TRADITION AND REVISION.
THE TEXTUAL TRADITION OF HINCMAR,
OF REIMS’ VISIO BERNOLDI
WITH A NEW CRITICAL EDITION

Not long after the death of king Charles the Bald, archbishop Hincmar of Reims (845-882) sent a letter to all clerics and laymen of the diocese of Reims. This letter, known by historians as the *Visio Bernoldi*, reports the journey to the other world of a certain Bernold, a layman from Voncq, a

1. This article is based on my master’s dissertation *Hinkmar van Reims, Visio Bernoldi. Tekst, vertaling en commentaar*, submitted to the Universiteit van Amsterdam in 1992. I wish to thank Peter van der Eerden and Marco Mostert, who supervised my master’s thesis and François Dolbeau, whose suggestions were invaluable for the completion of this article. I am indebted to Laura Weigert for the correction of my English.


3. Jacques Sirmond (1559-1651) who published the first edition of the *Visio Bernoldi* (*Hincmari archiepiscopi Remensis opera duos in tomos digesta cura et studio Iacobii Sirmondi societatis Iesu presbyteri* (Parisiiis 1645), II, p. 805-809) confused Bernold and his confessor and erroneously stated Bernold was a priest (*De visione Bernoldi presbyteri*). The error has been repeated by Migne, who copied Sirmond’s edition in the *Patrologia Latina* (*PL* 125,
village close to the royal palace of Attigny. It describes how, during a near fatal illness, Bernold, whom Hincmar claims to know personally, is taken to the other world, where he meets various people who are all suffering terrible punishment for their sins. They plead Bernold to go to their dependents and friends and ask them to offer prayers, alms and masses to relieve their agony.

First Bernold encounters a group of forty-one bishops, suffering alternately from heat and cold, among whom he recognizes Ebo (Hincmar's predecessor), Aeneas (of Paris) and a certain Leopardellus or Leopardus who must probably be identified as Pardulus of Laon. The bishops implore Bernold to go to their vassals. Then he meets Charles the Bald, wallowing in his own filth and eaten by worms, who confides that he is punished for having disregarded the advice of Hincmar, “who had always been loyal”. Charles pleads Bernold to go to Hincmar and ask him for help and tell him that he has in reality always trusted him. The third person Bernold encounters is a certain Jesse, caught in a huge stone up to his armpits, who wants Bernold to go to his friends. Finally the visionary meets a count, called Otharius, apparently an acquaintance of Bernold and probably a local lord, who after having tried to hide himself in vain, asks Bernold to go to his wife, friends and vassals. In fact Otharius had given silver to one of his vassals, to be offered for his soul, but the faithless man had not carried out the task.

Unique in early medieval vision literature, in between these encounters with the dead, Bernold visits the living: taking leave of the bishops Bernold finds their vassals in a big palace (Attigny?); he meets Hincmar in a church where the

col. 1115-1120) and by numerous historians since. Michel Sot has turned Ber-
nold into a monk ("L'expérience visionnaire et sa fonction dans l'Histoire de
l'Eglise de Reims de Flodoard", in : Sot ed. (1990), p. 479-491, especiall
p. 480).

4. “Nuper in paroecia nostra quidam mihi notus homo, nomine Bernol-
dus” (par. 1). In the ninth century parochia could still signify diocese.

5. For the identification of Ebo (died 851) and Aeneas (died 870) see Caro-
see note 11.

6. Carozzi (1994), p. 357 has identified Jesse as bishop Jesse of Amiens
(died 836). This seems rather unlikely, see note 11.
archbishop is just preparing mass, Jesse’s friends “on the way” and Otharius’ wife, vassals and friends on the “mallus” in Voncq, a place Bernold is clearly familiar with. Bernold thus executes the missions bestowed on him on the visionary level, and not after waking up; in his vision this world and the other world are strangely intermingled. Interestingly, Bernold’s visionary missions take immediate effect; when he returns to the supplicants, their situation has much improved, they are healthy and dressed in white, even if no works have been done for them yet in the waking world.

Apart from the encounters with the supplicants and their dependents Bernold also gets to see the so-called “rest of the saints” (requeies sanctorum), a beautiful place reminiscent of the early christian refrigerium interim, not far from Charles’s whereabouts, and a hellish pit full of fire and smoke next to Jesse’s stone, where the souls who have no one “working for them” suffer terrible torments. The vision ends rather abruptly with a quarrel over Bernold’s soul between a homo honestus and a homo rusticus. The man of distinction, defending Bernold, takes the upper hand and affirms that the visionary will return to his body and live for another fourteen years. Then Bernold awakens and immediately sends for his confessor, from whom Hincmar claims to have heard the story.

Hincmar concludes his letter with a commentary in which he explains the meaning of Bernold’s vision, defends the orthodoxy of the text, among other things by referring to similar stories in Bede, Boniface and Gregory the Great and exhorts his addressees to pray for Charles and to spread the message of the vision to all those in their care.

The Visio Bernoldi is one of the so-called “Carolingian political visions”, a group of ninth century vision texts in all of which a member of the Carolingian family plays a part. The political and propagandistic purport of these texts have caused many to doubt their authenticity. If some visions, such as the Visio Wettini (822), are generally supposed to be based on a

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genuine experience, or at least on a popular story, others like the \textit{Visio Caroli Grossi} (888) are obvious forgeries. The authenticity of the \textit{Visio Bernoldi} is highly contested, because the text conspicuously defends Hincmar’s own interests.  

During the last decade of Charles’ reign relations between the king and his once most important and trusted advisor Hincmar had become strained. Hincmar, supporter of the division of the Carolingian realm of 843 opposed Charles’ Italian politics and his attempts to obtain the imperial crown. Charles seriously slighted Hincmar by taking on a younger advisor, who was more sympathetic to his ambitions and by asking Hincmar for a new and humiliating vow of loyalty. The \textit{Visio Bernoldi}, written shortly after Charles’s death in 877,\footnote{See note 35.} seems to be meant to warn Charles’ son Louis the Stammerer, whose advisor Hincmar had made himself, to refrain from any such mistakes.

If there is little doubt that Hincmar circulated the \textit{Visio Bernoldi} to press a political point, upon careful analysis of the whole text it seems improbable that Hincmar has actually forged the text. Certain differences between the vision and Hincmar’s commentary render more plausible an argument that the text is grounded in fact, but has been tampered with by Hincmar to serve his needs. \footnote{Firstly, most vision stories only describe a visit to the other world; the works for the supplicants are supposed to be carried out after the awakening of the visionary. Structurally the \textit{Visio Bernoldi} breaks with this literary tradition, which creates a theological and exegetical problem: how can it be that the supplicants are saved before works have been done for them? Hincmar feels obliged to discuss this problem in his commentary and affirms that the salvation is only shown \textit{specietenus}, in images foreshadowing the future as in biblical prophecies. It is unlikely that Hincmar would have invented a story contrary to tradition and orthodoxy, the truth of which he would have to justify.}
Most historians have focused on the role of the kings in the Carolingian visions, but Cl. Carozzi has pointed out that they are not the only ones who meet disapproval. The visions contain more general criticism on society at large, or on specific social groups, especially the secular clergy. The *Visio Bernoldi* condemns the bishops for meddling too much in politics and for neglecting their spiritual duties, a reproach symbolized by the big palace where Bernold finds their vassals. It is not clear what wrong Jesse has committed, but count Otharius seems to be punished for faults relating to his jurisdiction.

Apart from its political content the *Visio Bernoldi* is also of interest for its vivid and colourful depiction of the other world. An important document for the history of the development of purgatory, the text reflects the way people of the Carolingian age thought about the afterlife. The *Visio* indirectly sheds light on the social realities associated with this *imaginaire* of death: the system of *cura pro mortuis* in the form of prayers, alms and masses, which developed in Western Europe from the middle of later. Secondly, the singular force attributed to the *cura pro mortuis* (see under, p. 113-114) in the vision, for better and for worse is less than orthodox. Since Augustine theology taught that only those who deserved it during life, may be helped by works, and only to shorten punishment, not to change fate. However, in the *Visio Bernoldi* fate seems to depend principally on the works, not on personal merit. Theoretically the souls in the pit could still be saved and Jesse can still fall into the pit if no one comes to his aid. However, in the commentary, Hincmar hardly touches on the *cura pro mortuis*, rather he emphasizes man’s personal responsibility during life for one’s fate after death. Moreover, Hincmar’s only work on moral theology (*De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis* written in 869) is fully orthodox, stresses personal responsibility and does not devote much attention to the *cura pro mortuis*. This is not the place to go into this matter further.

11. This interpretation allows us to identify the second bishop as Pardulus of Laon, who, like Ebo and Aeneas, played an active role in politics. (For Pardulus see DEVISSE [1975-76], p. 67-68). In all manuscripts of the abridged version of the *Visio Bernoldi* (see under), the second bishop is called Pardulus. There is no plausible candidate called Leopardus or Leopardellus. CAROZZI (1994), p. 357 identified Jesse in the stone as bishop Jesse of Amiens, another ‘political’ bishop, who lead the trial of Louis the Pious in 834. This identification is not very convincing. Jesse died in 836, so Bernold could not possibly have known him and if we assume the *Visio* to be a forgery by Hincmar, who probably did know Jesse, it is hard to understand why Jesse’s social status is not indicated. It seems unlikely that Hincmar’s audience would have identified Jesse in the stone with Jesse of Amiens so long after his death.

the eighth century on. The *Visio Bernoldi* shows that this care for the dead was organized along the same personal lines as early medieval society as a whole; at the same time the vision confirms the existing social order. For medieval people the message must have been painfully clear: social outcasts who have no one to work for them fall into oblivion and end up at the bottom of the pit. On the other hand, Otharius’ perfidious vassal also reveals the inherent weakness of a system based on trust and solidarity.

The political and to a lesser extent the socio-religious facets of the *Visio Bernoldi* have been studied before. In this article it is my aim to consider the rather complex textual tradition of the *Visio Bernoldi*, a hitherto neglected aspect of the text, and present a critical edition of Hincmar’s letter.

The *Visio Bernoldi* is known in three medieval redactions. I shall try to establish the relations between the different versions and the context in which they were conceived and I shall pose the question which redaction resembles Hincmar’s original letter (H) most. In the second part of the article, preceding the edition, the manuscripts of the *Visio Bernoldi* will be described.

**Three versions**

Three versions of the *Visio Bernoldi* exist, which I shall call A, B and C respectively. The non-critical edition of the *Visio* in the *Patrologia Latina* is based exclusively on one manuscript of version A.

A and B are independent texts, while C is a part of a large historiographical work, Flodoard of Reims’ *Historia Remensis*.

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Ecclesiae 15 (before 953). A contains Hincmar’s complete letter with both vision and commentary. B is preserved in one manuscript only, which breaks off halfway at the introduction of the Jesse figure. (It may however be reasonably assumed that it originally was complete as well.) B tells largely the same story as A but is written in a more sophisticated style. C is a summary of two fragments of the vision only: from the beginning of the letter up to the passage of Bernold and the bishops and the scenes in which Hincmar and Charles the Bald play a part.

None of the versions is completely identical with Hincmar’s original text — all contain mistakes — but it will be argued that A is closest to H.

Version C. Flodoard of Reims

I shall begin with version C, most obviously a revision of the original text. C consists of two separate fragments in chapters three and eighteen of the third book of Flodoard of Reims’ 16 Historia Remensis Ecclesiae. Flodoard (ca. 893-966), canon, priest and “archivist” 17 of the cathedral of Reims wrote the Historia around 953. The Historia relates the gesta of the bishops of the church of Reims from its foundation up to the author’s own time. The third book is wholly dedicated to Hincmar.

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15. MGH SS XIII, p. 405-600, espec. p. 476, 509.
17. In this period archives separated from libraries and the office of archivist did not exist yet. It is however clear that Flodoard was responsible for the documents of the cathedral chapter: JACOBSEN (1978), p. 67-68.
Flodoard was responsible for the books and documents of the cathedral and he made use of this material to write his history of the church of Reims. He cites, paraphrases and summarizes numerous charters and letters in the Historia, sometimes explicitly mentioning he found them “in archivo Remensis ecclesiae” or “adhuc apud nos”. He also inserts various miracle and vision stories, twenty-nine in total, which Michel Sot has listed. These stories are based on oral traditions or on roughly contemporary hagiographical texts, predominantly from the second half of the ninth century.

H. Zimmermann, who has studied Flodoard’s historiographical technique, has pointed out that the historian from Reims hardly ever inserts whole texts literally (whether letters, charters or narrative texts), but in most cases only records the general idea and the historical anecdote, leaving out commentaries and interpretations.

Flodoard recounts the beginning scene of the Visio Bernoldi in the context of Hincmar’s election and the elimination of his predecessor and rival Ebo. Ebo had been ousted at the synod of Thionville in 835 because of his role in the deposition of Louis the Pious. After the death of the latter in 840 Ebo returned to Reims, only to be driven away again in 841. However, even after Hincmar’s official election at the synod of Beauvais (845), Ebo kept trying to regain his lost see. The emperor Lothar sustained this effort to frustrate Hincmar’s patron, Charles the Bald.

In 846 Ebo’s attempts to decide the matter in his favour failed definitively. The general council requested by Lothar and summoned by the pope did not meet, because the papal legates failed to arrive. Instead, Charles summoned a synod at Paris. Ebo did not appear and was sentenced by default. He died in 851 as bishop of Hildesheim.

Flodoard’s arrangement of the material pertaining to these
events and the location of the *Visio Bernoldi* are highly suggestive. The opening chapter of the third book describes Hincmar’s election at the synod of Beauvais; chapter two relates Ebo’s final conviction at Paris and following the account of Ebo’s last years and his death in 851 Flodoard inserted the opening scene of the *Visio Bernoldi* as a source for what happened to Ebo after his life on earth. Bernold’s vision has a double function. On the one end the text proves the fairness of Ebo’s conviction by the earthly judges: God has punished Ebo and thus agrees with their judgement.  

23 There can be no doubt that Hincmar’s election to Remigius’ see is legitimate. On the other hand the *Visio* also serves to save Ebo in the memory of Reims, because Ebo is rescued in the end by Bernold’s mission.  

The second part of the *Visio Bernoldi* is inserted in chapter eighteen, which describes the relations between Charles the Bald and Hincmar in his role as political advisor. Flodoard recalls different situations in which Hincmar stood by Charles in word and deed. The excerpt from the *Visio Bernoldi* follows — again very suggestively — Flodoard’s account of the insurrection of Charles’s son Karloman in 870-871,  

25 when Hincmar was still Charles’s most important advisor. Flodoard informs us that the king called on Hincmar “not only in spiritual but also in worldly matters” and that Hincmar “used to assemble the people against the enemy, and to summon both bishops and counts”.  

26 Here Flodoard is referring to the fact that Charles, upon leaving for the siege of Vienne and making arrangements for the kingdom during his absence, ordered Hincmar to summon a synod to incite the laymen to armed  

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23. Interestingly, at the very end of the second book where Ebo’s term of office is treated, Flodoard has inserted another vision about Ebo, the so-called *Visio Raduini*. This story also reproaches Ebo for spending too much time at the court. For more details, see CAROZZI (1994), p. 351-353.


25. For these events see DEVISSE (1975-76), p. 785-790.

resistance against Karloman. The passage from the *Visio Bernoldi* shows how dearly Charles had to pay for not always relying on Hincmar. The scene further demonstrates that Hincmar fully merited Charles’s trust, for it is the bishop who saves the king after his death.

Flodoard and his contemporaries regarded visions as reliable historical sources. These texts elevate something already known through more mundane means to a higher level. Visions offered a divine legitimation for political events and circumstances, situating them in a God willed order.

The example of the *Visio Bernoldi* is illustrative of the way Flodoard used visions as historical documents. We note that he paraphrased only those parts of Hincmar’s letter that seemed significant for the history of the church of Reims. The chosen fragments provide a divine justification for the political fate of Ebo, Hincmar and Charles the Bald within the wider framework of the history of the diocese. Count Otharius from Voncq — if Flodoard knew him at all — must have seemed of no importance in this context. Flodoard also left out the Jesse figure and reduced Hincmar’s commentary, which originally constituted almost half of the text, to three lines.

A comparison of the two passages with the long versions A and B reveals that Flodoard’s first fragment follows these rather closely; as in A and B the story is told in the first person. The second fragment however is set in the third person and Flodoard has abridged the original text much more considerably. The affiliations between versions C and A on the one hand and versions C and B on the other hand will be treated in more detail on pages 126 and 127.

27. Flodoard presents this synod as an historical fact, but according to DEVISSE ([1975-76], p. 786-787) it never met. However, Hincmar did correspond with several counts of the realm about the insurrection.
Versions $A$ and $B$

A comparison of the two independent versions $A$ and $B$ demonstrates important differences in style and minor differences in content: the story lines are basically the same. I have already mentioned that neither $A$ nor $B$ are identical with the archetype $H$, but that version $A$ is closer to $H$ than $B$ is. In my view the deviations in $A$ are mostly due to mistakes by the scribe. The author of $B$ however seems to have consciously rewritten the original to improve the rustic and repetitious Latin of the original text. I shall illustrate the differences between $A$ and $B$ with several examples.

Stylistic differences

Version $A$ — leaving aside Hincmar’s commentary, which is only contained in this version — is written in a simple but lively Latin of limited vocabulary. $A$ only uses the word “adiuuae”, but $B$ varies when this word recurs too often: “quomodo vos possum adiuuae”, becomes “quomodo possum tibi esse adiutorio” in $B$. $A$ contains several vulgar elements, which in $B$ (as in $C$, for Flodoard is a good Latinist) have been changed to more classical forms. Thus $A$ uses a vulgar pluperfect: “carne... manducatam habeunt”, while $B$ circumscribes this perfect form with an ablative absolute “carne... ab illis comesta” and $C$ gives the classical pluperfect “qui car- nem... absumpserant”. The author of $A$ uses the vulgar verb “reuenire” in stead of the classical Latin “reuertor” in $B$ and $C$ ($A$ “reueni”; $B$ “reuersus sum”; $C$ “reuersus” as conjunctive participle). The word “staupus”, for goblet or measure is of Frankish origin (staup).

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The author of B frequently varies, rewrites cumbersome constructions and corrects grammatical mistakes:

\[ A \] \ldots \text{ut quantocius current et confessorem suum uelociter ad se ueniire rogarent, quia nisi cito ueniret, ille uiuere non posset.} \text{(par. 1)}

Accito autem presbytero, antequam in mansionem ubi ille iacebat presbyter ueniiret... \text{(par. 1)}

\ldots \text{et ambasciaui ex illorum parte quod mihi iussum fuerat.} \text{(par. 2)}

Et uidi ibi iacere domnum nostrum Karolum regem in luto ex sanie ipsius putredinis. Et manducabant eum uer- mes... \text{(par. 3)}

Prende illam petram, quae iuxta te est, et eleuato capite, pone illam sub capite meo... \text{(par. 3)}

Unfortunately the author of B doesn't always live up to his own ambitions. \text{29} His efforts to embellish the simple Latin often led to contrived and artificial constructions:

\[ B \] \ldots \text{ut quantotius current et confessorem suum ad se adecersirent, quia nisi cito adesset ipse morti sine mora concederet.} \text{(par. 1)}

Accitus itaque presbiter antequam domum infirmi intraret... \text{(par. 1)}

\ldots \text{et facta eorum legatione et impetrato pro illis suffraglo.} \text{(par. 2)}

\ldots \text{uidi iacere dumnum Karolum regem nostrum uolutantem se in luto et sanie putredinis suae. Deuorabatur enim a uermibus.} \text{(par. 3)}

Subpone capiti meo petram que iusta \text{[sic]} te est. \text{(par. 3)}

The aforementioned differences between A and B remain on a purely stylistic level. Occasionally however, the revision produced small differences in meaning as well. We note that C at certain points resembles B in style and wording, but always remains faithful to A in meaning.

\text{29. The ability of the author of B must be deduced from his vocabulary and the constructions he uses. The spelling errors and uncertainties in the only manuscript we possess are obviously due to mistakes of the scribe, they are not mistakes in the B archetype.}
Differences in meaning

The greeting scene at the beginning of the text, which describes the arrival of Bernold’s confessor, is one of the most revised parts of the Visio Bernoldi. To elucidate the differences between A and B I shall cite the whole scene in both versions. (C shortens the scene considerably, but follows A in meaning.)

[A]
Accito autem presbytero, antequam in mansionem ubi ille iacuit presbyter veniret, cum in exteriorem domum intrauit, dixit ille qui iacebat infirmus: "Ponite hic sellam, quia presbyter iam domum istam intrabit." Isdem autem presbyter, mox ut ostium est ingressus ubi ille iacebat, incipiens pro eo orationes dixit: "Dominus uobiscum." Et ille clara uoce respondit: "Et cum spiritu tuo." Dictis autem orationibus dixit presbytero ut sederet secus eum et ait illi: "Attende intellege quae tibi dicturus sum, ut, si ego in corpore manens illa nuntiare non potero quae mihi iussa sunt, tu illa adnunties." (par. 1)

[B]
Accitus itaque presbiter, antequam domum infirmi intraret, dixit ille qui infirmabatur: "Mox mihi concessuro presbitero ponite sellam." Qui presbiter ingressus inabitantes domum salutauit, sed a nullo alio resalutatus quasi non audiretur a solo infirmo est respondendo reueritus. Dictis uero a presbitero orationibus assidenti sibi infirmus ait: "Attende et intellige que dicturus sum tibi, ut me recedente te superstite innotesscant [sic]." (par. 1)

Although these differences are not dramatic, they are not wholly devoid of interest. A gives more detail and reports the liturgical formula in extenso and in the direct sense, while B only refers to these prayers. On the contrary, the following phrase in B, "sed a nullo... reueritus", lacks a parallel in A. A and B both agree that the confessor is noticed by Bernold before he has entered the house and before the people in the house (the inhabitantes) have heard anything. This does not strike the modern reader as necessarily strange or marvellous. Under-

30. "Dominus uobiscum" is the standard greeting formula; "et cum spiritu tuo", the prescribed answer. In B "qui presbiter ingressus inabitantes domum salutauit" may refer to another liturgical greeting that has to be uttered by a priest when entering the house of a sick man to administer the last octions; "pax huic domui". See A. Blaise, Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques (Turnhout 1966), p. 206-207.
standably Bernold is very keen on the arrival of the priest; he is literally more perspicacious than ordinary people. It seems as if the writer of B has tried to exploit Bernold’s extraordinary powers of perception to enhance the miraculous character of the story. Unfortunately he has chosen a rather awkward example. According to A the priest, when entering the room where Bernold is lying, and uttering the standard liturgical greeting formula (“may the Lord be with you”) is answered by Bernold — for whom the priest has come — in the prescribed way (“and with your spirit”). In B the priest also receives a response from the sick man only, but “as if the others had not heard him”. This seems most curious. A visionary may be more receptive to supernatural messages than ordinary people, but it seems rather absurd that the bystanders in Bernold’s house would not notice a priest of flesh and blood. Inversely the fact that Bernold does notice this perfectly common priest hardly contributes to his aura of clairvoyance. B’s addition makes the situation improbable and falsely miraculous, whereas A’s account strikes us as more true to life.

The scene in which Bernold implores his confessor to listen carefully supplies another change in meaning. We shall cite the corresponding passage in C as well, because it clearly illustrates that C, while using some typical “B words”, resembles A in meaning.

\[ [A] \text{Attente intellege quae tibi dicturus sum, ut, si ego in corpore manens illa nuntiare non potero quae mihi iussa sunt, tu illa adnunties. (par. 1)} \]
\[ [B] \text{Attendite et intelligite quae dicturus sum tibi, ut me recedente te superstite innotesscant. (par. 1)} \]
\[ [C] \text{[Bernoldus]...dixit... ut... attenderet quae dicturus erat, ut, si ipse superstes illa non potuisset adnuntiare, saltem presbiter ea nuntiat.} \]

According to B the priest must listen carefully, so that he will be able to retell the story in case Bernold dies. In A and C Bernold speaks of a situation in which he will stay alive, but will be unable to tell his story. If B’s variant seems more likely given Bernold’s physical condition, the variant in A and C is concordant with the content of the story (Bernold recovers and according to the homo honestus will live for another fourteen
years) and with Hincmar's commentary: "...ille rediuuius ad me uenire non potuit". Did B in his urge to render the account more appealing to its audience and to augment its truth value attempt to make the story more logical, just as he tried to emphasize its miraculous quality earlier?

In his description of Bernold's return to the place where he has left Charles, text A continues without further explanation: "I went back to the place where lord Charles had been lying, and I met him in a wonderful place" ("Et statim reueni ad locum ubi domnus Karolus iacuerat, et inueni illum in loco lucido"). B however corrects the logical inconsistency in text A, namely that one place cannot be simultaneously ugly and beautiful:

[B] ...statim redii ad locum ubi idem [Ka]rolus sus [sic] uermibus iacuerat. Vbi non inueno eo reperii eum in loquo [sic] lu[ci]do... (par. 3).

The addition "ubi non inueno" has resolved the lack of specificity of the time and location in which the events take place, so characteristic of dream-like experience. 31

In the description of the salvation of the bishops B seems on the contrary to have neglected certain elements:

[A] Erant iocunda facie, facie, quasi rasura et balneati, et habeant albas vestitas et stolas et sandalia in pedibus; planetas autem non habeant. Et dixit mihi... (par. 2)

[C] ...inveni eos facie iocundos, acsi a novo rasos et balneatis, albis vestitos et stolos amictos atque sandalis calciatos. Et dixit mihi...

From A to B via C the bishops' attributes diminish. The rather curious phrase "planetas autem non habeant" ("but they did not have chasubles") in A lacks a parallel in C. In B the sandals, cloaks and white clothes have disappeared as well. 32

31. It is unfortunate that we only have half of B; it would have been interesting to see whether the writer of B has changed the Jesse scene as well. In fact B's logic is limited, for he has not changed the bishops' scene.

32. The fact that A explicitly says that the bishops do not wear chasubles might imply that they have been restored to health and well-being but not to their office. The omissions in B and C may be significant in this respect.
Direction of revision

As stated above, my argument is that B is a revision of the original, while A is close to the autograph H. I contend that B made a conscious effort to embellish the original Latin; he attempted to purify the text of some illogical or obscure elements and tried to enhance the miraculous character of the vision. His motive to do so may have been that he considered the language of the original too barbarous for young monks to learn their Latin from, while at the same time appreciating the moral and didactic message of the text.

This status of A and B respectively may seem probable, but it remains of course to be shown that the converse situation is not the case. Why is it not plausible that B is the original and A the revision? If this were the case, we should imagine a situation in which the author of A simplified the language of B to make the text more accessible. In fact, a stemma can be drawn for both situations, but there are strong textual and contextual arguments against such an inverse direction of revision.

The Visio Bernoldi consists of two main parts: a) the actual story of the vision and b) the introduction and the commentary by Hincmar. We notice that in version A the vision story is written in a simple Latin with some vulgar elements, whereas Hincmar’s commentary is much more complex. Within these two parts the style is constant, but between the story and commentary there is a change in style.

Unfortunately B has only been partly preserved and we do not have the transition from vision to commentary. However, a careful study of the available B text reveals sudden changes of style within the vision. Sometimes the Latin is more compact and more elegant, other passages, however, turn out to be identical to version A. The part from “Ductus de isto saeculo...” up to “...sacras oblationes” (par. 2) for instance, is almost verbatim identical to A and follows the very condensed and extensively rewritten “greeting scene” (par. 1). In the following passage, after “sacras oblationes”, we find again some variations in wording. In the “Charles’ scene” (par. 3) after the
more elegant “subpone capiti” B continues with the same cumbersome description as in A:

“Subpone capiti meo petram que iusta [sic] te est” [grammatically more correct as well as more compact]. Et sic feci. Et addidit [variation of “et dixit”]: “Vade ad Hincmarum episcopum et dic ei, quia ipsius et aliorum fidelium meorum consilio non obaudiui, ideo ista que uides pro culpis meis stustineo [sic].” [awkward construction adopted from H]. (par. 3)

Obviously some passages have been taken over integrally, while others have been altered and “embellished”. The sudden changes in style within the vision are traces of this revision.

On the other hand, if we assume A to be a simplification of the original it seems unlikely that A would not have borrowed those constructions in B that are simpler and grammatically more correct, rather than turning them into more awkward constructions. An example: the phrase “Subpone capiti meo petram que iusta te est” is not only grammatically more correct but also more straightforward than the alternative in A. A second example: in the Carolingian period the term “absolutio” was standard enough to be adopted by A. However, A does not use the term “absolutio” and it is thus more likely to be an addition by B.

Moreover, to suppose an inverse direction of revision makes it difficult to explain why A would have left out the forementioned “logical solutions” and the “miracle” in B. Someone who is rewriting a text will generally add rather than omit. The Visio Trugdali, for instance, was translated and rewritten several time in the course of the twelfth century, during each stage of revision new social categories were added to those punished in the other world. Hagiographical texts also provide a good example: the number of miracles ascribed to a saint usually do not diminish but increase during the transmission of his or her vita.

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Versions $A$, $B$ and $C$

On the ground of these arguments it can be reasonably maintained that $A$ is indeed closer to $H$ than $B$ is. The question then remains how $C$ is related to $A$ and $B$. In other words, of which textual family is $C$ a paraphrase? Because Flodoard summarizes and paraphrases version $C$ contains of course formulations and words absent in both $A$ and $B$. Apart from these original elements, $C$ follows $A$ in content and in style in most cases. Therefore $C$ must have used a text in the $A$ branch, probably even $H$ itself. On the other hand $C$ also contains several "typical $B$ words" (such as: *supersistere, celebrare, absolutio*) in the corresponding places in the text. If we do not want to ascribe these similarities to chance, we must assume a certain dependency between $B$ and $C$, unless these "$B$ words" go back to the original $H$ and have disappeared in $A$ (which would somewhat weaken the argument for $A$ as more original).

If we suppose a more or less direct relation between $B$ an $C$ it becomes impossible to draw a stemma without assuming that either

1) $C$ has two sources: a manuscript from the $A$ ($H$) branch and a manuscript from the $B$ branch

or

2) $B$ has two sources: $C$ and a manuscript from the $A$ ($H$) family.

$H$ was written by Hincmar at the end of the year 877. Flodoard wrote version $C$ around the year 953. The only manuscript of $B$ has been dated to the end of the twelfth century. This means that the revision $B$ was executed in case 1)

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34. In all manuscripts of $C$ the second bishop is correctly called Pardulus and not Leopardellus.

35. *Terminus post quem* is mid October 877, when the news of Charles's death reached Francia. *Terminus ante quem* is Hincmar's death, December 21, 882, and supposing the *Visio Bernoldi* was indeed written for Louis the Stammer 879. If Levison (1948), p. 242 was right that the *Visio Bernoldi* is referred to in a letter by Hincmar to Louis of November 877 ([SCHRÖRS [1885]], p. 549 ; 417ng) the *terminus ante quem* can be specified accordingly.
between 877 and 953; in case 2) between 953 and the end of the twelfth century.

Both situations are possible. On the one hand, it is likely that in the tenth century the cathedral of Reims owned both versions A (H) and B of Hincmar’s text and that Flodoard, who used the material of the cathedral archive for his Historia, could have compared both versions. On the other hand, it is also possible, although perhaps less likely, that the author of B knew both A and C. Manuscripts of the Historia Remensis Ecclesiae began to circulate extensively at the end of the twelfth century, although different authors in the North of Francia already used the work in the late tenth and eleventh century. Moreover, several miracle stories taken from the Historia were transmitted separately. In case 2) the author of B would have known version C either from the Historia itself or from an excerpt.

**Manuscripts of the Visio Bernoldi**

1. Manuscripts

Manuscripts of the Visio Bernoldi are extremely rare. We only know one complete medieval copy of the text (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5327, fol. 186v-188v = p). This is also the oldest manuscript, dating from the tenth century. A second medieval copy (s. XIII) is incomplete; it breaks off at the introduction of the Jesse character (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 4087-4100 [= Van den Gheyn 1400], fol. 125r-125v = b). We have information about three more medieval manuscripts that are now lost. The first is a manuscript from Lobbes (= l), the other two are the Vorlagen of two seventeenth century copies made by J. Sirmond and J. Mabillon. Sirmond (Paris, BN nouv. acq. lat. 469, fol. 123r-125v = s) copied a manuscript from Hérivaux (= h). Mabillon (Paris, BN fr. 17698,
fol. 404v = \( m \) \(^{37} \) transcribed a text from Saint-Bénigne of Dijon (=\( d \)).

The extracts from the 
*Visio Bernoldi*
 in Flodoard’s History of the Church of Reims can of course be found in manuscripts containing this text. \(^{38} \)

The different versions of the 
*Visio Bernoldi*
 are represented in the following manuscripts.

version \( A \): \( p, s \) (\( h \)).

version \( B \): \( b \).

version \( C \): manuscripts of Flodoard’s *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*.

It cannot be established which version manuscripts \( l \) and \( m \) (\( d \)) contained.

2. Description of manuscripts \( p, b, s \) and \( m \)

\( p = \) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. \( 5327 \) \(^{39} \)


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\(^{37} \) I wish to thank François Dolbeau for pointing out manuscripts \( p \) and \( m \) to me.

\(^{38} \) Montpellier, Bibl. de la faculté de médecine 186; Reims, Bibl. Mun. 1606 (= n. 842); Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana C 14; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5267; Troyes, bibl. mun. 620; Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 5209; Vaticano, Reg. lat. 510; Roma, Biblioteca Vallicelliana E.43. These manuscripts are mentioned by the editors of the *Historia*, partly under old signatures. To this list should be added Epernay, Bibl. mun. 52.

IIIb fol. 181-205, no regular repartition in quires, fol. 188 is a loose leaf. Part III, which contains the Visio Bernoldi, has traces of burning which have made the margins illegible in places. Many different hands. The Visio Bernoldi (fol. 186v-188v) is written in the inverse order, from bottom to top and from back to front (starting on fol. 188v, ending on fol. 186v).

Fol. 181r-186r: Vita sancti Arnulfi (BHL 689) and a short poem. Fol. 186v-188v: Visio Bernoldi. The Visio Bernoldi begins without title on fol. 188v, directly underneath the De palatio de quo narratur in passione Thomae (BHL 8139). The Visio Bernoldi continues on fol. 187v and fol. 187r and ends on the bottom of fol. 186v. (In this description “top” and “bottom” are meant according to the writing direction maintained in the fragment concerned).

The copy of the Vita Arnulfi has been dated s. IX-ex or s. X-in (MSS Datés [France], II, p. 536). The De palatio and the Visio Bernoldi have been added in a very irregular later hand, which does not recur elsewhere in the manuscript. The text begins on fol. 188, a loose leaf. The dating s. X is sustained by comparisons with the MSS Datés. A dating s. XI seems possible as well.

Fol. 203v contains a 8 line long prayer to the archangel Michael and a 10 line long prayer to the apostle Peter, neither of which is mentioned in the existing descriptions. Inc: “Sanctae (sic) Michael archangele domini nostri Iesu Christi subueni mihi apud altissimum iudicem, ut mihi peccatori donet remissionem ...”, expl: “per eum uiuit et regnat in secula seculorum.” Inc: “Sanctae Petrae apostolae (sic) electe Dei, tu es confessus Christum filium Dei...”, expl: “regnat cum patre et spiritu sancto in secula seculorum amen.” (Both prayers are

40. “Ter ternos habuit annos qui scripsarat istut obsequium fidei iuuenis Hieronimus infans / Nobilis antiqua procerum de stirpe creatus / Filius hic genitus fulgens ab origine Karoli....” printed by Delisle, Le cabinet des manuscrits (Paris 1868 — 1881), I, p. 315 ; see also III, p. 368. Evidence against his opinion that the copy of the Vita Arnulfi and the poem were written by a son of Charlemagne provided in : MSS Datés (France) II, p. 536.

41. See MSS Datés (France), V n° CCXVIII (Saint-Thierry near Reims, s. X) ; n° CCV (Saint-Arnoul of Metz, s. X-XI) ; G. I. LIEFTINCK, Manuscrits datés conservés aux Pays Bas I (Amsterdam 1964), planche n° 37 (Saint-Martial at Limoges 1023-1025).
written in another hand than the preceding text). Fol. 203v-205r: *Passio sancti Andreae* (BHL 428). In yet another hand the text is written upside down and from back to front. It begins on top of fol. 205r (according to the direction of writing in the fragment) and ends at two thirds of fol. 203v. Fol. 205v contains a fragment from the Acts of the Apostles (Act 8, Simon the Magus) and is not mentioned in the existing descriptions. This text has also been written in the inverse order, in yet another hand and is probably a part of a longer text. It is scarcely readable and starts somewhere in the middle of the story: "...issonae ab ecclesiae a deum pro aeo. Cum autem producturus...", expl: "Simonem in medio eorum uel ut signiferum statim hoc modo caepit”.

In a first phase units two and three were joined, later unit one was joined to this complex. Ex libris (“Bibliothecae sancti Amandi in pabula”) at the beginning and the end of unit II: fol. 25r (s. XVII) and fol. 170v (s. XIII).

According to L. Delisle the manuscript corresponds with the sixth volume from a series of eight volumes of *vitae*, classed together as no.146 in a twelfth century catalogue of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Amand-en-Pévèle. This observation is based on the fact that the sixth volume of the series from the catalogue and BN lat 5327 start with the same text (a part from the *Vita Martini*). We don’t know exactly when units I, II and III were bound together. This information therefore provides an indication only for the provenance of the second unit, which contains the Saint-Amand-en-Pévèle ex libris.

Old signatures: Regius c 4179-3; Library of Le Tellier, archbishop of Reims (died 1710) n° 269.

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b = Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 4087-4100 (Van den Gheyn 1400) 44

Collection of mainly theological tracts and sermons of Ivo of Chartres and Anselm of Canterbury. Northern France? (Compare MSS Datés [France], t. I, n° CLXXII, Stavelot and especially t. II, n° CCV, Tournai.) S. XII-2. 45 Parchment, 125 leaves, 245 x 155 mm. The Visio Bernoldi, incomplete, on fol. 125r-125v. On fol. 1r an index, dated s. XII-ex. This index is a palimpsest. The texts until fol. 124r appear for the most part in this index. The codex may originally have consisted of several self-contained units, which, as appears from the index, have been joined in an early stage. Those texts not found in the index were probably added at a somewhat later date in a manuscript then containing (at least) 125 leaves. The additions can be dated s. XII-ex. The following texts are not mentioned in the index:

— fol. 32v: Litany of the virgin Mary. Inc: “Letania de sancta Maria incipit. Ave per quam orbis lapsi facta est ereptio. Ave per quam...”. 46 The text begins halfway fol. 32v and suddenly breaks off at the end of the page. Fol. 32 is the last leaf of the quire; it seems possible that the scribe continued the text on a leaf of a different quire, which was however not included in the codex.

— fol. 64rv: Letter of Bernard of Clairvaux (PL 182, col. 427 n° 238).

— fol. 64v: Ordo monasticus, verse. Inc: “Ordo monasticus ecclesiasticus esse solebat”, expl: “Spiritualia querere pascua ne moriantur “.


46. This text is not mentioned in Van den Gheyn’s catalogue either.
— fol. 97rv: *Cives celestis patriae* (de lapidibus) (RH 3271 47).
— fol. 124v: “Moyses assumptus ex aqua signum israelitas de mari rubro christianos de baptismo assumptos, debemus intelligere ut cantemus humana ratio non aurium uoce, qui docentur sonare quod nesciunt. Non desperemus si uidemus ciues celi agere aliqua negotia Babyloniae ut Joseph in Egypto Hester uxor regiis nec continuo gratulemur his quos uidemus agere celestia negotia”.

— fol. 125rv: *Visio Bernoldi*, fragment. The text ends in the middle of the story, just after the introduction of the Jesse character on the bottom of fol. 125v, which is the last leaf of the manuscript. In order to complete the story the scribe would have needed two more leaves.

The miracle of Mary on fol. 124v is written in the same hand as the *Visio Bernoldi* on fol. 125rv. This indicates that both texts were added at the same moment. The short addition at the top of fol. 124v is executed in a different hand.

Up until fol. 64v the manuscript is clearly dividable in quires. A long text of Anselm ends halfway down fol. 97r, followed by the aforementioned *Cives celestis patriae*, which ends in the middle of fol. 97v. Thereafter we find several pen trials. Fol. 97 thus seems to be the last leaf of a quire, or a loose leaf added to this quire, which could not accommodate all of Anselm’s text (fol. 65-97 add up to 8 quires plus one loose leaf).

Fol. 98-125 add up to 7 quires. Fol. 98r-124r contain Anselm’s *Cur Deus homo*. On the three remaining pages of the last quire the short prayer, the miracle of Mary and the *Visio Bernoldi* were added.

According to J. Gessler this manuscript may correspond to


48. This text does not appear in Van den Gheyn’s catalogue.
number 97 in the thirteenth century catalogue of the library of Saint-Laurent of Liège. Gessler bases this assertion on the fact that b and the manuscript in the catalogue begin with the same text by Ivo of Chartres. This correspondance is an indication, but does not provide a strong proof.

Old signatures: Societatis Iesu Lovanii, n. 267 Y1.

$s =$ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nouv. acq. lat. 469

Collection of transcriptions by Jacques Sirmond. Paper, 158 foliated leaves, 210 x 155 mm. The quires are numbered as well. Both numberings are in Sirmond’s own hand. The Visio Bernoldi is found on fol. 123r-125v (quire 28), copied from a manuscript from Hérivaux (“ex codice Herivallis”). The Visio Bernoldi contains some marginal corrections in Sirmond’s hand. It is not possible to decide whether these are Sirmond’s own corrections or corrections from the Vorlage. The same is true for the headings (“incipit uisio Bernoldi de Attiniaco”).

Quires 27 and 28 are closely related. They contain texts about Reims, concerning Ebo and Hincmar, all (and as far as indicated the only ones in the collection) copied from a manuscript from Hérivaux. Quires 29 and 30 also contain texts about Reims, copied from a manuscript from Saint-Remi of Reims, now lost.

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51. Victorins monastery, founded 1130. T. De Morembert art. in: Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique 137, col. 1466-1467. CAROZZI (1994), p. 346 n. 215 incorrectly identifies Herivallis as the monastery of Orval, in present Luxemburg, 125 km north east of Reims. However, the latin name of Orval is not Herivallis but Aurea vallis; L.-H. COTTINEAU, Répertoire Topo-Bibliographique des Abbayes et Prieurés I-IV (Mâcon 1936); lemmata “Hérivaux” and “Orval”.
27. fol. 117-122
   — fol. 117r-121v: Appendices ad concilium Ingelheimense anni 840. Apologetici Ebonis forma posterior. Appendices to the acts of the council of Ingelheim (840), concerning the reinstitution of archbishop Ebo of Reims (A. Werminghoff ed., MGH conc 2-2 [Hannover 1908], pp. 799-806. This edition is based on J. Sirmond’s transcription).
   (fol. 122rv blank).
28. fol. 123-126
   — fol. 123r-125v: Visio Bernoldi.
   (fol. 126rv blank).
29. fol. 127-130
   (fol. 130rv blank).
30. fol. 131-134
   — fol. 131r-134v: Extracts from the polyptyc of Saint-Remi of Reims.53

m = Paris, BN fr. 17698 54

Collection of papers of Dom Jean Mabillon. 482 leaves, paper, various formats. Fol. 403r-404v contain J. Mabillon’s notes taken at the monastery of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon (fol. 403r. “Ex Bibl. Benign.”). On fol. 404v Mabillon has copied a fragment of the beginning of the Visio Bernoldi from a “codex 8” of Saint-Bénigne (= d). This codex 8 must have been incomplete or badly damaged, because the fragment is very short and full of blank spaces. Mabillon has not been able to read the name Bernold and failed to identify the text.

3. Manuscripts of the *Visio Bernoldi* now lost

We have information about three manuscripts that are now lost.

The first is the *Vorlage* from Hérviaux of J. Sirmond’s transcription (= h), of which Sirmond gives no further description. Given the quire signatures and the content it seems probable that the texts from the quires 27 and 28 in s have been copied from the same Hérviaux manuscript. This manuscript almost certainly was lost on October 18, 1632 when fire destroyed the monastery of Hérviaux and in particular its library.  

A second manuscript is the *Vorlage* of J. Mabillon’s transcription (= d). Mabillon refers to this manuscript as “codex 8” of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon. According to the index of the library of Saint-Bénigne compiled in 1653 by Dom Maur Benetot, the numbering of which Mabillon adopted, this codex contained parts of the Bible (“n° 1-2-3 et seq. Biblii libri ; n° 9-10 Bibliorum concordantia”). We have not been able to find out more details about the content and composition of codex 8 in other catalogues of Saint-Bénigne, nor do we know whether it has been preserved. In any case it must already have been badly damaged or contained a damaged fragment of the *Visio Bernoldi* when J. Mabillon

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consulted it. The fragment is too short to identify as either
version A or B or as yet another version, because it breaks
off before A and B go different ways.

The third manuscript that we can consider lost is a
manuscript that appears as n° 249 in a catalogue of Lobbes from
the middle of the twelfth century (= l) and which according to
the catalogue contained the Visio Bernoldi ("Hincmarus scrip-
tum de visione cuiusdam"). We cannot of course discern which
version of the text is meant here. Three big fires have destroyed
almost the whole library of Lobbes and n° 249 does not appear
among the few surviving manuscripts. 58 According to the
catalogue n° 249 referred to one or perhaps several volumes of
miscellanea. 59

In the tenth century the library of the church of Reims very
likely contained one or more copies of the Visio Bernoldi, on
which Flodoard based his paraphrase of the text in the Historia
Remensis Ecclesiae.

4. The place of the Visio Bernoldi
in medieval manuscripts

We have information about at least five medieval
manuscripts containing the Visio Bernoldi, of which only two
have been preserved. This scant information allows us to make
the following observations about the context in which the text
was transmitted.

In three out of five cases the Visio is found in direct contact
with other visions or with texts of a related genre. In p the Visio
is included in a collection of saints’ lives; in b it has been
added together with a miracle of the Virgin Mary. In l the Visio
Bernoldi is found in the company of several poems, religious
texts (on fasting: Questio quare ieiunium; on the Last Judge-

58. F. Dolbeau, "Un nouveau catalogue des manuscrits de Lobbes aux
XI° et XII° siècles", Recherches Augustiniennes 13 (1978), p. 3-36 and 14
(1979), p. 191-248. Ibidem p. 5 n. 15. The catalogue was written between 1049
and 1158-1160 (ibidem, p. 10).
59. F. Dolbeau has published the catalogue and identified the titles as far
as possible. For n° 249: Dolbeau (1979), p. 221-222.
ment: Signa finis saeculi) and two other visions: the Visio Caroli Grossi and the Visio Pauli. The Visio Bernoldi follows immediately after the Visio Pauli.

In fact, visions are often transmitted with other visions, which indicates that these texts were considered as an independent genre. We often find visions in the company of miracle stories and saints’ lives as well. This is not surprising given the fact that visionaries were often saints, vitae frequently contain short visions and visions were generally considered as miraculous or marvellous events. Visiones, miracula and vitae are related genres. In the later middle ages there seems to be a further connection with texts about death and the four last things.

In the fourth manuscript of the Visio Bernoldi h (Sirmond’s Vorlage from Hérivaux) the ordering principle seems to have been geographical: the Visio is found among texts concerning Reims and the archbishops Hincmar and Ebo.

In the fifth manuscript d the Visio Bernoldi is found in a Bible.

In two, perhaps even three cases the Visio Bernoldi has been added on empty leaves. In p, a composite manuscript of saints’ lives, the Visio will not have stood out; in b, which contains mostly theological tracts and sermons, the text is more conspicuous. About manuscript d (the “codex 8” of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon) we only know that it was a Bible, but it seems likely that the Visio Bernoldi was added on an empty page here as well.

There are some indications that short religious texts (miracles, exempla, visions etc.) could be included in all sorts of manuscripts, also in the absence of content or genre resemblances. The manuscript of the Annals of Egmond provides a good example. On empty pages a saints’ life, the Visio Baronti, the Visio Lietberti and visions of the nuns of Oostbroek were


added. \textsuperscript{62} It would be interesting to examine systematically in which kinds of manuscripts visions were most commonly added.

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EDITION

Sigla

\[ p = \text{Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5327, fol. 186v-188v (s. IX-ex, X-in)} \]
\[ b = \text{Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 4087-4100 (Van den Gheyn 1400), fol. 125rv (s. XII-ex)} \]
\[ s = \text{Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 469, fol. 123r-125v (s. XVII)} \]
\[ m = \text{Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 17698, fol. 404v (s. XVII)} \]

The edition contains version \(A\), \(B\) and \(C\). Version \(C\), edited in the \(MGH\), is only incorporated to facilitate comparison. For this version no variants are given.

The edition of version \(A\) is based on manuscript \(s\), with variants in \(p\). Deviations from \(s\) in Sirmond’s edition are indicated as well.

Square brackets [] designate omissions in \(p\); half brackets [-] designate text that has been lost by damage in \(p\) for version \(A\) and in \(b\) for version \(B\). It could not be established with which version manuscript \(m\) corresponded. The fragment is very short and is printed in italics in column \(A\). Omissions in \(m\) apparently not due to text loss are indicated in the notes.

I am responsible for the division in sections.
MAAIKE VAN DER LUGT

[A] [Incipit uisio Bernoldi de Attinacio]. Hincmarus episcopus ac plebis Dei familus dilectis fratibus et religiosis uiris ad quorum notitiam haec quae sequuntur perueniunt.

1. Nuper in paroecia mea quidam mihi notus homo, Bernoldus nomine, infirmatus, post confessionem et reconciliationem atque sancti oleiunctionem et corporis Christi ac sanguinis Christi communionem, ingrauescent eualitudine, pene usque ad mortem peruenit, ita ut per quatuor dies nec cibum nec potum capere vel loqui possit, nisi raro significare, ut ei aqua daretur.

Quarto autem die, hora nona, velut exanimis iacuit, adeo ut non posset in eo sentiri halitus, nisi per uices. Quicumque manum suam mittebat ad os illius uel super pectus illius, uix sentiebat in eo adhuc spiritum esse. Rubor autem in

[B] Hyncmarus episcopus ac plebis dei familus dilectis fratibus et religiosis uiris ad quorum notitiam haec quae sequuntur perueniunt.

1. Nuper in paparoecia mea quidam mihi notus homo, Bernoldus nomine, infirmatus, post confessionem et reconciliationem adeque sancti oleiunctionem et corporis ac sanguinis Christi communionem, ingrauescente ualitudine, pene usque ad mortem peruenit, ita ut per quatuor dies nec cibum nec potum capere uel loqui possit, nisi raro significare, ut ei aqua daretur.

Quarto autem die, hora nona, velut exanimis iacuit, adeo ut non posset in eo sentiri halitus, nisi per uices. Quicumque manum suam mittebat ad os illius uel super pectus illius, uix sentiebat in eo adhuc spiritum esse. Rubor autem in

[C] De visione cuiusdam Bernoldi

De quo postmodum talis ostensa est revelatio cuidam homini Renemensis parrochiae, nomine Bernoldo, qui depressus infirmitate

pene usque ad mortem peruenit, ita ut per quattuor dies nec cibum nec potum capere nec loqui valeret.

Quarto uero die, hora nona, velut exanimis iacuit, adeo ut non posset in eo sentiri halitus, nisi per uices, dum, quis manum misisset ad os eius vel super pectus illius, vix sentiebat in eo adhuc spiritum esse. Rubor illi

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A. (Titulus) a De visione Bernoldi presbyteri ed. b hac p c reliosis

P, religious m d notiam s, sed habet notitiam ed.

A. I. a ra Nuper m b parthia p, parochia m, ed. c nostra s
d quadam p e nomine Bernoldus s f adque p, ac m g ci m
h functionem p i et m j ualitudine s k poene p l usque om.
m m perueniit s, sed habet peruenit ed. n acipere p o nec ed.
p possit m q Quarta s r hora nona om. m s alitus p

B. I. aa lege parochia bb lege atque cc lege ualitudine
tamen in facie magnum erat. Et sic iacuit usque ad medium noctem. Circa uero medium noctem, apertis oculis, viriliter uxori suae ac circumstantibus dixit, ut quantocius currerent et confessorem suum velociiter ad se ueniire rogarent, quia nisi cito ueniret, ipse uivere non posset. Accito autem presbytero, antequam in mansionem ubi ille iacebat presbyter ueniret, cum in exteriorem domum intruit, dixit ille qui iacebat infirmus: 'Ponite hic sellam, quia presbyter iam domum intrabit.' Isdem autem presbytero, mox in ostium est ingressus ubi ille iacebat, incipiens pro eo orationes, dixit: 'Dominus uobiscum.' Et ille clara uoce respondit: 'Et cum spiritu tuo.' Dictis autem orationibus, dixit presbytero, ut sederet secus eum et ait illi: 'Axtente intellege quae [tibi] dicturus sum, ut, si ego in corpore manens illa nutiari non potero quae mihi iussa sunt, tu illa adnunties.' Et coepit vehementissime flere, et cum singultibus dixit:

tamen in facie magnus videbatur. Et sic iacuit usque ad medium noctem. Tunc viriliter ocullos aperiens et affatus uxorem suam atque circumstantes, iussit, ut quantocius currerent et presbiterum suum velociiter ad se venire rogarrent. Accito autem presbitero, antequam intraret ille domum,
2. 'Ductus de isto seculo\(^1\) ad aliud\(^a\) saeculo, ueni in quendam locum, et inueni episcopos XL et unum\(^b\)^\(^3\) inter quos cognoui Ebonem, Leopardellum\(^c\) et Aeneam\(^d\), pannosos et denigratos, uelut si ustulati fuisse\(^\text{bb}\) et spalentes\(^e\) et per uices nimio frigore horribili cum fletu ac stridore dentium tremulantes,\(^4\) et per uices calore\(^4\) aestuantes.

Et Ebo episcopus me uocauit ex nomine dicens: "Quia tibi dabitur licentia redeundi ad corpus, precamur te ego et isti confratres nostri, ut adiuues nos." Et ego respondi: "Quomodo uos possum adiuuare?" Qui respondit: "Vade ad homines nostros clericos et laicos, quiuibus benefecimus, et dic illis, ut pro nobis faciant eleemosynas\(^8\) et orationes et impetret pro nobis offerri sacras oblationes." Et ego respondi: "Quia tibi dabitur licentia redeundi ad corpus, precamur te ego et isti confratres nostri, ut adiuues nos." Et ego respondi: "Quomodo vos possum adiuuare?" Qui ait: "Vade ad homines nostros clericos et laicos, quibus benefecimus, et dic illis, ut pro nobis faciant eleemosynas et orationes et impetrent pro nobis offerri sacras oblationes." Et respondente me ignora re quo loquor\(^e\) quesiti inuenirentur isti suffragatores. "Nos", inquit, "dabimus tibi ductorem qui te ad illos ducat." Et dederunt mihi unum

\(\text{A. 2. a aliud } p \quad \text{b XLII } p, \text{ quadraginta et unum } ed. \quad \text{c Leoba } p \quad \text{d nimio calore } p \quad \text{e per } p \quad \text{f laicos et clericos } p \quad \text{g eleemosynas faciant } p\)

\(\text{B. 2. aa lege locum } bb \text{ lege fuissent } cc \text{ lege squalentes } dd \text{ lege possum } ee \text{ lege locorum uel loco}\)
hominem, qui me praecessit et duxit me ad maximum palatium, ubi multitudo hominum eorumdem episcoporum erat et de illis episcopis loquebuntur. Et ambasciavi ex illorum parte quod mihi iussum fuerat. Inde cum ductore meo rediens ad locum ubi ipsi erant episcoporum reueni. Et quasi iam quae postulaverant pro ipsis facta fuerant, erant iocundae facie, quasi a novis rasis et balneatis, et habebant albas vestitas et stolae et sandalas in pedibus; planetas autem non habebant. Et dixit mihi praefatus Ebo: "Vides quantum nos adiuuit missaticus tuus? Usque modo nimis durum et grauem custodem et custodiam habuimus, sicut vidisti; modo vero habemus domnum Ambrosium custodem et leuem custodiam."

3. Inde ueni in quendam locum tenebrosum, ad quem ex alia parte lux resplendebat de vicino loco satis lucidissimo et pulcherrimo florido et odorifero; ibique iacere

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A. 2. h quam p i erant p j redientis p k iam ea p l faci p m missaticus tuus p
A. 3. a atque p b ae p
B. 2. ff lege locum habuimus

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loco tenebroso uidi iacere dumnum Karolum regem nostrum uolunter-tet se in luto et sanie putredinis suae. Deuorabatur enim a vermi-bus. Cuius carne iam ab illis comesta, nichil corporis eius apparebat preter nervos et coxas. Qui vocans me ex nomine dixit: "Quare me non adiuvas?" Cui respondit: "Domine, quomodo vos possum adiuvare?" Et ille: "Prende", ait, "illam petram quae iuxta te est, et pone illam sub capite meo." Quo facto, dixit ad eundem: "Vade ad Hincmarum episcopum et die ei, quia illius et aliorum fidelium meorum consilia non obaudiui, ideo ista quae uidis pro culpis meis sustineo; et die illi, quia semper in illo fiduciam habui, ut me adiuuent, quatuis de ista poena sim liberatus, et per omnes qui mihi fuerunt fideles ex mea parte postulet, ut me adiuuent, quia si absolutioni mee orando institerint, cito de hac pena liberabor."

vidit hunc regem Kar-lum in luto ex sanie ipsius putredinis et a ver-mibus edil, qui carne ipsius omnemiam pene absumpserant, et non apparebat in corpore ipsius aliud nisi nervi et ossa. Qui vocans hunc ex nomine, dixit: "Quare me non adiuvas?" Cui respondit: "Domine, quomodo vos possum adiuvare?" Et ille: "Prende", ait, "illam petram quae iuxta te est, et pone illam sub capite meo." Quo facto, dixit ad eundem: "Vade ad Hinc-marum episcopum et die ei, quia illius et aliorum fidelium meo-rum bona consilia non obaudiui, ideo ista quae uidit hunc regem Kar-lum in luto ex sanie ipsius putredinis et a ver-mibus edil, qui carne ipsius omnemiam pene absumpserant, et non apparebat in corpore ipsius aliud nisi nervi et ossa. Qui vocans hunc ex nomine, dixit: "Quare me non adiuvas?" Cui respondit: "Domine, quomodo vos possum adiuvare?" Et ille: "Prende", ait, "illam petram quae iuxta te est, et pone illam sub capite meo." Quo facto, dixit ad eundem: "Vade ad Hinc-marum episcopum et die ei, quia illius et aliorum fidelium meo-rum bona consilia non obaudiui, ideo ista quae uidis pro culpis meis sustineo; et die illi, quia semper in illo fiduciam habui, ut me adiuuent, quatuis de ista poena sim liberatus, et per omnes qui mihi fuerunt fideles ex mea parte postulet, ut me adiuuent, quia si absolutioni mee orando institerint, cito de hac pena liberabor."
Et interrogauit illum, quis locus esset, unde illa lux resplendebat et tantus odor respirabat. Qui dixit: "Sanctorum est requies." Ego autem volens propius ad illum locum accedere, uidi tantam claritatem et tantam suavitatem tantumque decorem, quantum humana lingua dicere non potest. Et uidi ibi multitudinem hominum diuersi ordinis in albis uestibus collaetantum, et quaedam sedilia lucida, in quibus homines adhuc non sedebant, quibus praeparat'a erant. Et in illo itinere uidi multitudinem hominum diversi ordinis in albis uestibus, et quaedam sedilia lucida, in quibus nemo adhuc sedebat eorum quibus preparata erant. Et in illo itinere ingressus est ecclesiam quandam, quam cum intrassem, inueni Hincmarum episcopum praeparatum cum clericis revestitis ut missam celebraret. Et dixit illi hoc quod Karolus ei mandaverat. Statim regressus ad locum ubi eundem regem iacientem viderat, inueni illum in loco lucido et sanum corpore et indutum regis uestibus. Et dixit mihi: "Vides quomodo me adiuuat tuus missaticus?"

5. Inde ueni ad quendam locum et inueni Otharium comitem, capillos et barbam [habentem], sed et totum corpus miseria et squalore infectum et nigram. Qui se absconderre voluit, ne illum uiderem. Cui dixi: “Domne comes, quid hic facis?” Qui respondit: “Propter mea peccata hic sum et sustineo quae uides. Et iste meus custos, qui me hortatus est in uita [mea] illa mala facere quae feci, adhuc hortatur ut me absconderem, ne tu me uideres. Sed precor te in amore Dei, uade ad uxorem meam et ad homines et amicos meos, et...”
dic illis ut pro me eleemosynas faciant et orationes fieri obtineant, ut de ista poena liberer. Et unum homini meo commendavi aurum et argentum meum, quod nemo alius sapuit nisi ego et ille, et adhuc nec unum quidem denarium pro me inde donauit. Et uisum est mihi, ut statim fuissem apud Vongum in mallo, et dixi suis hominibus et aliis qui ibi erant, quae mihi iniunxit. Et statim fui in spiritu ad illum locum ubi erat Otharius, et erat quasi a nouo rasus et balneatus et sanus corpo et albis uestibus indutus, et ille suus custos durus ibi non erat. Qui dixit mihi: Vides quantum me adiuuauit tuus missatus? Et ille meus custos iam de me potestatem non habet.


7. Ego per quosdam diuulgari haec audiens, quia ille rediuuus ad me uenir non potuit, praefatum presbyterum bonae intelligentiae ac bonae vitae, cui haec retulit, ad me accersitum quae scripta sunt mihi ex ordine feci narrare. Vera fila esse credens, quia huiusmodi, et in Libro Dialogorum sancti Gregorii et in Historia Anglorum, et in scriptis sancti Bonefacii episcopi et martyris, sed et tempore domni Ludouuici imperatoris aetate nostra cui dam Witino uiro religioso reuelata relegi. Unde, fratres carissimi, haec re legentes semper pauidi semperque suspecti, dum in hoc corpore sumus, de mansionibus quis exuti corporibus habituri sumus cogitantes, remedia nobis a Deo insinuata atque collata non neglegamus. Et commissos nobis, ac quoscunque adire potuerimus, non neglegere commoneamus quia sic mors cum ueniet, et antequam ueniat semper timeatur. Pro domino quoque nos-
tro quondam rege Karolo, ut ei Dominus bona aeterna conferat, studiosissime imploremus, per cuius potestatem nobis bona temporalia contulit.

In quo ex hac uisione duo iudicia Domini perpendere possimus: uidelicet ut cum poenis quas sustinebat, etiam ex scientia sanctorum requiei ut luce resplendente a longe, qui promereri in corpore positus poterat et neodum promeruit, conscientia torqueretur. *Quemque futura spes aliquantulum refouebat, sicut et nos hortantur scripturae, [ut] sic peccata nostra perturbent, quatinus mens in desperationem non propruat, sic Dei misericordia nos refoueat, ut nullo modo negligentes reddat.

1. Bernold lapses into a coma at the ninth hour. Dinzelbacher erroneously interprets this phrase as the duration of the coma: DINZELBACHER (1981), p. 140.

2. The number 41 (or 42 in p) does not seem to have any special significance. 41 does not occur in H. MEYER and R. SUNTRUP, Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen (Munich 1987). The meanings mentioned for 42 do not seem to apply here.

3. Archbishop Ebo of Reims (died 851), probably bishop Pardulus of Laon (died 857), bishop Aeneas of Paris (died 871). See commentary, notes 5 and 11.


5. However, this is the first time the custos is mentioned.

6. King Charles the Bald (died 877).

7. Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (died 882).

8. See commentary, note 7.

9. Perhaps bishop Jesse of Amiens (died 836), but see commentary, note 11.

10. The suggested antithesis seems to be a corruption.

11. Voncq, a village close to Attigny in the diocese of Reims.


13. Cf II Cor 12:2-4, where St Paul speaks of his own visionary experience, which took place fourteen years before.

14. Cf. Lc 23:43. The homo honestus seems to be associated with Christ. It is not altogether clear to which person tu refers in this phrase. Syntactically the word refers to the homo rusticus; the context, however, suggests that tu refers to Bernold.

15. I.e. GREGORY THE GREAT, Dialogi IV, 37, 5-7 (SC 265, pp. 128-130).


18. Emperor Louis the Pious (died 840).


21. GREGORY THE GREAT, Homiliae in evangelia 32, 8 (PL 76, col. 1238).


24. Combined citation of I Cor 13:12, II Cor 3:18 and I Io 3:2.

25. Cf Mt 25:13. See also the Visio Fursei : during his vision Fursa receives the order to dedicate his life to prayer and preaching 'eo quod certus sibi exitus sed incerta eiusdem exitus esset hora futura, dicente Domino : "Vigilat eaque quia nescitis diem neque horam"'; BEDE, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum III, 19 (ed. cit., p. 164).