, de die judicii, de infernalibus poenis, de felicitate perpetuae vitae.⁴³⁸

[This particular section from MS K is presented on the above page in plate IV].

The arrangement of this section of text in *Liber Vicesimus* is consistent with the introductory sections of all the other nineteen book of the *Decretum*. It would appear that the inclusion of the book’s argument, after a contents index listing its chapter headings, is primarily for the benefit of readers who are new to *Liber Vicesimus* and wish to be able to both know and cite its contents. This is because the inclusion of an index at the very front of the book, as with most modern (academic) books, would

---

indicate that it was there to be used as a working reference for those who already knew, or had some idea about, the general contents and themes of *Liber Vicesimus*, but needed to locate specific information about a particular canon or theological subject. Indeed, Austin has expressed similar sentiments when making the observation that the *Decretum*’s ‘organizational features and scripts’ were wholly didactic in form and intent.\(^439\) Evidently, the opening two sections of the book, the index and argument, are arranged and designed to suit the needs of both the uninformed and more knowledgeable readers of *Liber Vicesimus*.

Third, the bulk of the text is made up of the text of one hundred and ten canons. Each canon is presented in the same numerical order detailed within the index whilst conforming to a set layout format. Specifically each canon is distinguished by its chapter number and title followed by a (bracketed) reference to the formal, or ‘intended’ authorial source of said canon, then the text proper. However, as we shall see, some of the authorities of the canons cited by Burchard are in fact not the actual authors of the canons attributed to them (see sections 3.1.4.2.1 and 4.3.2).\(^440\) In other words, Burchard deliberately misattributed many of the ‘formal’ sources of his canons.

As there are no indicated, or deliberate breaks between the canons themselves (as with the chapter title index); one could be misled into concluding that the organisation of the thematic content of Burchard’s canons is haphazard, or non-linear. Otherwise, why

---

\(^{439}\) Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 92.

\(^{440}\) My use of the term ‘intended’ is a way of acknowledging the fact that ‘forged’ is not only a term typically applied to charters and diplomas, but that medieval notions relating to the historical origin of a source were quite flexible, so long as the ‘truth’, as the author saw it, was present in the text. See, Hoffmann, Pokorny, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms*, 240-244; Gabrielle, *An Empire of Memory*, 69-70; G. Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)* (Turnhout, 2012), 315-340.
would one need to set out the canons and supporting text so clearly? In actual fact, from a complete reading of Liber Vicesimus’ contents, in addition to many of the Decretum’s other books, along with the careful selection and arrangement of its formal and intended sources, it is evident that all of its canons are subject to two interlinked levels of linear thematic organisation. These distinct forms of systematisation are not literally indicated on the page via any headings, inscription, rubrication, or textual markers. At best these patterns are only indirectly alluded to within the argument of the book, the theological material contained within all the canons, and the structuring of the canons. Nevertheless, they seem to exist as invisible superstructures that are embedded within and across the text.

4.3.2 Canonical Sources of Liber Vicesimus

4.3.2.1 Purpose for Examining the Sources of Liber Vicesimus

An investigation of the selection, arrangement, and presentation of the canons of Liber Vicesimus, offers us a mind’s eye into not only Burchard’s thought world at the time of its creation, but his raw approach to transmitting the topic of ‘speculative theology’. Furthermore, we can begin to interpret the way it was designed to have been received by his audience. So as to attain an informed understanding of these matters, below I will set out and discuss the impact that the following three aspects have on our understanding of the text: its formal sources, its informal sources, and the organisation and structure of both types of sources (due to their intrinsic correlation to one another).
4.3.2.2 Formal Sources of *Liber Vicesimus*

As we have previously observed in section 3.1.4.2.1, the text from all the canons in *Liber Vicesimus* formally derived from ten sources that were written by eleven ecclesiastical authorities. These sources are all featured in Table a, wherein I have presented the range of canons for each source, relative to the total number of canons in which they feature, in *Liber Vicesimus*. As we concluded, the majority of the theological material presented in *Liber Vicesimus* is Gregorian; there is no reliance on any of the texts written by one of the other major orthodox eschatological authorities, that is, Tyconius, Jerome, Augustine, and Bede. The remainder of the material Burchard drew from the other ten authorities is cited fairly evenly. This remarkable trend strongly indicates that Burchard deliberately used the works of one author, Gregory, to predominantly expound the book’s theological outlook.

Such a marked utility of one author’s works is uncommon when compared to the distributions of the formal sources that feature in each of the other nineteen books in the *Decretum*. For example, if the reader turns to Table c, they will observe that all seventeen canons in *Liber Decimus Quartus* (Book Fourteen) are almost equally drawn from seventeen formal sources (and six identified ecclesiastical authors) with a citation frequency of one (at an average distribution of 5.88% each). If we then examine Table d, we will see that the twenty-four canons in *Liber Decimus Octavus* (Book Eighteen) are almost equally drawn from nineteen formal sources (and eleven identified authors) with a citation frequency of one (at an average distribution of

---

441 Hoffmann, Pokorny, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms*, 240-244.
442 Ibid., 173-244.
4.16% each).\textsuperscript{444} For further justification of this pattern I refer the reader to Hoffmann and Pokorny’s study.\textsuperscript{445} From these facts it is plain to see that Burchard’s extensive use of Gregory’s two texts is anomalous when compared to the rest of the Decretum. This pattern can only be realistically attributed to one of two possible causes. One, there was a lack of variety regarding the resources that Burchard could use to discuss the subjects that he engaged with in the canons [which is possible, but unlikely given the nature of his education and his formal use of works by Augustine and Bede in books III, V, IX, XI, XII, and XVIII]; or two, Burchard’s deliberate intention to convey formally a predominantly Gregorian approach to the subjects of ‘speculative theology’ and eschatology.\textsuperscript{446}

4.3.2.3 Intended sources of Liber Vicesimus

As I briefly noted in section 4.3.1, Burchard often altered the formal sources within Liber Vicesimus and gave an intended source instead. The frequent misattribution of sources throughout the Decretum, in particular those within Liber Decimus Nonus (De Poenitentia), is a feature that has been commonly acknowledged and exemplified in studies by scholars since Fournier’s seminal work over a century ago.\textsuperscript{447} Indeed, Hoffmann and Pokorny, Werckmeister, Hamilton, and Austin, have all indicted that in order ‘to make his work appear authoritative, Burchard falsified the authorities he cited’ quite freely and frequently.\textsuperscript{448} As such, it has been necessary to examine where


\textsuperscript{445} Ibid., 173-244.


\textsuperscript{448} Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 173-244; J. Werckmeister,
and in what way Burchard manipulated the attributions of his canonical sources through out Liber vicesimus, so as to understand the approach he took towards composing the text and the type of readerships he was likely to have been catering for.

Consequently, from my reading of the extant historical studies and my own analysis of the text, I have identified that thirty nine (35.5%), over a third, of Liber Vicesimus’ hundred and ten formal sources have been intentionally altered. Unlike, Liber Vicesimus’ formal sources, where we can identify both the author and text, within these particular sources, Burchard has provided the audience with several possibilities: just the author, just the text, both, or neither. For instance, in canon LXX (How many kinds of offering are made for the deceased?), Burchard simply indicates that that the text derives ‘from the sayings of Augustine’ (Ex dictis August.), and in canon LXXXIII, (That the elect and the reprobate are led to their torment in the same place) no inscription has been added. As we cannot simply assume Burchard is indirectly referring, or alluding, to a particular text by that author (as it is not present in the text), we have to simply include named authorities as a separate, independent source to some of canons. Once we factor in these intended differences, we can see that the canons of Liber Vicesimus are presented as derived from seven sources written by five ecclesiastical authorities, along with the ‘sayings’ of four patristic authorities. These are: DCD and De Praedestinatione by Augustine, the Decretals of Pope Celestine I, De Officiis by Isidore of Seville, the Dialogi and Moralia in Iob of


449 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1043B-1044A, 1048B-1048C.
Gregory the Great and the *Vita Patrum* of Gregory the Great, the sayings of Augustine, Ambrose, Fulgentius (of Rupse) and Isidore (of Seville).\(^{450}\)

As we can see in **Table b**, eight of the book’s formal sources, along with seven of their respective authors’ are completely unmentioned within the text proper. These are *De consolatione Philosophiae*, by Boethius; the *Collectio canonum hibernensis* of Cú Chuinne and Ruben of Dairinis; *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* by Gennadius of Marseilles; *Prognosticum* by Julian of Toledo; *De Praedestinatione Dei* by Ratramnus of Corbie; the *Verba Seniorum* of Rufinus of Aquileia and the *Sententiae*.\(^{451}\) The effect of these intentional changes gives the impression to the audience that *Liber Vicesimus*’ canons originate from a very unique, specific range of authorities. Indeed, if we reduce all the canonical sources to their respective authors, they appear to derive from just six ecclesiastics: Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Isidore, Fulgentius and Celestine I. Of these three, six are Great Doctors of the West (Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory), another is a fundamental Church Father (Isidore), two were popes (Gregory and Celestine), and all were Bishops between the late-fourth- and the mid-seventh-century.\(^{452}\) Clearly Burchard has attributed all of the canons to figures that he considered his audience would recognise to be ancient, fundamental, and authoritative in nature. In addition, the fact that Burchard revised the formal source but not the

---


\(^{451}\) The exception to this list is Burchard’s observation of Celestine I as the author of canons XI-XII, and XV-XVII, though it is claimed that the text derives from chapter five of his *Decretals* (*Ex decre. Coelestini papae, capite 5*). rather than his *Epistola XXI*. This discrepancy should not be considered a deliberate change of Celestine’s text as Celestine features the cited *Decretals* within *Epistola XXI*. It is the case of Burchard citing from the ‘Decretals’ within letter XXI, rather than citing from the ‘Epistola’ itself. See, Celestine I, *Epistolae et Decreta*, PL 50:531A-535B; Hoffmann, Pokorny, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms*, 240-244.

author, of Canon LIV, from Isidore’s *Sententiae* to Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (*S. Isidor. in libro officiorum sic loquitur*), also reveals his deliberate intention to utilise the types of major theological texts that he believed were well known to his audience, to bolster the gravitas of the book.\(^{453}\) Burchard’s approach to authority is completely consistent with the sentiments that are expressed within the *Decretum’s Preface* regarding the types of ‘inspired witnesses’ that, he believed, would increase the legitimacy of his legal work.\(^{454}\) The continued intended use of the formal texts, such as Celestine’s *Epistola* (Decretals) and Gregory’s *Dialogi* and *Moralia*, implies not only their recognition as authoritative ecclesiastical sources, but their utility on the subject of ‘speculative theology’.

\(^{453}\) *Decretorum libri viginti*, PL 140:1033A-1036B. Burchard’s approach to textual authority is consistent with the understanding that *De natura rerum, Etymologiae* and *De ecclesiasticis officiis* were the most prevalent, widespread and popular of Isidore’s works across Western Europe during the early medieval period, unlike his *Sententiae*. Clearly Burchard is appealing to popular readership patters and awareness of *De Officiis*, by changing *Sententiae* to *De Officiis*, than he is simply to Isidore’s authority. See, McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, 15, 175-183, 201-208; Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, 63-90.

\(^{454}\) *Preface*, 104; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, 103-135.
Table a: Formal Sources of *Liber Vicesimus* (One per Canon Discounting Formal Repeats)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>No. of canons (110)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Collectio Canonum Hibernensis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Consolatione Philosophiae</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Praedestinatione Dei</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogi*</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celestine I, Epistola XXI</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moralia in Iob *</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>32.73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prognosticum Futuri Saeculi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sententiae</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verba Seniorum</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Dialogi + Moralia in Iob (Gregory) 65 59.1%

Table b: Intended Sources of *Liber Vicesimus*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>No. of canons (110)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augustine*</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambrose</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Civitate Dei (Augustine) *</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Praedestinatione (Augustine) *</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decretals of Pope Celestine I</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulgentius</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moralia in Iob (Gregory)*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita Patrum (Gregory)*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isidore*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Officiis (Isidore)*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Isintended/forged sources)

Isidore* 6 5.45%

Dialogi (Gregory)* 28 25.45%

Moria in Iob (Gregory) 36 32.73%

(No mentioned source) (Dialogi) 1 0.91%

* Aug. + DCD + De Praedestinatione 22 20%
* Dialogi + Moralia in Iob + Vita Patrum 66 60%
* Isidore + De Officiis 10 9.1%
### Table c: Formal Sources of *Liber Decimus Quartus* (Including Multiple Canon Sources)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>No. of canons (17)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Regula Benedicti</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Clement I, Epistolae XXV</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Adge (506), <em>Capitula XXXXI</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Mainz (813), <em>Capitula XXXVI</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Rheims (813), <em>Capitula XVIII</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Chalon (813), <em>Capitula X</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Pavia (850), <em>Capitula III</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Regula monastica Complutensis</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sententiae II</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti</em></td>
<td>0.5 (1 split canon)</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodulf of Orléans, <em>Capitular I</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Canones Apostolorum</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Excarpsus Cummeani</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Excarpsus Bedae-Egberti</em></td>
<td>2.5 (1 split canon)</td>
<td>8.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Paenitentiale Remense</em></td>
<td>0.5 (1 split canon)</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified (i) (Quadripartitus IV?)</td>
<td>0.5 (1 split canon)</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified (ii)</td>
<td>1 (2 split canons)</td>
<td>5.88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table d: Formal Sources of *Liber Decimus Octavus* (Including Multiple Canon Sources)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>No. of canons (24)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Enchiridion de Fide</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Expositio in Epist. B. Iacobi</em></td>
<td>0.5 (split canon)</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caesarius of Arles, <em>Sermo LXI</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celestine I, <em>Epistolae XV</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Carthage (419), <em>Capitula VII</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Mainz (847), <em>Capitula XXVI</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Nicea I (325), <em>Capitula XIII</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Orange (441), <em>Capitula III</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council of Vaison (442), <em>Capitula II</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Collectio Hibernensis</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Herard of Tours) <em>Capitular LIX</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Innocent I) <em>Epistolae VIII</em></td>
<td>2.5 (1 split canon)</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Leo I) <em>Epistolae IV</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Siricius) <em>Epistolae V</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Paenitentiale Theodori</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Statuta Ecclesiae Antique</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Regino?) Unidentified (i)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified (ii)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When we examine the frequency with which these six intended authorities and their respective sources were cited, there appear some revealing patterns that again strongly point towards Burchard’s objectives and theological outlook when composing the text. If the reader refers to Table b, they will note that out of all the six intended authors Gregory and his work’s constitutes the overwhelming proportion (66 (60%)). Interestingly, of the number of citations that are attributed to Gregory, all but two of which are not formal sources (canons XVIII and XXXVII, cited as *Moralia in Iob* and *Vita Patrum* respectively), are wildly disproportionate in comparison to the remaining five. Even when set against the book’s second most cited authority - Augustine, Gregory’s works have all been attributed to forty-four more canons (two-thirds more, or 40% in real terms). Indeed, this pattern continues when we break down the citations of two leading texts. The *Dialogi* comprises twenty-eight canons (23.45%) and the *Moralia in Iob* forms thirty-six (32.73%), which individually both outstrip the cumulative references attributed to Augustine by a difference of six (5.45%) and fifteen (13.34%) canons respectively. They each also outstrip the meagre references to Celestine, Ambrose, and Fulgentius. Clearly, Gregory’s authority and his texts were intended to carry the field when it came to attributing the sources of the book’s canons. Admittedly, there is a little more balance amongst these intended sources in comparison to the distribution of Burchard’s formal sources, as their frequency extends from one to twenty-two canons (0.91-20%), but it is only a minor, marginal difference.

It thus seems that Burchard deliberately framed Gregory as the foremost ecclesiastical authority on the subject of ‘speculative theology’. This could have been caused by

---

455 *Decretorum libri viginti*, PL 140:1022D-1023C, 1028B-1028C.
two possible factors; one, a lack of relevant material to hand when composing *Liber Vicesimus*, or two, because he wanted to convey a distinctly Gregorian approach to the subject of ‘speculative theology’. Admittedly, Isidore has been mentioned as the author of three more intended canons, which in comparison to his formal use is a difference from seven to ten canons (an increase from 6.4% to 9.1%), but this is only (approximately) a sixth of Gregory’s use. However, I would contend that we can now dismiss the first factor outright. The reason being that there is no way around the fact that out of all the intended authorities of the canons three are completely fallacious (Augustine, Ambrose, Fulgentius, including their respective texts), and of the three that feature amongst the formal sources, two have either had their frequency of citation diminished (Celestine), or their cited texts revised to more popular works (Isidore’s *De Officiis*). Only Gregory has had all his formal sources brought forward into the texts’ intended inscriptions, barring one slight exception (canon LXXXIII).  

In fact, we can see that Burchard went so far as falsely to attribute two more canons to Gregory’s already considerable presence within the canons’ inscriptions (a change from 59.1% to 60%). Clearly, Burchard was not aiming for a balanced or a blended variety amongst the intended type of authoritative theological perspective that was collectively conveyed by the canons’ attributions. It is quite plausible that he could have very easily attributed some of Gregory’s formal sources to any other of the five intended authorities and their respective works, without any significant, qualitative change to the theology presented through the text section of each canon. Yet, this is not the case: Gregory features prominently in the text by design, in the same way that Augustine’s authority is invoked throughout the text but his theology is formally disregarded within the canons. Therefore, it appears that Burchard selected and

---

456 Ibid., PL 140:1048B-1048D.
presented the intended sources of *Liber Vicesimus*’ canons to both explicitly and implicitly enable, or encourage, the audience to attribute the text’s key theological points to a few memorable theologians, or ‘names’, most especially to Gregory the Great. This fact would strongly suggest that not only was Gregory’s authority understood to be more significant that that of the other ecclesiastical writers cited by Burchard and his fellow co-authors, but that it would have been widely recognised as a strong source of moral authority by most ecclesiastics in Worms and the Lower Rhine region at this time.

4.3.3 Structure and Arrangement of *Liber Vicesimus*

Burchard thus utilised a limited range of ecclesiastical authorities and texts to construct and present his interpretation of ‘speculative theology’. In what follows I will investigate the underlying principles which guided how Burchard chose to order his canons in *Liber Vicesimus* by examining three factors: One, the general composition of the material the sources are drawn from (i.e. each text’s chapter, book or verse number); Two, the sequential order of the sources across the canons; and Three, how they relate to one another (their positions within the book). To aid the reader understand my observations I have compiled three tables: *Table e*, which is based on the findings of Hoffmann and Pokorny’s own analysis, and relays all the formal sources of *Liber vicesimus* according to their respective canons, including their reference contents; *Table f* conveys a linear arrangement of all the contents cited from each of the formal sources; and *Table g* is an exposition of all the intended sources for each of their stated canons.\(^457\)

\(^{457}\) Hoffmann, Pokorny, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms*, 240-244.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canon(s)</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Content(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-VII</td>
<td><em>De Eccles. Dog.</em></td>
<td>Chs. 14-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Ch. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Ch. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td><em>De Eccles. Dog.</em></td>
<td>Ch. 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI-XII</td>
<td><em>Epistola XXI</em></td>
<td>Chs. 4, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Ch. 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Ch. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV-XVIII</td>
<td><em>Epistola XXI</em></td>
<td>Chs. 5-6, 9-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX-XX</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>Bk. I, Ch. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td><em>De Con. Phil.</em></td>
<td>Bk. 5, Ch. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII-XXVII</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Ch.29; Bk. XII, Ch. 2; Bk. XIV, Ch. 33; Bk. XVIII, Ch. 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII-XXXIX</td>
<td><em>De Prae. Dei</em></td>
<td>Bk. II, Chs. 43, 49-55, 59, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XL-XLIII</td>
<td><em>De Eccles. Dog.</em></td>
<td>Chs. 10-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIV-XLVI</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Ch. 29; Bk. V, Ch. 38; Bk. IX, Ch. 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVII</td>
<td><em>Verba seniorum</em></td>
<td>Ch. 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVIII-LII</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. II, Chs. 7, 10, 20, 47; Bk. XVII, Ch. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LII</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>Bk. III, Ch. 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIV</td>
<td><em>Sententiae</em></td>
<td>Bk. I, Ch. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LV</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. XVII, Ch. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVI-LVIII</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Chs. 55, 57-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIX</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. XVI, Ch. 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LX-LXIX</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Chs. 24-25, 27-28, 32, 38-39, 42-44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXX</td>
<td><em>Collectio Hib.</em></td>
<td><em>Canon XV</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXI-LXXIII</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Chs. 35, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXIV-LXXVI</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Ch. 36, Bk. VIII, Ch. 17; Bk. XX, Ch. 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXVII</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Ch. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXVIII-LXXXII</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Ch. 1, Bk. IX, Ch. 66, Bk. XV, Ch. 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIII-LXXXIX</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>Bk. IV, Chs. 5, 30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XC</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. XVIII, 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCI-XCIII</td>
<td><em>Sententiae</em></td>
<td>Bk. I, Chs. 25, 28-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCIV-XCIX</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. V, Ch. 1; Bk. XIV, Ch. 23; Bk. XV, Chs. 58, 61; Bk. XXV, Ch. 14 Bk. XXVI, Ch. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-CII</td>
<td><em>De Eccles. Dog.</em></td>
<td>Chs. 7-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIII</td>
<td><em>Sententiae</em></td>
<td>Bk. I, Ch. 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIV-CV</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. VIII, Chs. 15-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVI</td>
<td><em>Sententiae</em></td>
<td>Bk. I, Ch. 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVII</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>Bk. XXIV, Ch. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVIII</td>
<td><em>Sententiae</em></td>
<td>Bk. I, Ch. 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIX-CX</td>
<td><em>Prog. Fut. Saec.</em></td>
<td>Bk. III, Chs. 47, 49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table f: The Formal Sources of the Canons in *Liber Vicesimus*: Their Contents, Frequency of Use within the Entire Book, and their Historical Date

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Contents of source</th>
<th>No. of canons</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Collectio canonum</em></td>
<td>Canon XV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>S.VIII&lt;sup&gt;in&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hibernensis</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De consolatione philosophiae</em></td>
<td>Bk. V, Ch. 6, Vrs. 15-32</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus</em></td>
<td>Chs. 7-20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>S.V&lt;sup&gt;ex&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>De praedestinatione Dei</em></td>
<td>Bk. II, Chs. 43, 49-55, 59, 121</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
<td>Bk. I, Ch. 8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>S.VI&lt;sup&gt;ex&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bk. III, Ch. 19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Epistolae XXI</em></td>
<td>Chs. 4-10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>S.V&lt;sup&gt;in&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Moralia in Iob</em></td>
<td>Bk. II, Chs. 7, 10, 20, 47, Bk. IV, Chs. 1, 3, 28, 29, 36, Bk. V, Chs. 1, 38, Bk. VIII, Chs. 15-17, Bk. IX, Chs. 50, 66, Bk. XII, Ch. 2; Bk. XIV, Chs. 23, 33; Bk. XV, Chs. 29, 58, 61; Bk. XVI, Ch. 68, Bk. XVII, Chs. 12-13, Bk. XVIII, Chs. 29, 54, Bk. XX, Ch. 32, Bk. XXIV, Ch. 8, Bk. XXV, Ch. 14, Bk. XXVI, Ch. 27</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>S.VI&lt;sup&gt;ex&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Prognosticum futuri saeculi</em></td>
<td>Bk. III, Chs. 47, 49</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>S.VII&lt;sup&gt;mid-ex&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sententiae</em></td>
<td>Bk. I, 25-29.</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>S.VI&lt;sup&gt;ex&lt;/sup&gt;-S.VII&lt;sup&gt;in&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Verba seniorum</em></td>
<td>Ch. 167</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>S.IV&lt;sup&gt;ex&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table g: The Intended Sources of the Canons in Book XX According to their Canons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canon(s)</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-VII</td>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td><em>De Civitate Dei</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI-XII</td>
<td>Pope Celestine I</td>
<td><em>Decretals, Chapter 5</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV-XVII</td>
<td>Pope Celestine I</td>
<td><em>Decretals, Chapter 5</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX-XX</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td><em>De praedestinatione</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII-XXVII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVIII</td>
<td>Fulgentius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIX</td>
<td>Ambrose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXX</td>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXI</td>
<td>Isidore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXII</td>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIII</td>
<td>Ambrose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIV-XXXV</td>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVI</td>
<td>Fulgentius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVII-XXXVIII</td>
<td>Ambrose</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIX- XLIII</td>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIV-XLVI</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Vita Patrum</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLVIII-LII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIV</td>
<td>Isidore</td>
<td><em>De Officiis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LV</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LVI-LVIII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIX</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LX-LXIX</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXX</td>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXI-LXXIII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXIV-LXXVI</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXVII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXVIII-LXXXII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Dialogi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIII-LXXXIX</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XC</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCI-XCIII</td>
<td>Isidore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCIV-XCIX</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-CII</td>
<td>Augustine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIII</td>
<td>Isidore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIV-CV</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVI</td>
<td>Isidore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVII</td>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td><em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVIII-CX</td>
<td>Isidore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These tables reveal to us some very obvious answers and some interesting, if slightly obscure, possibilities as to the nature of the structure and arrangement of the formal and intended sources of Liber Vicesimus. If we first turn to Table e and Table g it is quite apparent that both the formal and intended sources of all of the book’s canons have been set into place via a system of selection that was neither historical, according to authorial authority, nor unsystematic. This is significant not only because this approach would appear to be consistent with the way in which Burchard changed and organised many of the canons in the other books in the Decretum, but it conforms to contemporary practice by other compilers of church law concerning the free modification and adaptation of sources.\(^{458}\) In effect, what we can indirectly observe is that Burchard has been altering the presentation (authority) and arrangement of his sources in a variety of ways in this text in order to make sure it conformed to a very specific order.

As we know that Burchard freely manipulated the authority and presentation of his canons to produce a particular textual arrangement, we must consider if he also employed any type of organisational structure common to early medieval contemporary canon law composers. By doing so we will be determine if Burchard adopted a particular methodological or thematic approach towards the structure of the canons in Liber Vicesimus, which in turn will enable us to better understand the form and nature of the text’s coherence.

The four most common forms of canonical arrangement, or genres, which were utilised during the early medieval period, are as follows: chronological or historical, systematic, *farrago*, or *Quellenblock*. Specifically these terms denote the following patterns of organisation:

- Collections that are arranged chronologically or historically feature canons, either broadly or specifically, in the known order that they were created. Quite literally, they were ordered ‘most ancient to least ancient’, relative to the time they were promulgated. The following are examples that conform to this format: Dionysius Exiguus’ (d. c. 540) *Collectio Dionysiana* (c. 500), the ninth century French *Collectio of Paris Lat. 12012*, and the mid-eleventh century French-English *Collectio Lanfranci*.460

- Within systematic collections the canons are arranged according to a particular topic or subject matter. For instance a series of canons could relate to themes such as penance, murder, or marriage. Key examples of this type of collection are Regino’s *Libri Duo*, the mid-ninth century North-Italian *Collectio Anselmo Dedicata*, Burchard’s *Decretum*, as well as Ivo’s *Decretum, Tripartita, and Panormia*.461

---


461 Kéry, *Canonical Collections*, 124-133, 244-260; Reynolds, ‘The Law of the Church in the Central
• A *Farrago*, or ‘farraginous compilation’, is a collection that exhibits ‘no apparent internal order’. That is, the canonical material appears to be assembled with no apparent form of structure in any way whatsoever, except for that known only to the ecclesiastic(s) who compiled it. An example of this format is the French *Collectio Atrebatensis* [MS Arras, BM 425, fols. 1v-67v], composed by John of Warneton, Archdeacon of Arras, (d. 1130) between c. 1049-1099.462

• *Quellenblock* (source block) is a term use to describe a collection wherein a series of topics by single authors, synods, or councils, form contiguous sets of chapters. The canons are not integrated beyond this point regardless of any topical or thematic overlap. Two well-known examples of this format are the early-eighth-century Irish *Collectio Hibernensis*, which Burchard used to develop *Liber Vicesimus*, and the mid-eleventh century French *Collectio Sinemuriensis* (or *Collectio Remensis*).463

If we return our attention to *Liber Vicesimus*, the above tables (e, f, and g) clearly demonstrate that Burchard’s canons do not conform to any of the four aforementioned forms of canonical arrangement. I will now explain why that is the case. Concerning the historical dynamic of the canons, it is clear that Burchard did not seek to group, or

---


(at least) cite in a linear temporal order, either the formal or cited sources that comprise the text, nor the ecclesiastics from which they derive. In Table e we can observe this by that fact that *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, a late-fifth-century treatise, is initially utilised in canons I-IX before *Verba seniorum*, a late-fourth-century volume, which is featured first in canon XLVIII, or even *Epistola XXI*, an early-fourth-century letter, cited in canons XI-XII.464 Furthermore, we know that *De Praedestinatione Dei*, a mid-ninth-century exegetical work, features in canons XXIX-XXXIX before *Prognosticum futuri saeculi*, a late-seventh-century collection, which does not feature until canons CIX-X.465 Simultaneously, in Table g it is also possible to see this by the fact that Ambrose (c. 340–397), who is intended as the source of Canon XXIX, is preceded by later church fathers such as Augustine (c. 354–430) in Canons I-X and XXI, as well as Gregory (c. 540–604) in canons VIII, IX, XIII-XIV, XVIII-XX, and XXII-XXVII.466

In addition to these observations we can note in Table c and Table e, that none of the sources (excluding those that are only used once, i.e. *De consolatione philosophiae* or *Collectio Hibernensis*) have been grouped according to the authority from which they derive or are intended to have been derived.467 For instance, in Table e the formal passages from *Dialogi* are cited in individual or cluster groups of canons, in nine different places within the book (IX, XIV, XIX-XX, LIII, LVI-LVIII, LX-LIX, LXXI-LXXIII, LXXVII, and LXXXIII-LXXXIX).468 Similarly in Table g the intended passages from *Dialogi* (which correspond to most of the formal citations),

465 Ibid., PL 140:1026C-1028D.
466 Ibid., PL 140: 1017B-1020A, 1021A-1022B, 1022D-1027A.
are present in nine single or very small bunches of canons throughout the book (IX, XIV, XIX-XX, LIII, LVI-LVIII, LX-LIX, LXXI-LXXXII, LXXXVII, LXXXXIII-LXXXIX). Moreover, aside from the *Vita Patrum*, none of the other three ‘forged’ texts that feature in *Liber vicesimus* (*DCD, De Praedestinatione* and *De Officiis*) are situated next to canons that are attributed to Augustine or Isidore. What is also interesting is the fact that the intended sources of canons XXVIII-XXXIX (*De Praedestinatione Dei*) are all cited individually as different authorities, not in clusters or as a group of canons that derives from a single author. These patterns of source citation are peculiar as one would think that, if the content of these two types of sources all relate to one theological theme, it would make sense simply to clump their materials together, or indeed in the order they have been extracted. These factors all point towards the view that there must be some other form of guiding system which determined the order of the sources for these canons. Certainly, there remains the possibility that there may not have been a method behind the arrangement of Burchard’s canons in *Liber Vicesimus*. However, the placement of both the authorities and sources of the canons are too distinct to have simply been at random; it makes no sense for Burchard to have not just simply set his canons into source clusters without some form of underlying principle or topic in mind.

There are three key areas of evidence that indicate two distinct, or parallel, ways in which Burchard’s canons were organised. If we return to Table f, the reader will note the passages from Celestine’s *Epistola XXI*, Isidore’s *Sententiae* and *De ecclesiasticis...*

---

dogmatibus are grouped in a numerically linear fashion: Epistola XXII, Chs. 4-10 (six chapters), Sententiae, Bk. I, Chs. 25-29 (five chapters), and De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus Chs. 7-19 (thirteen chapters). This means that Burchard selected these chapters for use as suitable blocks of text to explain the main theological theme of the book. However, when we then look at Table e it is clear that they are not utilised either as a group, or in their linear order; they have all been broken up, and in Celestine and Isidore’s case, they remain oddly close together. In Celestine’s case, canons XI-XII use chapters four and seven respectively, and canons XV-XVIII use chapter 5-6 and 9-10 each. Evidently the chapters are out of synch, and they are separated by two canons (XIII-XIV) which correspondingly derive from Dialogi Bk. IV, Ch. 28 and Moralia Bk. IV, Ch. 1. For Isidore (once we disregard canon LIV which seems to be an anomaly at this stage), canons XCI-XCIII, CIII, CVI, and CVIII each respectively use chapters 25, 28-29, 26, 27, and 30. Again Isidore’s chapters do not appear in a numerically linear order, and they are dispersed between individual and small clusters of canons (XCIV-XCIX, C-CII, CIV-CV, and CVII) which derive from the De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus and Moralia. Regarding Gennadius, canons I-VII, XXXX-XXXXIII, and C-CII all appear as blocks, but they respectively use chapters 14-19, then 10-13, and finally 7-9. Whilst we can see that the sources for these blocks of canons proceed in a numerically linear fashion (i.e. 7-9, or 10-13), they are set in reverse order. These patterns of use are quite strange. They do not

472 Ibid., 240-241.
appear to simply be placed at random; there is some unseen motive, or factor that is causing these sources to be ordered backwards in blocks, numerically speaking. Their pattern of utility would certainly indicate that there are systematic, topical, or theological distinctions that arise amongst, or between, them for there to be a need to break up the arrangement of their original content. That is to say, there must be some form of group, or progressive (linear), theological distinction between the canons for each of these identified sources, possibly the cited issues within the preface and argument. For instance, there is probably a topical similarity between canons XI-XII and XV-XVIII, or perhaps I-VII, XXXX-XXXXIII, and C-CII that sets them apart. Otherwise it would make more sense, if there was not a guiding principle to the arrangement of the book’s canons, to simply bring Celestine’s (canons XI-XII and XV-XVIII) and Gregory’s (canons XXXX-XXXXIII and C-CII) materials together into contiguous sections. Whilst this interpretive perspective is a loose approximation of what does actually occur within the text proper, the arrangement and structure of the sources for the book’s canons does imply, in a clouded way, that a pan-canonical theme, or perhaps topic-based groups, determined the structure of Burchard’s work.

4.4.0 Overview of the Thematic Structure of Liber Vicesimus

At this point we will now turn from examining how Burchard’s book is arranged to look at its contents, specifically its language and terms of definition, to determine if it offers the possibility to explore whether, and if so, how, the text was intended to be read as a coherent whole. In this part of the analysis I will identify first the way in
which the central issue of the book is initially introduced and framed in the book’s ‘argument’ to the reader. Then I will explain how the set theological topics, which are designed to expand upon the core theme, are broadly featured, organised and embedded within the book’s canons. This will be followed by a discussion regarding how we should approach our understanding of them in relation to one another.

4.4.1 The Argument: the Definitions of its Terms

Burchard begins the main part of Liber Vicesimus with an account of its general argument and theme (restatement of the relevant section found within the Decretum’s Preface), followed by the key theological subjects it engages with. [See plate IV in section 4.3.1 for quick reference].

If we look at the title and opening sentence of the argument, we can pick out and tease the meaning of, what appear to be, the three key terms and phrases that describe the tone, focus, and content of Liber Vicesimus. The first is the theme, or direction, Burchard has given this book, which can be translated as either ‘on Contemplation’ or ‘on Surveying’.480 According to various biblical, classical, and medieval definitions of the word, contemplatione (including its nominative form, contemplation), would mean to the reader that the book is to be used, or read, for ‘contemplation’, ‘an attentive considering’, ‘consideration’, or possibly, ‘a survey’.481 In essence, the meaning of this phrase indicates that the contents of this book are worthy of, or

---


require, thoughtful, introspective reflection on the reader’s part, potentially in order to obtain ‘a foretaste of heaven’.

The second is the word Burchard uses to label, or personify, the book in the opening sentence of the argument, which I have translated as ‘the Speculator’ (Liber hic Speculator vocatur). This translation was made whilst bearing in mind Somerville and Braisington’s translation of the Decretum’s preface, wherein Liber Vicesimus is described by Burchard as ‘a book of explorations’ (Vigesimus liber Speculationum vocatur). The text reads:

‘Vigesimus liber Speculationum vocatur: speculatur enim de providentia, et de praedestinatione divina, et de adventu Antichristi, de ejus operibus, de resurrectione, de die judicii, de infernalibus poenis, de felicitate perpetuae vitae’.

Clearly this word is used in both these senses (Speculationum and speculator) in this period. Therefore, the term ‘the speculator’ would have meant to the reader that the book is primarily there to be pored over, examined, and studied. Taking the literal

---

484 Preface, 103.
485 ‘The Twentieth book is called a book of Explorations, for it probes into divine providence and predestination, the advent of Antichrist, his works, the resurrection, Day of Judgment, damnation, and the felicity of eternal life’ (Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:524A). Translation by Somerville, Brasington, Austin, and House. See, Preface, 103; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 15.
meaning of these two terms together (‘on contemplation’ and ‘the Speculator’) we can infer that the general tone and purpose of the book is about observing and deliberating upon the message(s) of the particular group of theological topics set out in the next sentence.

The third key term is the main verb in the next sentence, which I have translated as ‘speculates on’ (speculatur). When interpreting its meaning along with that of its present infinitive form specular, it is evident that ‘speculates on’ equates to ‘probes’, ‘examines’, or ‘contemplates on’, or ‘to be observed’. Within the context of the sentence, the term ‘speculates on’ would mean to the reader that the book, ‘the speculator’, is there for them to mull over, or take a wider view of, the set theological topics.

Collectively these key three words and phrases indicate that the canons are featured in the text as authoritative extracts to help the reader explore and contemplate the set theological topics covered in the book’s argument. Consequently the book’s theological topics are by no means presented, or considered, as speculative, that is - hypothetical issues, but as part of a ruminative approach to a set theological grouping, a theological group to be speculated upon, or a ‘speculative theology’.


4.4.2 The Argument: Defining ‘Speculative theology’

Having identified the sense of terms Burchard used to describe the basic argument and theme of Liber Vicesimus, we must now establish a more exacting, contextualised understanding of the nature and nuance of the utility of the concept of ‘speculative theology’ within the text. The reason for doing this is because Burchard states that the set subjects of the canons are specifically required by the reader to be ‘speculated’ about, which means there has to be a common attribute that binds their placement together. But is ‘speculative theology’ a novel term that Burchard has conjured up, or is it an epithet for a traditional line of theological inquiry? What does it actually mean, and how is it used here? And thus what is the role of speculative theology with regards to its impact on the dynamics of the book and the content of each of its canons?

4.4.2.1 The Applicability of High Medieval and Modern Definitions of the Term ‘Speculative Theology’ to Determine the Focus and Structure of Liber Vicesimus.

At this stage it is worth pointing out to the reader that I have derived my understanding of the term ‘speculative theology’ from modern studies that have, in part, set their definitions using high medieval theological works. It is not anachronistic to adopt this approach, but rather quite necessary and expedient. If we are to fully ascertain Burchard’s interpretation of the meaning and application of the term we need situate and recognise its limitations in relation to its historical use. In other words we need to recognise what Burchard’s ‘speculative theology’ is likely to
both mean and not mean in relation to its use prior to, and after, the composition of Liber Vicesimus within other theological works.

4.4.2.2 Historical Context and Modern Understandings of the Term ‘Speculative Theology’

As Bohr, Horváth, Otte, and various others explain, ‘speculative theology’ is an interpretive model that was utilised and refined throughout the last two thousand years, by various Western theologians and philosophers, to structure discourse on moral theology. Incidences of its creation and early use can be found within many biblical, patristic, and early medieval, exegetical works that sought to reflect upon divine (Christian) morality. They did so by drawing on their knowledge of either a limited, specific (‘incomplete’), or comprehensive (‘complete’), range of theological subjects, including free will, the origin of sin, predestination, and marriage. Examples of this framework in use from the first - up until the mid-thirteenth-century include; Lev., Cor., Rom., Matt., John, Tertullian’s (c. 160-225) De Poenitentia, Ambrose’s De Officiis, Gregory’s Moralia in Iob, Isidore’s Prooemia in libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, Peter Lombard’s (c. 1096-1164) Libri Quattuor Sententiarum, and St. Thomas Aquinas’ (1225-1274) magnum opus, the Summa Theologica. From this


explanation and series of examples, we can observe that ‘speculative theology’ constituted a traditional, if uncommon, method by which to frame written treatises on morality. Aside from Liber Vicesimus’ title, the fact that Burchard formally drew 32.73% of the books’ canonical material from Gregory’s Moralia, strongly indicates his intention to engage with subjects pertaining to morality using this particular framing method in some fashion.

That said, we should be aware that Aquinas transformed and perfected 'speculative theology' (literally speculativa) into a science through his systematic application within his seminal work two centuries after Burchard work. This means that with a pre-scholastic world, we can only expect partial, or ‘incomplete’, uses of the ‘speculative’ framework within treaties on morality. Moreover, the term itself was simply referred to by theologians in more oblique, yet synonymous, terms, such as ‘speculative philosophy’, the ‘speculation theory’, ‘speculator’, or the ‘speculative approach to theology’. If we re-consider Burchard’s language within the argument of the book, it is clear that he is using descriptive terms that are comparable to those used in many pre-scholastic texts to indicate to readers that the theological themes featured in them are simply to contemplate about divine morality in a constrained,

---


492 It is worth noting that Aquinas was able to reconcile successfully and completely integrate every major and minor theological subject and issue to explain divine morality within his Summa Theologica. As a result of Aquinas’ monumental achievement, his distinctive, ‘complete’ use of this theological framework, ‘speculative theology’ (literally speculativa) became widely accepted as a formal science by the Church in 1274. See, Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Pts. I-III, Pts. I-III, ed. Leonina; Horváth, Thinking about Faith: Speculative Theology, 8-10; Otte, ‘Speculative Theology’, 150; The New Advent Catholic Encyclopaedia: ‘St Thomas Aquinas’, at: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14663b.htm (Last visited: 31/06/2015).

‘incomplete’ fashion. Burchard’s terms do not suggest that he sought to construct a systematic synthesis between dogmatic and moral theology (as in Lombard and Aquinas’ works).\textsuperscript{494} In the argument to Liber Vicesimus it seems rather that Burchard is referring to the ‘pooling’, ‘amalgamative’ approach of this ancient, orthodox theological framework through the use of the terms ‘the Speculator’ and ‘speculates on’.\textsuperscript{495} He demonstrates to the reader that he has selected and organised the set theological subjects of Liber Vicesimus for the purposes of informing them about divine morality, though they are not comprehensive in range.

4.4.2.3 The ‘speculative’ framework for discourse on moral theology

Having established the view that Burchard is referring to an ‘incomplete’, or ‘partial’, notion of ‘speculative theology’ in the argument of Liber Vicesimus, we need to consider the description of the practical function of this interpretive framework. Doing so will allow us to explain how the theological subjects that feature in the argument of Liber Vicesimus directly relate to moral theology, whilst outlining the way in which they are to feature in the text proper. This is because, from a cursory or literal reading, there does not seem to be any overarching structure or organisation to the canons of Liber Vicesimus aside from the terms set in its preface.

As far as it can be defined, in relation to both medieval and modern notions of the term, ‘speculative theology’ is the reconciliation of all the different ‘branches and subjects’ of Christian knowledge according to ‘the principle act that is fundamental to their (its) creeds and rites’, in order to explain, what the faithful (Christians) consider

\textsuperscript{495} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:542B, 1016D-1017B.
to be, the ‘practical truth’.\textsuperscript{496} In other words, ‘speculative theology’, is a general unifying summary of the ‘constitutive religious principle of the church’ in order to expound upon the way ‘we (humans) are led to God, our (their) supernatural end’.\textsuperscript{497} Quite literally it refers to the bringing together of certain theological topics that discuss the core principle of Christianity - the truth of the faith, so as to explain why man should act in accordance with God’s laws in order to attain salvation.

Once we consider the fact that the core principle of the Christian faith, in relation to its everyday creeds and rites, is the \textit{salvation of the soul}, we can fully grasp the true nature of this framework in the text.\textsuperscript{498} Specifically speaking, Burchard’s use of the term ‘the Speculator’ is in actuality an epithet to the ‘incomplete’ collation of certain theological subjects that can inform the reader about \textit{the salvation of soul}, in order to explain why one should act morally, or in accordance with divine law. The key point here is that the theological subjects mentioned in the argument were chosen by Burchard because he understood them to directly relate to explaining the means, mode, and method, by which \textit{the salvation of the soul} is realised.

\subsection*{4.4.3 Expressing ‘the Salvation of the Soul’ in \textit{Liber Vicesimus}}

The words \textit{speculator} and \textit{speculatur} are used to suggest that the theological subjects mentioned in the argument of \textit{Liber Vicesimus} are drawn together to inform its readers about \textit{the salvation of soul}, in order to explain why they should act morally. The

\begin{footnotes}
\end{footnotes}
overarching theme of the book is thus *the salvation of the soul*. Consequently we should consider the subjects listed in the preface (‘divine providence, predestination, the coming of Antichrist and his works, the Resurrection, the Day of Judgment, the pains of hell, and the felicity of eternal life’), to simply be a relevant means of framing and thematically arranging the book’s canons to express Burchard’s interpretation of this fundamental aspect of the faith.

Incidentally, our understanding of the purpose and content of the text already gives an explanation as to why there are no divisions amongst the index chapters or canons of *Liber Vicesimus*, as it would seem that the entire book is designed to be completely linear. That is to say, the canons are ‘through-composed’: they conform to a *durchkomponiert* arrangement.\(^{499}\) In this sense, the key theological subjects of the book, as exhibited through the grouped contents of its canons, are exposition points for one continuous, all-encompassing theme: *the salvation of the soul*.

When we examine the exposition of the general theme of *Liber Vicesimus* within the text it is apparent that Burchard has framed all the theological subjects of the book, and their respective canons, to describe its main theme (‘the salvation of the soul’) in what could be called the ‘natural progression’, or ‘journey’ of a human soul. This is because the entire theme can be broken into three (unspecified) distinct sections that specifically deal with (1) the creation and nature of the soul (canons I-IX), (2) the various factors that impact upon the (ultimate) fate of people’s souls during their lifetime (canons X-XCII), and (3) the events surrounding God’s decision on the

ultimate fate of (nearly) every soul (canons XCIII-CX).\textsuperscript{500} Simply put, it is explained where a person’s soul comes from, the issues that directly impact upon the choices, decisions and actions a person makes during their lifetime in relation to God’s divine morality, and finally what will affect and happen to the soul before, during, and after judgement day, according to a person’s morality. It is the ‘life’ of a soul, which gives a definitive, though embedded, beginning, middle, and end to the content of Liber Vicesimus. This is how I have observed the main theme, according to its three subdivisions, to be expressed from the text in relation to the books canons:

\textit{Visualising the Basic Underlying Expression of the Main Theme of Liber Vicesimus:}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(Birth of the Soul)}
\begin{enumerate}
\item 1. The origin and creation of a soul
\end{enumerate}
\item \textbf{(Canons I-IX)}
\item \textbf{(Life of the Soul)}
\begin{enumerate}
\item 2. Factors that affect the fate of a soul during a lifetime
\end{enumerate}
\item \textbf{(Canons X-XCII)}
\item \textbf{‘Death’ of the Soul}
\begin{enumerate}
\item 3. The events surrounding God’s judgement of the fate of every soul (Canons XCIII-CX)
\end{enumerate}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{500} \textit{Decretorum libri viginti}, PL 140:1017B-1020A, 1020A-1052B, 1052B-1058C.
It is apparent that the canons of the text are ordered into thematic groups so as to explain the topics mentioned in the argument, and to collectively express the broader, unitary theme of the book. This means that there are two distinct layers to the content structure of *Liber Vicesimus*; one that is unitary and singular (the salvation of the soul), the other that is a collection of distinct, yet complementary theme groups.

It is also evident that the eight theological subjects set out in the argument are not all presented in groups of canons that strictly accord to their distinct terminology, nor are they presented in their purported order across the books’ canons.\(^{501}\) For example, it is evident that there are not defined thematic groups of canons within *Liber Vicesimus* that can simply be defined in relation to the term ‘divine providence’ (God’s intervention in the world) or ‘the felicity of eternal life’. The reason for this being that these are quite general, or loose, theological terms that are presented and applied within the text in a wide variety of ways in relation to which issues Burchard is writing about. Within the book, ‘divine providence’ can be seen to feature within a range of canons which seek to explain (amongst other issues) the creation of a soul (canons I and VIII), predestination (canons XXIII and XXVIII), the relationship angels have with humans (canons XL, XLII and XLVI-XLVIII), and post-judgement events (canons CV, CVII and CIX).\(^{502}\) The same can be said for ‘the felicity of eternal life’, as it a broad discussion topic that features in canons that engage with (amongst other things) original sin (canon XIII), predestination (canon XXIII), sin (canons LXVI-VII), and post-judgement events (canon CIX).\(^{503}\) From these examples it is clear that there is no quantitative arrangement or order in which these broad, set

\(^{501}\) Ibid., PL 140:1013C-1018A.
\(^{503}\) Ibid., PL 140:1020D-1021A, 1041A-1042D, 1058B.
subjects are presented within the books’ canons, especially in relation to one another. Similar observations can also be made for five of the other set subjects: ‘the coming of Antichrist’, ‘and his works’, ‘the pains of hell’, ‘the day of judgement’, and ‘the resurrection’. All of which can be seen to feature within different canons, in disparate amounts throughout the book, in no particular order.504

It is only with the set subject of ‘predestination’ that we can discern a homogenous thematic grouping between canons XIX-XXXIX.505 Nevertheless it remains that this group is not placed between canons just concerned with ‘divine providence’ and ‘on the coming of antichrist’, as there are other theme groups in play within the structure of the book that it corresponds to. What we really see is the arrangement of the arguments’ set theological topics in relation to more specific (if unspecified in the text proper) discussion areas, which form the thematic groups for the canons. What I mean by this is that the canons of the book not only discuss the set topics mentioned in the argument, but are grouped in such a way that they accord to more specific theological issues that relate to the wider, general theme of the book (the salvation of the soul). As will become apparent, these groups are fairly self evident within both the chapter titles and canons themselves. But for clarity I will list them first. As far as I can discern, there are nine. Below, I have set them out in relation to the sub-divisions of the main theme, along with the canons they represent. The reader should also be aware that I have presented the thematic groups of Liber Vicesimus in relation to their chapter titles within my redacted, English translation of Liber Vicesimus in the appendix, so as to not interrupt the argument presented in this part of the chapter.

504 See examples and discussions concerning these topics within chapters 5.0-6.0.
505 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1023C-1028D.
A Complete Exposition of the Thematic Structures of Liber Vicesimus

Main topic | Sub-topic(s) | Theme-group(s) | Thematic sub-group(s) (or sub-divisions)
--- | --- | --- | ---
1. The origin and creation of a soul [Canons I-IX] | 1. The form, nature, and creation of souls. [Canons I-IX] | (No apparent sub-groups) |
| | 2. Original sin and the consequences of free will. [Canons X-XIV] | (4.1) What Predestination is and its fundamental purpose [Canons XIX-XX] |
| | 3. Goodness, the Grace of God, and the practice of free will. [Canons XV-XVIII] | (4.2) The organisation of Predestination in relation to temporal and eternal chronology [Canons XXI-XXIII] |
| | 4. Predestination. [Canons XIX-XXXIX] | (4.3) Temporal time and mankind’s place within it in relation to predestination [Canons XXIV-XXV] |
| | 5. Angels: Their creation, the organisation of the members of the Angelic host, along with the function and their differing relationships with mankind [Canons XXX-XXX-LV] | (4.4) How free will interacts with the predestination of a humans soul in relation to salvation: Why some are punished and others not. Why humans must serve God through the responsible exercise of their free will [Canons XXVI-XXXIX] |
| | 6. Sin: How souls are redeemed, how they are categorised after death, and how these categories relate to one another according to the cosmic order of God’s salvation. [Canons LVI-LXXI] | (5.1) The creation and nature of spiritual properties (esp. Angels) [Canons XXXXXX-XXXIII] |
| | 7. The order and form of God’s realms and how He decides the fate of each (eternal) soul. [Canons LXXII-LXXII] | (5.2) The nature of Angels before the fall [Canons XXXIV-XXXXV] |
| | 8. The nature of the soul: The way damned souls interact with the fire of hell and the manner in which the wicked will receive punishment. [LXXXIII-XCII] | (5.3) Role and relation of elect Angels with humans [Canons XXXXVI-XXXXVII] |
| | 9. Eschatological events that will take place before, during, and after Gods judgement. [Canons XCVI-CX] | (5.4) Organisation of the Angelic host: Their functions, and interactions with one another (on mankind’s behalf) [Canons XXXXVIII-L] |
| | 10. The events surrounding God’s judgement of the fate of every soul [Canons XCVI-CX] | (5.5) The origin, role, function and motivation of Satan (an apostate angel) [Canons LI-LIV] |
| | 11. The salvation of the soul | (5.6) The organisation and roles of heavenly citizens along with the function of ‘the soldiers’ of God [Canon LV] |
| 2. Factors that affect the fate of a soul during a lifetime [Canons X-XCII] | 6. Sin: How souls are redeemed, how they are categorised after death, and how these categories relate to one another according to the cosmic order of God’s salvation. [Canons LVI-LXXI] | (6.1) How the Holy sacrifice (Requiem Mass) redeems souls [Canons LV-LVIII] |
| | 7. The order and form of God’s realms and how He decides the fate of each (eternal) soul. [Canons LXXII-LXXII] | (6.2) Wicked men [Canons LVIX-LXIV] |
| | 8. The nature of the soul: The way damned souls interact with the fire of hell and the manner in which the wicked will receive punishment. [LXXXIII-XCII] | (6.3) Good men [Canons LXV-LXVII] |
| | 9. Eschatological events that will take place before, during, and after Gods judgement. [Canons XCVI-CX] | (6.4) Intermediate souls [Canons LXVIII-LXIX] |
| | 10. The events surrounding God’s judgement of the fate of every soul [Canons XCVI-CX] | (6.5) How the orders of soul classification relate to one another according to Gods predestination for salvation [Canons LXX-LXXII] |
| | 11. The salvation of the soul | (7.1) The organisation of the elect and the reprobate (respectively) in heaven and hell [Canons LXXII-LXXV] |
| | 12. The perspective of God and how this relates to his decisions regarding the manner of the fate of the souls of men and angels [Canons LXXVI-LXXVIII] | (7.2) The nature and form of the fire of hell, and how the souls of the Wicked and treated after death (compared to the elect) [Canons LXXVIII-LXXIII] |
| | 13. The nature and form of the fire of hell, and how the souls of the Wicked and treated after death (compared to the elect) [Canons LXXVIII-LXXIII] | (7.3) The nature of the soul both inside and outside the body [Canons LXXXIII-LXXXVI] |
| | 14. The nature of the soul both inside and outside the body [Canons LXXXIII-LXXXVI] | (8.1) The nature of the soul interacts with the fire of hell [Canons LXXXVI-LXXXIX] |
| | 15. How the soul interacts with the fire of hell [Canons LXXXVI-LXXXIX] | (8.2) How the soul interacts with the fire of hell [Canons LXXXVI-LXXXIX] |
| | 16. Justification for the invisibility of the fire of hell through the description of the way mortals interact with God. The properties of the fire of hell [Canon XC] | (8.3) Justification for the invisibility of the fire of hell through the description of the way mortals interact with God. The properties of the fire of hell [Canon XC] |
| | 17. The manner of the punishment of the wicked. [Canons XI-XCII] | (8.4) The manner of the punishment of the wicked. [Canons XI-XCII] |
| | 18. The Antichrist: his role and function before the last judgement [Canons XCIII-XCVI] | (9.1) The Antichrist: his role and function before the last judgement [Canons XCIII-XCVI] |
| | 19. The conversion and punishment of non-believers, the resurrection, and things to consider [Canons XVII-XCVII] | (9.2) The conversion and punishment of non-believers, the resurrection, and things to consider [Canons XVII-XCVII] |
| | 20. Organisation, administration, and implementation of God’s final judgement [Canons XCVII-XCVII] | (9.3) Organisation, administration, and implementation of God’s final judgement [Canons XCVII-XCVII] |
These thematic groups align with the holistic progression of the main theological topics of *Liber Vicesimus: the salvation of the soul*. This is because we begin with canons concerned with the creation of the soul, followed by canons that are grouped to examine various factors that affect the fate of a soul during the a person’s lifetime, then ending with canons that explain of all the events that both precede and proceed God’s final judgement on the fate of each and every soul. None of these thematic groups are equal in length, nor are the canons that feature within them even in number. Yet, they are distinct groups that remain theologically and subjectively complimentary to one another. To fully explain and justify this observation, in chapter 5.0 I will first summarise the theological content of the first eight thematic groups (5.2). From this the reader will be able to fully envisage the practical feasibility of the structures upon which the canons of the book were constructed [as set out in the above diagram and in the appendix]. It will also allow us to understand how Burchard’s vision of eschatology is framed in a wider sense in relation to the book’s main theme (5.3). In chapter 6.0, I will then explain its form and nature from the content of the canons that feature within section nine of *Liber Vicesimus* (canons XCIII-CX). 506 It is worth the reader noticing that the epithets I have appropriated for each thematic group and, if applicable, its sub-groups, should not be considered to be definitive terms, but merely collective approximations as they are not literally indicated in the text of Burchard’s book, but inferred from reading it.

506 Ibid., PL 140:1052B-1058C.
Chapter 5.0

Analysis of Theme Groups One to Eight of Liber Vicesimus

5.1 Approaches towards Analysing Thematic Groups 1-8 in Liber Vicesimus

From the diagrams and lists provided in chapter 4.0 and the appendix, it would appear that the content of all one hundred and ten canons chapter headings qualify, or rather align with, the nine named thematic groups I have appropriated them. For instance, it would be reasonable to group under the heading, ‘Original sin and the consequences of free will’ the following five chapter titles, which I have translated as X That man, in the first condition, may be given his own free will; XI That all men lost their natural ability through the transgression of Adam; XII Of the same thing; XIII That man is placed in paradise in this way, if he remains obedient, at times to the heavenly country, without the death of the flesh; XIV That we of the flesh were born in the blindness of this exile, a son born in prison, are compared and nurtured. The reason for this is that some of the terms which feature within the canons’ chapter titles, ‘the transgression of Adam’, ‘paradise’, ‘the heavenly country’, and ‘the blindness of exile’, all seem to be direct references to the people, places, and the events and subjects discussed in Gen., which are typically referred to as ‘the fall’, or ‘Original sin’. However, as I cannot simply assert the actuality of these thematic groups on the content of the chapter titles alone, it is necessary to provide a more

507 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1020A-1022A.
508 Gen. 1-3.
substantial overview of each canon’s theological content to justify fully these observations. As I will demonstrate, it would appear that Burchard has extracted the key concepts within each canon and placed them into its title for ease of reference on the reader’s part. I will do so by providing a summation of all the major theological points, or issues, touched upon by Burchard within the canons of theme groups one to eight. The exception to this summation will be group nine (Eschatological events that will take place before, during, and after Gods judgement), which features separately as chapter 6.0, for two reasons.509 Firstly, it is necessary to broadly contextualise and surmise the overarching shape of the theology, themes, and ideas, which ground Burchard’s eschatology before we examine it, in order to better understand its form, nature, purpose and likely utility. Secondly, it is incumbent to analyse the contents of theme group nine in much greater detail than those of the previous parts of the book, as it constitutes the central focus of Liber Vicesimus.

Due to space constraints I have not been able to include as many examples from the Liber Vicesimus’ canons as I would have liked in the following theme group descriptions. Consequently I would advise the reader to supplement the following section with my redacted, English edition of Liber Vicesimus in the appendix, and a full edition of the text.

---

509 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1058C.
5.2 Summation of Thematic Groups 1-8 in Liber Vicesimus

1.) The form, nature, and creation of souls [Canons I-IX].

The initial nine canons of Liber Vicesimus seek to inform the reader on a number of theological issues that are concerned with describing the origin, form, and nature of human souls. They explain not only the origin and form of the soul in relation to the creation of the body, but the nature of the relationship it shares with the body during a ‘human’ lifetime, as well as the differences between the souls of the other two known types, or classes of creature: animals and angels. Essentially, we are being told where the human soul comes from, what it is, and what it does in relation to the body, in comparison to other types of souls. For instance, in canon I (That the human soul, among the other creatures, is not created from the beginning), Burchard clearly states that the body and soul are separate, but intrinsically related entities, which are created at unconnected times by two different parties; one being the human couple who create the body through intercourse, the other is God, who fashions the soul (in an unknown process, place, and time) and implants it into the body in the womb.

Afterwards in canons II-VII, the audience is told the relationship and distinction between the soul and the body. The canons state that the body and soul should be understood to form a singular entity; a human, whilst simultaneously pointing out that humans remain comprised of two substances that perform two separate, but symbiotic

510 Ibid., PL 140:1017B-1020D.
512 Ibid., PL 140:1017C-1019C.
functions. Specifically, the soul is the essence that animates the body and gives it awareness, whilst the body is the physical vessel, or entity, which provides senses of experience to the soul.\textsuperscript{513}

Burchard illustrates how the soul is a substantial, immortal entity that will continue to exist after the death of the body. He also details how the different compositions of the soul and body, relate to their (implied) future eschatological destiny, free from any temporal constraints. This leads neatly into the concerns of canons VIII and IX, the final part of this group, where it is explained how angels and animals are both spiritual beings, but angels are purely spiritual beings, with no body, that are immortal, whereas animals are corporeal entities with souls (like humans), but their souls dies at the same time as the body.\textsuperscript{514} In short, an order is established with angels at the top, humans in the middle and animals on the bottom. The justification for this rests not only with the quality of each class’s soul (immortal over non-immortal), but the fact that the bearing of flesh (a body) by a soul is considered a frailty to be endured.\textsuperscript{515}

2.) Original sin and the consequences of free will [Canons X-XIV].\textsuperscript{516}

Having made clear the origins of men’s souls, along with those of other, corporal and non-corporal, living beings, Burchard then sets out five canons detailing the causes of

\textsuperscript{513} Ibid., PL 140:1018C. ‘Anima cum ratione sua, et carne cum sensibus suis, id est, visu, auditu, gustu, odoratu et tactu. Quos tamen sensus absque animae societate non movet caro: anima vero et sine carne rationem suam integram tenet’. [Canon VI excerpt, ‘Augustine’ [Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus]].

\textsuperscript{514} Ibid., PL 140:1019B-1020A.

\textsuperscript{515} Ibid., PL 140:1019B. ‘…sed una tegmen carnis habuit, alia vero nil infirmum de carne gestavit. Angelus namque solummodo spiritus: homo vero, et spiritus, et caro’. [Canon VIII excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob].

\textsuperscript{516} Ibid., PL 140:1020A-1022A.
original sin and the consequences of free will in humans. Within these canons it is evident that Burchard is seeking to clarify to his audience why man is in his present state, one of exile and impurity, and how it is only though the exercise of free will can bring him back into God’s graces and eternal paradise. In essence, Burchard is setting up the pre-conditions that facilitate the necessity for mankind to seek his own salvation, as discussed in Gen. and the majority of the NT. Initially, the audience is acquainted with the view that in the beginning, in paradise (Eden), humankind possessed free will in order to maintain God’s commandments and retain his original nature of innocence and natural power.\(^{517}\) Then, it is explained that through both the seduction of Eve by the Serpent and the transgression of Adam, man was banished from paradise and fell into a state of sin, ignorance, misery, and mortality. Basically, man is now a subject of the flesh, whereas before, in Eden, he was pure and immortal. However, it is stressed that, even removed from paradise, man can remember its joys, and is still able to exercise his free will so as to not live in sin.\(^{518}\)

The theological message of this thematic section is rounded off with the presentation of the knowledge that man can emend for his lowly disposition and begin onto the path to salvation in eternal paradise, or heaven, by following the grace of God and the teachings of Christ.\(^{519}\) It should be noted that canons XI-XII, and canons XIII-XIV, are ‘paired’ variations of the same narrative which we observe in canon X (That man,  

\(^{517}\) Ibid., PL 140:1020A-1020C. ‘Libertati arbitrii sui commissus est homo statim prima conditione, ut sola vigilantia mentis admitente, etiam perpecta custodia, perseveraret, si vellet, in id quod creatus fuerat’. [Canon X excerpt, Augustine, DCD [Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus]].  

\(^{518}\) Ibid., PL 140:1020C-1020D. ‘Liberum enim arbitrium ille perpessus, dum suis inconsultius utitur bonis, cadens in praevaricationis profunda demersus est, et nihil quemadmodum exinde surgere posset invenit…’. [Canon XI excerpt, Pope Celestine I, Epistolae].  

\(^{519}\) Ibid., PL 140:1021B-1022A. ‘…dum esse summa et invisibilia audiunt, diffident an vera sint: quia sola haec in quibus nati sunt, infima et visibilia noverunt. Unde factum est ut ipse invisibilium et visibilium creator, ad humani generis redemptionem unigenitus patris veniret…’. [Canon XIV excerpt, Gregory the Great, Dialogi].
in the first condition, may be given his own free will), in relation to the linear narrative regarding the progression from paradise, to the fall, and then the conditions for redemption. The only difference is the way in which they are expressed according to their intended (or actual) author. I.e. canon X is cited as by Augustine (Gennadius of Marseilles), canons XI-XII derive from Pope Celestine I, and canons XIII-XIV are by Gregory the Great. This means that the messages relating to the theme group’s subject are presented as theologically consistent, as according to various ecclesiastical authorities, to the reader.

3.) Goodness, the Grace of God, and the practice of free will [Canons XV-XVIII].

Thus far Burchard’s section shows how mankind can attain salvation: through the exercise of their free will by following the grace of God and the teachings of Jesus Christ. In the next thematic group we move on to canons that can be suitably described to explicate upon the nature of, and the relationships between, good behaviour, the grace of God, and the practice of free will. Collectively these five canons clarify how one can begin to act in a good manner; by using one’s own free will to open up oneself to the grace of God (the influence of God), which is deemed to be intrinsically good. It is stated that one can only be good by following the grace of God through his teachings, which is a necessary requirement in order to begin the path to eternal salvation. For instance, within the canons, it is explained that within mankind’s present condition, and despite the redemption of his ancestor’s sins through Christ’s sacrifice, he remains fallen (imperfect and open to sin). He is incapable of


Ibid., PL 140:1022A-1023C.
good of his own volition and thereby subject to, and incapable of overcoming, the influence of the Devil (evil) and the yearnings, or indulgences, of the flesh, such as lust, greed, and sloth.\textsuperscript{522}

It is then stated that the only way to overcome these vicissitudes, is by acting with goodness, piety and holiness, that is in a manner without sin (in both the present and future), by freely giving oneself to the grace of God and his commandments (which are inherently good).\textsuperscript{523} The message of this section is rounded off with the proposal that only through giving oneself to God, via his grace and teachings, can salvation be attained in the future (hope).\textsuperscript{524} From these canons the audience has been given a set path from mankind’s current sinful, mortal disposition, to the means and method by which one can freely find a resolution, escape, or end to it. The audience is told why humans are in the tumultuous world they now reside in, and that they now know the way they can begin to move on to a better place (heaven).

4.) Predestination [Canons XIX- XXXIX].\textsuperscript{525}

By the time we reach the fourth section of \textit{Liber Vicesimus}, the reader should have a very clear idea of Burchard’s understanding of three key concepts: what humans are and how they come into being, where they are and why, and the means by which they can relieve their present condition. The next part of the book is concerned with

\textsuperscript{522} Ibid., PL 140:1022B-1022C. ‘Neminem etiam baptismatis gratia renovatum, idoneum esse ad superandas diaboli insidias, et ad evincendas carnis concupiscientias…’. [Canon XVI excerpt, Pope Celestine I, \textit{Epistolae}].

\textsuperscript{523} Ibid., PL 140:1022C-1022D. ‘Quod ita Deus in cordibus hominum atque in ipso libero operetur arbitrio, ut sancta cogitatio, pium consilium, omnisque motus bonae voluntatis ex Deo sit: quia per illum aliquid boni possumus, sine quo nihil possumus’. [Canon XVII excerpt, Pope Celestine I, \textit{Epistolae}].

\textsuperscript{524} Ibid., PL 140:1022B-1022C. ‘Necesse est enim ut quo auxiliante vincimur, eo iterum non adjuvante vincamur’. [Canon XVI excerpt, Pope Celestine I, \textit{Epistolae}].

\textsuperscript{525} Ibid., PL 140:1023C-1028D.
developing our grasp of the latter issue by expanding upon one significant factor that
effects mankind’s ability to attain God’s grace and adhere to his commandments:
God’s foreordaining and foreknowledge for the entire unfolding of the Universe and
time. Or, put more simply, predestination: God’s plan for all events.

Given the abstract, complex nature of this subject, it forms the most theologically
dense section of *Liber Vicesimus* though it does not constitute the most extensive
group in terms of its number of canons or length of text. However, it would seem that
Burchard has broken the subject down into key areas of discussion to make the
subject intellectually digestible to his audience. What we can observe are four sub-
categories that can be approximated by the following terms:

(4.1) **What Predestination is and its fundamental purpose** [Canons XIX-XX].

(4.2) **The organisation of Predestination in relation to temporal and eternal
chronology** [Canons XXI-XXIII].

(4.3) **Temporal time and mankind’s place within it in relation to predestination**
[Canons XXIV-XXV].

(4.4) **How free will interacts with the predestination of a humans soul in relation
to salvation: Why some are punished and others not. Why humans must serve
God through the responsible exercise of their free will** [Canons XXVI-XXXIX].

526 Ibid., PL 140:1023C-1024A.
527 Ibid., PL 140:1024A-1025B.
528 Ibid., PL 140:1025B-1025D.
529 Ibid., PL 140:1025D-1028D.
To demonstrate, in canons XIX-XX (sub-group 4.1), Burchard uses citations from Gregory’s *Dialogi*, to explain what Predestination is and what it is not. Quite literally, predestination is everything. Every event that has or will occur is ordained by God. However, it is understood that the manner in which these events occur can be influenced by prayer, to benefit the needs of the elect.\(^{530}\)

The next canons, XXI-XXIII (sub-group 4.2), then detail the occurrence, or functionality of predestination in relation to time and space, and our (human) perception of the universe from the perspective of God. Condensed, the canons explain that although God has foreordained the unfolding of the world in various ages, God’s knowledge transcends all movement of time, which means that God perceives everything that has or will ever occur in an ‘eternal present’.\(^{531}\)

The proceeding canons, XXIV-XXV (sub-group 4.3), then set out the way in which the lifespan of a human upon the world is typically preset by God (in relation to the unfolding of the world), and mentions how, in certain exceptional circumstances, they can be shortened or lengthened depending on their piety (citing Noah, Abraham, and Moses).\(^{532}\)

Afterwards, the remaining canons, XXVI-XXXIX (sub-group 4.4.), provide the reader with an extremely varied, but informative account of the way the nature of God’s predestination for the events that will occur within a person’s lifetime (both worldly

\(^{530}\) Ibid., PL 140:1023C-1023D. ‘Obtineri nequaquam possunt quae praedestinata non fuerint: sed ea quae sancti viri orando efficiunt, ita praedestinata sunt, ut precibus obtineantur’. [Canon XIX excerpt, Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*].

\(^{531}\) Ibid., PL 140:1025B. ‘Nam cuncta Deus secutura praesciens, ante saecula decrevit, qualiter per saecula disponantur’. [Canon XXIII excerpt, Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*].

\(^{532}\) Ibid., PL 140:1025B-1025C. ‘...quia tempus mortis innotuit, quo vir ille mori merebatur: nec dominica statuta convulsa sunt...’. [Canon XXIV excerpt, Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*].
and personal) impact upon their path to salvation. More specifically, it is explained that although God foreknows who is to attain salvation and who is to fall into damnation (that is, who is to sin and who is to be good), God does not predestine people to sin. The free will to sin is incumbent upon humans alone, event though it may impact negatively on others who may be devout. Essentially, it is up to humans to respond accordingly to events both within and without their control in a devout, good manner, as it is the choices they make when responding to events, no matter the perceived nature of the event (good or bad), that determines their ability to attain salvation.

Ultimately, Burchard is stating to his audience that mankind has a significant measure of influence on the execution of the unfolding on the universe, so long as people choose to not only accept the inevitability of the occurrence of events (both good and bad), but act towards God’s grace of their own free will. However, none of the canons Burchard has cited in this section seek to impart any sense of temporality to the unfolding of the ages of the world, or to when salvation will occur, to the reader. The predestination of God is described as an objective, non-temporal stance on the unfolding of event.

533 Ibid., PL 140:1025D-1028D.
5.) Angels: Their creation, the organisation of the members of the Angelic host, along with the function and their differing relationships with mankind [Canons XXXX-LV].

By the time we reach the fifth section of *Liber Vicesimus*, the reader has been made aware of Burchard’s interpretation of God’s cosmic order from a spiritual, spatial, (temporally unspecific) chorological, and incidental perspective, along with the place of humans within it, and the approach they require to begin to attain salvation. The content of canons XXXX-LV are designed to fill in some of the gaps relating to these particular issues by explaining the creation, location, order, and function of the highest spiritual beings inside the universe: Angels. Within this particular section (as with first four theme groups for humans), Burchard sets out (in six distinct, but contiguous, sub-divisions) to describe:

---

535 Ibid., PL 140:1028D-1036C.
(5.1) The creation and nature of spiritual properties (esp. Angles) [Canons XXXX-XXXXIII].

(5.2) The nature of Angels before the fall [Canons XXXXIV-XXXXV].

(5.3) Role and relation of elect Angels with humans [Canons XXXXVI-XXXXVII].

(5.4) Organisation of the Angelic host: Their functions, and interactions with one another (on mankind’s behalf) [Canons XXXXVIII-L].

(5.5) The origin, role, function and motivation of Satan (an apostate angel) [Canons LI-LIV].

(5.6) The organisation and roles of heavenly citizens along with the function of ‘the soldiers’ of God [Canon LV].

Initially, canons XXXX-XXXXIII (sub-group 5.1), inform the reader of the origin and nature of angels. They collectively describe that all angels are purely spiritual, but still corporeal, beings that were created at an unspecified point close to the second day of creation, before humans, in an unknown fashion.

---

536 Ibid., PL 140:1028D-1029B.
537 Ibid., PL 140:1029B-1029C.
538 Ibid., PL 140:1029C-1030B.
539 Ibid., PL 140:1030B-1031D.
540 Ibid., PL 140:1031D-1036B.
541 Ibid., PL 140:1036B-1036D.
The next two canons, XXXXIV-XXXXV (sub-group 5.2), proceed to explain that, before the fall of man, all angels had free will. However, some sinned without repentance and so met their ruin. These spirits were from that point known as reprobate, or fallen, angels and could not be pardoned for their sins as they were stronger willed than man (as they did not have flesh) and, unlike man, did not seek pardon for them. Therefore there are two classes of angels that exist: the elect angels, who do not sin, and the reprobate, or fallen angles, who do sin. Burchard’s following canons, XXXXVI-XXXXVII (sub-group 5.3), then clarify how the elect angels, as commanded by God, are ordered to preside over men collectively and individually, in order to aid them in their faith and to protect them against the predations of demons.\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1029D. ‘Quia vero angeli hominibus praesint, per prophetam testatur angelus… Quod vero angeli a superiorum angelorum potestatibus dispensentur…’. [Canon XXXVII excerpt, Gregory the Great, \textit{Moralia in Job}].}

Afterwards, the following canons, XXXXVIII-L (sub-group 5.4), reveal the arrangement, locale, and universal function of the angelic host. Citing from Gregory’s \textit{Moralia} exclusively, Burchard explains that both apostate and elect angels (including guardian angels), comprise the sides of God’s predestination. On the right, the elect, who reside in heaven, giving aid to the faithful (humans). On the left, the reprobate, who reside between heaven and earth, inflicting trials upon those who turn away from God. Together both sides form the angelic host, with one side harmonising with divine mercy, the other, through serving their own ends, obeys God’s judgement.

 Having touched upon the function of the reprobate angles, canons LI-LIV (sub-group 5.5), then move on to deal with explaining the cosmic role of the most notable member of this particular caste: Satan. This section begins by setting out how Satan
was the foremost of God’s archangels, who fell before mankind for his lies and pride. Although a sinful, evil angel who is constantly reprimanded by God for his unjust ways and selfish motives, Satan is described within the canons as a something akin to an arbiter, or enforcer of God’s divine justice. He is a necessary evil empowered through God to seek divine justice, by tempting and assaulting mankind so as to test their adherence to divine law, in order to accuse people of their sins at the time of judgement day.544

The final canon, LV (sub-group 5.6), elaborates a little on the nature and number of the angels who reside in heaven (heavenly citizens). Through Gregory’s Moralia, Burchard states that there are an infinite amount of elect angels that comprise two groups: those who stand before God, and do not speak to men, and those who minister his tidings. The former are finite, the latter are infinite in number.

6.) Sin: How souls are redeemed, how they are categorised after death, and how these categories relate to one another in relation to the cosmic order of God’s salvation [Canons LVI-LXXI].545

The previous section made its readers aware of the perspective that whilst humans are to deal with the tempests of predestination on their path to salvation, they also have to navigate the influence of two fundamentally different types of angels. There are those who may aid (the elect), and those that may hinder, punish or actively persecute them throughout their lives (the reprobate) to test their free will to act in accordance with

544 Ibid., PL 140:1032C-1033A. ‘Sine labore certaminis, non est palma victoriae. Unde ergo victores, nisi quia contra antiqui hostis insidias decertaverunt? Malignus quippe spiritus cogitationi, locutioni, atque operi nostro semper assistit: si fortasse quid inveniat, unde apud examen aeterni judicis accusator existat’. [Canon LIII excerpt, Gregory the Great, Dialogi].

545 Ibid., PL 140:1036C-1044C.
God’s Grace and divine law, in preparation for judgement day. Either way, it is established by now that in life humans can either sin, or act in a good manner when facing their everyday trials and tribulations. This next set of canons, LVI-LXXI, leads on from these points by setting out the way in which the extent of the sins committed in life can be redeemed in death, along with the way souls are classified in preparation for God’s final judgement. In sum, they tell us the consequences of either sinning, or not sinning.

It is quite apparent that Burchard’s discussion of these subjects amongst the set canons has been arranged into five distinct sub-divisions to aid the reader:

(6.1) **How the Holy sacrifice (Requiem Mass) redeems souls** [Canons LVI-LVIII].

(6.2) **Wicked men** [Canons LIX-LXIV].

(6.3) **Good men** [Canons LXV-LXVII].

(6.4) **Intermediate souls** [Canons LXVIII-LXIX].

(6.5) **How the orders of soul classification relate to one another according to Gods predestination for salvation** [Canons LXX-LXXI].

---

546 Ibid., PL 140:1036C-1039A.
547 Ibid., PL 140:1039A-1040D.
548 Ibid., PL 140:1040D-1042D.
549 Ibid., PL 140:1042D-1043D.
550 Ibid., PL 140: 1034D-1044C.
In the opening canons, LVI-LVIII (sub-group 6.1), the audience is informed of the theological function of the holy oblation (requiem mass) and prayers for the dead to aid the souls of the deceased. Fundamentally, the holy oblation, or the sacrament of the Eucharist, and prayers for the dead, are described as the means by which those who are living can seek the purification of the souls of those (humans) who did not receive absolution from the sins they committed during their lifetime.\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1038B-1039A.} ‘Si culpae post mortem insolubiles non sunt, multorum solet animas etiam post mortem sacra oblatio hostiae salutaris adjuvare…’. [Canon LVII excerpt, Gregory the Great, \textit{Dialogi}].

The following three sub-sets of canons, LIX-LXIV (sub-group 6.2), LXV-LXVII (sub-group 6.3), and LXVIII-LXXI (sub-group 6.4), move on to detail the necessary, general criteria that classifies the character, or nature of a soul after death and the eternal resting place they shall enter after God’s judgement. For example, the second sub-group (6.2.), titled ‘Wicked men’, describes that those who sinned profusely and unrepentantly during their lifetime, the iniquitous and impious (wicked men), shall burn in hell for all eternity for the sake of divine justice.\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1039B. ‘Peccatum quippe usque ad inferos ducitur quod ante finem vitae praesentis per correctionem ac poenitentiam non emendatur’. [Canon LIX excerpt, Gregory the Great, \textit{Moralia in Iob}].}

The third sub-group (6.3), called ‘Good men’, shares the view that those who sought God’s grace and acted in accordance with God’s law during their lifetime, the perfect, the elect, or the good (Good men), shall (eventually) enter the Kingdom of heaven.\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1040D-1041A. ‘Et tamen luce clarius constat quia perfectorum justorum animae, mox ut hujus carnis claustra exeunt, in coelestibus sedibus recipiuntur’. [Canon LXV excerpt, Gregory the Great, \textit{Dialogi}].}

Whilst the fourth sub-group (6.4), named ‘Intermediate souls’, proceeds to explain that those who committed minor sins within their lifetime and did not seek pardon for
them before death are to enter an intermediate realm known as Purgatory. In this place unclean, but not wholly evil, souls are to be cleansed by fire until they are purged of their (minor) sins, after which they may enter the kingdom of heaven.⁵⁵⁴

The final canons of the theme group, LXX-LXXI (sub-group 6.5), end the theme section by reiterating, in a summary fashion, the theological relationships that exist between the types of souls described in the preceding three sub-groups (6.2-6.4), along with how they serve to aid each other within God’s predestination. For example, good and intermediate souls will attain salvation, whilst those who are wicked will only receive eternal torment. At the same time, those who are suffering in hell serve as an example to those who are living not to sin whilst justifying the necessity of the suffering of those who will reach heaven.⁵⁵⁵

7.) The order and form of God’s realms and how He decides the fate of each (eternal) soul [Canons LXXII-LXXXII].⁵⁵⁶

Upon completing the sixth thematic group of Liber Vicesimus, the audience has been directed as to the three ways in which human souls are to be classified before they are judged by God at the time of the Second Coming according to the sins they commit: good, intermediate, and wicked. The purpose of the next, seventh, thematic group of

---

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid., PL 140:1042D-1043C. ‘Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante judicium purgatorius ignis credendus est, eo quod Veritas dicit: quia si quis in Spiritum sanctum blasphemiam dixerit, nec in hoc saeculo remittetur ei, neque in futuro [Matthew 12:32]’. [Canon LXVIII excerpt, Gregory the Great, Dialogi].

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid., PL 140:1044B-1044C ‘Quod si nunc quoque viventes justi, mortuis et damnatis injustis minime compatiuntur, quando adhuc aliquid judicabile de sua carne sese perpeti etiam ipsi noverint’. [Canon LXXI excerpt, Gregory the Great, Dialogi].

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid., PL 140:1044C-1048B.
canons LXXII-LXXXII, is to develop these subject matters by divulging upon three key issues (which have been neatly divided into three sub-groups):

(7.1) **The organisation of the elect and the reprobate (respectively) in heaven and hell** [Canons LXXII-LXXV].\(^\text{557}\)

(7.2) **The perspective of God and how this relates to his decisions regarding the manner of the fate of the souls of men and angels** [Canons LXXVI-LXXVII].\(^\text{558}\)

(7.3) **The nature and form of the fire of hell, and how the souls of the Wicked and treated after death (compared to the elect)** [Canons LXXVIII- LXXXII].\(^\text{559}\)

More plainly, they can be thought of as where different types of soul go after death; how that is decided by God; and the differences between the resting place of the wicked to the elect.

In the opening canons of the theme group, LXXII-LXXV (sub-group 7.1), Burchard informs the audience that after experiencing corporeal death, a human’s soul will continue to exist immortally, disregarding the manner of the life they led before. It is then stated that (purgatory aside) ultimately all souls will be divided by God into either the elect or the reprobate who will each enter two similar, but fundamentally different realms. The elect will go to heaven (paradise) to experience divine felicity whilst the reprobate will go to hell to be punished in the eternal fire for all eternity without pardon. In each of these two ‘houses’ of God, it is explained that there are

\(^{557}\) Ibid., PL 140:1044C-1045D.  
\(^{558}\) Ibid., PL 140:1045D-1047A.  
\(^{559}\) Ibid., PL 140:1047A-1048B.
many ‘mansions’ (akin to compartments or rooms), in which the diverse orders and degrees of the elect, or reprobate, will be organised. For example, in heaven the saints will reside with saints, the chaste will reside with the chaste, and in hell the infidels will reside with the infidels, the covetous with the covetous, so on and so forth.\textsuperscript{560}

The second sub-group of canons, LXXVI-LXXVII (7.2), offer a degree of insight into the perspective of God concerning how the fate of the souls or angels and men is weighed, decided, and then carried out. Specifically, it is stated that as God is all things at all times (prescient, jealous, wrathful, merciful, etc.), every soul’s action during their life is comprehended accordingly in relation to the whole event of said life for judgement. All souls that are considered good then go to heaven, and the reprobate to hell. It is also mentioned that even the most devout elect, which God had foreknown, from the beginning, to enter into heaven, must experience death as a punishment for small transgressions committed during their lifetime, whilst the reprobate, who had more power over others in life, receive a greater punishment after death. It would seem that all are punished in some way, just to greater or lesser extents, with humility being a key factor in God’s decision.\textsuperscript{561}

The third sub-group or canons, LXXVIII-LXXXII (7.3), then sets out to explain the general purpose and function of hell to both (primarily) the reprobate and the elect. Quite directly, we are told that the fire of hell (\textit{Gehenna}) was designed by God to punish and torment the reprobate, both humans and angels, for all eternity due to their

\textsuperscript{560}Ibid., PL 140:1044D-1045B. ‘In domo Patris mei multae mansiones sunt… [John 14:2] in quibus et distincti bonorum ordines propter meritorum consortium communitur…’. [Canon LXXIII excerpt, Gregory the Great, \textit{Dialogi}].

\textsuperscript{561}Ibid., PL 140:1046C-1047A. ‘Unde fit ut reprobi quidem potestatem contra viventes accipiant, sed illis morientibus hoc in eis gravius vindicetur, quod contra bonos potestatem suae crudelitatis acceperunt’. [Canon LXXVII excerpt, Gregory the Great, \textit{Dialogi}].
grave, un-absolved sins. It is an inextinguishable, un-fuelled flame that constantly burns without a comforting light, wherein the damned are consumed in constant agony and can only see other fallen and the objects of their transgressions. It is also discussed that whilst the elect may receive fire as a consolation in life (as a relief from their torments to enter paradise), the fire of hell is one of punishment to the damned. Hell is framed as a testament to, and certainty of, God’s resolution to cast down those who would not pursue goodness and happiness during their (corporeal) lives.\textsuperscript{562}

8.) The nature of soul and Hell: The way damned souls interact with the fire of hell and the manner in which the wicked will receive punishment [LXXXIII-XCII].\textsuperscript{563}

The penultimate theme group of Liber Vicesimus, continues (practically) nonstop from the theological discussion points of the third sub-group of canons within preceding theme group, by elaborating upon the mode and manner of the torment experienced by the damned in hell. Specifically, these nine canons seek to explain, in fine detail, the properties of hell fire, along with the way in which the souls of the reprobate interact with, and are punished within, the fire of hell (Gehenna), within hell. The reason for this technical discussion rests with the view that as hell fire has just been demonstrated to not manifest itself, or function, in the same manner as earthly fire (exothermic combustion), the audience of Liber Vicesimus would be keen to be informed as to how it works practically. That is, if Gehenna is an eternal flame that does not require fuel, which constantly torments the souls of the damned without

\textsuperscript{562} Ibid., PL 140:1047B-1047C ‘Sciendum vero est, quod omnes reprobni, quia et in anima simul et carne peccaverunt, ille in anima et carne pariter cruciantur’. [Canon LXXX excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob].

\textsuperscript{563} Ibid., PL 140:1048B-1052B.
light, only images of their fellow sinners and the un-divine objects they sought in life, how exactly does it work?

Burchard’s elaboration upon the (theologically) technical subjects at hand amongst the set canons, has been arranged into four unique sub-groups:

(8.1) **The nature of the soul both inside and outside the body** [Canons LXXXIII-LXXXVI].

(8.2) **How the soul interacts with the fire of hell** [Canons LXXXVII-LXXXIX].

(8.3) **Justification for the invisibility of the fire of hell through the description of the way mortals interact with God. The properties of the fire of hell** [Canon XC].

(8.4) **The manner of the punishment of the wicked** [Canons XCI-XCII].

The initial set of canons LXXXIII-LXXXVI (sub-group 8.1), in many ways, constitute an in-depth continuation of the issues touched upon in canons I-VII, due to the fact that they comment upon the relationship between the body and the soul. In particular, we are informed that whilst the soul does indeed give life to, and move the body visibly, the soul itself is an invisible entity that both enters and departs the body unseen to our eyes (though it is sometimes hard to believe). At the same time, in the

---

564 Ibid., PL 140:1048B-1049C.
565 Ibid., PL 140:1049C-1058B.
566 Ibid., PL 140:1058B-1051B.
567 Ibid., PL 140:1051B-1052B.
568 Ibid., PL 140: 1017B-1019A, 1048B-1049C.
same way the soul is kept in the body (vessel) during life, a soul can be contained in the fire of hell in death.\textsuperscript{569}

Now it has been established that the souls of the reprobate are held in hell fire within hell, after death, the next canons, LXXXVII-LXXXIX (sub-group 8.2) divulge how the properties of hell fire allow it to interact with and torment souls in a general sense. Citing from Gregory’s \textit{Dialogi}, Burchard informs the audience that the incorporeal soul not only sees the fire of hell and is terrified by it, but also watches itself burn within it, whilst feeling the torture that is inflicted upon it, by the corporeal, but invisible hell fire.\textsuperscript{570}

The following canon, XC (sub-group 8.3), constitutes a qualification to the assertions of the previous sub-group by demonstrating the irrefutable existence of God as an invisible entity to humans who cannot be experienced by bodily senses. As we are told, many of the fundamental characters that interacted with God in the Bible, such as Moses, Lot and Job, only experienced semblances of God, but not God literally within the light of heaven, as eternal paradise is incomprehensible to humans. Essentially, by drawing parallels between the fundamental, irrefutable reality of one invisible entity, God, to another lesser substance, Burchard is proposing the theological and philosophical validity for hell fire and the way it is understood to interact with the souls of reprobates.\textsuperscript{571}

\textsuperscript{569} Ibid., PL 140:1048B-1048C ‘Natura quippe animae invisibilis est, atque ita ex corpore invisibiliter egreditur sicut in corpore invisibiliter manet’. [Canon LXXXIII excerpt, Gregory the Great, \textit{Dialogi}].
\textsuperscript{570} Ibid., PL 140:1049D-1050C. ‘Sicque fit ut res incorporea incorpoream exurat, dum ex igne visibili ardor ac dolor invisibilis trahitur: ut per ignem corporeum mens incorporea, etiam incorporea flamma crucietur’. [Canon LXXXVIII excerpt, Gregory the Great, \textit{Dialogi}].
\textsuperscript{571} Ibid., PL 140:1050B-1051B. ‘…videri per quasdam imagines Deus potest, sed per ipsam naturae suae speciem non potest: ut anima gratia spiritus afflata, per figuras quasdam Deum videat…’. [Canon XC excerpt, Gregory the Great, \textit{Moralia in Iob}].
Having set up the justification for how hell fire punishes souls, Burchard moves on in the final section of this theme group to flesh out fully the manner in which the damned are tormented in hell, in addition to how the different groups of reprobate souls are treated in accordance to the manner of their sins (see sub-group 7.1).\textsuperscript{572} Within canons XCI-XCII (sub-group 8.4) the audience is informed in excruciating detail of the types of punishments received by the residents of hell. Initially we are told that, in comparison to the pains humans can experience in the mortal world, hell has no equal; it is a place that inflicts constant, unrelenting pain and misery upon the mind and body of the soul. This is because the impious sinned in both body and mind. Continuing on from this image, the audience is informed that on the day of judgement, those who committed similar acts of wickedness will be punished in a similar fashion. For instance, the impious, as opposed to the gluttonous, or other condemned groups, are to be punished more harshly in mental anguish than in physical pain, whilst Satan is to be cast down and purged with all the souls, both elect and damned, watching him.\textsuperscript{573}

5.3 Re-summation of the Key Points from Theme Groups 1-8 in \textit{Liber Vicesimus}

The first eight thematic groups of \textit{Liber Vicesimus}'s canons focus on the process through which a human soul will either attain eternal salvation or damnation. According to each group we, the audience, now know:

\textsuperscript{572} Ibid., PL 140:1044C-1045D.
\textsuperscript{573} Ibid., PL 140:1051C-1052B. ‘Sicut unusquisque sanctus in futuro judicio pro quantitate virtutum glorificabitur, ita et unusquisque impius pro quantitate facinorum condemnabitur’. [Canon XCII excerpt, Isidore of Seville, \textit{Sententiae} III].
(1) What humans are and how they come into being (both soul and body).

(2) Where humans are and why.

(3) The means by which humans can either revoke or embrace their present (fallen) condition.

(4) God’s cosmic order and how mankind can interact with, and navigate it throughout the passage of life.

(5) What angels are and their role in God’s cosmic order.

(6) How souls can be redeemed and how they are categorised after death before God’s judgement.

(7) How souls are judged and where they will reside for all eternity.

(8) The manner of the punishment the wicked will receive in hell.

Essentially, the audience has been told, in relation to the salvation of the soul, where their soul and body comes from, what fate, or eternal resting place, awaits their soul according to their life choices, and how they can get there. The only points that remain to be explained and analysed relate to the unfolding of the events that surround the actualisation of God’s final judgement. That is, how, where, and when the fate of
each person’s soul will be decided by God; the final dimension to eternal salvation (or damnation).

5.4.0 Initial Observations Regarding the Eschatological Content of Liber Vicesimus

5.4.1 Questions to Consider at this Stage to Interpret Burchard’s Eschatology and Determine the Full Extent of Eschatological Discourse within Liber Vicesimus

Before we move on to analyse theme group nine in Liber Vicesimus, it is necessary to briefly consider a few key questions that will allow us to better grasp the scope, scale, consistency, and character of eschatological discourse throughout the book, including Burchard’s understanding of eschatology in relation to explaining the central subject of the book, the salvation of the soul. Specifically they are as follows: Are there any textual passages that can be observed to be eschatological in nature within the ninety two canons of the initial eight theme groups? If so, what can we infer, or determine, about Burchard’s methodological approach towards their inclusion in the text? Following on from this, what does the apparent material on the subject indicate about the form and nature of Burchard’s eschatology? The answers to these questions will hopefully enable us to observe not only certain underlying aspects of the composition processes that shaped Liber Vicesimus, but will begin to give a measure of insight regarding Burchard’s approach towards informing his audience about eschatological theology. We will also have a basis from which we can begin to establish the
consistency and treatment of eschatological materials, themes, and subjects throughout the entire text.

5.4.2 Signs of Eschatological Discourse in Thematic Groups 1-8 and Burchard’s Method Towards their Inclusion

Up to this juncture in Liber Vicesimus (canon XCII) none of Burchard’s canons have made either direct, or implicit references to any traditional apocalyptic phenomena, such as ‘the coming of Antichrist’, ‘the growing of iniquity’, and ‘the Second Coming of Christ’. The only possible, albeit minor, exception to this general observation is his use of a passage from 2nd Thess. 2:4, in canon LIV (On creation, and nature, and the ministry of the angels, and the fall of the apostate angels), which is actually an extract from Isidore’s Sententiae, Bk. I. Ch. 10. That is because the canon uses the biblical passage in question to highlight how the pride, or hubris, of Satan led to his becoming a fallen angel, which is due to the understanding that he tried to make himself a rival, or usurper God, a type of Antichrist, when he was still an angel in heaven:

574 Ibid., PL 140:1052B.
‘Prius de coelo cecidisse diabolum constat, quam homo conderetur. Nam mox ut factus est, in superbiam erupit, et praecipitatus de coelo est… Diabolus vero non solum in hoc contentus, quod se Deo aequalem existimans cecidit, insuper etiam superiorem Deo se dicit, secundum apostoli dicta, qui ait de Antichristo: Qui adversatur, et extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur’. 576

From the above extract it is clear that 2nd Thess. 2:4 has been utilised, in both Sententiae and Liber Vicesimus, to explain to the audience the origins and reasons for the nature of Satan as an influential actor upon the salvation of every human soul. 577

Evidently, this text has not been used, as within its own biblical, prophetic context, to discuss the events that precede the future realisation of God’s final judgement. Through the non-apocalyptic use of this minor eschatological passage it has not been suggested or indicated to Burchard’s audience, that any temporal signs and events of an apocalyptic nature are likely to soon occur, or are, in actuality, already taking place.

In fact, one could go so far as to contend that, within the initial ninety two canons of Liber Vicesimus, Burchard deliberately sought to avoid the inclusion of any sort of aggressively, or blatantly pro-apocalyptic passages, especially those of a temporal, or near temporal, nature. The reason for this perspective stems from a wider reading of the subject matter inherent to one of the various chapters from Gregory’s Dialogi that Burchard did not cite from to construct his canons in Liber Vicesimus. As Hoffmann

576 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1033A-1036B. ‘First the devil fell from heaven then man was created. And, when it was created, was lifted and he was cast down from heaven… The devil, however, not only fell into sin thinking himself equal to God, but made himself even more than God, according to the Apostle, when he says of the Antichrist: Who opposeth and is lifted up above all that is called god or that is worshipped’. [Canon LIV excerpt, Isidore, Sententiae].

577 2nd Thess. 2:4; Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1033A-1036B; Isidore of Seville, Sententiae, Bk. I, Ch. 10, Sen. 7-8, CCSL 111, 31.
and Pokorny have demonstrated, Burchard formally cited from multiple chapters of *Dialogi*, Bks. III and IV (Chs. 17 and 1-57 respectively) to form twenty nine of the one hundred and ten canons that feature throughout the text.578 Within the first ninety two canons we can observe that Burchard has, more often than not, lifted text from *Dialogi* in clusters of chapters.579 The best example of Burchard’s block-like extraction from *Dialogi* can be seen within the sixth theme group [Canons LVI-LXXI], where all but two of the sixteen canons (LIX and LXX), that respectively, formally derive from Gregory’s *Moria* and the *Collectio Hibernensis*, actually come from similar, thematically integrated sections of *Dialogi*.580 That is to say, the text in canons LVI-LVIII, LX-LXIX, and LXXI, originates from *Dialogi*, Bk. IV, Chs. 24-25, 27-28, 32-35, 38-39, 42-44, 55, 57-58, which are, very broadly concerned with issues and tales pertaining to the souls of the departed before the judgment.581 This means that within the general span citation from Gregory (chapters 24-58), Burchard refrained from incorporating the content from Chs. 26, 29-31, 36-37, 40-41, 45-54, and 56 into his text.582 Due to the fact that all these ‘unused’ nineteen chapters, in addition to the other ‘source gaps’ within these chapters and, indeed, across *Liber Vicesimus*, are all theologically related to the subject of sin (and its four sub-themes), it would seem that Burchard disregarded them, so as to only select the passages that best suited the expression of his outlook on the topic(s) at hand. For instance, the initial section of Ch. 52 of *Dialogi*, Bk. IV, titled, ‘*Of the burial of Valerianus*’, provides a contextualised example of the effect a sinful, wicked man, had upon

579 Ibid., 240-244; Also see Chapter 4.0 for complete listings of all canons in which Burchard cites Gregory’s works.
580 *Decretorum libri viginti*, PL 140:1036C-1044C.
temporal affairs; Valerianus the sinner in question, caused the death of a Roman bishop who was not able to disinter Valerianus’ from his grave within a church in Brescia, upon the request of an apparition of the local martyr Faustinus within the allotted time given for him to do so.\textsuperscript{583} Evidently, this is a contextualised narrative which ties in directly with the theological themes of canons LVIX-LXIV (Sub-group 6.2, \textit{Wicked men}).\textsuperscript{584} It is clear that whilst the content of this chapter was related to the theme(s) of these particular canons, it is likely, barring the possibility that Burchard’s copy of \textit{Dialogi}, Bk. IV was missing Ch. 52, that he chose not to include its content within canons LVIX-LXIV as it did not fit, or accurately convey, a more direct, or appropriate, approach to the interpretation of the subject matter.

Interestingly, when we examine the content of \textit{Dialogi}, Bk. IV, Ch. 41, another chapter from this ‘excluded group’, we see a similar situation, wherein the subject text of the chapter relates to the theological discussion inherent to the canons that use sections of text from its adjacent chapters in \textit{Dialogi} (Chs. 38-39 and 42-43).\textsuperscript{585} For example, in canons LXVI (Chs. 38-39) and LXIX (Chs. 42-43), Burchard engages with the subject of purgatory by highlighting the necessity for those who have committed minor sins to seek remission for them in their lifetime before having to experience the flames of purgation.\textsuperscript{586} If we then consider the text in Ch. 41 in the

\textsuperscript{583} Gregory the Great, \textit{Dialogi} (Dialogues), Bk. 4. Ch. 52, PL 77:413B-413C; trans. Gardner, \textit{Saint Gregory the Great: Dialogues}, 246-248.
\textsuperscript{584} \textit{Decretorum libri viginti}, PL 140:1039B-1040D.
Dialogi that Burchard did not use, but in all likelihood would have probably encountered during his research for the composition of the above tract, we can see the expression of a similar theological sentiment, encouraging those who have committed minor sins to repent before it is too late.\(^587\)

However, the difference between these extracts is that the passage in chapter 41 expresses a distinctly (pro-) apocalyptic, typically Gregorian, sign-based interpretation of the temporal time left within which humans should repent for their sins, rather than one that is atemporal. It presents the view that the world is presently coming to a close, which is the reason why sinners should repent. On the other hand, Ch. 39 presents the motivations to repent in an objective, non-temporal manner, that is, that sinners should simply repent before the day of salvation as a matter of course.\(^588\) What this evidence of editorial decision making indicates, is that Burchard chose not to use this section of Ch. 41 as he did not want to put an apocalyptic spin on the motivations given to the audience to repent for their (minor) sins at this point in the text, but rather left the presentation of the eschatological canons right to the end of Liber Vicesimus.\(^589\) In other words, it seems as though Burchard was aiming to frame

\(^{587}\) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, Bk. 4. Ch. 41, PL 77:397C-400C; ‘So it is, for the nearer that this present world draweth towards an end, so much the more the world to come is at hand, and sheweth itself by more plain and evident tokens. For seeing, in this world, we know not one another’s cogitations, and, in the next, men’s hearts be known to all, what fitter name can we give to this world than to term it night, and what better to the next, than to call it day? But as, when the night is almost spent, and the day beginneth to break, darkness and light be in a certain manner joined together, until the light of the day following doth perfectly banish away the dark remnants of the former night: even so, the end of this world is, as it were, mingled together with the beginning of the next, and with the darkness of this, some light of such spiritual things as be in that doth appear: and so we see many things which belong to that world, yet for all this, perfect knowledge we have not any, but as it were in the twilight of our soul behold them before the rising of that sun of knowledge, which then abundantly will cast his beams over all’ (trans. Gardner, *Saint Gregory the Great: Dialogues*, 235-236).

\(^{588}\) Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, Bk. 4. Ch. 39, PL 77:393D-396D.

\(^{589}\) Ibid., Bk. 4. Ch. 41, PL 77:397C-400C.
apocalyptic issues only within an eschatological context, not in relation to any other theological issue pertaining to salvation.

5.4.3 Characterising the Form and Nature of Burchard’s eschatology within Theme Groups 1-8

Whilst we can see that there are no explicitly overt, or ‘strong’ apocalyptic passages within the aforementioned eight theme groups of canons, there are a few tell-tale passages that hint at Burchard’s eschatological outlook. So far as it can be discerned, the only direction the audience has been given in relation to interpreting the eventual manifestation of the ‘end times’, is that of, what could be described as, ‘unspecified future inevitability’. This is the idea that the time of eschaton is a certainty, but that it will happen in the unknown, undetermined future. Within the few canons that do mention, in various permutations, God’s final judgement (canons XXXII-XXXIII, XXXVII, XCII), the audience is informed in a variety of ways that God’s judgment is inescapable and inevitable without any time reference to that of the ‘temporal future’.\footnote{Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1027A-1027C, 1028B-1028C, 1051C-1052B.} For example, in canon XXXII we are told God’s predestination is ‘fore-ordained to the just judgement of sinners’.\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1027A-1027B.} In canon XXXIII we are reminded that ‘His (God’s) predestination of a most just judgement must be praised’.\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1027B-1027C.} In canon XXXVII it is explained that all sinners ‘must be punished by the just judgement of the Judge’.\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1028A-1028B.} And in canon XCII it is explicated how all holy men ‘will be glorified in His future judgement’.\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1051C-1052B.} Taken collectively, these four statements tentatively suggest that Burchard was already beginning to impart to his audience an approach to
eschatology that situates itself between the shorter and longer-term inflections of Gregory’s and Augustine’s eschatological outlooks. That is to say, God’s judgement is a future certainty, but there are no temporal time constraints on its manifestation; it will take place at a definite but unspecified time in the future.595

However, as the predestined occurrence of God’s judgement is not literally stated within any of the aforementioned passages of these four canons, either as a potentially immediate, or a temporally far-away event, we can deduce that Burchard may already be signifying to his audience that God’s final judgement will happen at any time in the future.596 This particular theological position is peculiar as it does not appear to be, either overtly or distinctly, Augustinian or Gregorian in its eschatological outlook, as it is simultaneously temporally vague whilst being theologically and historically absolute. In other words we are presented with the view that one cannot know when God’s judgement will happen, but that it is a certainty. The only possible way to characterise this observation, in comparison to an established orthodox eschatological authority (at least at this point), is through the understanding that Burchard may be attempting to convey an indirect, composite reiteration of the sentiments inherent in Matt. 24:36 and Mark 13:32; ‘But of that day (Judgement day) and hour no one knoweth, not the angels of heaven, but the Father alone’.597 Quite literally, God’s judgement is presented as a sure conclusion to the end of time, but it has an unknown future realisation. This is possibly a less conservative position in comparison with Augustinian eschatology, as it does not invoke (in part) the far-flung future, and a slightly less radical line in relation to Gregorian eschatology, as it is not

595 Augustine, DCD, Bk. XX, Chs.7 and 20, 906-910, 935-938.
596 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1027A-1027C, 1028B-1028C, 1051C-1052B.
597 Matt. 24:36; Mark 13:32.
contextualised in a near-realised, temporal fashion.\textsuperscript{598} Therefore, the manifestation of God’s final judgement is left in an open-ended position. It is suggestive of a halfway, literalist, ultra-orthodox position if you will, between the two mainstream theological frameworks; a ‘thief in the night’ \cite{1Thess5:2,2Pet3:10} position in its most literal sense.\textsuperscript{599} This would certainly begin to suggest that Burchard’s eschatology was aiming to be more in line with the sentiments of Christ and the Apostles than those of any well-known exegetical position. That said we must now qualify this initial interpretation with a full reading and analysis of the final eighteen eschatological canons of the book, along with the ecclesiastical authorities Burchard cites, if we are to fully understand his approach towards apocalyptic theology.

\textsuperscript{598} See section \textsuperscript{2.1.2.3} for discussions and examples of Gregory the Great’s eschatological outlook. \textsuperscript{599} 1\textsuperscript{st} Thess. 5:2; 2\textsuperscript{nd} Pet. 3:10.
Chapter 6.0

Analysis of Theme Group Nine of Liber Vicesimus

6.1 Approaches towards Analysing Burchard’s Eschatology in Theme Group Nine

Having presented to the reader all of the key theological points made within the initial ninety-two canons of Liber Vicesimus, we are now in a position to examine its remaining eighteen canons [canons XCIII-CX], which can be collectively interpreted as forming the ninth, and final, theme group.600

6.2 Theme Group Nine’s Context in Relation to all the Previous Theme Groups

Having just described, in terrifying detail, the nature of the torments all reprobate souls are to receive in hell, Burchard abruptly moves the focus of the book’s remaining eighteen canons to explain the end stages of the process by which the eternal fate of each human soul will be realised. Quite literally, Burchard switches from discussing ‘The punishment of the wicked’ (De poenis impiorum) in canon XCII, straight to ‘The Antichrist’ (De Antichriso) in canon XCIII without any break or marked division within the text.601 This deft, breakneck change in theological focus can be accounted for by the understanding that we, the audience, have reached the third and final phase of the whole book, wherein its overarching, theological structure

600 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1058C.
601 Ibid., PL 140:1051C-1053A.
is to be realised and expressed. Up until this point, the audience has been informed about Burchard’s understanding of the first and second general stages of salvation: (1) The origin and creation of a soul [canons I-X], and (2) Factors that affect the fate of a soul during a lifetime [canons XI-CLII].\(^6\) Within them, and their respective theme groups, Burchard has clearly explained where a soul comes from, the two places where it will go after corporeal death and judgement day, and why. He has also conveyed, in significant detail, most of the key theological elements that will impinge upon God’s final judgement of every soul. Now, in this last, culminating section, (3) The events surrounding God’s Judgement of the fate of every soul [canons XCIII-CX], the concluding set of transformative, eschatological events, factors, and actors, which will affect, determine, and transcendentally facilitate, the destiny of each human soul is set out.\(^7\) This section provides the conclusion to the ‘natural progression’, or ‘consummation’, of a human soul.

6.3 The Main Theological Content and Focus of Theme Group Nine

The key theological subjects and events discussed by the remaining eighteen canons of Liber Vicessimus can collectively be summed up as Eschatological events that will take place before, during, and after God’s Judgement.

We can observe the manifestation of this particular theme group through the associated nature of the key theological issues that are presented within the chapter titles of these canons, along with their textual contents. For example, the stated topics of canons XCV, C, and CVIII, respectively ‘The Antichrist’ (De Antichristo), ‘That all

\(^6\) Ibid., PL 140:1017B-1052B.
\(^7\) Ibid., PL 140:1052B-1058C.
men should rise again’ (Quod omnes homines resurgere debeat) and ‘The glory of the saints after the judgement’ (De gloria sanctorum post judicium), all relate to significant actors and events that are prophesised in the bible to become manifest around the time of God’s judgement.\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1053C-1053D, 1055B-1055C, 1057B-1057C.} This can be demonstrated by the fact that ‘The Antichrist’, or ‘the man of sin’ is stated, in the prophetic books of Dan. 7:2-8, 21, 24-26, 8:25 and 11:36, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. 2:3-11, Rev. 13:1-8,11-17, to be an agent of Satan who will oppose God before his destruction during the Second Coming.\footnote{Dan. 7:2-8, 21, 24-26, 8:25, 11:36, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. 2:3-11, Rev. 13:1-8,11-17.} In addition, the ‘Second Resurrection’ is described in Dan. 2:12, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. 1:5, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Pet., 3:7-10, and Rev. 20:5-15, as a miraculous event that must occur so that God can judge each soul according to their works in the book of life.\footnote{Dan. 2:12; 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. 1:5; 2\textsuperscript{nd} Pet., 3:7-10; Rev. 20:5-15.} Moreover, ‘The glory of the saints after the judgement’ (more commonly know as the ‘Rule of the Saints’), is detailed in Dan. 7:18-27, and Rev. 20:4-15, and 22:3, as an event that will literally facilitate mankind’s salvation, as the elect will preside over the final judgement with God.\footnote{Dan. 2:12, 7:2-8, 11:36, 18-27, 8:25; 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. 1:5, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Pet. 3:7-10, Rev. 13:1-8,11-17, 20:4-15, 22:3.} [I refer the reader to my translations of all of theme group nine’s chapter titles in the appendix].

To further this observation, if we consider the content of canons XCIX and CIX, it is clear that they are theologically related by their engagement with core eschatological issues found in the key eschatological texts of the bible.\footnote{Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1055A-1055B, 1058B.} Specifically, it is evident that the excerpt from canon XCIX is describing the role of the impious during the ‘Second Resurrection’ and final judgement, which are issues that are disclosed in the prophetic texts of Dan. 2:12, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. 1:5, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Pet., 3:7-10, and Rev. 20:11-15.\footnote{Dan. 2:12; 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. 1:5; 2\textsuperscript{nd} Pet. 3:7-10; Rev. 20:11-15.}
'Resurgunt vero etiam omnes infideles, sed ad tormentum, non ad judicium. Non enim eorum tunc causa discutitur, qui ad conspectum districti judicis, jam cum damnatione suae infidelitatis accedunt'.

And

‘Ut ait B. Augustinus, peracto finitoque judicio, tunc esse desinet hoc coelum, et terra: quando incipiet esse coelum novum, et terra nova’.

Parallel to this, the content of canon CIX is clearly explaining the consummation of the world’, a key apocalyptic event that is covered multiple times in Matt. 24:35, Mark, 13:31, Luke 21:33, 2nd Pet. 3:10-13, Rev. 21:1-2. Again, we see that the theological subjects of these canons are related by their eschatological focus concerning the final judgement and spiritual salvation. It is therefore unmistakable that the broad theological content of the titles and contents of all these eighteen canons as a group is fundamentally eschatological. Furthermore, the key subjects and events discussed throughout the group, all take place in relation to their prophesised occurrence within the relevant biblical texts, before, during and after God’s final Judgement.

610 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1055A-1055B. ‘Therefore even all unbelievers rise again, but to torment and not to judgment. For their case is not then examined; because they come into the presence of their strict Judge, with the condemnation already of their own infidelity’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon XCIX excerpt, Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*].

611 Ibid., PL 140:1058B. ‘As the blessed Augustine says, when the judgement has been carried out and is finished, then this heaven and earth shall cease: when there shall begin to be a new heaven and a new earth’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CIX excerpt, ‘Isidore’ [Julian of Toledo, *Prognosticam*]].

It remains evident however that Burchard has sought to elaborate upon a distinctively select range of eschatological phenomena. The type of eschatological events that we see the audience being informed about, actually have a very distinctive form, scope and nature. Given our need to capture the exact essence of Burchard’s broad approach towards framing the end processes of salvation, we must now refine, explain, and justify, the theological parameters in which the theme of the group is both set and expressed. Indeed, it would certainly appear that Burchard’s remaining canons are explicitly oriented towards explaining the role of eschatological events that are either prophesised to challenge the faith and moral fortitude of each human soul, or are directly involved in the spiritual process of salvation. In other words, Burchard has sought only to explain the role and function of two overlapping types of apocalyptic phenomena: those which elicit the fundamental moral considerations every human should act upon if they wish to attain salvation and others that practically facilitate the transitive, final stages of every soul’s worldly existence to their ultimate eternal destiny. Burchard is specifically expounding upon a model of eschatology with purely moral and spiritual dimensions, as he is explaining the essential apocalyptic components that only affect the salvation of each human soul.

The clearest way to observe and justify my understanding of Burchard’s general interpretation of eschatology, is by distinguishing between the theological function of the major types of traditional biblical issues which are explained across the canons, against the ones that are not. If we first consider the apocalyptic events and issues that Burchard’s canons do engage with, it is clear that they are all theologically related by their direct impact upon the moral integrity and salvation of both individuals and select groups of people, such as the saints, Jews, infidels (non-believers), or angels.
For instance, at various points across the canons we are instructed on seven key, definitive areas of eschatological prophesy. They can be (approximately) termed as:

- ‘The works of the Antichrist and Satan’ [Canons XCIII-XCVI].
- ‘The mystery of iniquity’ [Canons XCIII-XCVI].
- ‘The deception and fall of the elect’ [Canons XCIII-XCIV].
- ‘The conversion and punishment of non-believers’ [Canons XCVII-XCIX].
- ‘The resurrection and God’s judgement’ [Canons C-CVIII].
- ‘The rule of the saints’ (post-judgment) ‘the rule of the saints’ [Canons CVI, CVIII].
- ‘The conflagration of the world, and a new heaven and a new earth’ [Canons CIX-CX].

---

613 Dan. 7:2-8, 21, 24-26, 8:25, 11:36; 2nd Thess. 2:3-11; Rev. 13:1-8,11-17; Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1054B.
614 Matt. 24:11-13; 2nd Thess. 2:7; Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1054B.
616 Mal. 4:3-6; John 6:40-41; Rom. 11:22-23; 2nd Thess. 1:8-9; Rev. 2:9, 3:9; Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1054C-1055B.
617 Dan. 2:12; 2nd Pet. 3:7-9; Rev. 20:5-15; Decretorum libri vigilinti, PL 140:1055B-1057B.
618 2nd Thess. 1:10; Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1057A-1057B, 1058A.
These are all demonstrably core eschatological issues that are bound by their intrinsic involvement in mankind's future capacity to reach salvation, albeit in slightly different ways. That is to say, within their original, biblical context, these actors and events directly deal, in some manner, with the ultimate fate, and final eternal state of each soul. For example, the collective messages inherent to Dan. 7:2-8, 21, 24-26, 8:25 and 11:36, 2nd Thess. 2:3-11, Rev. 13:1-8,11-17 (‘the works of the Antichrist and Satan’), it is made evident that before the Second coming, the Antichrist is to be unleashed upon the world as a human representative of Satan. He will spread iniquity, seduction and impiety amongst men in order to challenge their efforts to follow God's Grace. In particular, he will test the faithful by conjuring signs and wonders in an effort to lower their ability to resist the temptation to sin (the very thing the audience has been warned about in theme groups 2, 3, 4, and 6). For instance:

‘For the mystery of iniquity already worketh: only that he who now holdeth do hold, until he be taken out of the way. And then that wicked one shall be revealed: whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth; and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming, him, Whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all power and signs and lying wonders, And in all seduction of iniquity to them that perish: because they receive not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. Therefore God shall send them the operation of error, to believe lying: That all may be judged who have not believed the truth but have consented to iniquity’. 621

And

620 Dan. 7:2-8, 21, 24-26, 8:25, 11:36; 2nd Thess. 2:3-11; Rev. 13:1-8, 11-17. 621 2nd Thess. 2:7-11.
'And he opened his mouth unto blasphemies against God, to blaspheme his name and his tabernacle and them that dwell in heaven. And it was given unto him to make war with the saints and to overcome them. And power was given him over every tribe and people and tongue and nation. And all that dwell upon the earth adored him, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb which was slain from the beginning of the world'.

As the passages in Daniel, Paul, and John, all explain, the Antichrist’s primary theological function is to present a final challenge to those who are not fully committed to their faith in Christ and God, by encouraging their propensity to sin. He serves as a pre-judgment sorting device for each soul’s salvation if you will, as those who fall willingly to his predations shall be eternally damned. Consequently we can acknowledge that ‘the works of the Antichrist and Satan’ is an eschatological issue that directly impacts upon the moral process of human salvation.

If we then turn to the shared massages of Dan. 2:12, 2nd Pet., 3:7-9, Rev. 20:5-15 (‘the resurrection and God’s judgement’), it is made abundantly clear that the resurrection of every person’s corporeal form (body) and God’s final judgement are the final acts of worldly history, wherein the nature of everyone’s ‘second death’ [Rev. 20:6] will be decided. As we are told, every person who is not already dead at this point in history will be resurrected immediately before God’s throne, where the deeds they performed in life will be judged. Those whose works are not worthy to be included in the book of life will be sent to hell, whereas those who are, will receive everlasting life in heaven; the kingdom of God. For instance:

623 Dan. 2:12; 2nd Pet. 3:7-9; Rev. 20:5-15.
‘The rest of the dead lived not, till the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection. In these the second death hath no power; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ; and shall reign with him a thousand years… And I saw a great white throne, and one sitting upon it, from whose face the earth and heaven fled away, and there was no place found for them. And I saw the dead, great and small, standing in the presence of the throne, and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life. And the dead were judged by those things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead that were in it, and death and hell gave up their dead that were in them; and they were judged, every one according to their works. And hell and death were cast into the pool of fire. This is the second death. And whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the pool of fire’.  

And

‘But the heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the Day of Judgment and perdition of the impious men. But of this one thing be not ignorant, my beloved, that one day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day. The Lord delayeth not his promise, as some imagine, but dealeth patiently for your sake, not willing that any should perish, but that all should return to penance’.  

---

624 Rev. 20:5, 11-15.
As Daniel, Peter, and John, state, the function of the resurrection and God’s final judgement, is to facilitate and administer either the salvation or eternal damnation of each soul. It is the final event that every human will experience within their worldly, corporeal form, and it deals directly with the ultimate fate of each person’s soul. Therefore ‘the resurrection and God’s judgement’ is a period, or group, of eschatological events which directly administer the moral and spiritual process of human salvation.

Finally, the prophetic passages in Matt. 24:35, Mark, 13:31, Luke 21:33, 2nd Pet. 3:10-13, and Rev. 21:1-4 (‘the conflagration of the world, and a new heaven and a new earth’), clearly illustrate that after God’s judgement, the impious are sent to hell, whilst the faithful will receive their salvation. As sin is no longer present among the faithful who have followed God’s grace and teachings, their souls will transcend to a perfect realm where they will not suffer from the vicissitudes of the world or the weaknesses of the flesh. This is the kingdom of heaven, a place free of suffering and pain. It is the new heaven and the new earth that shall take the place of the old heaven and earth, which will be burned by fire (possibly destroyed) during the apocalyptic events of eschaton. For instance:

‘Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words will not’.  

And

‘But the day of the Lord shall come as a thief, in which the heavens shall pass away with great violence, and the elements shall be melted with heat, and the earth and the works which are in it, shall be burnt up. Seeing then that all these things are to be dissolved, what manner of people ought you to be in holy conversation and godliness? Looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of the Lord, by which the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with the burning heat? But we look for new heavens and a new earth according to his promises, in which justice dwelleth’. 628

Also

‘And I saw a new heaven and a new earth. For the first heaven and the first earth was gone, and the sea is now no more. And I, John, saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice from the throne, saying: Behold the tabernacle of God with men: and he will dwell with them. And they shall be his people: and God himself with them shall be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and death shall be no more. Nor mourning, nor crying, nor sorrow shall be any more, for the former things are passed away’. 629

As Matthew, Mark, Luke, Peter, and John demonstrate, the ‘passing away’ of the earth allows for, or rather precedes, the manifestation of the new heaven and earth; the kingdom of God. It is the concluding process in relation to the full course of prophesied Christian theology that enables those who have received salvation to dwell

629 Rev. 21:1-4.
in peace for all eternity. As a result, these eschatological events should be taken to be literally necessary to the completion of all faithful souls’ salvation.

These three contextual examples begin to demonstrate the viability of the interpretation that Burchard sought only to describe eschatological phenomena that directly and functionally affect the ability of a soul to attain salvation from either a moral or spiritual perspective. As we have seen, the Antichrist tests people’s ability to act morally in order to receive salvation, whilst God’s judgement administers damnation and salvation to those who have acted morally during their lifetime, and the new heaven and the earth (heaven) are an eternal place of reward for those who are saved. Again, all these aspects revolve around and directly relate to the salvation of the soul. In fact, when we turn to closely examine the theological and rhetorical contents of theme group nine’s four topical sub-groups and canons in section 6.5, the reader will be able to note that Burchard’s depiction of these issues is completely consistent with their role as outlined in the Bible. However, before we reach that point, we must consider the theological role of the traditional eschatological issues Burchard does not mention and why as it will enable us to attain a better understanding of the theological focus and purpose of theme group nine.

In contrast to the above examples, we do not find Burchard directly referencing, or engaging with, many of the other widely-known, prophesised occurrences that can be interpreted to be incidental to the unfolding of the apocalypse. In other words, throughout the theme group, he does not refer to events that do not directly effect, or relate to the spiritual or moral dimensions of salvation. The reason being that they are incidental aspects which can be understood to not evoke, or warrant moral
contemplation and action for spiritual salvation, as they are purely metaphorical, symbolic, historical, or physical in nature. Within the traditional biblical canon this would chiefly feature features and phrases such as, ‘the four horsemen’, ‘nation against nation’, ‘earthquakes, pestilences and famines’, ‘the whore of Babylon’, ‘the seven seals’, ‘the beasts of the apocalypse’, and, most critically, ‘the second coming of Christ’. To reiterate, none of the above eschatological subjects are mentioned in theme group nine’s canons either literally, or in relation their assigned biblical function. Whilst these components remain significant to their respective apocalyptic narratives within the Bible, and more importantly, the fulfilment of soteriological prophesy (i.e. the Second Coming), they are not functionally involved in the moral and spiritual processes of salvation.

As we can now see, Burchard’s omission of such a select range of important, but not morally significant, eschatological factors, creates a very limited exegetical framework in which to discuss the final course of human spiritual life. He has deliberately set down a systematic guide that explains what one, be they Christian, Jewish, or infidel, should be prepared to encounter and expect at the end of time if one wishes to achieve salvation. There are two implications that can be drawn from this broad observation. The first is that Burchard did not consider having a basic knowledge of all the major physical signs that herald the time of eschaton relevant to the theological studies of his audience, in particular the training of young ecclesiastics. This derives from the fact that there are not enough traditional theological issues mentioned within the text to enable the audience to acquire a full,

630 2nd Chron. 15:6, Isa. 2:4, 29:6; Ezek 38:22; Dan. 7:3-23; Matt. 16:27, 24:7, 44; Mark 13:8, Luke 21:10-11, 34-36; Heb. 9:28; 2nd Pet. 3:10, 2:1,8; Rev. 1:7, 5:1-5, 6:1-8. 13:1-18, 16:8, 17:4-18, 18:8, 19:19-20. For this reference list of prophesised biblical events I have only included the most well-known, or relevant passages for each. I am aware that there are many more references to, say, the Second Coming in the NT, but it is not necessary to cite them all.
working knowledge of all the apocalyptic terrors that are prophesised to occur. Nor indeed are they able to ascertain the complete course of eschatological history. ‘Speculative theology’ offers a very circumscribed vision of the experience of apocalypse and salvation. The second is that Burchard is likely to have held, and in turn conveyed, a distinctly Gregorian model of moral authority to his audience. This is not only made likely by the fact that the majority of the canons in Liber Vicesimus derive from Gregory’s pastoral works, which are principally moral in focus, but by the understanding that he selected canons that only feature eschatological issues of a moral and spiritual nature to feature in canons XCIII-CX (theme group nine). In other words, Burchard is directly imparting to his readers, in particular his younger students, theological events and issues that they can meditate on and then recollect, and that are intrinsically related to attaining salvation. Therefore Burchard is training their moral authority to be built on their understanding of the salvific purpose of certain fundamental prophesised eschatological phenomena. This training would likely form a theological foundation that would then be developed through their training and in their ecclesiastical careers to help them recognise the moral necessity to respond to events or issues that appear to be eschatological in nature. Certainly, this would begin to explain why Burchard selected Gregory’s moral works to cite from to discuss eschatology over those of Augustine, as DCD, Bk. XX, was principally designed to correct erroneous beliefs about apocalyptic theology for philosophical and socio-political reasons. As Liber Vicesimus was intended and written to help Burchard’s audience cultivate their morality through their understanding of salvation, I suspect he had little use for Augustine’s theology within his text. This is something that is supported by the knowledge that Burchard did not utilise any of Augustine’s

631 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1058C.
632 Augustine, DCD, Bk. XX, 895-963.
work to comprise a formal source for any of the canons within the book. [See sections 4.3.2.2-4.3.2.3].

6.4 The ‘Incomplete’ Prophetic Structure of Theme Group Nine

It is quite apparent that theme group nine does not provide its audience with a comprehensive theological recitation of every scintilla of apocalyptic lore. This is due to the fact that the contents of its canons appear to have been selected to solely explain the components of eschatological prophesy that relate to the moral and spiritual elements of salvation. However, it is clear that Burchard has still managed to order the canons of theme group nine into a composite, though (obviously) incomplete, form of their apparent theological order. The key eschatological subjects that Burchard does set out to explain, for the most part, appear to have been deliberately arranged in-line with their prophesised occurrence, as proscribed in the major eschatological texts of the NT (Matt., Mark, Luke, 2nd Thess. and Rev.). That is, the historical order present in Burchard’s remaining eighteen canons is not drawn specifically from Gregory’s, Gennadius’, Isidore’s or Julian’s, formally recognised work. It is a ‘superimposed’ historical structure that is not literally presented within each canon itself, or the original content structure of the canons’ formal sources. In other words, it exists as an expression of the key theological points made within the whole theme group. The way that I have been able to discern this pattern is by first

---

633 Matt. 24; Mark 13; Luke 21; 2nd Thess. 1-2, Rev. 1-21. The inclusion of Mark within this list is simply due to the fact that the parallels Matt. 24 and Luke. 21 From my own reading it would appear that Mark is not cited, or commented upon, as frequently as either Matt. or Luke in early medieval exegetical, eschatological, or eschatologically themed, texts. I would also add that I have not compared the order of the major eschatological events described in theme-group nine to other, less popular, and (in John’s case) theologically dissimilar, but still significant, apocalyptic biblical texts such as, Dan., 2nd Pet., or John.

634 I refer the reader to Tables a, b, e, f, and g, in chapter 4.0. I also refer the reader towards the relevant primary texts discusses in chapter 2.0 and those set within the bibliography.
recognising and determining the set order of the key eschatological phenomena presented within the theme group. Then, I have compared it to the order of the prophesised events that feature in the aforementioned biblical texts from a (partial) numerical, historical, and theological perspective. The results are incredibly intriguing and suggest quite a lot about the type of methodology Burchard might have employed to compose and convey his interpretation of eschatological theology within these particular canons.

To demonstrate the ‘incomplete’ theological structure of theme group nine, I will layout the key eschatological subjects that each identified sub-group engages with, then set out where these stated issues are featured within the relevant section of the five identified biblical texts. I will compliment this with a comparative diagram so that the reader can observe Burchard’s integrated, ‘incomplete’ prophetic design upon the canons’ textual execution. Afterwards I will identify the implications that can be attained from this apparent ‘invisible’ arrangement within Burchard’s vision of eschatological theology.

Four distinct, subject oriented sub-divisions within theme group nine can be deduced from the way most of the eighteen canons’ chapter titles (condensed subject headings) are grouped.635 I have arranged these epithets to capture their basic eschatological

---

635 Granted, there are a few canons that individually expand upon nuanced moral considerations, such as canons XCVIII and CIV (On why in this life bad things happen to good people, and good to bad, and That the strict Judge shall, when He comes for judgment, look upon the sinner to punish him, not to save him, but they only elaborate upon the key eschatological event(s) of their sub-group and wider theme-group. I.e. Canon XCVIII explains why bad things happen to good people and good to bad in the context of the conversion of non-believers and the punishment of the wicked both before and after God’s final judgement. Similarly Canon CIV is essentially a consideration of God’s approach to the final judgement, so that the audience can comprehend why they will receive punishment without recourse, at the time of the judgement, if they chose to live immorally. Therefore they are still set into the theme-groups apparent prophetic order, but as a component that explains a particular theological event or point in a little more detail. See, Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1054B-1054C, 1056B.
distinctions where these key events and actors are directly (and traditionally) discussed in the aforementioned five books of the Bible.

Key eschatological subject: Biblical reference:

9.1) The Antichrist: his role and function before the last judgement

‘the Antichrist and his works’ 2nd Thess. 2:3-11, Rev. 13:1-8, 11-17
‘the mystery of iniquity’ Matt. 24:11-13, 2nd Thess. 2:7
‘the deception and fall of the elect’ Matt. 24:24, Mark 13:22, Rev. 13:7, 13-14

9.2) The conversion and punishment of non-believers, the resurrection, and things to consider

‘the conversion of the Jews’ Rev. 2:9, 3:9
‘the punishment of unbelievers’ 2nd Thess. 1:8-9
‘the resurrection’ Rev. 20:6

---

As this point it is worthwhile to acknowledge that in Canon XCVII (That in the last days all Israelites must be converted through the preaching of Elias) Burchard has cited an excerpt from Moralia in Iob, Bk. XXXV, Ch. 14, Vrs. 27, that makes reference to certain events and actors which feature in Rom. 11:26 and Mal. 4:5-6. Despite the fact that Gregory does not directly cite from Rev. 2:9 or 3:9 in this passage (or the entire chapter for that matter), it does not diminish the understanding, that Burchard’s placement of the discussion for this particular issue, in relation to the other canons along with their key eschatological phenomena, accords with the theological framework set by Matt, Mark, Luke, 2nd Thess., and Rev.. In other words, the event itself is described in the canon using more detailed, but less eschatologically orientated biblical passages, but is set within a group of canons that are structured in relation to the prophesised event chronology of more robust, fleshed-out eschatological accounts, that, in the case of Rev., cite said event in a relatively sparse, cursory manner. See, Mal. 4:5-6; Rom. 11:26; Rev. 2:9, 3:9; Gregory, Moralia in Iob, Bk. XXXV, Ch. 14, Vrs. 27, CCSL 143B, 1791-1792; Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1054B-1054C.
9.3) Organisation, administration, and implementation of God’s final judgement

‘God’s Judgement’  
*Rev. 20: 9-15*

9.4) Post Judgement events

‘the rule of the saints’  
*2nd Thess. 1:10*

‘heaven and earth shall pass’  

‘a new heaven and a new earth’  
*Rev. 21:1-2*

If we take the presented order of each biblical passage - according to their respective books, and then separate them out - relative to the eschatological subjects expressed within each sub-group, we can observe the following trends:

**Table h: The Biblical References for the Events Discussed in the Theme Group Nine’s sub-groups:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1:8-9</td>
<td>2:9, 3:9, 20:6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20:9-15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From reading both the list and table above (Table h), it is apparent that the topics of the sub-groups collectively proceed in a theologically linear, or progressive, fashion that concurs with their prophesised occurrence within the five main eschatological texts of the *NT*. Quite simply, the sub-groups’ combined topical order corresponds with the general order of the *NT*’s major prophesised event chronology in a theologically conflated fashion, what I would call a ‘complementary simultaneity’. To demonstrate: if we take the passages from the three synoptic gospels that discuss the key eschatological topics in each of Burchard’s sub-groups, they do indeed follow each other in a theologically linear fashion: (9.1) *Matt.* 24:11-13, 24 and *Mark* 13:22 (Antichrist, iniquity, and the deception of the elect), followed by (9.4) *Matt.* 24:34-36, *Mark* 13:30-32, and *Luke* 21:32-33 (‘heaven and earth shall pass’).637 This is also the case for the passages from the *Rev.* 2-3, 13, 20-21: (9.1) *Rev.* 13:1-8,11 (the Antichrist, and the deception and fall of the elect – before the second coming), then *Rev.* 2:9, 3:9 and 20:6 (conversion of the Jews - after the second coming, then the resurrection), proceeded by (9.3) *Rev.* 20:9-15 (God’s Judgement), and finally (9.4) *Rev.* 21:1-2 (a new heaven and a new earth).638 And again with the passages from *2nd Thess.* 1-2: (9.1) *2nd Thess.* 2:3-11 (Antichrist and iniquity – before the second coming), (9.2) *2nd Thess.* 1:8-9 (punishment of unbelievers before judgement – after the second coming) and (9.4) *2nd Thess.* 1:8-9 (the rule of the saints – after God’s final judgement).639

Now, it may seem peculiar, or perhaps numerically inconsistent, that in sub-group 9.2, two of the issues that are discussed, ‘the conversion of the Jews’ and ‘the punishment

---

637 *Matt.* 24:11-13, 24, 34-36; *Mark* 13:22, 30-32; *Luke* 21:32-33; It is worth noting to the reader that the stated books of these gospels (*Matt.* 24, *Mark* 13, and *Luke* 21) do not discuss either the resurrection or God’s final judgement. Burchard has not deliberately left out any relevant passages they may have on that issue; they simply do not exist. He has only excluded their discussion of Christ’s second coming, which takes place between these events.


639 *2nd Thess.* 1:8-9, 2.3-11.
of unbelievers’, do not correspond to the order of the passages set in 2nd Thess. and Rev., that feature for sub-groups 9.1, 9.3 and 9.4. For instance, in 2nd Thess. the passages proceed as 2:3-11, then 1:8-9, and with Rev. they proceed as 13:1-8, 11, followed by 3:9, then 20:6. However, they remain theologically coherent with one another despite their chapter differences (placement). This is due to the simple fact that Paul and John describe small parts of their (similar) apocalyptic exegeses in a ‘non-linear’ narrative fashion. In both instances, the conversion of the Jews and the punishment of unbelievers are to take place after Christ’s second coming and the destruction of Antichrist, but before the binding and loosing of Satan, the resurrection, and the final judgement.

From the information presented it is clear that Burchard’s expression and arrangement of each book’s relevant phenomena progresses straight from pre-judgement events, and then either to the judgement itself followed by all known post-judgement phenomena, or simply to the end of temporal time. This fact highlights the structural consistency of theme group nine in relation to Scripture as there are no apparent discrepancies between the biblical author’s different perspectives as to the prophesised chronology of eschatological events. Moreover, it would seem that the arrangement of these major apocalyptic events has been moulded into an overlapping narrative that provides a cohesive description as to the type of eschatology Burchard is seeking to impart to his audience. That is to say, as many of the featured eschatological events in theme group nine are unique to just one biblical text, they can only have derived from a wider reading, or knowledge, of multiple sources. For instance, ‘the mystery of iniquity’ and ‘the (pre-judgement) punishment of (non-

Jewish) unbelievers’ are not mentioned anywhere in Rev., yet ‘the conversion of the Jews’ and ‘a new heaven and a new earth’ are. At the same time, ‘the deception and fall of the elect’ and ‘the conversion of the Jews’ are not mentioned in 2nd Thess. but ‘the Antichrist and his works’ as well as ‘the rule of the saints’ are.642 Quite simply, each one supports the other as to the wider expression of the progression from the manifestation of one eschatological phenomenon to the next. I.e. ‘heaven and earth shall pass’ would logically come before, or lead to, ‘a new heaven and a new earth’. Therefore, the key theological elements Burchard presents to his audience can be understood to be biblically holistic, that is congruent to all the phenomena inherent to the synoptic and apostolic apocalyptic prophesies. This is despite the fact that the order of these eschatological events is textually presented through the discourse of early medieval exegetical works, albeit in differing orders.

Below I have set out and colour coded a table (Table i) that contains all the major phenomena that lead up to and after, God’s final judgement in Matt., Mark, Luke, 2nd Thess. and Rev., in comparison to each sub-groups key eschatological subjects to demonstrate the full expression and synchronicity of Burchard’s ‘incomplete’ prophetic canonical structure. Next to this I have also presented the final three chapters in book six of Bede’s DTR (Chs. 69-71).643 I have done so because these three chapters are framed to discuss the final events of worldly history in a very similar, theologically composite way to the key events described in sub-groups 9.1, 9.3 and 9.4 of theme group nine. For instance, Ch. 69 (De Temporibus Antichristi), discusses how and when the Antichrist will be manifest in the world along with the conversion of the Jews; Ch. 70 (De Dei Iudicii), explains the timing and manner of

642 2nd Thess. 1-3.
643 Bede, De temporum ratione, ed. C. W. Jones, CCSL 123B, 538-544; trans. Wallis, Bede: The Reckoning of Time, 241-249. Hereinafter all references to Bede’s DTR will be to Wallis’ translation.
God’s final judgement, again through the utilisation of Augustine’s *DCD*; and Ch. 71 (*De Septima et Octava Aetate Saeculi Futuri*) considers the way in which the future ages of the earth will proceed after God’s judgement. All of these events are elucidated upon by Bede using various excerpts and imagery drawn from multiple passages in *Matt. 24*, *Mark 13*, 2nd *Pet. 3*, *Rev. 13* and 21 amongst many others. From this the reader will be able to observe that my interpretation of the prophetic order of theme group nine’s canons is also contextually feasible, as it had been procured in the extremely popular, and widely available, historical text of a highly regarded church father, in a strikingly similar way. Furthermore, it could suggest that both Bede and Burchard had a similar method for constructing ‘scratch-built’ eschatological chapters and groups of canons, in their major, seminal works. Or perhaps, that the theological structures of Bede’s popular work were so deeply embedded within the thought-world of tenth and eleventh century ecclesiastics, that it indirectly influenced their approach to interpreting the occurrence of apocalyptic phenomena.

---

644 Ibid., 241-249, 369-375.

645 There are only two differences between Bede and Burchard’s interpretations of the events at the end of time. The first is their understanding of when the conversion of the Jews will take place before God’s final judgement: Bede thinks it will happen before the reign of Antichrist, Burchard after. The second is whether or not the ‘Mystery of Iniquity’ is already at work and what that signifies. Bede, like Augustine, though without mentioning it outright, does not presume to pass judgement on what this statement means, whereas Burchard, like Gregory and Isidore, believes that it is an indication of the coming of Antichrist before the Second coming and the Final Judgement.
Table i: A Colour-Coded Comparison of the Order of Prophetic Events Inherent to Burchard’s Canons with that of Scripture and Bede’s DTR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major eschatological events as they occur in their prophesised (theological) order:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Wars, rumours of wars’ (Matt. 24:6, Mark 13:7, Luke 21:9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table: A Colour-Coded Comparison of the Order of Prophetic Events Inherent to Burchard’s Canons with that of Scripture and Bede’s DTR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author:</th>
<th>Title:</th>
<th>Major eschatological events as they occur in their prophesised (theological) order:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul of Tarsus</td>
<td>2nd Thessalonians</td>
<td>Deceivers (seducat) (brought about by Antichrist) (2nd Thess. 2:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John of Patmos</td>
<td>Revelation of St. John</td>
<td>‘The Beast and the works of the Antichrist’ (Rev. 13:1-8, 11-16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bede</td>
<td>DTR (Bk. VI))</td>
<td>67. The remainder of the sixth age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burchard</td>
<td>Decretum (Bk. XX) (Sub-groups 9.1-9.4)</td>
<td>9.1 The Antichrist: his role and function before the Last judgement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

309
Another significant observation to make from the previous point is the fact that the order of the eschatological events set out in theme group nine differs from the (very) specific order that Augustine sets out in *DCD*, Bk. XX, Ch. 30.\textsuperscript{646} In this particular chapter Augustine states quite assuredly, his interpretation regarding the following course of future apocalyptic events:

1) Elijah the Tishbit will come*

2) Jews will accept the faith*

3) Antichrist will persecute*

4) Christ will judge

5) The dead will rise again*

6) The good and the evil will be separated

7) The earth will be destroyed in the flames and then will be renewed.

Evidently this arrangement does not accord with Burchard’s interpretation of the manifestation of eschatological events, especially those which take place before the Last Judgment [above I have marked the order of events that Augustine set which are in conflict with Burchard’s event order with an asterisk]. This suggests that not only

\textsuperscript{646} Augustine, *DCD*, Bk. XX, Ch. 30, 958-963.
was it acceptable for Burchard’s chronology to differ significantly from Augustine’s (and to a far lesser extent also from Bede’s and Adso’s reckoning), but that he was under no obligation to adhere to it. More prosaically, we can posit from this information that within the confines of orthodoxy, at least up until this point, there could be a fairly wide degree of flexibility when interpreting the prophesised order of eschatological events.\[647\]

Having established the theoretical validity of my interpretation of the ‘incomplete’ prophetic structure of theme group nine’s canons, we must consider the three most critical implications that can be drawn from it regarding Burchard’s method and approach to constructing, then presenting his interpretation of eschatological theology.

The first observation that can be made is that Burchard, and his small team of compilers, possessed an expanded working knowledge of the major eschatological texts of the NT and based part of their linear interpretation of the current and future manifestation of eschatological phenomena upon the events they present themselves (both individually or collectively). This supports and gives a measure of qualitative meaning to Ebbo/Eberhard’s multiple assertions within the Vita Burchardi, that Burchard was ‘erudite in the pages of sacred Scripture’.\[648\] In turn, this would strongly imply that Burchard worked closely with, and probably consulted (given his unique status) a copy of the Bible, or perhaps a collection of key eschatological biblical texts, during his composition of Liber Vicesimus.

---

\[647\] This is an important feature of the text that needs to be incorporated into current historiography as it reflects a detachment from the Jerome and Augustine vein of interpretive chronology, to that which is partly influenced by Gregory’s reckoning, thereby revealing a greater flexibility within the exegetical tradition than I believe has previously been suggested.

\[648\] Vita Burchardi, Ch. 2.
The second is that Burchard sought to impart his composite knowledge and interpretation of eschatological scripture in a subtle, indirect manner that could only be attained through a complete, linear reading of, at the very least, just the final eighteen canons of Liber Vicesimus. It would seem that the order of the key apocalyptic events presented in the text not only follow one another logically within the wider narrative, but are theologically consistent in such a way that it is easy for the audience to perceive and digest them (intellectually) from a cursory reading of the canons’ chapter titles, even before one delves into the various details of each canon.

The third is the fact that Burchard had selected extracts from patristic exegesis so as to inform his audience about how they should interpret the nature and manifestation of certain eschatological phenomena. Yet, he underpinned the placement of these patristic commentaries according to the historical unfolding of prophetic scripture. This could suggest that Burchard did not deem it necessary for his students and, possibly his wider audience, to attain full knowledge of the major eschatological texts of the NT (and by extension the entire Bible for that matter). Or more likely, given the relative dearth of available biblical materials, Burchard was compelled by necessity to give them a bare-bones, basic-level, working-knowledge version, of key scriptural issues, through other texts that were more readily available (Church fathers, ancient popes, notable bishops, and other theologians). It may simply be that Burchard is aiming to provide the most straightforward level of [biblical] eschatological instruction so that his students can ‘first be made apt students’ before they can

---

649 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1058C.
become ‘both teachers and leaders of the people’, when they would have access to more resources and have the ‘correct’, orthodox approach to interpreting scripture.\textsuperscript{650}

6.5 The Theological Content of Theme group Nine’s Four Sub-Groups

Having established the structure, organisation, and parameters, of the key theological subjects of the canons in theme group nine, we must move on and examine their textual contents in more depth in order to see what Burchard used as sources for his eschatology.

9.) Eschatological events that will take place before, during, and after God’s judgement [Canons XCIII-CX].

(9.1) The Antichrist’s role and function, in hell and on earth, during the time leading up to the last judgement [Canons XCIII-XCVI].\textsuperscript{651}

The formal and intended sources of sub-group 9.1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canon</th>
<th>Formal Source</th>
<th>Intended source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XCIII</td>
<td>Isidore, Sententiae, Bk. I, Ch. 25</td>
<td>‘Isidore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCIV</td>
<td>Gregory, Moralia, Bk. XIV, Ch. 27</td>
<td>Gregory, Moralia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCV</td>
<td>Gregory, Moralia, Bk. XV, Ch. 69</td>
<td>Gregory, Moralia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCVI</td>
<td>Gregory, Moralia, Bk. XV, Ch. 72</td>
<td>Gregory, Moralia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{650} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140: 537B-539B; Preface, 100.
\textsuperscript{651} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1054B.
Overview of the sub-group’s main eschatological subjects:

The initial four canons of theme group nine are completely dedicated towards explaining the role, effects and consequences of the manifestation of the Antichrist throughout the world prior to the Day of Judgement. Burchard’s approach to this topic is not only methodically expansive, but linear in relation to the occurrence of events that concern this figure as they (generally) proceed within the synoptic gospels of Matt., Mark and Luke, 2nd Thess., and the Rev. This is because we are told, in the following order; how the mystery of iniquity is to present itself in the world before the Antichrist’s physical arrival; the type of people the Antichrist’s followers will be: who will be effected by the Antichrist and how; the types of works Antichrist will use to ensnare the faithful; and finally, who will resist the Antichrist and the way this will be achieved. However, the linear exposition of these points is not concurrent with each canon. What we see is that canon XCIII gives a complete, if slightly sparse, ‘historical’ overview to the time of the Antichrist, then the remaining three canons expand upon the key points that are raised in it, in their prophesised order.\(^{652}\) Quite literally, canon XCIV delves into the manner in which the elect will initially fall to, and then begin to resist, the Antichrist; canon XCV explains in a little bit more detail who the physical Antichrist is, or rather, represents along with the way the elect will resist him; and canon XCVI divulges the nature of the people the Antichrist will ensnare with signs, wonders, and prodigies, followed by the way in which they will ensnare many souls and why, followed by a consideration of how many souls will fall to his predations.\(^{653}\)

\(^{652}\) Ibid., PL 140:1052B-1053A.
\(^{653}\) Ibid., PL 140:1053A-1054B.
Beginning at the start of canon XCIV, the audience is told that before the Antichrist arrives on earth, he is to work the Mystery of iniquity into the world (2nd Thess. 2:7). Isidore claims that this is a process that is presently occurring and will continue to take place until the Antichrist arrives physically in the world, in the unknown future. This assertion clearly indicates to the audience that mankind is living within an eschatologically significant period of time wherein some of the signs that indicate the nearness of the Antichrist, and by extension, the manifestation of other known apocalyptic phenomena, are presently occurring. The canon continues by stating how the many that will follow the Antichrist and do his work should themselves be considered an Antichrist [anti-Christ], or more literally, an advanced extension of his depraved being:

‘Omnis qui secundum professionis suae normam, aut non vivit, aut aliter docet, Antichristus est. Plerique autem sunt qui Antichristi tempora non visuri sunt, et tamen in membris Antichristi inveniendi sunt. Antequam veniat Antichristus, multa membra ejus praecesserunt… secundum Apostoli sententiam, qui jam iniquitatis mysterium operari illum affirmat, etiam antequam reveletur [2nd Thess. 2:7]’.

---

654 2nd Thess. 2:7.
655 Again, it is worth reminding the reader that Augustine refused to comment upon this particular passage in his DCD (Bk. XX, Ch. 19) in order to uphold his agnostic position (See chapter 2.0 for extended discussions on Augustine’s eschatology). At the same time we should recognise that the sentiment Burchard expresses in this canon is, theologically, almost identical to that found within the opening lines to Adso’s Epistola, when he tell us that, ‘The Antichrist has many ministers of his malice. Many of them have already existed, like Antiochus, Nero and Domitian. Even now in our own time we know there are many Antichrists…’ (Adso of Montier-en-der, Epistola, 90).
656 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1053A. ‘Everyone who either does not live according to the rule of his profession, or teaches otherwise is an Antichrist. But there are many that will not be seen in the time of the Antichrist, but they are to be found among the members of the Antichrist. Before the Antichrist should come, many of his followers will proceed him… according to the Apostle’s sentence, who affirms that he is now working the mystery of iniquity, even before he is revealed’. Translation by
Whilst the followers of the Antichrist carry out his works, Isidore explains that the supposed ‘wonders’ that his prodigies will conjure are designed to deceive the elect and cause them to waiver (spiritually – not in faith), but they will not succumb (in faith) to the shock of these terrors and false signs. Consequently they will reaffirm their shock with their knowledge of scripture, so they cannot be disturbed as the Antichrist continues to carry out his work. It is stated, that even when he does arrive on earth in person at an unknown point in time (again with more prodigies and signs), though the elect will once more fall into doubt, they shall overcome it quickly to resist those that persecute them:

‘…ibunt in errorem titubationis ad modicum pro multitudine prodigiorum: non tamen dejiciendi sunt ab stabilitate sua, terrorum impulsi, atque signorum…, sed cito resipiscentes cordis errorem religione coercet: scientes praedictum a Domino esse, ut dum hoc fecerint adversarii, non conturbentur sancti. Jam mira facturus est prodigia et signa, dum venerit Antichristus: ut etiam electis quoddam cordis gignatur scrupulum, quod tam cito exsuperet in illis ratio…’.  

From this the reader can observe that it is through one’s adherence to the rule of scripture and by following the grace of God that one can overcome the broadly known, but unspecified trials and traps set by the Antichrist, which are designed to prevent people from attaining salvation. Following on from these events, the elect are
described to be destined fight and sustain a great war against the followers of the Antichrist, including the persecutions of Satan. It is claimed that during the time of this holy war, the synagogue (an epithet for the Jews), as one of the identified groups to follow the Antichrist, will work against the Church (Christians), and at the time of Christ’s arrival they shall then openly fight the faithful. Isidore then concludes his excerpt with the perspective that as the time drawn closer towards the end of the world (God’s final judgement), the persecution of martyrs and the faithful shall increase, becoming more intense over time as he increases his tainted allies. Finally, it is claimed that as a consequence of the Antichrist and the devils persecutions becoming greater, then at the time of God’s judgement, the glory of the just (the faithful) will be amplified (for overcoming such odds with their faith), whilst the sentence of damnation has been increased for the wicked:

‘…quia non solum contra persequentes, sed etiam contra miraculis coruscantes dimicaturi sunt. Gravius sub Antichristi temporibus contra Ecclesiam deserviet Synagoga, quam in ipso adventu Salvatoris Christianos esset persecuta…. Quanto propinquius finem mundi diabolus videt, tanto crudelius persecutiones exercet… Quanto breve tempus videt diabolus sibi restare, ut damnetur, tanto in magna persecutionis ira movetur, divina justitia permittente, ut glorificentur justi, sordidentur iniqui: et ut diabolo durior crescat damnationis sententia’.

---

658 This issue sets up the theological point made in Canon XCVII, when Gregory notes how all the Jews will be converted by Elias after Christ has defeated the Antichrist. It is worth noting that Elias and Enoch are arguably two of the most powerful, prophets of the OT. This is because they are the only servants of God who were taken to heaven by God without dying and were prophesised to return at the end of time. See: Gen. 5:23-24; Kings 2:11; Mal. 4:5-6; Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1053A.

659 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1053A. ‘…they [the elect] will fight not only against those who are persecuting them, but also against those who are brandishing miracles. In the times of the Antichrist the synagogue will zealously serve against the church, which at the arrival of the Saviour will persecute Christians… The closer the devil sees the end of the world approach, the more he carries out his persecutions… The more the devil sees how brief the time remains to him, as he is damned, the
Again, Burchard is specifying to his readers one of the many ways in which the morality and faith of Christians will be set upon and tested by the Antichrist and how it is to be successfully combated so they can become spiritually pure. The proceeding three canons then set out to flesh out the manner and form of way in which certain other events within this period of apocalyptic history are to become manifest. In canon XCIV, Burchard cites Gregory to expand on what is meant by ‘the fall of the elect’ as a result of the Antichrist’s signs, wonders and persecutions. It is my understanding that the reason for this explanation derives from the notion that it may seem as though the falling or wavering in one’s faith could lead to damnation; however this is not the case. As Gregory states, it is a certainty that during the time of the Antichrist (which is to take place in the indefinite future) the elect are to be deceived by the elect, as it is prophesised in Matt. 24:24. Yet the manner of their deception is not a literal fall in faith, but their terrified alarm at what they are about to face. For though they shall lead a righteous conflict against him with Enoch and Elias as their head, as they remain creatures of the flesh (mortals), they will still have to suffer all the temporal pain, torment, anguish and torture that Antichrist and Satan can throw at them. It is only by overcoming the vicissitudes of their corporal forms through their virtue, which they are to resist, and ultimately defeat them:

more he is moved by anger to great persecution, with divine justice permitting, so that the just are glorified and the wicked tainted; and thus the sentence of damnation grows harsher for the devil’. Translation by Dr Alwyn Harrison, University of Exeter 20/08/2013. [Canon XCIII excerpt, ‘Isidore’ [Isidore, Sententiae]].

Ibid., PL 140:1053B.
‘…Tunc vero contra eum certamen justitiae, et novissimi electi habere narrantur, et primi: quia scilicet et hi qui in fine mundi electi reperiuntur, in morte prosterndi sunt, ut illi etiam qui a prioribus mundi partibus processerunt, Enoch scilicet et Helias, ad medium revocantur et crudelitatis ejus saevitiam in sua adhuc mortali carne passuri sunt. Hujus vires in tanta potestate laxatas novissimi obstupescunt, et primi metuunt: quia licet juxta hoc quod spiritu superbiae sublevatur, omnem temporalem ejus potestatem despiciant, juxta hoc tamen quod ipsi adhuc in carne mortali sunt, in qua cruciari temporaliter possunt, ipsa quae fortiter tolerant, supplicia perhorrescunt, ita ut in eis uno eodemque tempore, et constantia ex virtute sit, et pavor ex carne. Quia et si electi sunt, ut tormentis vinci nequeant, per hoc tamen quod homines sunt, et ipsa metuunt tormenta qui vincunt’.

From this the audience can understand that it is not just a devotion to scripture that will save their soul come judgement day, but their ability to suffer through immense physical punishment, even corporeal death. Burchard follows up Gregory’s interpretation of the manner and method by which the elect shall fall and then resist the machinations of the Antichrist, by qualifying not only what the Antichrist is and what he represents, but the type of people who are able to resist his diabolical predations. As we are told in canon XCVI, the Antichrist is the physical representation [avatar] of Satan on earth who will come to rule over many through his power to

661 Ibid., PL 140:1053A-1053C. ‘…[At the time of Antichrist] the first and the last elect are said to have a great battle against him, because those who are found to be elect at the end of the world, are to be laid low in death so that those who proceeded from earlier parts of the world, namely Enoch and Elias, are called back into the midst and are going to experience the savagery of his cruelty in their own still mortal flesh. The last shall wonder at his powers unleashed in such great power and the first are afraid. For although they despise every temporal power of his to the extent that it is raised up by the spirit of pride, to the extent that they themselves are still in the mortal flesh in which they can be tortured in time, they truly fear the punishments which they endure bravely. As a result, in them at one and the same time, both constancy comes from virtue, and fear from the flesh. For even if they are the elect so that they cannot be conquered by torments, because they are men they still fear the torments that they shall conquer’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon XCIV excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob].
conjure his false holiness through many signs and miracles. In sum, he is the complete antithesis of Christ in every way. These false wonders will be made in such a way that many shall not be unable to challenge or criticise him. However, the resistance of the faithful to his wicked ways, again led by Enoch, Elias, and the other elect, will derive from their mental strength and courage:

‘Videt enim quod in fine mundi Satan hominem ingrediens, quem sacra Scriptura Antichristum appellat, tanta elatione extollitur, tanta virtute principatus, tantis signis et prodigiis in sanctitatis ostensione se elevat, ut argui ab hominibus ejus facta non valeant: quia cum potestate terroris adunguntur etiam signa ostensae sanctitatis. Et ait: Quis arguit coram eo viam ejus? Quis videlicet hominem illum increpare audeat, cujus visum ferre pertimescit? Sed tamen ejus viam non solum Helias et Enoch, qui in ejus exprobratione ad medium perducuntur, sed etiam omnes electi arguunt, dum contemnunt, dum virtute mentis ejus malitiae resistunt’.  

Again, Burchard is further conveying to his audience that it is not just knowledge and endurance to resist evil that will save the elect, but moral courage to fight it and help those who are too weak to overcome. Burchard then concludes his discussion on the effect the Antichrist will have on the ability of humans to attain salvation, by expanding upon not only the type of person that the Antichrist shall ensnare into his

---

662 Ibid., PL 140:1053D1054B.
663 Ibid., PL 140:1053C-1053D. 'For he says that at the end of world when Satan enters a human being whom Sacred Scripture calls Antichrist, he is raised up by such great pride and raises himself up by such great power of rule, by so many signs and miracles in the manifestation of his holiness that people shall not be able to criticize his actions because signs of demonstrated sanctity are combined with the power of fear. And he says: Who will criticize his path in his presence? That is to say, what person shall dare to rebuke him whose gaze he is terrified to endure? Nonetheless, not only Elias and Enoch, who are led forth into our midst to rebuke him, but also all the elect criticize his way, when they condemn it and when they resist his wickedness with their strength of mind’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon XCV excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Job].
service, but why they will be ensnared, along with the amount that shall succumb to him, then burn in hell as a result.

At this point, it is worth noting that most of these issues are addressed in an extremely similar manner within Adso’s *Epistola.*\(^{664}\) However, it must be stressed that the emphasis of Adso’s text is placed on explaining the ‘life’ of an unholy figure in a temporal context and his effect on the elect, rather than describing the way a human soul can attain salvation. More, specifically, Adso sought to inform his audience that whilst many will be led astray by the Antichrist and his minions ‘by terror, by gifts, and by prodigies’ when he arrives, it is through their ‘unconquerable belief’ and resistance to him that the elect will be identified to God at the time of the Last Judgement.\(^{665}\) Although it is not stated explicitly, it is implied that sin, blasphemy, and doubt in the teachings of Christ, are the principle causes and actions that lead to people becoming ‘ministers of Satan’ [damned]. This is significant as it indicates parallels between the ways in which ecclesiastic’s during the millennial period engaged with the subject of Antichrist. In particular, we can observe that both Adso and Burchard believe that the ongoing ‘Mystery of iniquity’ reveals the nearness of the arrival of Antichrist and, by extension, the Last Judgement and that only belief and moral fortitude can overcome him when he arrives.

Returning to *Liber Vicesimus,* as Gregory clarifies in canon XCVI, unlike those who will combat Antichrist with their virtuous nature and their strength of mind and body, the type of people who will become a follower of the Antichrist are to be those who

---

\(^{665}\) Ibid., 92-94.
indulge, unrepentantly, in carnal pleasures.\textsuperscript{666} By the term ‘carnal pleasures’ Gregory is referring to those who are dominated by, and over-indulge in, the appetites of the flesh (lust, greed, sloth etc.). This is a reaffirmation the moral points established in theme groups 1-3, 5 and 6].\textsuperscript{667} Granted, there are those who are currently living, or shall be alive in the future, that can overcome their carnal indulgences with lengthy repentance, but the vast majority of them, or rather an ‘innumerable quantity’, will not:

‘… nisi quod antiquus hostis reprobum tunc hominem ingressus, cunctos quos carnales invenerit, sub suae jugum ditionis rapit, qui et nunc priusquam appareat, innumerabiles quidem, non tamen omnes carnales trahit. Quia quotidian carnali opere ad vitam multi revocantur, atque ad statum justitiae, alii per brevem, alii vero per longam poenitentiam redeunt: et nunc innumerabiles rapit, cum falsitatis suae stupenda hominibus signa non exhibet: cum vero coram carnalium oculis miranda eis prodigia fecerit, post se tunc non innumerabiles, sed omnes trahit: quia qui bonis prae sentibus delectantur, potestati illius se absque retractione subjiciunt’.\textsuperscript{668}

Gregory then finishes the canon by stating: though the number of people which are going to follow the Antichrist form an ‘innumerable quantity’, when Satan is eventually unleashed after the time of his [thousand year] binding, he will again bring

\textsuperscript{666} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1053D-1054B.
\textsuperscript{667} Ibid., PL 140:1017B-1023C, 1028D-1036C, 1036D-1044C.
\textsuperscript{668} Ibid., PL 140:1053D-1054B. ‘…our old enemy [the Antichrist], having then entered into the man of perdition, drags under the yoke of his sovereignty all the carnal ones that he finds; who even now before his appearing ‘draws an innumerable quantity’ indeed, yet not ‘everyone’ of the carnal, in that there are many that are daily recalled to life from carnal practice, and some by a short, others by a long course of penitence return to the state of righteousness. And now he seizes on an ‘innumerable quantity,’ when he does not exhibit the miracles of his falseness for men to marvel at. But when he performs his prodigies before the eyes of the carnal for them to wonder at, he then draws after him not an ‘innumerable quantity,’ but ‘everyone,’ in that they who delight themselves in present good things, submit themselves to his power without repeal’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon XCVI excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob].
more carnal people under his sovereignty. However, they will not form an ‘innumerable’ number as great as those who have already been taken in the previous five ages of the world (thereby indirectly stating that the audience are presently situated within the sixth and final temporal age of the world): 669

‘Post se enim omnem hominem trahit; quia in tribus annis et dimidio, omnes quos in studiis vitae carnalis invenerit, jugo suae damnationis astringit. Ante se vero innumerabiles traxit: quia per quinque millia, et adhuc amplius annorum curricula, quamvis carnales omnes trahere minime potuit, multo tamen plures sunt in tam longo tempore hi, quos ante se innumerabiles rapit, quam omnes, quos in tam brevi tempore rapiendos invenerit.’ 670

---

669 Gregory and (by extension) Burchard state in Canon XCVI, that the souls Satan has already collected, before those he shall ensnare as the antichrist, were accumulated in ‘the successive stages of five thousand years and more’ (quia per quinque millia, et adhuc amplius annorum curricula). This is significant as it tells us that both Bishops thought they existed within in the sixth and final age of the world (which ends with God’s final judgement). As Kendall, Wallis, and Verbist note, the fifth age of the world was widely recorded and understood by ecclesiastics from the early fourth- to the early-eighth- century, to end at some point between AM c. 5197-5231 by Septuagint reckoning. [This is before the emergence of Bede’s OT and DTR, which set the end of the fifth age at AM 3952 (as it was based on a wholly original interpretation of the Pentateuch)]. The thirty one year gap between these dates very much depended on one’s available computistical/chronographical sources, and whether the author in question believed that the sixth age began either at the birth of Christ (c. 5197-5199) or at the year of his passion (c. 5228-5231). The primary evidence for these similar, but slightly divergent dates principally derives from the world chronicles of Eusebius of Caesarea (d. 339), Rufinus of Aquileia, Jerome, and Prosper of Aquitaine (d. 465). Gregory’s approximate, vague, numerical citation places the audience at an unknown point within the sixth and final world age of the world, whilst giving deference to all the older authorities of the Septuagint reckoning. That said, the fact that Burchard has chosen Gregory’s older, if loose, Septuagint reckoning over Bede’s Pentateuch interpretation indicates that either Burchard did not have an awareness of; or access to, Bede’s text, or did not consider the differences in theory relevant to the instruction of his students as both Church fathers still set the present within the (ongoing) sixth and final age of the world. See; Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob, Bk. 15, Ch. 61, Vrs. 72, CCSL 143A 797-798; Wallis, Bede: The Reckoning of Time, 157-178; Kendall, Wallis, (eds.), Bede: On the Nature of Things and On Times, 28-30; Verbist, Duelling with the Past, 6-8.

670 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1053D-1054B. ‘For he after him ‘draws every man,’ in that in three years and a half all that he may find busied in the pursuits of a carnal life he binds fast to the yoke of his dominion; but before him he draws an innumerable quantity, in that during the successive stages of five thousand years and more, though he could never succeed in drawing all the carnal, yet in so long a period the innumerable quantity whom he carries away before him, are many more in number than ‘all’ whom he finds to carry off in that so short time’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon XCVI excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob].
Therefore the purpose of Gregory’s statement is to establish that the Antichrist will pose a greater threat to most humans as he is prophesised to tempt more people as they are not expecting his occurrence. In addition they may also not have repented their carnal indulgences in time. Whereas those who have survived the Antichrist know that Satan’s manifestation is soon to come and will therefore be ready for him:

Bene ergo dicitur, post se omnem hominem trahit, et ante se innumerabiles: quia et tunc minus tollet, cum omnes tulerit: et nunc amplius diripit, cum corda omnium non invadit’.

From this final passage it has been made fully clear to the audience, not only the type of person that will resist the Antichrist and how they will do so, but that most people will not be able to, and in turn why. By explaining all these different dimensions of the Antichrist’s eventual manifestation into the world along with his designs upon the moral fortitude of humankind, Burchard has set up the next subject for the proceeding sub-section of canons. He has essentially divided mankind into two loose categories: those who are faithful (but not yet saved) and those who could not, or did not resist the predations of Satan, and are to consequently be damned for eternity. It is in the next sub-group that we are explained how these division are further acted upon, refined and settled by God, as well as being relevant to the process of resurrection before judgement.

---

671 Ibid., PL 140:1053D-1054B. ‘And so it is well said, And he draweth every man after him, also innumerabile before him; in that he both takes away less then, when he takes away ‘every man,’ and he gets a bigger booty now, when he assails the hearts of an ‘innumerabiles quantity’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon XCVI excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob].
(9.2) Other events to take place in preparation of the coming judgement, aside from Antichrist. Also, things to consider that are beyond comprehension [Canons XCVII-CI].

The formal and intended sources of sub-group 9.2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canon</th>
<th>Formal Sources</th>
<th>Intended sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XCVII</td>
<td>Gregory, <em>Moralia</em>, Bk. XXXV, Ch. 27</td>
<td>Gregory, <em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XCIX</td>
<td>Gregory, <em>Moralia</em>, Bk. XXIV, Ch. 50</td>
<td>Gregory, <em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Gennadius, <em>De ecclesiasticis</em>, Ch. 7.</td>
<td>‘Augustine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CI</td>
<td>Gennadius, <em>De ecclesiasticis</em>, Ch. 8.</td>
<td>‘Augustine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overview of the sub-group’s main eschatological subjects:

The next five canons that comprise the second subject sub-division of theme group nine are designed to explicate upon three critical events that are prophesised to take place after the reign of the Antichrist, but before God’s final judgement. They are; the conversion of the Jews, the punishment of all infidels (non-believers) and the resurrection of the dead [so that those in covenant with God may stand to be judged from the book of life at the end of time]. Unlike sub-group 9.1, where the first canon

---

672 Ibid., PL 140:1054C-1055D.

673 Although it is not made particularly clear in the text, given Burchard’s scriptural erudition and our wider knowledge of eschatological lore, one would assume that he has chosen to concentrate on illuminating all the relevant moral and spiritual proceedings that occur after Christ’s arrival and destruction of Antichrist, but before God’s final judgement (excluding Satan being unleashed, which was highlighted, but not treated to any further explanation, in Canon XCVI). See, *Decretorum libri viginti*, PL 140:1053D-1054B.
serves as a basic ‘historical’ outline for the key points the remaining canons develop in turn, Burchard has treated the occurrence of these prophesised phenomena in a linear, prophesised order. That is, each canon’s subject proceeds according to Burchard’s interpretation of the major eschatological texts of the NT. However, it is worth noting that canons XCVIII-XCIX and C-CI form, essentially, two parts to two different, if congruent, subjects.674 The first two deal with the punishment of unbelievers at the time of the resurrection, whereas the second two are concerned with the dynamics of the resurrection for those who are to be judged.

Canonical content of Sub-group 9.2:

Continuing from the events of canons XCIV-XCV, Burchard opens the eschatological expositions of sub-group 9.2 by briefly depicting the role of Elias (Helias) after both he and Enoch have led the resistance to the Antichrist, before the Second Coming.675 As we were told in canon XCIII, the Jews (the synagogue) are to work against, and then open fight against the Church (Christians) at the time of Christ’s Second Coming.676 Now (it is theologically assumed), having banished him with the aid of Christ, Elias is to fulfil his prophetic role [directly in Mal. 4:5-6 and indirectly in Rev. 2:9 and 3:9] by converting those who still follow the edicts of an older covenant with God (the Jews) to the true faith.677

674 Ibid., PL 140:1054C-1055B, 1055B-1055D.
675 Ibid., PL 140:1053A-1053D.
676 Ibid., PL 140:1052B-1053A.
677 Mal. 4:5-6; Rev. 2:9, 3:9.
‘Sed extre mo Israelitae omnes ad fidem, cognita Heliae praedicatione, concurrunt: atque ad ejus protectionem quem fugerant, redeunt: et tunc illud eximium multiplici aggregatione populorum convivium celebratur’.678

Through this act, Elias has fully separated all the remaining (living) faithful (the saints, the prophets, and the elect) from the non-believers (the followers of Antichrist and Satan – the carnal, the faithless and the infidel). This act is extremely important as it demonstrates to the audience the necessity of being ready to combat the machinations of the antichrist (who could appear at any time and is already working the mystery of iniquity); for once he has been banished it is only the Jews who can receive the last reprieve from God before judgement. It is the final act of worldly history in which mankind can use his freewill to follow, or serve, God.

Burchard then moves on to explain over the course of the remaining four canons the process of resurrection for both types of souls, living and dead. He starts by detailing in canons XCVIII-XCIX what will happen to the wicked directly after their resurrection, but before God’s judgement.679 Canon XCVIII is essentially a lead-in to the theological content, or message, of canon XCIX, as it seeks to rationalise why the occurrence of both good and bad things happen to different types of people, specifically, good and bad people, throughout their lifetime. As Gregory explains, although God’s predestinations and judgements are unknown to mankind, it is usually assumed by man that bad things happen to good people to either test their faith, or to send them back on the path to righteousness if they have been led slightly astray.

678 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1054C. ‘But in the last times all the Israelites run to the faith once Elias’ preaching is known and return to the protection of the one whom they had fled. And at that time, in the manifold gathering of the peoples, that most outstanding celebration is held’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon XCVII excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob].
679 Ibid., PL 140:1054C-1055B.
Whereas when good this happen to bad people, it is thought that they receive them so that the nature of their punishment in hell is better understood to them. However, when the opposite happens, and good things happen to good people and bad to bad, one may be confused as to its meaning. Gregory claims that when this happens God may be offering the good a small reward before they attain salvation, whereas the bad are simply being punished either to correct their ways before judgement, or as an initiation to the eternal suffering they will face in hell for their deeds:

‘At cum bonis hic bene est, et malis male, incertum valde fit, utrum boni idcirco bona accipiant ut provocati ad aliquid melius crescant, an justo latentique judicio hic suorum operum remunerationem percipiant, ut a praemiis vitae sequentis inanescant. Et utrum malos idcirco adversa feriant, ut ab aeternis suppliciis corrigendo defendant: an hic eorum poena incipiat, ut quandoque complenda eos ad ultima gehennae tormenta perducat’.

Following Gregory, Burchard’s line of argument is (basically) to warn the audience not to assume that the good or bad events and actions that befall them during their lifetime are necessarily indicative of God’s favour or disapproval. For if they misinterpret God’s predestination, the vicissitudes of the world and the effect of free will, then they may become lax in, or lose, their faith, which would result in their eternally damnation. Burchard continues this line of discussion in canon XCIX by

---

680 Ibid., PL 140:1054C-1054D. ‘But when it is well with the good here and ill with the wicked, it is very doubtful, whether the good for this reason receive good things, that they may be set forward and advance to something better, or whether by a just and secret appointment they receive here the reward of their deeds, that they may prove void of the rewards of the life to come; and whether afflictions for this reason come upon the wicked, in order that by correcting, they may be the means of preserving them from everlasting punishments, or whether their punishment only begins here, that, one day to receive completion, it should lead to the final torments of hell’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon XCVIII excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob].
explaining, not only why those who are already condemned to hell are resurrected, but the different ways in which they will be dealt with by God before they are sent there, as some of them are condemned for dissimilar reasons. Gregory states that before the final judgement all sinners will be resurrected, but only for the purposes of torment, not for a fair judgement, as they did not seek to keep God’s law. As we are then told, there are three distinctions of non-believer who will be tormented before the judgement: those who were infidels and were already condemned by God for their false beliefs; those who claim to have, but have no proof of their, faith are to be turned away from receiving judgement; those who have no faith (false or otherwise) are judged ahead of time so they may not be rebuked. As none of these types of people acknowledged God’s grace, or his commandments (i.e. they weren’t even ‘bad’ Christians) they are not to be judged by it, and so shall suffer accordingly:

‘Resurgunt vero etiam omnes infideles, sed ad tormentum, non ad judicium. Non enim eorum tunc causa discutitur, qui ad conspectum districti judicis, jam cum damnatione suae infidelitatis accedunt’.  

Whichever way one did not keep God’s covenant, either by default, inaction, or intent, they are all to be unable to be judged by it and therefore are to be punished before being straight to hell before everyone else (both living and dead) are to be resurrected for judgement. Burchard then switches his discussion in canon C to focus on the nature of the resurrection for those who are to be judged. Through the sayings of

681 Ibid., PL 140:1055A-1055B.  
682 Ibid., PL 140:1055A-1055B. ‘Therefore even all unbelievers rise again, but to torment and not to judgment. For their case is not then examined; because they come into the presence of their strict Judge, with the condemnation already of their own unbelief’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon XCIX excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob].  
683 Ibid., PL 140:1055B-1055C.
‘Augustine’ (really Gennadius) Burchard explains that although there is a difference of opinion regarding what physical (or metaphysical) state the resurrection will take place from (either literal death for those who are already dead, or a state of mortality for those who yet live), the fact remains, in a general sense, that the resurrection of the flesh, in whatever manner, is to occur. Furthermore, Burchard insists that unless one is found to be a heretic by a council on for their beliefs on this matter, every position, in a fundamental sense, is theologically valid:

‘…quolibet quis acquiescat modo non haereticus, nisi in conventione haereticus fiat. Sufficit enim in Ecclesiae lege, carnis resurrectionem credere fieri de morte’.  

His sentiment is then reaffirmed, and any semblance of theological argument fully diffused in canon CII, by the understanding that the ‘creed’ (Nicene creed 325AD) states that both those who are living and dead at the time of the resurrection are all to be judged in the flesh:

---

684 This extremely ancient debate derives from the various interpretations of Rev. 21:4-13 by ecclesiastics over the last two-thousand years. As there are theologically complex and extensive divisions over this matter I will simplify the basic argument to give the reader an understanding of this issues theological significance. The main gist of the debate is that, whilst all the souls that are to receive judgement are to be re-clad in their flesh before judgement (as the book of life judges the spirit by the physical form it took in life) the manner of this resurrection is uncertain, or rather left unspecified in scripture. Has each human been resurrected to a state of mortality, which would imply that each person is literally living again and therefore a subject to freewill (and further judgement), or is the human simply standing before God in their flesh, but in a state of non-mortal corruption (as temporal time has fundamentally ceased)? See, The New Advent Catholic Encyclopaedia: ‘General Resurrection’, at: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12792a.htm (Last visited: 31/06/15).
685 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1055B-1055C. ‘Whichever [opinion] one agrees with, he is not heretic unless he is made a heretic in a council. For within the law of the Church, it is enough to believe that the resurrection of the flesh from death takes place’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon C excerpt, Augustine [Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus]].
‘Quod autem dicimus in Symbolo, in adventu Domini vivos et mortuos judicandos, non justos tantum ac peccatores judicari, sicut Diodorus significari putat, sed vivos eos qui in carne inveniendi sunt dicit. Quia ad hoc morituri creduntur, vel immutandi, sicut alii volunt: ut suscitati continuo vel reformati a mortuis, judicentur’. 686

These two examples from canons CI-CII, clearly illustrate to the audience that no matter whether one is living or dead at the time of the resurrection, all who are to be judged are to be clothed in the flesh to receive God’s verdict from the book of life. 687 Just as those who were resurrected to be punished and rebuked before the judgement equally, so are those who are to be judged are returned to the same state of being (body and soul together – human) for their judgement. Having now explained the spiritual and physical processes of the resurrection, Burchard has led the reader to the next eschatological subject of theme group nine (and the proceeding sub-division of canons): God’s final judgement.

---

686 Ibid., PL 140:1055C-1055D. ‘We say in the Creed, that at the coming of the Lord the living and the dead shall be judged, and he says that not only are the just and the sinners judged but those living who shall be found to be in the flesh, just as Dionysius thinks can be shown’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CI excerpt, Augustine [Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus]].

687 Ibid., PL 140:1055C-1056A.
(9.3) Organisation, administration, and implementation of God’s judgement

[Canons CII – CVII]. 688

The formal and intended sources of sub-group 9.3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canon</th>
<th>Formal Sources:</th>
<th>Intended sources:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CII</td>
<td>Gennadius, <em>De ecclesiasticis</em>, Ch. 9.</td>
<td>‘Augustine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIII</td>
<td>Isidore, <em>Sententiae</em>, Bk. I, Ch. 26</td>
<td>‘Isidore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIV</td>
<td>Gregory, <em>Moralia</em>, Bk. VIII, Ch. 30</td>
<td>Gregory, <em>Moralia</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVI</td>
<td>Isidore, <em>Sententiae</em> I, Ch. 27</td>
<td>‘Isidore’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overview of the sub-group’s main eschatological subjects:

Having described the final acts of worldly history before God’s final judgement, Burchard sets out in the next sub-group of canons to illuminate the way in which God’s judgement will be rendered to both the faithful and the impious (those who are not infidels but still, on balance, unfaithful). Unlike the previous two sub-groups, the order of these six canons is neither part-linear, nor completely linear according to the ‘historical’ occurrence of theological prophesy. Although the canons proceed one after the other, their collective theological content should be considered to be a

---

688 Ibid., PL 140:1055D-1057C.
simultaneity of slightly different, but intrinsically related issues, which explain the exposition of one (almost incomprehensibly) complex event.\textsuperscript{689}

Overview of the sub-group’s main eschatological subjects:

Burchard opens sub-group 9.3, with a small exposition by ‘Augustine’ (really Gennadius) concerning the broad outline of what is to happen at and after the last judgement. As he states, after the resurrection and judgement all the apostate angels and impious men are to be sent directly to hell without recourse. They are not going to be purged of sin and then allowed to rejoin the company of the faithful in time. Quite literally the judgement is a final, absolute act from which the faithful will receive the eternal rewards of their good works, whilst the faithless are to receive eternal torment and damnation for their bad ones:

‘Post resurrectionem et judicium, non credamus resurrectionem futuram… Sed nos credamus ipsi judici omnium et retributori justo, qui dixit: Ibunt impii in supplicium aeternum, justi autem in vitam aeternam: ut percipiant fructum operum suorum. Et iterum: Ite in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus’.\textsuperscript{690}

Through ‘Augustine’ Burchard has framed the theological and spiritual parameters for the events of the Last Judgement to the reader. Simply put: they now know what to

\textsuperscript{689} Considering that temporal time has come to an end upon the commencement of God’s final judgement, a perspective such as this would make sense.

\textsuperscript{690} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1055D-1056A. ‘After the resurrection and judgment, we should not believe that there will be [another] resurrection… But we should believe the very judge and just avenger of all things himself when he says: The impious shall go to eternal damnation, the just to eternal life in order that they may receive the fruits of their works. And again: Go to the eternal fire you who obeyed the devil and his angels’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CII excerpt, Augustine [Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus]].
expect and consequently, should recognise that once it has commenced there is no chance for redemption. Burchard, citing Isidore, then details the nature of the resurrection and part of the process by which the faithful (those who are to be saved) will achieve spiritual transcendence. As we are told in canon CIII, all those who are to receive judgement will be resurrected at the point of both physical and spiritual perfection (youth in the physical sense).\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1056A-1056B.} However, as humans, those who God will decide to be among the elect are still bound by their form as ‘Children of God’ (fallen, corruption). Therefore they are to become incorruptible (incorrupt, non-mortal) so that they may now come face-to-face with God.\footnote{This event is an answer, or perhaps follow-up, to the issues discussed in canon XC, wherein it is described that all the major biblical figures (Moses, Lot, Job, etc.), when living (corruptible form), could not perceive God literally. See, Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1050B-1051B.} It is through the process of turning those who are saved into incorruptible forms, whilst leaving those who are judged but damned as corruptible, that the house of God (heaven) is filled:

‘Resurrectio mortuorum, ut Apostolus ait, in virum perfectum… in aetate scilicet juventutis quae profectu non indiget, et absque inclinatione defectus in perfectione ex utraque parte et plena est et robusta. Quamvis nunc filiorum Dei nomine homines fideles vocentur, tamen ex eo quod hanc servitute corruptionis patiuntur, adhuc judo servitus addicite sunt: accepturi plenam filiorum Dei libertatem, dum corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptionem. Nunc Deus per speculum agnoscitur: in futuro autem quisque electus facie ad faciem praesentabitur, ut ipsam speciem contempletur, quam nunc per speculum videre conatur. In hac vita electorum numerum ad dexteram pertinentium, et reproborum qui ad sinistram itur sunt, Ecclesiam Dei compleri’.\footnote{Ibid., PL 140:1056A-1056B.}
It is clear from this excerpt, that those who are to be damned shall not transcend their corporeal form to directly experience and interact with God before they are sent to eternal damnation, though they have suffered his judgement. Having fully explicated the theological nuances of the physical and spiritual process of both the resurrection and the manner of the Faithfull’s transcendence to salvation, Burchard then seeks to describe the manner of God’s administration of his final judgement. In the proceeding two canons, CIV-V, it is explained to the audience not only the broad criteria by which God decides every human soul’s salvation of damnation, but his primary objective when acting out each sentence. In canon CIV, it is initially explained in a general sense that the entire purpose of the final judgment is to examine, without recourse for redemption, the sins of each human:

‘In judicium quidem Dominus veniens peccatorem videt ut feriat, sed non videt ut ad largiendam salutis gratiam recognoscat. Culpas examinat: et vitam pereuntium ignorat’.  

Gregory’s general perspective on the event makes it plain for the audience to understand that the act of judgement is the assessment of one’s sin, which, once again, reinforces the reason why one needs to act morally in life (before (and during) the coming of Antichrist). This basic premise is then elaborated upon further in canon CV, where we are told how exactly each person’s sins are judged, from both a personal looking glass, in the time to come, any of the elect shall be presented to Him face to face [1st Cor. 13:12] so that he may contemplate the face of God itself, which he now tries to see through a mirror. [He says that] in this life the number of the elect who belong to the right hand [of God] and of the reprobate who shall go to the left hand, fills the Church of God’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CIII excerpt, ‘Isidore’ [Isidore, Sententiae]].

694 Ibid., PL 140:1056B-1057A.
695 Ibid., PL 140:1056B-1056C. ‘When in fact the Lord comes for judgment, he sees the sinner in order to punish him but he does not see in order to reconsider the matter to give generously the gift of salvation. He examines sins and ignores the life of those who perish’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CIV excerpt, Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob].
and metaphysical perspective.696 Gregory explains, in quite an unsettling degree of
detail, at the time of the judgement, God is seeking to punish those who did not, in
their lifetime, look to their future salvation through a process of personal
introspection. Though some souls may come to realise the error of their ways during
their lifetime, some will only be come to realise the error of their ways before they are
eternally damned. When it is their turn to be judged, those who are going to be found
in error, will realise the magnitude of the judge they will face. Upon this recognition,
they will reconsider all their sins in such miniscule, graphic detail, that they know in
advance the gravity of their impiety, and thus their eternal fate:

‘…quia cum districtus Judex merita subtiliter inquirit, res ad tormenta non sufficit.
Quamvis hoc etiam justorum voci congruit: quorum mens semper sollicita venturo
examinii intendit. Omne enim quod agunt metuunt, dum caute considerant, ante
quantum judicem stabunt. Intuentur potentiam illius magnitudinis, et pensant quanto
reatu constricti sunt propriae infirmitatis. Enumerant mala proprii operis, et contra
haec exaggerant bona gratiae Conditoris. Considerant prava quam districte judicet,
bona opera quam subtiliter penset: et perituros se absque ambiguitate praesciunt, si
remota pietate judicentur’. 697

696 Ibid., PL 140:1056C-1057A.
697 Ibid., PL 140:1056C-1057A. ’…For when the strict Judge inquires subtly into his merits, the crime
is not adequate to the torments, although this accords with the voice of the just, the minds of whom
always focus intently on the coming test. For with regard to everything that they do, they are afraid
when they consider with care before how great a judge they shall stand. They perceive in their minds
the power of his immensity and they weigh with what great guilt they have been bound by their
weakness. They count up the evils of their own action, and against these, they exaggerate the goods of
the Creator’s grace. They consider how strictly he judges wicked deeds, and how subtly he weighs the
good ones, and they know in advance that they are going to perish without doubt, if they are judged
without piety’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CV excerpt, Gregory the Great,
Moria in Job].
It is in this way that God corrects all forms of sin and impiety before the end of the judgement; by enabling each soul to reflect upon the sins it has committed whilst living, be they grievous or slight, they come to realise their failure to follow neither God’s grace nor the edicts of scripture. Though many will suffer as a consequence for realising their error too late, they can still serve as an example to the eternally elect to justify the trials and tribulations they overcame in life. Having completed his account of the principles and methods by which the sins souls are to be measured, interrogated, and corrected, at the final judgement, Burchard then gives a nuanced account of the way the judgement is brokered between the separate types of souls to create a form of balanced, cosmic order. As Isidore informs us, though there are two basic distinctions of souls, those who are to be saved, and those who will not, in each category there are again two divisions. For those who are condemned, there are souls who are refused judgement, simply damnation, along with those who receive judgment, but are still sent to hell. As the same time there are souls which are considered perfect and so attain salvation before judgement, and then in turn they are to judge everyone else with God, in addition to those who receive judgement, and then reach heaven. Each of these orders forms a mirror image, or theological opposition, to the other:

698 The reason for this is subtle, but principally lies with the fact that in theme-group 6, sub-group 6.5, Canons LXX-LXXI, Burchard had already stated how those with perfect souls will enter heaven before the judgement. As the elect are prophesised to rule with Christ at the time of the judgement (Rev. 21:4-6), he must be theologially consistent by accounting for their role at this event to accurately explain all the relevant spiritual dimensions of human salvation. See, *Decretorum libri viginti*, PL 140:1043D-1044C.
‘Duae sunt differentiae vel ordines hominum in judicio, hoc est, electorum et reproborum. Qui tamen dividuntur in quatuor. Perfectorum ordo unus est, qui cum Deo judicat, et alius qui judicatur. Utrique tamen cum Christo regnabunt. Similiter ordo reproborum pariter in duo: dum hi qui intra Ecclesiam sunt mali, judicandi sunt, et damnandi. Qui vero extra Ecclesiam inveniendi sunt, non sunt judicandi, sed tantum damnandi’. 

By fleshing out the theological distinctions between the faithful and the faithless at the time of the judgement Burchard has, in essence, given the audience the last snippet of information they need to know about the role all humans will play at the last judgement. The remaining canon of sub-group 9.3 brings to a close Burchard’s discussion of various elements the Last judgement, by explaining the function of the book of life, the device described in Rev. 21:12, which God uses to administer the fate of each soul. As Gregory elucidates, all the dead who will be judged, are to have their eternal fate determined by, God’s (and his elects’) measurement (comparison) of the works, or deeds, they committed in life to all the heavenly commandments. In particular, it shall be considered what righteous acts the human is question refused to do, in relation to those who did. Therefore by realising what they should have done,

---

699 *Decretorum libri viginti*, PL 140:1057A-1057B. ‘There are two distinctions or orders of human beings at the judgment, that is, the [order] of the elect and [the order] of the damned. Nonetheless, these [two] are divided into four. Of the perfect there is one which judges with God, another which is judged. Nonetheless both of them shall reign with Christ. Likewise, the order of the damned is equally divided into two, since those who are evil within the Church must be judged and damned. But those who are found to be outside the Church, are not to be judged but only damned’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CVI excerpt, ‘Isidore’ [*Isidore, Sententiae*]].

700 I would hasten to add that Isidore’s passage is a description of the theological targets that those who care about their salvation would wish to aim for. I.e. it’s better to be judging others or being judged to receive salvation than otherwise.

701 These laws are unspecified in the text, but one could assume Gregory is referring to the Noahide laws, Ten Commandments, the Commandments of Jesus, etc. See *Gen. 9; Exod. 20; Lev. 25; Deut. 5; Matt. 5-7.*
they are to consider, or ruminate, upon how they should be corrected to now perceive life:

‘In quo quasi scriptum est omne mandatum: quia quisquis eum viderit, mox teste conscientia quidquid non fecit intelligit…. Et judicati sunt mortui ex his quae scripta erant in libris: quia in ostensa vita justorum, quasi in expansione librorum, legunt bonum quod agere ipsi noluerunt: atque eorum qui fecerunt comparatione damnantur. Ne ergo unusquisque tunc videns eos, quod non fecit defleat, nunc in eis quod imitetur, attendat’. ⁷⁰²

Through the text of this canon Burchard has rounded off his interpretation of, not only the introspective and legal aspects of God’s judgement of each human soul to the audience, but the entire process of the Last Judgement, along with the end point of all temporal time. The remaining three canons of the theme group are thus arranged to engage with certain events that are to take place in the post-judgement universe that concern, or rather relate to, those who are now saved.

---

⁷⁰² Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1057B-1057C. ‘In it is as if every commandment is written, because whoever has seen him soon understands with his conscience as witness whatever he has not done…. And the dead have been judged on the basis of what had been written in the books because in the manifest life of the just they read, as if in the openings of books about the good which they themselves refused to do and they are condemned by comparison with those who did them. Therefore lest someone who sees them at that time cry over what he did not do, let him attend to what he should imitate in them now’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CVII excerpt, Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*.]

339
(9.4) Post Judgement events [Canons CVIII – CX].

The formal and intended sources of sub-group 9.4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canon</th>
<th>Formal Sources</th>
<th>Intended sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CVIII</td>
<td>Isidore, <em>Sententiae</em>, Bk. I, Ch. 30</td>
<td>‘Isidore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVIX</td>
<td>Julian, <em>Prognosticum</em>, Bk. III, Ch. 49</td>
<td>‘Isidore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CX</td>
<td>Julian, <em>Prognosticum</em>, Bk. III, Ch. 49</td>
<td>‘Isidore’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overview of the sub-group’s main eschatological subjects:

The final three canons that comprise the fourth sub-section of theme group nine are arranged to discuss, in a theologically ordered and complementary way, the various elements of the concluding acts of cosmological, theological and prophetic time. Specifically, this includes a description of: what will happen on earth immediately after God’s judgement; then, how eternity shall become manifest to, or reached by, those who have attained salvation, followed by a short exposition regarding the interpolating of any apparent scriptural inconsistencies regarding the way the age and new earth will become manifest.

---

703 Ibid., PL 140:1058A-1058C.
Overview of the sub-group's main eschatological subjects:

In many ways, the content of canon CVIII is something of an afterthought, or follow-up, to the theological processes described in sub-group 9.3, especially canons CIII and CVI. This is because the audience is informed by Burchard about how the removal of the spiritual chaff, the wicked and damned, from the world is to bring forth a greater illumination of the glory of the heavenly host as they ascend to heaven. As Isidore informs us, in a similar fashion to the way the wicked ensnared by the mystery of iniquity are an extension of the Antichrist (Satan), the faithful are an extension of Christ (God) that are empowered through the eternal damnation (worldly removal) of the damned. It is through this action that the faithful can transcend to heaven to contemplate and be one with God:

‘Sicut comparatus color candidus nigro colori sit pulchrior, ita et sanctorum requies comparata damnationi malorum gloriosior erit. Sicut justitia injustitiae, sic virtus vitio. Crescit ergo sanctorum gloria: dum debita damnantur impii poena…. Si enim membra capitis sumus, et unus in se et in nobis est Christus, utique ubi ipse ascendit, et nos ascensuri sumus’.

It is now clear to the audience that through the final removal of all sin from the world, the elect, having truly overcome the ruin that beset mankind through the transgression of Adam and Eve (canon XI) by using their free will correctly, can now return to a

705 Ibid., PL 140:1058A. ‘For, just as a bright colour when compared with a darker colour is more beautiful, so the rest of the saints when compared with the damnation of the wicked shall be more glorious. Just as justice is to injustice, so virtuous shall be to vice. Therefore the glory of the saints grows, when the impious are condemned with appropriate punishment…. For if we are members of the head, and Christ is one in himself and in us, clearly when he ascends, we shall also ascend’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CVIII excerpt, ‘Isidore’ [Isidore, Sententiae]].
Having detailed occurrence of the transcendence of all the elect, Burchard then moves into the concluding two canons of Liber Vicesimus by detailing where the elect are prophesised to go after their transcendence, and the nature of the place they are to reside in. As ‘Isidore’ (Julian) describes, as though speaking via Augustine, those who have transcended to God, shall enter a heaven and earth that itself is an altered, changed form of its older self. It is a heaven and earth that has been, for the most part destroyed, or rather purged, but retains its original (pre-fall) form and nature:


Through this description, it would seem that, in a similar but different manner, to the way the elect have become perfected and transcendent, so too have heaven, earth and time also been changed. In essence, everything that is good is perfected through God at the end of time. Following on from this point, Burchard ends the final canon of the theme group and Liber Vicesimus, by clarifying how the audience should interpret and understand how the world is to be destroyed, yet remain intact. 708 As we are told by

---

706 Ibid., PL 140:1020C-1020D.
707 Ibid., PL 140:1058B. ‘As the blessed Augustine says, when the judgement has been carried out and is finished, this heaven and earth shall cease, when there shall begin to be a new heaven and a new earth. For in the transformation of nature, this world shall pass away in destruction, but not in every way. This is why the Apostle also says: The figure of this world shall indeed pass away. Therefore, the figure [of this world] shall pass away, not its nature’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CIX excerpt, ‘Isidore’ [Julian, Prognosticon futuri Saeculi]].
708 This fundamental question arises from a need to reconcile the slightly different, and at first glance antithetical, descriptions of the end of the world in 2nd Pet. 3:10, Matt. 24:34-36, Mark 13:30-32, Luke 21:32-33, and Rev. 21:1-2. Essentially, Peter claims that the ‘heavens shall pass away with great violence, and the elements shall be melted with heat, and the earth and the works which are in it, shall
Augustine (via ‘Isidore’), during the time after the judgement, the world shall be partly destroyed by conflagration; however, the bodies of the elect, now incorruptible, shall reside in the upper regions (of the atmosphere) when this happens. But like Sidrach, Misach and Abdenago, whom Nebuchadnezzar tried to burn [Dan. 3], they shall not fear the fire due to their new forms:

‘Quaeret, ait, forsitan aliquis, si post factum judicium iste mundus ardebit, antequam pro illo coelum novum et terra nova reponatur, eo ipso tempore conflagrationis ejus, ubi erunt sancti, cum eos habentes corpora in aliquo corporali loco esse necesse sit. Possimus respondere futuros esse eos in superioribus partibus, quo ita non ascendat flamma illius incendii, quemadmodum nec unda diluvii’.\(^9^\)

Through Julian’s passage, Burchard has completed the audience’s induction into the full process and meaning of the elect’s transformative ascent not only into transcendence (salvation) with God, but where they will reside, and the manner by which the new heaven, earth and (heavenly) age is to be realised.

\(^9\) Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1058B-1058C. ‘Perhaps someone shall ask, he says, if after the judgment has happened this world shall burn up before a new heaven and a new earth are put in its place, because at the very moment of this conflagration, when there will be saints, because it is necessary for them to be in some physical place, since they will have bodies. We can answer that they shall be in the upper regions [of the universe?] where the flames of that fire do not reach, just as the waves of the flood did not…’. Translation by Prof. William North 23/04/2012. [Canon CX excerpt, ‘Isidore’ [Julian, Prognosticon futuri Saeculi]].
6.6 Surmising the Character of the Eschatology Presented in Theme Group Nine

As we have seen, there are thee general, interlocking, layered, but most importantly, equal components that comprise the nature, form and character of Burchard’s eschatology. They are moral, scriptural (prophetic), and temporal. I will now explain my observations regarding each and the general character of the eschatology these components collectively create.

First of all, it is extremely apparent that the principal focus of theme group nine, and indeed the entirety of Liber Vicesimus, is to explain in thematic stages why any Christian should be moral during his or her lifetime. As we have seen, the final eighteen canons all give details on the various apocalyptic and eschatological issues, actors, and events, that directly impact upon, challenge, facilitate, or otherwise interact with, every different type of human’s ability and resolve to attain salvation. For instance, the purpose of the four canons in sub-section 9.1 are to not only inform the reader that the type of person who is likely to be ensnared by the Antichrist will have a lack of morality (due to their penchant for carnal indulgence), but how the elect will resist him through their courage, their moral virtue, and their knowledge of scripture. Similarly, the main message of sub-group 9.3, through its six canons, is to convey not only how sin is the spiritual currency by which salvation shall be measured (negatively), but that all actions in life will result in a judgement with an absolute and eternal finality. Quite simply, Burchard has illustrated all the nuances of morality pertaining to ‘the salvation of the soul’ within an eschatological context.
Secondly, Burchard has set his audience an extremely inclusive, cohesive, and well-considered, interpretation of Christian eschatology that accounts for most, if not all of, the relevant apocalyptic passages in the *NT* (and to an extent the *OT*). Although we do encounter, in canons XCIII-XCVI, CVII, and CIX, a limited exposition of certain facets of biblical eschatological lore, Burchard has, for the most part, expressed it through a limited range of early medieval exegetical passages and their ‘intended’ authorities.\(^\text{710}\) Although the expositional execution of Burchard’s moral eschatology is not purely biblical (as it is expressed exegetically), the fact remains that the type and order of the events conveyed to the audience can only have come from Burchard’s wide reading and knowledge of the different narratives covered in *Dan., Mal., Isa., Matt., Mark, Luke, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess., 2\textsuperscript{nd} Pet.*, and *Rev.*\(^\text{711}\) Fundamentally, it would seem that whilst that the language of Burchard’s theology is drawn from more recent textual exegesis, the eschatological issues, events, and points discussed, are slotted and interpolated in accordance to their prophetic occurrence and significance. Indeed, as I have already pointed out, Burchard’s ordering of prophesised eschatological phenomena, though quite similar to Bede’s and Adso’s in many areas, does not seem to conform completely to any known exegetical interpretive model concerned with determining the timing and order of the end times. In fact, in many respects Burchard’s order of events conflicts with the popular Augustinian model set within *DCD*, Bk. XX, Ch. 30, which would imply that he and his small team took an idiosyncratic, personal approach towards engaging with these issues.\(^\text{712}\)

\(^{710}\) Ibid., PL 140:1052B-1054B, 1057B-1057C, 1058B.

\(^{711}\) See sections 6.1-6.5 to review the way Burchard exemplifies his knowledge of the relevant passages within the stated *OT* and *NT* books.

\(^{712}\) Augustine, *DCD*, Bk. XX, Ch. 30, 958-963.
Thirdly, it is also clear that whilst the eschatological theology, or overarching eschatological model, that the audience is acquainted with is fundamentally apocalyptic, it is also quite atemporal in places. In short, Burchard’s eschatology, as presented in canons XCIII-CX, is qualitatively apocalyptic, but quantitatively agnostic.\textsuperscript{713} As the above analysis of the canons of theme group nine suggests, there are only a few passages that impart a frame of reference to the audience with regards to mankind’s current relationship to the end of the world in an epochal or temporal sense. As Burchard states in canon XCVI, we, the audience, exist within the sixth and final age of the world.\textsuperscript{714} But he does not discuss where we are currently placed within it, which leaves the audience quantitatively uncertain as to how near, or far away we are from its end. Yet at the same time, we are told in canon XCIII that the mystery of iniquity, a clear sign of the Antichrist’s future arrival, is already [now] at work in the world, which would qualitatively signify a measure of nearness to his future coming, and by extension the end of the world.\textsuperscript{715} In addition, the same canon acknowledges the ongoing actions and presence of the followers of Antichrist in the world, who also herald his future coming, which, again, qualitatively indicates that one is living in close proximity to the time of eschaton. Furthermore, the coming of all these future eschatological events are described in many of the canons using words which individually and collectively evoke the future, but only in qualitative manner, though they are understood to be absolutely inevitable. For instance, in canon XCIII, we are told how the coming of Antichrist ‘will cause’ the elect to be sent into error; in Canon XCV, it is asked, ‘what person shall dare to rebuke’ the Antichrist; in canon XCIX, it is stated that all of ‘the infidels shall rise again’; in canon CIV, Gregory explains that ‘when in fact the Lord comes for judgment’ he is to examine human sins; and in

\textsuperscript{713} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1058C.
\textsuperscript{714} Ibid., PL 140:1053D-1054B.
\textsuperscript{715} Ibid., PL 140: 1052B-1053A.
canon CIX Isidore (‘Julian’) states that ‘this heaven and earth shall cease’ after the judgement.\textsuperscript{716} As we can see, there is no quantitative measure put in place to determine to the future occurrence of these events, despite their assured inevitability. Though the contents of canons XCIII-CX, Burchard is cumulatively imparting to his audience the theological foundation to an eschatological disposition that can be characterised as: ‘a state of perennial readiness to combat the ongoing works of the iniquitous and the followers of antichrist before his arrival, followed by God’s final judgment’.\textsuperscript{717} Simply put, we should understand that: the time of the apocalypse is already at hand so to speak due to the present mystery of iniquity and the ongoing actions of the followers of Antichrist, but the materialisation of Antichrist could occur at any time in the future. It is a constant state of awareness, readiness, and spiritual combat – a sentiment that is ostensibly Gregorian and Isidorian in both scope and origin, rather than Augustinian, which as we have seen, forbids qualitative speculation, and strongly discourages (but in practice does not allow), quantitative determination or regarding the nearness of the end times.

In summation, it is evident that the eschatology Burchard has set out is more inclusive to the realities of scripture (2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. 2:7) than Augustine’s work, but not as eager to either regurgitate or engage in the contextual observations of eschatological signs as that within Gregory’s.\textsuperscript{718} Yet the scriptural and exegetical foundation he provides his audience with both unequivocally and authoritatively states the ongoing manifestation of the key eschatological signs that herald the coming of Antichrist (again, albeit without contextualised examples). Therefore it would seem that Burchard is encouraging his audience to acknowledge, observe, and react to, these ongoing

\textsuperscript{716} Ibid., PL 140:1052B-1053A, 1053C-1053D, 1055A-1055B, 1056B-1056C, 1058B.
\textsuperscript{717} Ibid., PL 140:1025B-1058C.
\textsuperscript{718} 2\textsuperscript{nd} Thess. 2:7.
eschatological realities in order to not only cultivate their moral authority, but to increase both their own, and the individuals within their lay communities’, chances of attaining salvation.
Chapter 7.0

Conclusions

7.1 The Internal Structure and Arrangement of Both the Subject and Canons of Liber Vicesimus

As we have observed, the one hundred and ten canons of Liber Vicesimus are through-composed without any demarked form of arrangement, aside from their chapter headings which are listed numerically in the chapter index. Yet it is also evident that the formal subject of the book ‘the Speculator’ is an epithet to a historical framing model, wherein certain theological subjects are collated to explore moral theology. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that all the canons appear to be ordered implicitly within a series of overlaying structures to inform the audience about the salvation of soul. In fact, there appear to be three layered sets of ‘invisible’ groupings that not only weave together, but order all the canons to expand upon this subject thematically. The observation of this implicit model signifies that Burchard and his team of compilers crafted their holistic vision of the theology of, and issues pertaining to, the salvation of soul in an extremely detailed and carefully considered fashion. Such a highly systematic and advanced degree of textual and thematic organisation has not been observed in any other contemporary or earlier canon law compilation. Indeed, this meticulous approach towards the assembly of the book’s canons indicates not only the considerable creativity and erudition of the text’s composers, but the

See chapter 4.0 for a full explanation of the implicit structure of Liber Vicesimus.
supreme complexity of ecclesiastical approaches towards moral theology at this time in Worms and the Rhine region. This demonstrates a level of theological awareness and text-based ability on the part of the Decretum’s compilers, and possibly other regional ecclesiastics, which has previously gone unnoticed. In fact, the uncovering of Burchard’s ‘invisible’ model directly contravenes the prevailing perspective that the Decretum is an inherently unsophisticated legal work, despite its general practicality.720 Evidently, there was an underlying approach centred on a highly developed theory of morality that guided both the operation and navigation of the book, as well as the consequent understanding of the subjects it treats.

7.2 The Sources of the Canons of Liber Vicesimus

As outlined in chapters 3.0-6.0, the predominant authority that Burchard utilised, in both a formal and informal manner, to construct Liber Vicesimus was Gregory the Great. Specifically, texts from only two works, Dialogi and Moralia in Iob, formally comprise 59.1% of the books’ canons: these were used to create the overarching shape and form of the theological outlook of the book.721 At the same time, we do not see the formal use of any sources by other leading, orthodox eschatological exegetes, such as Jerome, Augustine, or Bede, despite Burchard’s use of their works in earlier books within the Decretum.722

720 As discussed in chapter 1.0, this perspective is cited by Austin whose own work has also challenged the prevailing paradigm set by Fournier. See, Fournier, ‘Études critiques sur le Décret de Burchard de Worms’, 688; Austin, Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000, 2.
721 See sections 3.1.4.2.1, 4.3.2.2, and 4.3.2.3 for statistics concerning Burchard’s utility of Gregory’s works.
722 See chapters 4.0-6.0 regarding Burchard’s utility of exegetical authority within Liber Vicesimus.
Regarding the intended sources of the canons, it is quite clear that Burchard sought to portray a slightly more numerically balanced use of authority to his audience than that which is apparent in the formal sources. For example, whilst Burchard’s intended use of Gregory’s work is set at the disproportionately high 60%, the next frequently cited authority, Augustine, and his two works *DCD* and *De Praedestinatione* comprise 20% of the book’s canons, which is 6.36% more that the second most cited formal source, Gennadius’ *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* at 13.64%. In a similar fashion, Burchard revised Isidore’s formal utility of 6.4%, which was comprised solely from material taken from his *Sententiae*, to an intended share of 9.1%, wherein Burchard simply cited Isidore’s authority (‘Isidore’) alongside *De Officiis*, without any mention of *Sententiae*.\(^{723}\) Considering all of the other intended changes to the formal sources in *Liber Vicesimus*, and the approach he took elsewhere in the *Decretum*, it is very clear that Burchard was restricting the majority of the authors of his intended source to a few great names. Such an editing strategy suggests that he sought deliberately to present the theology of the *salvation of the soul* in *Liber Vicesimus* as having great authority. This would reveal a deliberate intention to craft a new interpretation of the origin and authority of the theology encountered by *Liber Vicesimus*’ audience.\(^{724}\)

Gregory’s work, along with that of the other ecclesiastical authors within the book, was not randomly selected, or picked up to be included, for this work in haste: Burchard deliberately chose texts that conformed to the manner in which he wanted to express the subject and themes of *Liber Vicesimus*. This strategy implies that the other eight formal sources of *Liber Vicesimus* (those aside from *Dialogi* and *Moralia in Iob*)

\(^{723}\) See sections 3.1.4.2.1, 4.3.2.2, and 4.3.2.3 for statistics concerning Burchard’s utility of Isidore’s works.

were probably adapted as canons to fill-in particular areas of theology where Burchard believed Gregory’s work was insufficient, and could not be filled by other, more conventional patristic authorities, such as Augustine, Ambrose, or Jerome.725

There are two very clear examples of this. The first would be Burchard’s block-like use of Celestine I’s Epistola XXI to singularly construct the canons of theme group three: ‘Goodness, the Grace of God, and the practice of free will’ [Canons XV-XVIII].726 The second, and most telling, would be Burchard’s use of Isidore’s Sententiae to explain, in an uncontextualised fashion, the manner of the coming of Antichrist and its indicators, such as ‘the mystery of iniquity’ in canon XCIII, to give his audience a full explanation as to the form and nature of these ongoing eschatological events and also to give them temporal bearing and relevance.727 This is in contrast to, say, using Augustine’s agnostic, disengaged discussion of it in DCD, Bk. XX, Ch. 19.728 As we already know, Gregory’s eschatology was largely synoptic in focus, with very little consideration of the supplementary apostolic texts, especially in Moralia in Iob or Dialogi.729 As Burchard was evidently looking to construct a holistic approach to the exegesis of salvific eschatological theology, it is apparent that he would have required an interpretation of apostolic eschatology that would not only nurture and convey the moral authority of his ecclesiastical audience, but accord with Gregory’s qualitative apocalyptic outlook. Although known to Burchard, Augustine’s agnosticism on 2nd Thess. 2:7 clearly would not have provided enough information on the subject, or the requisite authority to give this scriptural passage either a temporal

725 See chapter 2.0 for a review of orthodox exegetical authorities during the early medieval period.
727 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1053A; Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 243. See chapter 6.0 for an extended discussion on the content of canon XCIII in Liber Vicesimus.
728 Augustine, DCD, Bk. XX, Ch. 19, 932-933. See section 2.1.2.2.1 for an extended discussion on Augustine’s eschatological outlook.
729 Hoffmann, Pokorny, Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms, 240-244. See sections 2.1.2.3.2 and 2.1.2.3.3 for an extended discussion on Gregory’s eschatological outlook.
bearing or relevance. It would appear that he used an alternate source that could fulfil both these requirements (Isidore’s *Sententiae*).

Regarding this second example, we must wonder why, if Burchard agreed with the eschatological theology of any other pre-existing exegetical perspective on these points of scripture, it would have been necessary for him to compose a whole new thematic section (theme group nine) relative to this subject when others already existed that we know Burchard knew about that he could have lifted from wholesale. Without an agenda to refine Gregory’s theology concerning this area of eschatology, it is strange that the relevant passages in *DCD*, a fundamental and well-known theological text, should be dismissed in favour of passages from more obscure texts such as Celesine’s *Epistola XXI* or Isidore’s *Sententiae*. Therefore the patterns, or principles, of the use of both the formal and informal sources within *Liber Vicesimus*, strongly suggest that Burchard did not agree with any other broad, alternative forms of exegetical interpretation on these issues that accorded with the theological bent presented by the other canons in the text. Consequently, we can attain a clear sense of Burchard’s tight control over the selection of each of the canons as well as the way in which they were ordered and presented to their audience. In short, *Liber Vicesimus* is a highly systematic, integrated text with a distinct arrangement of canons that was designed with a particular function and purpose in mind regarding the type of theology Burchard wished to express to his audience.
7.3.0 The Theology of Liber Vicesimus

Whilst one can deduce Burchard’s layered and systematic thematic approach towards organising and discussing the various theological issues, events, and figures that impact upon and facilitate the salvation of the soul, it is not necessarily clear from the chapter titles the manner in which these particular things are explained. It is only once one examines more closely the structure and the contents of the canons in Liber Vicesimus that one can make the following summative observations about the type of theology, especially the eschatology, Burchard sought to convey to his audience.

7.3.1 The Overarching Theological Focus of Liber Vicesimus

Broadly speaking, all the canonical material of Liber Vicesimus is presented to its audience as a specialised, systematic exegesis upon certain areas of moral theology pertaining to salvation. That is, all the issues, actors, and events, included in all the canons directly impact upon, challenge, facilitate, or otherwise interact with, every individual soul and their ability to attain eternal salvation. Put simply, the canons are wrapped within a moral framework to explain the known totality of a soul’s existence and the factors which are either likely or definitively, going to, determine how the way in which a soul is managed within a temporal context bears upon its eternal resting place. This approach is largely revealed by the fact that the most important dynamic consistently highlighted throughout the book is the way in which all human souls are created, observed and assessed (regarding the temporal actions they commit), then judged, by God. Consequently, the relationship between God the Father (the creator of the soul), and the human soul itself is presented as the most important
concern that a human (body and soul) should have during their corporal life. The reason being that the ways in which humans mentally and physically seek God's grace through the teachings of Christ during their lives will shape the outcome of their future eternal existence. This is why all the canons collectively touch upon a fairly wide, if particular, array of theological sub-topics in order to adequately explain the dynamics and rules of this relationship: their subjects include creation, soteriology, hamartiology, theodicy, predestination, divine providence, heaven, hell, purgatory, and eschatology.

Throughout the progressive, thematic framework in which the canons are set, Burchard has evidently sought to provide answers to what could be considered to be common existential questions in relation to the subject of salvation, as well as the relationship between God and a human soul. Although they are not literally evident in the text, the canons can be understood to innately provide responses to questions such as: ‘what is a soul?’, ‘where does a soul come from?’, ‘what is the purpose of life and its bearing upon my salvation?’, ‘what is free will and how does it impact my ability to attain salvation?’, ‘what is sin?’, ‘what is it to be good?’, ‘how is my eternal fate decided?’, ‘what eternal resting places exist? And what will happen to a soul in these places?’, ‘what challenges will be presented to my salvation that must be overcome? And how do I do that?’, ‘when will my soul be judged by God?’, and ‘what will happen at the end of the world once the judgement has taken place?’. From this perspective, it is clear that that Liber Vicesimus was designed to have a pedagogic, catechetical function as it presents an array of suitable responses for inquisitive or aspiring ecclesiastics who wished to develop their knowledge on this subject area. At the same time, the structured order in which these questions are set provides a
programme which would support clerics involved in the delivery of pastoral care. As such, the canons of Liber Vicesimus had the potential to reach beyond the clergy, albeit in a mediated fashion, to educate the wider lay community.

Ultimately, the thematic systematisation of the canons demonstrates a relatively comprehensive and original approach towards explaining why, and how, salvation should be attained.

7.3.2 The Form and Nature of the Eschatology of Liber Vicesimus

It is very clear that Liber Vicesimus presents its audience with a well developed model of eschatology that is rooted in a wide, thorough reading of exegetical materials, and a comprehensive understanding of scripture. Regarding its general focus, all eighteen canons explain a select range of eschatological issues, actors, and events that directly impact upon, challenge, facilitate, or otherwise interact with, every different type of human’s ability and resolve to attain salvation.730 That is, Burchard has utilised exegetical excerpts to describe eschatological phenomena that directly and functionally affect the ability of a soul to attain salvation from either a moral or spiritual perspective. In contrast, it is evident that he has not provided a complete systematic theological commentary that accounts for all the prophesised eschatological phenomena that can be considered to be purely metaphorical, symbolic, historical, or physical in nature. Simply put, Burchard’s audience has not been given a full, all-inclusive eschatological treatise like Augustine’s DCD, Bk. XX,

730 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1058C.
but a particular one that served to inform them about the moral dimensions of salvation.\textsuperscript{731}

That said, when we focus in particular in on the contents of the canons within theme group nine and its four topical sub-groups, it is plain to see that several key passages have been utilised to create some very interesting theological dynamics which in turn reveal an interpretation of eschatology that conforms to the basic principles of the Gregorian model. Specifically, Burchard has presented his audience with a nuanced, scripturally holistic, exegetical framework that mandates a qualitatively moderate apocalyptic disposition towards the perception of mankind’s current place within the unfolding of prophetic and cosmic time. Yet at the same time, the canons deliberately refrain from quantitatively qualifying this disposition in any capacity whatsoever. The general way in which the form and nature of this eschatological framework becomes apparent is through the convergence of three key components:

- The first is the authority of the canons; in particular that Gregory’s exegesis comprises 50\% of the exegetical material of theme group nine, and that the remaining exegetical material cited is essentially treated as ‘filler’ for the key components of apostolic scripture that he did not address directly in his own works, such as the ‘mystery of iniquity’ and the ‘coming of Antichrist’.\textsuperscript{732}

- The second is the temporal, prophetic, and cosmic time signified through the text: not only is the audience told that mankind is living at some point within

\textsuperscript{731} Augustine, \textit{DCD}, Bk. XX, 895-963.
\textsuperscript{732} See sections \textbf{3.1.4.2.1}, \textbf{4.3.2.2}, and \textbf{4.3.2.3}, and chapter \textit{6.0}, for statistics and discussions on Burchard’s utility of Gregory’s works in theme group nine of \textit{Liber Vicesimus}. 
the sixth and final age of the world [Canon XCVI], but that the prophesised signs that indicate the future coming of Antichrist, such as the ‘actions of his followers’ and the ‘mystery of iniquity’, are currently at work in the world, and that all other definitive apocalyptic events will occur in the unknown future.\textsuperscript{733}

- Third is the type of scriptural issues, events, and figures that were both included and excluded from the linear progression of both the canons and their respective topical sub-groups: in particular, Burchard has chosen to exclude exegetical texts that discuss apocalyptic events that could be interpreted in a quantitatively temporal manner, or those that engage with highly contentious elements of scripture, such as the ‘Second coming of Christ’, ‘the binding of Satan’, ‘the rule of Satan’, and ‘Gog and Magog’.\textsuperscript{734} Instead he favoured exegetical texts that sought to explain more general, temporally unspecified, salvific events as ‘the conversion of the Jews’, ‘God’s final judgement’, and ‘the conflagration of the world’.\textsuperscript{735}

Concerning these all these features, the most revealing and significant component of Burchard’s model for eschatological exegesis concerns his willingness to use patristic material that both accepts and elaborates extensively upon eschatological events that have both contemporary real-life applications and implications. Namely, this concerns the effects of the ‘mystery of iniquity’ and the actions of the ‘followers of antichrist’.\textsuperscript{736} These are issues that we know Tyconius, Augustine, Jerome, and Bede

\textsuperscript{733} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1054B.
\textsuperscript{734} Rev. 19-20.
\textsuperscript{735} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1058C.
\textsuperscript{736} Ibid., PL 140:1052B-1054B.
all sought to avoid in order to prevent future social strife amongst Christian communities, but in this case it seems Burchard has presented them so as to provide a fundamental, uncontextualised basis of reality to encourage his community to engage in and defend moral behaviour.\textsuperscript{737} In essence, reality is qualitatively situated in the last age and exhibiting ongoing signs that qualitatively confirm the nearness of the apocalypse.

Whilst the fundamental reality that is set up in \textit{Liber Vicesimus} is moderately apocalyptic, Burchard has provided no specific standard with which to quantify the manifestation of the mystery of iniquity and the actions of the followers of Antichrist. Certainly, he has stated that people will work great injustices against both the Church and the followers of Christ, but the manner in which they will do so has been left up to the individual. Burchard thus encourages the faithful to engage in qualitative surveillance so that they can recognise the eventual occurrence of these prophesised events rather than giving them material that could (potentially) be used to quantify the nearness of the end of time.

By engineering scriptural parameters that could be used to encapsulate, or caricature, certain types of temporal events, behaviours, and unorthodox beliefs, Burchard has provided his audiences with a model for their thoughts, beliefs, and discourse. This would, in turn, guide their approaches towards pastoral care, theological discussion and debate, including different types of ecclesiastical writing, as they applied their memories of sacred knowledge and experience to real-life.

\textsuperscript{737} See chapter 2.0 for extended discussions on the eschatological outlooks of Tyconius, Augustine, Jerome, and Bede.
7.4.0 Contextual Implications and Resolutions from the Findings from the Analysis of Liber Vicesimus

7.4.1 Reconciling the Context and Manner in which the Decretum was Produced with the Contents of Liber Vicesimus

The Decretum was composed to help educate clerics and secure the future regulation of the Worms’ community: at first glance it might therefore appear that to promote Gregory’s apocalyptic, almost temporally-realised, interpretation of eschatological theology, would serve only to undermine these rebuilding and reforming processes. Whilst the final eighteen canons of Liber Vicesimus present a scripturally inclusive interpretation of eschatological theology that is qualitatively apocalyptic in a moderate sense, this selection refrains from being quantitatively apocalyptic in any capacity. That is to say, not only did the selection of exegetical material not contain any extreme Gregorian (or otherwise pro-apocalyptic) rhetoric, but the discussion of mankind’s place within the sixth age, and the concurrent occurrence of certain eschatological phenomena, were also stripped of any temporal fixity that could be used to calculate the date or time of the Parousia.

In essence, what is presented is an exegetical framework that predominantly details the unknown future occurrence of many of the major eschatological events that feature in the NT, whilst accepting the ongoing reality, or manifestation, of the mystery of iniquity and the actions of the followers of Antichrist, both of which are

---

738 Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1052B-1058C.
739 See chapter 6.0 for an extended discussion on Burchard’s unique approach towards time within an eschatological context.
qualitative signs as to the coming materialisation of Antichrist.\textsuperscript{740} What this does, in effect, is set up a perspective wherein a faithful Christian should be in a constant state of preparedness to respond to the temporal trials necessary to attain salvation. This cannot be an inherent contradiction with the contextual goals and stated purpose of the Decretum, for whilst the time of the apocalypse is qualitatively demonstrated to be near in Liber Vicesimus, the canons contain no set date or perception as to either the end of the ongoing phenomena or the future occurrence of all the set major apocalyptic events.\textsuperscript{741} Burchard’s argument can be summed up as: ‘the future is unknown, but this is what will happen in the end, and these are the key things the faithful should be either dealing with, or be ready to deal with, as they appear to occur’. This is, in many ways is not only a clear re-iteration of Christ’s eschatological teachings, but a direct compromise between the eschatology of Augustine and Gregory. We can otherwise express this outlook in the following terms: ‘keep the apocalypse on one’s shoulder, whilst accounting for, and dealing with, its ongoing indicators’. Burchard could still reform and revitalise Worms with this type of eschatological perspective and subsequent framework. It would keep his ecclesiastical and lay community focussed on refining their spiritual lives by engaging in moral behaviour (as the coming of Antichrist is a looming certainty), but without provoking too much apocalyptic fervour which might cause disruption and panic as we do not know when the current indicators of this will end, or when the main events will take place. From this, we can posit that the eschatology inherent to Liber Vicesimus was designed to encourage and reinforce the need to engage in moral behaviour by revealing the transcendent realities of scripture in a holistic, yet qualitative fashion, so as to help develop the relationships between the community at Worms as they rebuilt

\textsuperscript{740} See chapters \textbf{2.0} and \textbf{6.0} for examples and discussions concerning the key eschatological events within the \textit{NT}.

it after years of neglect and conflict, whilst providing a solid foundation to ecclesiastical leaning and the administration of pastoral care.

7.4.2 How does Liber Vicesimus relate to the Other Nineteen Books of the Decretum?

In many respects the canonical expositions upon the central subject of Liber Vicesimus can be reconciled with the other nineteen topics that are addressed in the Decretum, on both a macroscopic level (volume) and an individual basis (book). Broadly speaking, the first nineteen books seek to explain in different ways, the apparatus, organisation, key beliefs (‘rules’), and ethical practices of the Christian Church. Liber Vicesimus binds these all these components together by giving them spiritual purpose and meaning, which is achieved by explaining the aim of human existence, that is, how to attain salvation. Simply put, Liber Vicesimus indicates to its audience not only why all these different types of spiritual and ecclesiastical infrastructure, both physical and abstract, are currently necessary to help regulate society, but their underlying purpose; that is, why each person needs to be involved in this organisation and at the same time, behave morally during their life. In this sense Liber Vicesimus serves a dual purpose: it both justifies the practices and belief systems of the Church (books I-XIX), whilst offering individuals the answers to fundamental existential questions (Where did I come from? Why am I here? Where am I going once I die?).

If we were then to determine the elements that link one of the Decretum’s first nineteen books and Liber Vicesimus, we see a similar type of relationship, but in a

---

742 Ibid., PL 140:541-1014C.
slightly more nuanced manner.\textsuperscript{743} For instance, \textit{Liber Sextus}, titled, ‘On Homicide’, is concerned with detailing not only the distinction between ‘voluntary and involuntary’ murder, but the many different types of homicide that can be perpetrated by individuals along with the requisite penance for each.\textsuperscript{744} As homicide is a sin, an individual who commits homicide will (probably) have their ability to attain salvation compromised in some manner. As such, it is likely that that those affected or concerned by the act would want to be informed as to the wider reasons why it happened (why God allowed it to happen), what spiritual fate the perpetrator can expect, and how they can (possibly) avoid it. Consequently the issues discussed in \textit{Liber Vicesimus}, in particular theme groups two (\textbf{Original sin and the consequences of free will}), three (\textbf{Goodness, the Grace of God, and the practice of free will}), six (\textbf{Sin: How souls are redeemed, how they are categorised after death, and how these categories relate to one another according to the cosmic order of God’s salvation}), and nine (\textbf{Eschatological events that will take place before, during, and after Gods judgement}), offer those individuals responses to those ‘speculative’ types of questions.\textsuperscript{745} In this sense \textit{Liber Vicesimus} serves to supplement and respond to wider social issues that arise from the different types of behaviours, beliefs, practices and structures set out in each of the other books.

Considering these two different types of inter-textual relations, we can posit that \textit{Liber Vicesimus} was orientated to function as a sort of existential and spiritual binding agent, or mediator, with the other books of the \textit{Decretum}, whilst retaining its own unique function and purpose. In fact, it can be observed that every book of the

\textsuperscript{743} It must be stressed that the type of relationship between each of the first nineteen books of the \textit{Decretum} with \textit{Liber Vicesimus} is very much contingent on the topic of each book, as the wider questions raised and emphasised by that text will concern different issues covered in \textit{Liber Vicesimus}.

\textsuperscript{744} \textit{Decretorum libri viginti}, PL 140:761-778C.

\textsuperscript{745} Ibid., PL 140:1020A-1023C, 1036C-1044C, 1052B-1058D.
Decretum, in its own way, functions as an integrated component of a much larger system of thought, rather than simply a solitary unit within an arbitrary set of texts. But, Liber Vicesimus is unique in respect to the fact that it can be interpreted to have acted as a supplement to the more prosaic issues and questions that would be likely to arise from each of the Decretum’s other books. That aside, the fact that a few ‘single book’ manuscripts of either books nineteen and twenty, or just book twenty, were being produced into the late-twelfth- and early-thirteenth-centuries, indicates that Liber Vicesimus could be comprehended as an independent repository of moral lore regarding the means and method for attaining salvation.746

7.4.3 The Role of Liber Vicesimus in the Development of Ecclesiastical Education at Worms and its Other Audiences

As we have already discussed, the principal function of Liber Vicesimus was to impart an apparently thematic approach towards understanding the role and function of certain theological elements in relation to the salvation of the soul. However, we must briefly consider the ways in which this text would have been utilised to educate not only Burchard’s ecclesiastics and lay community at Worms, but the other audiences that are likely to have encountered it, as it had such a long-lasting and wide-ranging significance across central Europe.

As discussed in chapter 4.0, the explicit presentation and arrangement of both the chapter titles and canons in Liber Vicesimus would indicate that novice, experienced, and casual, readers utilised the text to either learn the information inherent to a

746 See section 3.2.0 for an extended discussion on the manuscript traditions of the Decretum.
particular canon or a series thereof, or to simply study the contents of the text as a whole. In each case, the implication is that the book would be used by individuals or groups as a study tool for learning about ‘speculative theology’ through direct contact. Certainly, there is no reason to doubt that Liber Vicesimus would have been used directly as both a study and reference text by many of the ecclesiasts that encountered it, especially since Burchard indicates in the preface that enhancing the learning of willing ecclesiastics’ was the main purpose for composing the entire Decretum.747 In this respect, a linear, or casual, approach to reading Liber Vicesimus without any other method interpretation or understanding of its thematic structures is a possibility, especially outside of Worms and its surrounding regions.

However, the implicit structural organisation of Liber Vicesimus suggests that there probably was a particular manner in which Burchard wanted either himself or Brunicho to teach, or inform, the ecclesiastics at Worms about the subject(s) in Liber Vicesimus. What I mean by this is that the implicit thematic and sub-group structures of Liber Vicesimus may have been developed so as to provide a structure for oral direction (teaching) and independent meditation about the set subject. Given the considerable size of the whole book and the complexity of some of its canons, it would be unlikely that Burchard’s younger students would have been left to their own devices to simply amble through the text and figure out the theological distinctions between each canons, or certain groups of them. It seems far more likely that the themed groups of canons provided a series of courses for the areas of theology to be learned and discussed over a certain period of time by the clerics at the cathedral school whilst the students received their training in other subjects and practices.

These two different possibilities both suggest that Liber Vicesimus may have been used as a reference tool or a teaching tool within Worms by its clerics. There would definitely be a greater value to the text if it was utilised in this dualistic fashion, as it would suggest that that knowledgeable, or seasoned users of the text, would not only know where to look for the information in the text based on chapter headings, numbers and intended authorities, but upon thematic groups and sub-topics of salvific theological discourse. Whether or not both these approaches would be available or evident to clerics at other institutions cannot be known.

7.4.4 What the Findings of the Analysis Reveal about Contemporary Eschatological Thoughts and Beliefs

In many respects Liber Vicesimus offers historians a unique window through which to observe the form and nature of the eschatological thoughts and beliefs held by certain ecclesiastical and lay communities not only at the turn of the eleventh century, but for several centuries afterwards. Unlike all the other eschatological, or eschatologically themed, texts from this period (see chapter 2.0), Liber Vicesimus, was written to be completely devoid of (almost) any contemporary context. Its text appears to have not been oriented either to address directly, or to reflect perceptions of, contemporary socio-political or religious events, unlike say, Adso’s Epistola, Abbo’s Apologeticus, Wulfstan’s Sermo Lupi, or Ademar’s Chronicon.748 Whilst Liber Vicesimus, as with

the whole *Decretum*, was designed within a particular context, with a certain purpose and audience in mind, it is evident that the contents of this book have been engineered to only provide an exegetical basis for understanding the theology of salvation, and nothing more. Burchard refrained from stating his own interpretation of the events and issues that had occurred, or were ongoing, within the community and country in which he resided, in a direct fashion. To give a very blunt example, Burchard does not hypothetically state, in a similar fashion to Wulfstan, that ‘Duke Otto I of Carinthia’s violent actions against the city of Worms reveal the mystery of iniquity at work, therefore the time of the Antichrist is at hand’. The only information encountered by the audience is the ‘straight’ exegesis of scripture from texts that were composed between the late fourth- and the mid-ninth century. In this respect we realise that *Liber Vicesimus* provides scholars with a ‘text behind the text’ so to speak: it is an unmitigated guide as to how certain clerics and their lay audiences would be likely to have understood and approached the issues, events, and figures, both in real-life and in their textual compositions. Quite simply, we have been given a contemporary manual for the fundamental tenets of eschatological theology that was designed and transmitted for churchmen during the early-eleventh-century. This is quite unlike the other eschatological pieces from this period for which scholars either have to confirm, infer, or speculate upon, the likely exegetical influences that shaped the theological framework which the author sought to build upon. But in the case of *Liber Vicesimus*, we have been directly shown not only the exact sources Burchard and his team chose to shape his audience’s understanding of eschatology, but the type of theological outlook they sought to instil in them. In short, we have not been given a

---

Antichrist’’, 110-134. See sections 1.8.0 and 2.1.3 for more detailed discussions on the form and character of contemporary eschatological, and eschatologically-themed, texts.

contextualised interpretation of eschatology or apocalyptic phenomena, but a blueprint for comprehending the meaning, and real life implications of, eschatological scripture.

Burchard, building upon the work of Gregory, provided his audience with an explanation of the nature of reality (or temporal existence) that is, fundamentally, apocalyptic in scope (if moderate). Burchard’s framework for comprehending the dynamics of salvation unequivocally acknowledges and accepts the ongoing unfolding of not only the final, sixth age of the world, but the manifestation of the mystery of iniquity, and the actions of the followers of Antichrist. Burchard has, thus qualitatively connected eschatological scripture to the audience’s general understanding of their place and role within time and space. The apocalypse is not just an unknown, future certainty, but the general signs of its coming are observable in the present, and are likely to impact upon one’s own ability to attain salvation. Consequently, the audience are made aware of the reality of the certain types of challenges that are divinely set against both their will and desire to act morally. Therefore, Burchard’s audience is implicitly encouraged to rely on their own observations and experience to recognise the occurrences of (some of) the signs which will precede the Coming of Antichrist, the Last Judgement, and the End of the World. This is quite unlike Augustine’s eschatological framework, wherein apocalyptic elements of scripture are deliberately disconnected from temporal developments, to encourage the faithful to have an unchanging disposition of ‘cautious ignorance’. In this respect, the general assumption that Augustinian historiography was the only baseline orthodoxy for the perception and discussion of both time and contemporary events begins to break
down. Reality could, in principle, be moderately apocalyptic in nature whilst the future remained quantitatively indeterminate.

Considering these points, we can use *Liber Vicesimus* as evidence for the viability of two possibilities concerning the scale and type of eschatological beliefs held by members of early medieval society at this time. The first is that the eschatology Burchard and his team constructed is likely to have very much been a systematised reflection of contemporary orthodox thought regarding the stated exegetical principles of eschatological scripture. That is, that mankind was living on the indefinite cusp of the apocalypse and the signs of its coming were, in principle, manifest in the world. Certainly, given the regional geographic range of both the team that are remembered to have compiled the *Decretum*, and the manuscript evidence that testifies to its regional popularity during its initial decades of transmission, this is more likely to have been an approach shared more widely across the Rhineland at the time of the composition of *Liber Vicesimus*, rather than a pan-European one. But considering the wide distribution and fundamental role of Gregory’s, and to a lesser extent Isidore’s, works, it could be much wider. The second is that some, if not many, of the ecclesiastical audiences from the institutions that received *Liber Vicesimus* are likely to have shared interpretations of, and approaches towards, eschatological theology that accorded quite closely with Burchard’s. This is because the evidence that the *Decretum* quickly became a popular text in eleventh-century cathedral libraries across Europe, strongly suggests that Burchard’s outlook and sentiments towards the volumes’ subjects chimed well with a wide audience. In turn this would indicate that the eschatological theology which Burchard promoted in *Liber Vicesimus* was much
more widely shared. Brought together, these points would suggest that *Liber Vicesimus* both reflected and reinforced the orthodoxy of its day.

### 7.5 How the Findings of the Thesis Impact Upon our Current Understanding of Contemporary Approaches towards the Exegesis of Eschatological Theology

Obviously the contents of *Liber Vicesimus* may not reflect the theology or theological approaches of every churchman living in the early-eleventh century Rhineland, or elsewhere in Western Europe. However, we can draw out a sense of the ways in which Burchard and his team of compilers used and understood exegetical eschatology that may be applicable to a wide number of churchmen and their lay audiences. In this respect there are six key areas arising from my analysis of *Liber Vicesimus* that revise our underlying approaches towards understanding the rhetoric and implicit meaning of the language used within eschatological, and eschatologically themed, texts at this time.

- The first point is that the exegetical texts that were taught to students, and then later used by churchmen in their careers to construct eschatological discourse, were most likely to be fundamental patristic texts. With regards to what we have learned about Burchard's education, along with both the formal and intended authorities he used in *Liber Vicesimus*, it is very evident that the works of Gregory the Great were probably the most influential, and that Gregory's exegesis came to form the core outline and principles of Burchard’s eschatological outlook (or, at the very least, the one he wanted to convey to his students). We can therefore posit that ecclesiastical interpretations of
eschatology were probably contingent upon two factors. The first would be the availability of texts and materials that could be used for teaching and further reading. The second would be the type of theology endorsed by the bishop, abbot, provost, or magister, of the institution at which a churchman learned the rudiments of eschatological theology. In this sense, approaches to eschatological discourse could be either subjective or limited depending on where one studied and read as a young cleric or oblate. It also demonstrates that other authorities besides Augustine could form the central basis for leaning about apocalyptic prophecy and mankind’s relationship to it.

- The second point concerns the uses and awareness of both exegetical authority and tradition during the early eleventh century. Whilst Burchard had a very good awareness of the fact that Augustine was a fundamental authority on eschatological theology (amongst other subjects), he did not have to endorse either Augustine’s rhetoric or principles, when explaining his own perspective to the audience of Liber Vicesimus. In other words, Augustine (just like Ambrose on the subject of predestination in canon XXIX), could be readily evoked as an authority on eschatology, but his exegesis could be dismissed in lieu of other authorities that matched the author’s own take on the subject.\textsuperscript{750} From this we can see that the invocation of authority, especially Augustine’s, was conditional, not binding, and could simply be used to give gravitas to a work, nothing more. In addition, we can determine that the material that authors could use to construct their eschatological thoughts and beliefs did not have to be restricted to one or two key texts; they could use a wide variety. In

\textsuperscript{750} Decretorum libri viginti, PL 140:1026C-1023D.
Burchard’s case, we can see that he used the work of four exegetes - Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, Gennadius of Marseilles, and Julian of Toledo - to construct the dynamics of the book’s final eighteen canons.\textsuperscript{751} These factors indicate that the composition of eschatological exegesis and discourse in text was practiced more as an art than a science. That is, in principle, eschatological exegesis and apocalyptic discourse could be quite flexible, so long as \textit{Christ’s} rule on prediction was not broken, and as long as it was grounded in scripture.

- The third point relates to the context in which eschatological exegesis was set. Specifically, \textit{Liber Vicesimus} indicates to us that certain eschatological events, issues, and apocalyptic figures, were treated as fundamental certainties that affected the daily practice of morality and, as a consequence, impacted a soul’s ability to attain salvation. These components of scripture did not necessarily have to be framed or discussed in a quantitative, chronographic, or historical sense, in the manner that, say, Augustine, Bede, Haimo, Adso, Ademar, or Glaber, chose to do.\textsuperscript{752} Some of the essential parts of eschatological scripture were understood and recognised to be part of an ongoing reality that gave meaning, challenges, and purpose, to existence in a qualitative sense. In sum, the signs of the coming judgement encourage people to act morally as individuals and as a community, especially during times of environmental disturbance, or profound socio-political crisis.

\textsuperscript{751} Ib.\textsuperscript{d}, PL 140:1052B-1058C; Hoffmann, Pokorny, \textit{Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms}, 243-244.
\textsuperscript{752} See chapter 2.0 for extended discussions on the development of early medieval exegesis.
• The fourth point is that canon law is clearly a very useful, and largely unexplored, avenue for future historical research into eschatological exegesis and apocalyptic belief in the early medieval period. *Liber Vicesimus* provided its audiences with an extended exegetical schema on the processes of eschatology and salvation, and it would be worthwhile consulting other contemporary, or near contemporary, canonical collections to determine if they too offer similar interpretations and frameworks. Doing so offers the possibility of furthering our awareness and understanding of both the impact and role of Gregory’s eschatology and Burchard’s synthesis within the exegetical tradition. *Liber Septimus Decimus* of Ivo’s *Decretum* would be a good place to begin, as Burchard’s *Liber Vicesimus* is featured wholesale within that text (alongside twenty seven more canons).753

• The fifth point concerns the limitations of historians’ current understanding of the relationship between eschatological exegetical traditions and ecclesiastical intellectual practices in the early medieval period. As I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, the major moral works of Gregory the Great appear to have held a place of significance alongside those of Augustine and Bede from approximately the early-seventh- to the early-eleventh-century. This would seem to be the case not only within the exegesis of learned eschatology, but in the basic educational curriculum. As such we need to rework our underlying notions about the form and nature of late-tenth- and early-eleventh-century eschatological works (and the way eschatology was expressed in texts), by

reconciling them with the long-term historical distribution and accessibility of exegetical texts used as pedagogic aids, alongside the principal authorities used and advocated by various institutions, to teach the subject.

- The sixth and final point concerns the way in which historians could make use of the exegetical theology set out in *Liber Vicesimus* to further their interpretations of the form and nature of written eschatological thoughts and beliefs throughout the late-tenth- and early-eleventh century. Although *Liber Vicesimus* is evidently an early-eleventh century work that, at the time of its creation, expressed a regional interpretation and synthesised approach towards constructing eschatological exegesis, Burchard’s work also remains the only text from this period to set out an extended exegesis on eschatological and moral theology. As such, it may be useful for future studies to consider how far other contemporary eschatological texts fit within the theological framework Burchard and his compilers provided in *Liber Vicesimus*. By doing so, it may be possible to better understand the basis for the written expression of eschatological thoughts and beliefs during this particular period, if not beyond.

### 7.6 Final Comments

The evidence, conclusions, and proposed revisions, I have provided within this thesis can offer historians a fresh perspective on the way we think about the interpretation of eschatological literature and the nature of salvific belief during the early-eleventh century. Certainly, these elements do not constitute a definitive approach, or set
framework, for analysing other contemporary eschatological texts, but stand as a set of guidelines that provide a starting point for revisionist positions on the subject. There was far more nuance and variability within the thoughts, practices, and beliefs of the people inhabiting the Western World at this time than can be easily captured in words. We should therefore refrain from reducing a very complex and inexact intellectual tradition, as expressed within a limited set of texts, to a uniform system of interpretation; otherwise we neglect our duty to interpret the past as objectively as possible.
Appendix

The Thematic Structure and Arrangement of Burchard of Worm’s Decretum: Liber Vicesimus with Translated and Redacted Canons.

Subject of Book: The Salvation of the Soul.

Part 1: The Origin and Creation of a Soul.

Theme Group 1: The Form, Nature, and Creation of Souls.

Cap. I: That the human soul, among the other creatures, is not created from the beginning.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus

Sum: Human souls are not created at the same time, nor are they made through intercourse. Only the body is. The soul is infused into the body in the womb by God. Full of body and soul the human comes out of the womb full of human substance.

Cap. II: That there are not two souls in one man, as some say, but only one.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus

Sum: There are not two souls in one man. The soul is a singular entity that both controls the body and gives it both freewill and reason.
Cap. III: That only man may have a substantive soul.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*

Sum: Only man has a substantial soul. The soul lives on, substantially, after the death of the body.

Cap. III: That the souls of cattle (animals) endeth with the death of the flesh.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*

Sum: The souls of animals are created with the flesh and end with the death of the flesh.

Cap. V: That the human soul does not die with the flesh.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*

Sum: The Human soul does not die with the flesh as it is not implanted with the flesh. It is created and infused into the body when it is in the womb.

Cap. VI: That man is composed of two substances.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*

Sum: Humans consist of two substances: the soul and the flesh. The soul has reasoning, the body its senses. The soul moves the body, although it can hold reason without it.
Cap. VII: That the spirit is not the third substance of man, as some say.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus

Sum: The spirit is the soul, not another substance that makes humans. It has a different name, spiritus, as it breathes in the body, as the soul, anima, animates the body. The only third substance, according to the apostle (unknown) is the Holy Spirit, as it may preserve within us and chase off false spirits.

Cap. VIII: That just as God could create good things out of nothing, so, when he would, he also restored the good things that were lost, by the mystery of his incarnation.

Intended Source: Gregory, Moralia

Formal Source: Gregory, Moralia

Sum: God made two creations to contemplate Himself: Angels and humans. But both suffered from pride, thereby sundering their upright station (original sin). An angelic being is spirit alone, but man is both spirit and flesh. Man has an infirmity through the flesh, whereas Angels do not. Therefore, when God decided to work redemption (atonement), the Apostate angel (Lucifer), having no such infirmity, was driven down further (Hell), whereas man was afforded a less severe punishment.

Cap. IX: That God created three forms of the spirit, one that is not covered with flesh, another that is covered in flesh, but will not die with the flesh. The third that is covered in flesh, and will die with the flesh.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: Infidels have faith in the wrong thing that they cannot see: the fact that the soul lives after corporeal death assists Christians with their faith. There are three types of spirits that have life: Those that have no bodies (Angels), those that have bodies but do not die with the flesh (Man) and those that have bodies and die with the flesh (cattle and brute beasts). Man is therefore inferior to angels and superior to animals and participates in both worlds until the day of judgement when the resurrection shall consume the body. Then the spirit will be reunited with the soul which will be preserved forever for God. However, the bodies of the damned shall never fully perish; though they will always decay they will die without end, having sinned with both body and mind.
Part 2: Factors that Affect the Fate of a Soul during a Lifetime.

Theme Group 2: Original Sin and the Consequences of Free Will.

Cap. X: That man, in the first condition, may be given his own free will.

Intended Source: Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*

Sum: Man was created with free will to keep the commandment and persevere (fruit from the tree). After the fall, man lost the good of its nature and strength of will, but not its choice, or rational will. God invites those to salvation those who follow acts according to the opportunity of salvation. Man has the power to have the beginning of salvation. It is our concern to that we do not idly slip when we receive salvation.

Cap. XI: That all men lost their natural ability through the transgression of Adam.

Intended Source: Pope Celestine I, *Decretals: Chapter 5*

Formal Source: Pope Celesine I, *Epistola XXI*

Sum: Through original sin all men lost their natural power and innocence. That mankind’s ruin can now only be raised through the grace of God. Pope Innocent suffered the consequence of free choice and was overwhelmed. He would have lain in ruin had it not been for God’s grace that lifted him up.

Cap. XII: Of the same thing.

Intended Source: Pope Celestine I, *Decretals: Chapter 5*

Formal Source: Pope Celesine I, *Epistola XXI*

Sum: Pope Innocent said that no one uses their free will well except though God.
Cap. XIII: That man is placed in paradise in this way, if he remains obedient, at times to the heavenly country, without the death of the flesh.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: If man is obedient to his creator he may reach heaven without the death of the flesh. Man was made immortal in a way that if he sinned he would die, and if he didn’t sin he wouldn’t die and reach a place where sin was not possible (heaven).

Cap. XIV: That we of the flesh who were born in the blindness of this exile, a son born in prison, are nurtured and compared.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Formal Source: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Sum: Summation of the fall of man and mankind’s current (earthly) disposition in relation to the kingdom of heaven. Although mankind’s memory of paradise has been passed down to the current generations, they doubt its existence as their experience has only been of banishment (prison allegory). We should believe in that which we cannot yet experience.

**Theme Group 3: Goodness, the Grace of God, and the Practice of Free Will.**

Cap. XV: That no good can be done by itself.

Intended Source: Pope Celestine I, *Decretals*

Formal Source: Pope Celesine I, *Epistola XXI*

Sum: No one can be good unless they participate in acts devoted to God.
Cap. XVI: Of the same thing.

Intended Source: Pope Celestine I, Decretals

Formal Source: Pope Celesine I, Epistola XXI

Sum: Even if one has been baptised, one can still fall to the snares of the devil and the longings of the flesh unless he has received the daily help of God. Mankind will fall again unless we receive Gods aid.

Cap. XVII: Of the same thing.

Intended Source: Pope Celestine I, Decretals

Formal Source: Pope Celesine I, Epistola XXI

Sum: God works through our free will to do good. As Zosimus teaches: we should ask for Gods help in all acts, manners, situations and thoughts. It is arrogant for humans to take anything to itself as our struggle is not against the material (flesh and blood) but against princes and powers of the atmosphere (God, Satan and his followers).

Cap. XVIII: That the Grace of God does not only forgives sins, but also helps us towards not committing them.

Intended Source: Gregory, Moralia

Formal Source: Pope Celesine I, Epistola XXI

Sum: The grace of God forgives sins and helps us not to commit them (justification of understanding with examples follow). Also, those who only claim that the grace of God has only the power to remit sins that have already been committed, and is not also a help to prevent sins from being committed, are to be declared anathema.
Theme Group 4: Predestination.

Sub-Group 4.1: What Predestination is and its Fundamental Purpose.

Cap. XIX: That the predestination of God is to be so ordered, so that harmful things which are predestined, can be loosened by the prayers of the elect.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: Everything that is done is predestined by God, and that which is not to predestined by God cannot be obtained by his hands. I.e. The things that holy men pray for were predestined to be obtained by prayer.

Cap. XX: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: Predestination is fulfilled by prayers. Example: Abraham’s first wife was barren, so he could not multiply his seed through Isaac through his wife. So God, upon hearing his prayer, enabled Rebecca to conceive Isaac, thereby fulfilling God’s predestined path for Abraham.
Sub-Group 4.2: The Organisation of Predestination in Relation to Temporal and Eternal Chronology.

Cap. XXI: The foresight of God, at the same time and providence.

Intended Source: Augustine, *De Praedestinatione*

Formal Source: Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*

Sum: God knows everything at all times as His knowledge transcends all movement of time, so He perceives everything in an eternal present. In other words it is a total knowledge of a moment that ever passes, an outlook that looks down on everything from a height. As man can distinguish (a finite quantity of) different things that function in simultaneity (Example: movement of clouds whilst the sun rises and a man goes walking), so does God observe the entire universe at once. There are two necessities: One that all men are mortal. Second, a conditional: if you know someone is walking, he must necessarily be walking. All things will come to pass that are foreknown by God, but of certain points of free will. Yet when the happen they do not lose their nature.

Cap. XXII: That the divine eternity, has neither had a past, nor a future.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: Divine eternity knows no past or future, only present.

Cap. XXIII: That the things that happen to men do not come to pass without the secret counsel of the Almighty.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: God ordered how the ages of the world should pass before they began. Therefore all things that happen have happened through the council of God.
**Sub-Group 4.3: Temporal Time and Mankind’s Place Within it in Relation to Predestination.**

**Cap. XXIV: Of the same thing.**

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: The amount of years that shall be appointed to each was foreordained before time, and the extra time God added to some was inwardly appointed without foreknowledge.

**Cap. XXV: That the days foreordained by God to each individual, can neither be lessened, nor increased.**

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: The span of life afforded each man by God cannot be increased or shortened, save in instances of extraordinary piety or the most wretched, wicked deeds. Some evil men, through God’s secret design, have no predestined period of life as they are too engaged in the world of the flesh, as they do not know to what future they are looking forward to.

**Sub-Group 4.4: How Free Will Interacts with the Predestination of a Humans’ Soul in Relation to Salvation: Why Some are Punished and Others Not. Why Humans Must Serve God Through the Responsible Exercise of our Free Will.**

**Cap. XXVI: That God is disguised by our sins.**

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: In order to drive us to good deeds, God does not listen to some (in mourning), as their lives may be better led for receiving punishment, so that they may seek tranquil rest (heaven) beyond the world.
Cap. XXVII: That God regulates everything, and considers the end of all things.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: God regulates and contemplates everyone, which includes both the elect and the damned. He sees how the elect transform from evil to good and how the damned are dragged to a punishment they are worthy of. Examples of what God saw the end of (people and places).

Cap. XXVIII: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Fulgentius, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei*

Sum: The only predestination is that in which we prepare for God’s future works. The saints talk of foreboding and predestination which we learn mean one and the same thing.

Cap. XXIX: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Ambrose, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei*

Sum: Evil people are predestined to punishment, but not the manner in which they have sinned as it is their choice and God is not the author of iniquity. Righteousness and God works come from God and evil from the Devil.

Cap. XXX: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei*

Sum: Nothing is forced out of human will in the name of necessity. But only the divine work as it was predicated.
Cap. XXXI: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Isidore, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei*

Sum: God is not compelled by any force or will save his own. Those he has predestined for glory he predestined for righteousness. Those he has predestined for punishment he has not predestined for crime. God crowns his righteousness with the saints who are perfected through grace. The impious are condemned of their impiety of unrighteousness. He glorifies the work of the righteous, but in others he does not.

Cap. XXXII: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei*

Sum: The faithful are inclined to believe and acknowledge the good of God along with the foreknowledge of who the sinners are.

Cap. XXXIII: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Ambrose, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei*

Sum: God has foreknowledge of the all the works of men both good and evil. Just as he cannot be blamed for his foreknowledge of the iniquity of men, he must be praised for those who are just. He has only predestined the good deeds he foresaw and not the evil ones. He also does not predestine entry to everlasting punishment, only those who will sin and receive destruction.
Cap. XXXIV: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, De praedestinatione dei

Sum: In his sermon God taught us about heaven and hell. The evil and impious were predestined to just judgement and suffering but to the various types of sinful acts they would commit. They are, essentially, ‘vessels of danger’, not of blame. God made these vessels of wrath to demonstrate his power and prepare his vessels of mercy for glory (saints and faithful). The evil are predestined for hell in order to lead the good into justice and Heaven. The predestination of the evil to eternal fire is not unjust, and those who wish to challenge it do not understand the decrees of God, for if the evil are predestined to be punished they are ‘worthy’ of said punishment.

Cap. XXXV: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, De praedestinatione dei

Sum: If men do not sin by their own free will, God will not bring about their destruction. Similarly God cannot get angry at a sinful man if he had fallen into blame from Gods predestination.

Cap. XXXVI: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Fulgentius, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, De praedestinatione dei

Sum: Gods predestination drives no one to sinfulness or to punishment, although some are predestined to remain in iniquity all the way to their punishment.
Cap. XXXVII: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Ambrose, (Unspecified Text)

Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei*

Sum: Although some people are predestined to sin, they cannot claim it because of God, and must face punishment for their sins as they were committed of their own volition. Sinning is not caused by the foreknowledge of God, but peoples desire to contravene divine order. Without penance a sinner will face punishment. Sinning is caused by the desire of men to be subject to the will of the flesh as opposed to that of God. No deed is worthy enough to overcome continual sin.

Cap. XXXVIII: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Ambrose, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei*

Sum: Man cannot correct those God despises.

Cap. XXXIX: Also on predestination.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Ratramnus of Corbie, *De praedestinatione dei*

Sum: The faithful know that heaven and earth are held together by God, who rules and regulates them with divine providence. Nothing is concealed from his wisdom.
Theme Group 5: Angels: Their creation, the Organisation of the Members of the Angelic Host, Along with the Function and their Differing Relationships with Mankind.

Sub-Group 5.1: The Creation and Nature of Spiritual Properties (esp. Angels).

Cap. XL: The creation of the angels.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Sources: Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus

Sum: During the creation, when darkness hid the water, and the water hid the earth, God created the angels and all the heavenly virtues.

Cap. XLI: That nothing is incorporeal and invisible, except only God.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Sources: Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus

Sum: Only God is incorporeal and invisible by nature. He is everywhere, fills all things and binds them together.

Cap. XLII: That all creatures are corporeal.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Sources: Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus

Sum: All creatures, angels and celestial virtues of the body are corporeal, even though not all consist of the flesh.
Cap. XLIII: That all intellectuals of nature may be immortal.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Sources: Gennadius of Marseilles, De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus

Sum: We think that intellectual natures (i.e. invisible things) are immortal, but as they cannot die, they cannot be resurrected.

Sub-Group 5.2: The Nature of Angels before the Fall.

Cap. XLIV: That before the fall, the apostate angels would have had free will.

Intended Source: Gregory, Moralia

Formal Sources: Gregory, Moralia

Sum: Before the fall the apostate angels had free will. Unlike God, the essence of the angels was not (and still remains) in a fixed state, but in motion thereby enabling them to be capable of change. Although the highest spiritual being were created to be good, they could refuse to remain so, and thus stabilise their form to a state more befitting of their choice, or remain in a good state and become more meritorious in God’s sight.

Cap. XLV: Why the spirits of the angels sinned without forgiveness, as no mixture with flesh held them in bonds.

Intended Source: Gregory, Moralia

Formal Sources: Gregory, Moralia

Sum: The spirits of angels sinned without forgiveness as they were not bound by the flesh (before the fall). However, man sought pardon for his sin as he was aware that he lay beneath himself by the frailties of the flesh.
Sub-Group 5.3: Role and Relation of Elect Angels with Humans.

Cap. XLVI: That the guardian angels are placed over men.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: Angels are placed in over man, and hey themselves are under the governance of authority of superior angels.

Cap. XLVII: That each individual human is given an individual guardian angel.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Vita Patrum*

Formal Source: Rufinus of Aquileia, *Verba seniorum*

Sum: A story from the life of Saint Paul the Simple that highlights the existence of guardian angles and the banishment of an (unknown) mans demon when he entered and left the Church.

Sub-Group 5.4: Organisation of the Angelic Host: Their Functions, and Interactions with One Another (on Mankind’s Behalf).

Cap. XLVIII: That [at] the right hand of God is the elect portion of the Angels, and the left hand of God is the reprobate portion of Angels.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: The angelic host is divided into two sections. Those on the right side of God are the elect, and those on the left are reprobate. The reason for this, despite God not being bound by ‘sides’ as an omnipotent being, that both sides serve God in their own way. The good through the aid they give, but the wicked for the trials they inflict. One side helps those who wish to turn to God, the other presses down on those who turn away from God. Together both sides form the angelic host, with one side harmonising with divine mercy, the other, through serving their own ends, obeys Gods judgement. Biblical example and explanation follows, wherein an angel delivers a secret judgement of forced sin on a human so as to be dragged to his preordained punishment. Satan proclaimed himself as a son of God on his left side, this is why the sides are named ad organised thusly.
Cap. XLIX: That impure spirits roam abroad in the mid space between this heaven and earth.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moria*  
Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moria*  
Sum: Impure spirits, which were cast from heaven, reside with the mid-space between heaven and earth. They envy the fact that men can reach heaven as they were cast down because of their pride.

Cap. L. On that, if the peace is maintained in the highest.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moria*  
Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moria*  
Sum: There are a set amount of Angels who are charged to supervise the regulation of the several particular nations. Sometimes the spirits themselves are said to come against one another when the interests of these nations conflict. It can therefore be said that there cannot be peace ‘in the high places’ of earth (not the heavenly ones).

Sub-Group 5.5: The Origin, Role, Function and Motivation of Satan (An Apostate Angel).

Cap. LI: That the will of the devil is always evil but his power is never unjust.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moria*  
Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moria*  
Sum: The motives of Satan are evil and selfish, yet his power derives from God and is therefore just. God permits this power as long as it is conducted through the attainment of divine justice.
Cap. LII: That God has four ways of speaking to the Devil, and the Devil has three ways of speaking to God.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moria*ia

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moria*ia

Sum: God has four modes of communicating with Devil: He reprehends his unjust ways, and urges against him the righteousness of His Saints, and permits him to try their innocence, and sometimes stops him from tempting the elect. But the devil can communicate with God in three ways: he communicates to Him his dealing, when he imposes the elect with false charges, or when he demands the same innocence to put it to trial.

Cap. LIII: That without labour and fighting, none can obtain the crown of victory.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Sum: Without labour and fighting none can obtain victory, in the same way one must valiantly and constantly resist the assaults of Satan, as he is watching us, waiting to entrap and deceive us, so that he may find something to accuse us of before God (at his judgement).

Cap. LIV: On creation, and nature, and the ministry of the angels, and the fall of the apostate angels.

Intended Source: Isidore, *De Officiis*

Formal Sources: Isidore, *Sententiae*

Sum: The performance of the office of ‘Angels’, by spirits not subject to the material word, entails the proclamation of Gods will to men. Their nature is mutable, but incorruptible, their love everlasting. They are immutable by grace, not nature, which is why there are fallen angels. The Angels were created before every other creature, to participate in the eternal wisdom. Their contemplation of God prevents them from mutating. Before the Angels, the Devil was created as an Archangel, first in eminence, first of the angels. God made him the most splendid. But the Devil fell from heaven before mans creation, because he was a liar, and was cast from heaven. He not only suffered the sin pride, but sought to make himself more than God. [Note: I was unable to translate all of the contents of this canon, it being the largest and most complex in *Liber Vicesimus*. As such, the reader should be aware that the redaction I have presented accounts for only the first half of the text].
Sub-Group 5.6: The Organisation and Roles of Heavenly Citizens and the Function of ‘The Soldiers’ of God.

Cap. LV: That there is a number of heavenly citizens, and it may be finite, and infinite.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: To God, the number of heavenly citizens is finite, but to humans they are incapable of being numbered. There are those who just stand by him and do not communicate with men, and those who travel as bearers of tidings. There are more of the latter than the former, therefore those who ‘stand before’ are considered finite, and those who ‘minister’ infinite. Angelic spirits are known as ‘the soldiers’ of God as they act against impure spirits with labour and authority.

Theme Group 6: Sin. How souls are redeemed, how they are categorised after death, and how these categories relate to one another according to the cosmic order of God’s salvation.


Cap. LVI: That all fault is resolved before departing with the service of holy oblation.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Sum: Narrative example: How the practice of holy sacrifice (Requiem Mass) redeemed the soul of a brother monk who was in hell, as he had sinned by secretly possessing three crowns (which was against the rules of the monastery, as all should live in communion without owning anything proper).
Cap. LVII: That the Holy oblation helps men’s souls after death, if the sins are not pardonable.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: Narrative example: Souls receive great profit by the sacrifice of the holy oblation, the spirits of the dead desire it of the living, and give certain tokens to let us understand how they have received absolution.

Cap. LVIII: That it is blessed for each man to depart henceforth freely out of this world, than to seek release after death.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: People know that if their sins are not irremissible, that through Christ’s sacrifice they will attain absolution after death. Evidently the holy sacrifices those who rely on the work of others (friends) to provide good works for their souls. Therefore it is better for man to do good works for himself, and depart free out of the world, than rely on others to help him after death (i.e. straight to heaven or wait in purgatory).

Sub-Group 6.2: Wicked Men.

Cap. LIX: That none ought to pray for sin, there is unto death.

Intended Source: Gregory, Moralia

Formal Sources: Gregory, Moralia

Sum: There are some sins that cannot be corrected or pardoned before death. God’s mercy will forget them, as those who did not fear Him in life cannot find Him merciful in death.
Cap. LX: That all the souls of the elect are believed to be in heaven, and the souls of the wicked in hell.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: In the same way that some holy men go straight to heaven after death, one should believe that the souls of the reprobate and wicked burn in hell after death.

Cap. LXI: That as the good shall have no end of their joys, so the wicked never any release of their torments.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: The wicked shall go into everlasting punishment, and the just into everlasting life

Cap. LXII: That it is not so, as some affirm, that God therefore did threatened eternal pain to the wicked, to keep them from evils.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: God is not deceitful therefore He does not falsely threaten those who lead wicked lives in order to restrain them from committing sins.

Cap. LXIII: Why the sins that were perpetrated with an end, can be punished without end.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: As evil men would have led sinful, unrepentant lives without end had they the power to ensure that their lives would not end God must so punish their sin without end. Those who do not wish for eternal torment in the next world should not give their lives to sin and wickedness in this one.
Cap. LXIV: That God is pious, and takes no pleasure in the torments of wretched men, but he is also just, and therefore he never gives over, to punish the wicked.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi
Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: God, as the just judge, does not take pleasure in punishing the wicked as it would mean that he enjoys cruelty. Those that do not give over in their wicked ways, and burn forever, are not tormented for torments sake. They are tormented to justify to the faithful the torments they overcame to attain the joys they now experience.

Sub-Group 6.3: Good Men.

Cap. LXV: On that, if before the resurrection of the body the souls the just enter into heaven.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi
Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: Those that are perfect attain heaven straight after death. Yet it is unclear whether the souls of just men go to heaven straightaway, or remain in a state of postponement.

Cap. LXVI: That the just, on the Day of Judgement, shall enjoy the endless glory of body and soul together.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi
Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: If certain men’s souls have already entered heaven before judgement day then they shall have a further increase in joy, as their bodies shall partake in eternal bliss and shall receive joy in the flesh. They shall rejoice for the felicity of their souls.
Cap. LXVII: On that, if in heaven the good know the good, and the wicked in hell know one another.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: An example that explains the understanding that the good know the bad, and the bad the good, in both heaven and hell. The good see those who are tormented to justify their own suffering in life, and the evil see those who have been saved to reinforce their lack of love for God and their wicked ways.

Sub-Group 6.4: Intermediate Souls.

Cap. LXVIII: On that, if we believe there is any fire of purgatory, who will have their souls cleansed of sin after death.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: If men have not procured pardon and remission for minor sins within their lifetime are punished after death. They may be saved by fire of purgatory if they have made little sins which fire can easily consume.

Cap. LXIX: There may be but one hell of fire, but it does not torture all.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: There is one fire of hell, but its torments and pains are different for each sinner depending on the quantity of sin they committed. (Note: Practical examples follow).
Sub-Group 6.5: How the Orders of Soul Classification Relate to One Another According to God’s Predestination for Salvation.

Cap. LXX: How many kinds of offering are made for the deceased.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Collectio Hibernensis

Sum: There are four kinds of offerings: The very good: they are a way of giving thanks to God. The not-so-good: a full remission. The not-so-bad: there are appropriations to make damnation more tolerable. The very bad: they are a consolation to the living.

Cap. LXXI: Why the saints do not pray for the souls of their enemies, when they foresaw them burning in the eternal fire.

Intended Source: [Continuity Error] Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: The Saints pray for their enemies at times when they may be turned to penance. In the next life none shall pray for those who are condemned to everlasting torments, in the same way none now pray for the souls of the Devil and his apostate angels. Yet, holy men should still take compassion on the dead and damned for their sins, when they know that they do some thing through the frailties of the flesh, which will also be judged. Their souls are so much more inclined to God, that they would not do something uncomfortable to His divine pleasure.
Theme Group 7: The Order and Form of God’s Realms and how He decides the Fate of Each (Eternal) Soul will reside.

Sub-Group 7.1: The Organisation of the Elect and the Reprobate (respectively) in Heaven and Hell.

Cap. LXXII: That there are two manners of life, also there are two manner of death.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Sum: In the way that there are two manners of life: the natural and the spiritual (creation and through God), there are also two manners of death: we suffer a natural death, yet our souls do not die.

Cap. LXXIII: That the elect and the reprobate are led to their torment in the same place.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Sum: The elect and reprobate shall be carried to similar places. Though the elect shall only receive one penny as a reward for their merits, they will be housed according to their various degrees of distinguishment. Similarly the reprobate will be put together in torment according to the type of sins they committed: the proud with the proud, the carnal with the carnal, covetous with the covetous, deceitful with the deceitful, envious with the envious, infidels with infidels. They shall be burnt in bundles.
Cap. LXXIV: About there being many mansions in the house of God.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: Although there are many mansions in the house of God of diverse rewards, there shall be some measure of harmony. A mighty influence will join us together in peace, so that although not all toiled equally, all will equally obtain a penny. The blessedness of joy will be the same to one and all.

Cap. LXXV: That he, whom, if sin once force to punishment, mercy never more restores to pardon.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: Men are driven by impulses of their desires, but once judged by God, never return for the benefit of working. Those that go to hell shall not come up from it.

Sub-Group 7.2: The Perspective of God and How this Relates to his Decisions Regarding the Manner of the Fate of the Souls of Men and Angels.

Cap. LXXVI: That God is called jealous, angry, regretful, merciful, and prescient.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: Considering what we already know of God’s nature, how is He jealous, wroth, repentant, commiserating, foreknowing? He is simply styled as such (as we understand it by effect) but does things differently (He is cause): He knows rather than foreknows, He watches of the chastity of each individual soul, He smites sins without being agitated, He changes that which is minded, He changes the thing that repents, He succours our misery, He succours the miserable, He sees the present.
Cap. LXXVII: Why God allows his elect to die thus, so he may not show in their life of whose sanctity they are.

Intended Source: [Continuity Error] Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: God allows his elect to die for certain reasons. Narrative example: one reason being that they may have committed a small sin that needs purging, therefore their death is their punishment for disobedience, but they are now just in death. The other main reason being that the reprobates who killed said holy man will be more punished as God does not want them to triumph.

Sub-Group 7.3: The Nature and Form of the Fire of Hell, and How the Souls of the Wicked Treated after Death (Compared to the Elect).

Cap. LXXVIII: May He make death without death for the wretched.

Intended Source: Gregory, Moralia

Formal Sources: Gregory, Moralia

Sum: Upon the wicked God gives death without death, end without ending (eternal torment). Death does not extinguish their pain, their torments or fear. The flame burns but does not banish the darkness.

Cap. LXXIX: That the fire in the inferno does not provide light for the consolation of the sinners but rather torments.

Intended Source: Gregory, Moralia

Formal Sources: Gregory, Moralia

Sum: The fire of hell gives no light of comfort to sinners. In it they see all their followers in torment, as they transgressed the precepts of the creator.
Cap. LXXX: Of the same thing.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: Whereas the elect know how to burn in consolation and not punishment, the reverse is true for the damned, as, to them, it can only burn in punishment and sow how the objects of their affection were burned. Hell fire contains infliction of both darkness and light, it burns and is dark, when consuming the carnal. Any who indulge in vainglory are brought to torments with their leader. Both angels and men involved in the same punishment are bound by the same guilt in sin.

Cap. LXXXI. That thus the human spirit is immortal so that it can die and yet dies not.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: A human soul can both die and can never die. It may cease form a mode of living, but by dying it does not end to every mode of being. It is both immortally mortal, and mortally immortal.

Cap. LXXXII. That the fire of Gehenna is corporeal, and requires no other fuel but the torment of the reprobates.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: Unlike normal fire, which requires fuel to be sustained in any way, the fire of hell, whilst it is a corporeal fire that consumes the children of perdition, is not kindled by human effort, or wood. Once made it is unextinguishable and gives off heat. From the beginning of the world the fires of hell was created in order to punish the wicked He had foreseen. As the wicked sinned in both spirit and flesh, they are both punished in spirit and flesh alike.
Theme Group 8: The Nature of Soul and Hell: The Way Damned Souls Interact with the Fire of Hell and the Manner in which the Wicked will Receive Punishment.

Sub-Group 8.1: The Nature of the Soul Both Inside and Outside the Body.

Cap. LXXXIII. Why the soul remains in the body and cannot be seen leaving it.

Intended Source: None

Formal Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: The nature of the soul is invisible, and so it does depart as invisibly as it arises or remains. Although it is clear the soul lives in the body, as one could not move without it, it is difficult to say in what manner or form it exists outside of the body.

Cap. LXXXIV. That none should doubt those things are invisible that attend upon the invisible God.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: The power of God resides in all things. Some things He gives life by breathing in to them, to others he grants it differently, and others again, He bestows a being without any life at all. God is invisible and is served by invisible creatures; the holy Angles and souls of just men. Yet it is hard to believe in things we cannot see.

Cap. LXXXV. That no visible things can be seen or known except through invisible things.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: In the same way that we believe things that cannot be seen, we cannot see visible things without the means of the invisible. Examples relating to the soul and the body: without the soul the body cannot perceive things physically or visually. Therefore nothing in this world can be disposed of without the invisible, typically God. Peter almost believes that visible things are nothing.
Cap. LXXXVI. That the incorporeal soul is afflicted in the inferno by the corporeal fire.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: The soul is kept in the body as the soul animates and gives life to it.

Sub-Group 8.2: How the Soul Interacts with the Fire of Hell.

Cap. LXXXVII. That the incorporeal soul can come back to life and be held there where it is tormented by the corporeal fire.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: The soul cannot be held in a body to be tormented in the fires of hell. The sight of fire torments the soul, but also the feeling thereof. Thus reason and the proof of scripture (examples using Lazarus and the rich glutton) tells us that the incorporeal soul by means of corporeal fire may be tormented with a spiritual and incorporeal flame. Peter partially agrees, but comments that he does not fully understand how corporeal thing can hold and torment that with is incorporeal.

Cap. LXXXVIII. Regarding renegade souls; that they should be believed to be incorporeal.

Intended Source: Gregory, Dialogi

Formal Sources: Gregory, Dialogi

Sum: Reprobate angels do not have corporeal bodies.
Cap. LXXXIX. That it should be believed that the fire of Gehenna is corporeal.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Dialogi*

Sum: The fire of hell is corporeal.

Sub-Group 8.3: Justification for the Invisibility of the Fire of Hell Through the Description of the Way Mortals Interact with God. The Properties of the Fire of Hell.

Cap. XC. Regarding that which is written; no one has ever seen God, and this must be understood as it is.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: Although it is written that certain Old Testament figures such as Jacob, Moses, Isaiah and Micah saw God, yet it is also written in 1 John 4:12, that ‘No man hath seen God at any time’. In actual fact, mortals may only see God by certain semblances or by certain figures. He is seen in certain comprehensible images, but not seen in the incomprehensible light of eternity. In some way though, through God’s image or semblance corruptible flesh (men) can see eternal brightness.

Sub-Group 8.4: The Manner of the Punishment of the Wicked.

Cap. XCI. The double punishment of the damned.

Intended Source: Isidore, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Sources: Isidore, *Sententiae*

Sum: The damned receive a double punishment in hell, as they are punished not just with the body but with the mind as well because they debated in their minds what they might do with their bodies. The fire of hell has light for some and not for others so that the damned may see where they are punished to increase their sorrow and give them no means of consolation. There is a great difference between the miseries of this life and those of the next. For in hell there is only the torment of those suffering and shadows because of their aversion to the light. In hell there is only misery.
Cap. XCII. The punishment of the wicked.

Intended Source: Isidore, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Sources: Isidore, Sententiae

Sum: On the day of judgement, those who committed similar acts of wickedness will be punished in similar fashion. In the same way that pious men are judged for the quality of their virtues, so will the impious be condemned for the wickedness of his crimes. The nature of the punishment will differ according to the quality of the crime. The impious deserve to be punished more harshly in the judgement with mental anguish, by which the just will be seen to have earned the beatitude of glory. Many chosen ones who deserve to be found in body, the Lord coming to judge, are agitated by fear, seeing the punishment of the impious to be if such a kind. By this terror they are purged because if something remains in them from the body of sin, they shall see the devil damned by this fear and be purged. Those that would commit iniquity will be rebuked and cast down by God, whilst the rest shall be absorbed into heavenly precepts. Many will have claimed to work for God on the day of judgement, but he will rebuke, and cast them down.
Part 3: The Events Surrounding God’s Judgement of the Fate of Every Soul.

Theme Group 9: Eschatological Events that will take Place Before, during, and After Gods Judgement.

Sub-Group 9.1: The Antichrist: His Role and Function Before the Last Judgement.

Cap. XCIII: The Antichrist.

Intended Source: Isidore, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Sources: Isidore, Sententiae

Sum: Those who do not live according to their profession, or teach contrary to it is an Antichrist. The Antichrist is now working the mystery of iniquity before he arrives through his depraved followers who precede him. The elect will be sent into, error of wavering a little by the shock of terrors and signs due to the vast amount of prodigies he (Antichrist) sends. The elect will quickly recover and restrain their error of the heart with the knowledge that all these events were preordained by God, so that the holy will not be disturbed by the actions of the enemy. The Antichrist will come with wonders and prodigies and signs which will bear doubt in the hearts of the elect, which they will overcome quickly and know the deception of the reprobates. In time the elect will triumph through the acts of martyrs, for they sustained persecutors and prodigies, as they will sustain an intense war to fight them. The synagogue will serve against the church and persecute Christians. The Devil will be crueler than he already is to the martyrs once he is set free. The nearer God’s judgement, the greater the anger and intensity with which the Devil will carry out his persecutions, with divine justice permitting, as he sees himself as eternally damned.

Cap. XCIV: That before the Day of Judgement, even the elect shall fall at the coming of Antichrist.

Intended Source: Gregory, Moralia

Formal Sources: Gregory, Moralia

Sum: The elect shall be frightened by the Antichrist before the day of judgement during their great fight with him, during which they are to be laid low and suffer torment. But, they shall endure and not be conquered by these fears.
Cap. XCV: The Antichrist.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: When Satan enters the world as antichrist, people shall not be able to resist the signs and miracles he procures as manifestations of his false holiness. Elias, Enoch and the elect will rebuke him and resist him with their minds.

Cap. XCVI: Also on the Antichrist.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: Having entered into the man of perdition (Antichrist), Satan will bring the carnal to his sovereignty, but not everyone. Some will return to a state of righteousness after a course of penitence. But when he performs his prodigies before his eyes, everyone who delights themselves in present good things (‘everyone’) will submit themselves to his power without repeal. After three and a half years Antichrist will bind all those devoted to a carnal life to his dominion, as in the previous five thousand years he could not catch all the carnal. In this way he will draw ‘every man’ after him and an ‘innumerable quantity’ before him. He will get a bigger booty when he assails the heart of the ‘innumerable quantity’.

Sub-Group 9.2: The Conversion and Punishment of Non-Believers, the Resurrection, and Things to Consider.

Cap. XCVII: That in the last days all the Israelites should be converted by Helias' preaching.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: The Israelites will be converted during the last days.
Cap. XCVIII: On why in this life bad things happen to good people, and good to bad.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: It is a mystery as to why good things happen to bad people, and bad things happen to good people, also why bad things happen to bad people and good things to good people.

Cap. XCIX: That indeed all the unbelievers should rise again to torments not to judgement.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Sources: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: All infidels will be resurrected to be punished at the time of judgement. All must have proof of faith and the sacraments of faith.

Cap. C: That all men should rise again.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*

Sum: Death is God’s gift to mankind. Those who are alive at the coming of the judgment shall be transformed into corruption and immortality. The resurrection occurs when the flesh is taken from death. A person can only be made a heretic in an ecclesiastical council.


Cap. CI: Of the same thing.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*

Sum: At the time of the coming of the Lord all the living and dead shall be judged.
Cap. CII: That the society of the just is not granted to renegade angels and impious men after their torments as though they were cleansed by their penalties.

Intended Source: Augustine, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Gennadius of Marseilles, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*

Sum: After the resurrection and judgement there will not be another resurrection. The impious shall be eternally damned and the pious shall live eternal and receive the fruits of their works.

Cap. CIII: That the resurrection should be made in the perfect age of youth which needs no growth.

Intended Source: Isidore, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Isidore, *Sententiae*

Sum: After the flesh’s weakness has been eliminated and they can contemplate God, they shall receive the full freedom of the children of God.

Cap. CIV: That the strict Judge shall, when He comes for judgment, look upon the sinner to punish him, not to save him.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Source: Isidore, *Sententiae*

Sum: At the time of judgement those deemed to be sinners shall be punished and not be reconsidered to receive salvation.

Cap. CV: That God comes to judgement seeing that he must smite, and seeing that he must save.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Formal Source: Gregory, *Moralia*

Sum: Those who are impious will know in advance that they are to be damned and why.
Cap. CVI: That one the Day of Judgement two orders are divided into four.

Intended Source: Isidore, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Isidore, *Sententiae*

Sum: On the day of judgement there are two divisions to each of the two orders of the humans which God will judge (the elect and damned). Those that are judged and perish. Those that are not judged and perish. Those that are not judged and reign with God. Those that are judged and reign with God.

Cap. CVII: That the book of life is the vision itself of the coming Judge: for whatever someone has done, he understands it immediately, once it has been seen.

Intended Source: Gregory, *Moria*  

Formal Source: Gregory, *Moria*

Sum: The dead are judged according to what is written in the books (and the book of life).

Sub-Group 9.4: Post-Judgement Events.

Cap. CVIII: The glory of the saints after the judgement.

Intended Source: Isidore, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Isidore, *Sententiae*

Sum: The saints will ascend to heaven in the flesh after the resurrection. The faithful shall ascend to heaven with Christ as He is one in himself and in everyone.

Cap. CIX: That at the end of the judgement the new age shall start, etc.

Intended Source: Isidore, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Julian of Toledo, *Prognosticum futuri saeculi*

Sum: After God’s judgement the world will burn and a new age and heaven and earth will begin. However the nature of the world will not pass away.
Cap. CX: Against those who say that if there is a conflagration of the world after the judgement, where then could the holy men be that the flames could not touch them.

Intended Source: Isidore, (Unspecified Text)

Formal Source: Julian of Toledo, Prognosticum futuri saeculi

Sum: The world will burn at the end of God's judgement before the new heaven and earth are made (the eighth age), those who are immortal and incorruptible shall pass on unscathed.

End of Liber Vicesimus
Bibliography

All cited internet sites for primary and secondary materials last visited 31/07/15.

Primary Literature:

1. Manuscripts (electronic facsimile):

MS Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Can. 6 (Saec. XII/4, Worms), at:
http://bsbsbb.bsb.lrz-muenchen.de/~db/0000/sbb00000072/images/index.html

MS Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, 119 (Saec. XII/4, Worms), at:

MS Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Barth. 50 (Saec. XII/4, Worms), at:
http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/msma/content/titleinfo/2035614

2. Printed Sources:


Collectio Canonum, PL 139:473-508.


____________, *Commentaria in Marcam*, PL 165:313-332.

____________, *Commentaria in Matthaeum*, PL 165:71-314.


Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2nd ed. (Vatican City, 1997); available online at: http://www.vatican.va/archive/ENG0015/_INDEX.HTM


______________, *Epistola decretalis Papae Siricii*, PL 67:231-238.


Hilary of Poitiers, Tractatus super Psalmos, ed. A. Zingerle, CSEL 22 (Vienna, 1891).


____________, De universo, PL 111:9-614.

____________, Expositio in epistolam secundam ad thessalonicenses, PL 112:565-80.


Hugh of Farfa, Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis Abbatis, ed. P. Dinter, CCM 10 (Siegburg, 1980).


Humbert of Candida, Libri III. Adversus simoniacos, ed. F. Thanner, MGH Ldl 1 (Hannover, 1891), 95-253.


______________, *In libros Veteris ac Novi Testamenti prooemia*, PL 83:155-180.

______________, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111 (Turnhout, 1998); available online at: http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore.html


______________, *Decretum*, ed. M. Brett, available online at: https://ivo-of-chartres.github.io/decretum.html


______, Epistulae, 121-154, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 56 (Vienna, 1910).


Lactantius, Divinae Institutiones, ed. S. Brandt, CSEL 19 (Vienna, 1890), 1-672; PL 6:240-320; trans. M. F. McDonald, FC 49 (Washington, DC, 1964/5).


*Ottonis II. et III. Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickels, MGH DD 2 (Hannover, 1893).

Paterius, *De Testimoniiis in Apocalypsin S. Ioannis Apostoli*, PL 79:1107C-1122A.


Rupert of Deutz, In Apocalypsim, PL 169:825-1214.
Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi*, ed. C. Halm, CSEL 1 (Vienna, 1886), 152-216.


**Secondary Literature:**


Austin, G., Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms (Aldershot, 2009).


Bohr, D., *Catholic Moral Tradition* (Huntingdon, IN, 1999).


Clarke, P., Claydon, T., (eds.), *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul: Papers Read at the 2007 Summer Meeting and the 2008 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Studies in Church History, 45 (Suffolk, 2009).


Darby, P. N., *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham, 2012).


Faulkner, N., *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain*, 2nd ed. (Stroud, 2004).


Fried, J., *Aufstieg aus dem Untergang. Apokalyptisches Denken und die Entstehung
der modernen Naturwissenschaft im Mittelalter* (München, 2001).

Fried, J., ‘Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000’, trans. S.
Denlinger and P. Edwards, in A. Gow, R. Landes, D. C. Van Meter, (eds.), *The
Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change* (Oxford
2003), 17-66; published originally with footnotes as ‘Endzeiterwartung um die
45 (1989), 381-473.

Fried, J., ‘Awaiting the Last Days… Myth and Disenchantment’, in A. L. Baumgarten,

(München, Oct., 2002), 281-322.

Fried, J., *Les fruits de l'Apocalypse: Origines de la pensée scientifique moderne au

Fried, J., ‘Papst Leo III. besucht Karl den Großen in Paderborn oder das
2001), 281–326.


Gabrielle, M., *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and

and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium* (New York, 2002),
111-132.


Hartmann, W., Pennington, K., (eds.), *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX* (Washington, DC, 2008).
Hartmann, W., (ed.), *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte*, 100 (Mainz, 2000).


Holdenreid, A., The Sibyl and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin ‘Sibylla Tiburtina’ c. 1050-1500 (Ashgate, 2006).


Lionarons, J. T., *The Homiletic Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan* (Woodbridge, 2010).


MacLean, S., History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg (Manchester, 2009).


_The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Volume 2: Apocalypticism in Western 

McGinn, B., ‘Apocalypticism in the Middle Ages: An Historiographical Sketch’, in 

McGinn, B., _Apocalyptic Spirituality: Treatises and Letters by Lactantius, Adso of 
Montier-en-Der, Joachim of Fiore, the Spiritual Franciscans, Savonarola_ 
(New York, 1979).

Wittreich, (eds.), _The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and 

McGinn, B., ‘Introduction. 1: John’s Apocalypse and the Apocalyptic Mentality’, in 
R. K. Emmerson, B. McGinn, (eds.), _The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages_ 

McGinn, B., ‘Portraying Antichrist in the Middle Ages’, in W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst, 
A. Welkenhuysen, (eds.), _The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle 

approfondissement de la foi?, by S. Gouguenheim; Apocalypse et salut dans le 
christianisme ancien et médiéval, by C. Carozzi’, in _Speculum_, Vol. 76, No. 1 
(Jan., 2001), 164-166.

McGinn, B., ‘The End of the World and the Beginning of Christendom’ in M. Bull, 

McGinn, B., ‘Turning Points in Early Christian Apocalypse Exegesis’, in R. J. Daly, 
(ed.), _Apocalyptic Thought in Early Christianity_ (Grand Rapids, 2009), 81-105.


Reynolds, S., Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1997).


Saenger, P., *Space Between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997).


Thiselton, A. C., *1 & 2 Thessalonians through the Centuries* (Chichester, 2011).


Tyler, E. M., Balzaretti, R., (eds.), *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2006).


Verbist, P., *Duellng with the Past: Medieval Authors and the Problem of the Christian Era* (c. 990-1135) (Turnhout, 2010).


Walsh, M., ‘Illuminated Manuscripts’, at:
http://www.slideshare.net/mkwalsh55/mauras-manuscripts-presentation


