O

OATH. In feudal society, where a man's value was estimated by the price put on his word, the oath was an essential social act. It was primarily a verbal engagement, but the *gesture that accompanied it mattered as much as the words pronounced. Texts alluding to oaths sworn often mention the gesture made on the occasion: most often one swore on a symbolic object: in the early Middle Ages, arms were one of the guarantees of an oath, until the Church opposed a practice that clearly betrayed the oath's *pagan origins. Usually, the oath was taken on *relics or on a manuscript of the *Bible. This solemn pledge possessed a vast field of application.

*Charlemagne, by imposing it on all the men of the *Empire, tried to make it a bond uniting all his subjects to the person of the emperor. Likewise, around the year 1000, the militants of the peace movements tried to gather the whole Christian society around the oath of peace, publicly sworn on *relics. In justice, for lack of sufficient confidence accorded to written proofs, the oath of the accused and of his guarantors sufficed to exonerate him in a good many cases; likewise, the declarations of a witness owed their probative value to his oath. This apparently unreliable practice subsisted in certain regions throughout the Middle Ages. The oath was constantly in use among the seignorial class to declare its own social status and establish its relations with others. The vassal's *homage to his *suzerain, the *dubbing of the young knight, the *consecration of the *bishop or the *king were all acts implying an ostentatious and ritual engagement, often perpetuated by a *charter listing the witnesses, guarantors of the promise made in public. The frequency of oaths and the play of multiple loyalties that structured feudal society led to a restriction on oaths, to avoid occasions of *perjury: the spread of the judicial *duel is partly explained by the depreciation of the probatory oath. The wish to reserve the use of sworn pledges to the *nobility explains why *peasants or townsmen were forbidden to bind themselves by oath: conjurations, peace movements, leagues, hanses, *guilds or *communes long aroused the active hostility of the nobility and the Church. For the former, the usurpation of a practice exclusive to the nobility could have no meaning but a subversive one; according to *clerics, the dependent status of the lowly did not allow them to keep their word. To authorize them to swear was to expose them to the risk of transgressing their religious engagement. The gradual marginalization of the judicial oath and the legalization of sworn organisations show the evolution of medieval society over the oath, whose practice became general throughout society, while the perfecting of more suitable legal practices avoided the risks of giving exclusive importance to the given word.

"Serment", *DThC*, 14, 2, 1941. – F.-L. Ganshof, "Charlemagne et le serment", *Mélanges Halphen*, Paris, 1951, 258-270. – B. Guénée, *Un meurtre, une societé*, Paris, 1992, 114-120.

Mathieu Arnoux

Oath of the Knights of the Holy Spirit sworn on the Bible held by King Louis of Anjou. Miniature from the *Statuts de l'Ordre du Saint-Esprit au Droit désir ou du Nœud*, instituted at Naples by Louis I of Anjou in 1352. Paris, BNF (Ms fr. 4274, fol. 3 v°).

OBEDIENCE. An obedience was a task given to a religious, monk or *canon, by his *abbot by virtue of monastic obedience, and by extension the monastic or canonical positions or offices.

While the Rule of St *Benedict knew the word *oboedientia* only in its classical sense of "compliance", the authors of the 11th and 12th cc. used it in a derivative sense, that of a task entrusted to a religious by his superior, an occasional task or office within the *abbey. Book III of the Cluniac *customary of Udalric is entitled *Liber tertius pro singulis obedientiis*, and the first chapter begins: "*De officiis, vel ut regulariter loquar, obedientiis nondum quidam dixi*" ("About offices or, to speak according to the rule, obediences, I have as yet said nothing"). This last book of Udalric's customary deals with the abbey's officials, beginning with the abbot and ending with the infirmarian, defining the duties of each. The word took on this meaning in monastic language, and it appears more than once in *Guigo's *Customs of Chartreuse*: The lay brothers must be present at *mass on *Easter day "as far as their obediences allow it" (4, 29); or "Now let us run through each of the obediences" (46, 1) and Guigo reviews the cook (46), the baker (47), the shoemaker (48), the man in charge of *agriculture (49), the head shepherd (50), etc.

From the office, the word soon shifted to mean the place where it was exercised, "obedience" then designating a dependency of an abbey or *chapter. The word was used from the year 1000 for what would somewhat later be called a "*priory". It occurs, *e.g.*,

in a letter of *Gregory VII to the *canons of *Lyon on 20 April 1079 ("the obediences of the Church of Lyon and its other *benefices [*oboedientias ecclesiae ceteraque beneficia*]": *Letters*, VI, 36). Early in the 12th c., in the *Liber ordinis* of *Saint-Victor, "the brothers who remain in the obediences" ("*fratres qui ad oboedientias commorantur*", § 51) must be three, two at minimum. But from the late 12th c., "obedience" in this sense was effaced by "priory", destined for a wider success, though without disappearing from local usages, as for the Church of Lyon ("*obéances*").

Jean-Loup Lemaître

OBEDIENCE, VOW OF. In the Rule of St *Benedict (6th c.), which, with the Rule of St *Augustine, became the main code of religious life in the West, the candidate for monastic life was invited to "return by the labour of obedience to Him from whom he turned away by the laxity of disobedience". Monastic life thus reproduced salvation-history, which began with a distancing from God by the refusal of obedience in the earthly *paradise, and returned to God through the abasement of Christ who made himself "obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross" (Phil 2, 8).

In this perspective must be envisaged the *vow of obedience of the monk "who renounces his own will and takes up the most powerful and glorious arms of obedience to fight in the service of the Lord Christ, the true King" (Prologue of the Rule of St Benedict). The theme of obedience subsequently recurs constantly, on each page of the *Rule (ch. 5, 68, 71 and 72).

In the intention of legislators of the religious life, which was to favour the flowering of spiritual life, obedience to *God, to the *abbot and to all the brethren had a dual function. Firstly, it enabled the monk to receive the absolute training indispensible to the disciple; thanks to obedience, he would benefit from the *wisdom acquired by the master and received by him as the inheritance of a long tradition. He would then be in a better position to discern the will of God in all events of his life. The other aspect was connected with the exercise of charity, of which it was an expression. "The brethren will vie with each other in obedience, none will seek what is useful to himself, but what is so to the other" (Rule, ch. 72). The monk makes himself, in the image of Christ, the servant of all, freeing himself from his innate egoism, in order to turn wholly to God.

"Obbedienza (voto)", *DIP*, 6, 1973, 494-552. – *DSp*, 11, 1982, 535-563.

Guy-Marie Oury

OBELUS. The word "obelus" comes from the Greek *obelos*, which in the plural means a roasting-spit and in the singular a critical sign depicted by a single line or a line between two points, one above and one below (÷), used to mark the faults in a manuscript. Its most explicit definition is given by *Isidore of Seville: "the obelus is appended to words or phrases uselessly repeated, or else where the passage involves a false reading, so that, like the arrow, it lays low the superfluous and makes errors disappear . . . . The obelus accompanied by points is used when we do not know whether a passage should be suppressed or not." (*Etym.*, I, 20).

Modern lexicography defines the obelus as a sign or mark, sometimes a horizontal line, used by the ancients to indicate doubtful passages, false readings, interpolations or errors of attribution. Some modern palaeographers would also like to see it as a sign calling attention to a note or paragraph indentation, but tradition does not justify such a meaning.

B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, Cambridge, 1990.

Françoise Gasparri

OBITUARY. The obituary was the *liturgical book in which the deceased who had founded an *anniversary in a monastic, canonical or parish church were inscribed on the anniversary of their *death or on a day chosen by them in their lifetime. From the 13th c. it took over from the *necrology, in which were inscribed all the *dead of a community, its spiritual associates and some noteworthy benefactors. The development of belief in *purgatory and the revival of the practice of making *testaments led to a considerable expansion of anniversary *foundations, practised from the Carolingian period but limited to the great. Laymen and *clerics multiplied foundations of perpetual masses for the *salvation of their soul, giving material endowments to ensure the revenues necessary for their celebration: endowment in *money or in land (usually converted into *rents), either by testament and left in the charge of the heirs, or while the founder was still living, with the commemoration fixed on a day that was not that of the death, but often that of the patron saint, or even a day chosen arbitrarily, with a votive mass foundation (of the Virgin, the Holy Spirit) to be transformed into a *requiem* *mass after death.

Like the necrology, the obituary was constructed on a Roman *calendar, to which the liturgical calendar could be added. The notices, introduced by a similar heading (*Obiit*, *Obitus*), were much more detailed, giving not just the founder's name, but also his status and sometimes the year of his death, and a statement of the foundation, with details of any lands given or charged with rents, the *offices, masses or *absolutions to be celebrated and the distributions to be made to the celebrant and assistants, in kind (pittance) in monasteries, in money in canonries or *parishes.

From now on only persons who had founded their anniversary would be inscribed in the obituary (with some few exceptions such as the superior or founder of the community). It no longer reflected the composition of the community, becoming more a memorandum-book than a liturgical book, and though it might still be used during the office of prime, the passages from **censuarii* and *rentales* contained in it were no longer read. It gradually became an independent book, giving the names of the dead who were to be remembered and the revenues attached to that celebration. Some orders (*Cistercians, *Carthusians) rejected anniversary foundations, which were an important source of revenues for Black Monks and secular *canons. In some regions of France (Massif Central, Franche-Comté, *Pyrenees), *confraternities were established for the celebration of foundation masses (communities of obituary priests, *méparts*).

A. Molinier, *Les Obituaires français au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1890. – H. Leclercq, "Obituaire", *DACL*, 12, 1935, 1834-1857. – N. Huyghebaert, *Les Documents nécrologiques*, Turnhout, 1972-1985. – M. Dykmans, "Les Obituaires romains. Une définition suivie d'une vue d'ensemble", *StMed*, 3rd series, 19, 2, 1978, 591-652. – *L'Église et la mémoire des morts dans la France médiévale*, J.-L. Lemaître (ed.), Paris, 1986. – J.-L. Lemaître, *Mourir à Saint-Martial. La commémoration des défunts et les obituaires à Saint-Martial de Limoges du XI^e^ au XII^e^ siècle*, Paris, 1989. – [J.-L. Lemaître], "Necrologia", *Repertorium Fontium Historiae Medii Aevi*, VIII/2, Fontes N, Rome, 1998, 147-167.

Jean-Loup Lemaître

OBJECTION. In the medieval teaching of *theology, the greater part of the work took the form of debates between the students and the *master's assistants. Thus the written version of the teaching, whose most common example is St *Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae*, retains a trace of these debates. On each subject, the Thomist exposition comprises "objections", the arguments

refuting the thesis that is to be proposed, a "response" by the master, then the "responses to the objections", in which the professor leans on his personal exposition to refute one by one all the arguments put forward at the beginning of the article. This pedagogical procedure obliged the theologian to take account of positions not his own and reply to them.

Jean-Marie Gueullette

OBLATE. A *child who, not yet having reached the age of puberty, was offered to a monastery by its parents to become a monk or a *nun for life. This offering can be understood as a *commendatio* (commending the child to a sacred patron), a sacrifice or an abandonment, according to times and circumstances. This practice was only occasionally questioned between the 6th and 11th cc., when oblates formed an important part of monastic recruitment. From the mid 11th c., certain religious complained that the children offered were family rejects, while the new orders refused to admit them. During the later Middle Ages, the oblation of male children gradually disappeared, while the term "oblate" was increasingly used for adults who had attached themselves to a religious house.

N. Berend, "Une invisible subversion: la disparition de l'oblation irrévocable des enfants", *Médiévales*, 26, Paris, 1994, 123-126. – M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West (600-900)*, Leiden, 1996.

Isabelle Cochelin

OBSERVANCE. The term had many meanings in Western monastic and ecclesiastical tradition, indicating mainly a positive and consistent adherence to the norms that inspired and regulated the institutionalized forms of religious life. However, it was largely used between the second half of the 14th c. and the early 16th c. to cover phenomena that occurred throughout Western *Christendom and led, fairly recently, to talk of a late medieval "Catholic reformation" before the 16th-c. Protestant Reformation.

Today, historians even tend to distinguish two movements: one of "monastic *reform" and the other of "observance" properly so-called. The former concerned *monasticism of Benedictine tradition, while the latter affected the *mendicant orders. In the Observance, we must distinguish two moments. The initial one, of variable duration, was usually linked to the transition from the 14th to the 15th c. and was a response to the divisions that shook the summit of Roman Catholicism: within religious organisations, experiments were created and developed that sought to "reproduce" as faithfully and rigorously as possible the original state of the various religious *Rules and their respective original ideals. In the second, which appeared in full force in the 15th c., these experiments attained legal structuring and canonical recognition. After these first and often difficult phases, the papacy played a decisive role in the acceptance of the "observances", a papacy without which no observance would have been able to attain that condition that would allow it to organise itself autonomously, with its own leaders and its own territorial subdivisions: a condition that allowed the institution to incarnate the "myth of origins".

In reality, the Observance consisted overall in a movement of innovative restoration, since, while it "restored" the old Rules, it sought and proposed (and imposed) for friars and monks a new situation in society vis-à-vis the public authorities, as well as in the most intimate recesses of private life: in this way it transmitted to society a strong and intolerant religious message, inspired by a rigid monastic discipline and a need for order that signified and involved adherence and submission to existing political systems, established hegemonies and hierarchies.

Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenwesen, K. Elm (ed.), Berlin, 1989.

Grado G. Merlo

OC, LANGUE D'. The *langue d'oc* covers all the dialects spoken from around 800, then also written, in the southern part of what is now *France. The word for "yes" was *oc* (from Latin *hoc*), while north of the Loire extended the lands of the *langue d'oïl* (from Latin *hoc ille*), which became *oui*. The two languages shared a territory that the political and religious history of the 13th c. would unify, to the detriment of the southern idiom.

Medieval Occitan consisted, from north to south and from west to east, of Limousin, Gascon, Auvergnat, Languedocian, Dauphinois, Provençal and Catalan. The group of regions concerned was well Romanized at the time of the great *invasions, an essential phenomenon between the 3rd and the 10th century. However, the slow installation of Latin Christianity had preceded the arrival of these migrants in the Midi; and the words of religion had become those of the common language. Thus the word *parabola*, which the Gospel takes in its primary sense of "comparison", was soon equivalent to "word of God", doubtless that of preaching, and finally ended in the simple sense of *parole*, "word", *paraula* in Occitan. In the former Roman Empire, now become Romania, Christianity, by creating what was originally the language of a sect, was the agent of a language that gradually became common, thanks to *sermons, those acts of speech so fundamental in the formulation and expression of a teaching accessible to all. In 813, indeed, the council of Tours expressly said that *homilies should be translated so that everyone could understand what was said.

As for the written *langue d'oc*, it is difficult to judge its beginnings clearly from the sole surviving scraps of an output that was certainly richer. The so-called Clermont-en-Auvergne poems – *Passion of Christ*, *Life of St Léger* – written in an intermediate language between *oc* and *oïl*, can be dated to the late 10th century. Around the year 1000, the *Boecis*, which curiously presents *Boethius as a vassal of the emperor and a Christian martyr, may have been written in Limousin. On the other hand, legal acts – more than 500 surviving – were written in *langue d'oc* around 1100 and in an area connecting *Toulouse and *Moissac with Rodez and Millau.

The same period saw the blossoming in Limousin of the finest flower of medieval *langue d'oc*, its lyric *poetry, with the first known *troubadour, Duke William IX of Aquitaine (1071-1127). This was the beginning of a magnificent flowering of poems, a literature at first oral or even sung, attested by more than 400 troubadours from William IX to Guiraut Riquier, whose last poem dates from 1292. Their works are known to us from collections of copies, the *chansonniers*, compiled in the 13th and 14th cc. in *Languedoc and in the Italian courts that served as a refuge for the troubadours expelled by the Albigensian crusade. This was the golden age of Occitanian lyric poetry, from which also dated the real effort to unify the language, marked by the desire to *trobar*, *i.e.* compose, for a sort of *koine*, a language of poetry. This was a dream of intellectuals, for meanwhile the lands of *oc* had no political unity.

From 1209, these lands were prey to the hazards thrown up by the Albigensian crusade and the whole 13th c. then became the

scene of bitter political and religious struggles, from which their brilliant literature received a wound it would never recover from. Doubtless men continued to speak and write in *langue d'oc*, in verse and in prose, literary works of all kinds, legal documents too. But the decline of the civilization of the Midi and its literature is linked without a doubt to the aftermath of the Albigensian crusade. Languedoc was attached to the kingdom of France in 1271. The language of the prince was henceforth that of *Paris, also the seat of the *university, the foremost in the Catholic Church. *Provence was united to France in 1481 under *Louis XI. Not until the 16th c. did *langue d'oc* literature enjoy a first renaissance, at the very moment when administration, which had faithfully preserved the use of the idiom up to the second half of the century, was abandoning it. In daily life, however, the language continued to be spoken.

C. Camproux, *Histoire de la Littérature occitane*, Paris, 1953 (re-ed. 1971). – P. Bec, *La langue d'oc*, Paris, 1963. – R. Laffont, C. Anatole, *Nouvelle Histoire de la Littérature occitane*, Paris, 1970. – P. Wolff, *Les Origines linguistiques de l'Europe occidentale*, Paris, 1982. – "Troubadours", *DLFMA*, 1992.

Geneviève Brunel-Lobrichon

OCKEGHEM, JOHANNES (*c.*1410-1497). The Franco-Flemish musician Johannes Ockeghem was born in *c.*1410 in *Flanders, a region of polyphonic musical tradition. We know little of his formative years. From 1446 to 1448, we find him at Moulins in France, in the service of Charles I, duke of Bourbon, whose wife, Agnes of Burgundy, was the sister of Philip the Good. From 1452, he appears in the accounts of the French *court, rapidly in the position of first *chaplain, which he occupied successively during the reigns of *Charles VII, *Louis XI and *Charles VIII, up to his death in 1497. Moreover, Charles VII appointed him treasurer of the abbey of *Saint-Martin at Tours. At the court of Louis XI, Ockeghem was cited in 1461 as chapel-master and in 1477 as counsellor. If we except some journeys to Spain and Flanders, where he met Guillaume Dufay in 1464, his career was spent at the court of France. At the time of his death, he seems to have been retired at *Tours.

His contemporaries describe him as a man of great worth; the number of poems and *music written in his honour at the time of his death attest his fame. He is cited by Tinctoris for his science of composition: this favoured an ample discourse, phrases rarely interrupted by cadences, voices with independent, continuous lines, without easily recognisable motifs. Relatively few of his works survive: some 20 songs, eleven complete masses – by this term, we understand the putting into *polyphony of the five sung pieces of the ordinary – at most ten *motets. Other works existed that have not survived, but the existing corpus is sufficient to let us recognise in him a major 15th-c. composer.

His religious music is extremely erudite. The role of *numbers in it is great, and in this Ockeghem is fully part of the medieval period. He wrote the first polyphonic *Requiem* that has come down to us. Most of his masses are constructed on a pre-existing voice – or *cantus firmus*, which in the 15th c. was not necessarily sacred: the theme of a song could serve without difficulty as *cantus firmus* for a mass. Three more masses were composed without pre-existing voice: they obey technical constraints such that they remain unique compositions, outside the traditions of the 15th century. His *Missa prolationum*, *e.g.*, uses simultaneously, for each of its four voices, the four rhythmic writings practised at the time, and these voices progress into canons separated by intervals that are gradually and systematically increased, from unison to the *octave.

Ockeghem's secular music is more traditional than his religious music; he usually uses the fixed forms practised in the 15th c. – 16 *rondeaux*, four *bergerettes* – but he applies these models less strictly than was done in the previous generation. His writing is often for four voices, as in the religious music; it is new in its exploration of the bass register, its more frequent use of binary than of ternary *rhythms and its equalization of the importance of the different voices at the same time as the differentiation of their proper registers.

Johannes Ockeghem, *Collected Works*, 1 and 2, D. Plamenac (ed.), Philadelphia, 1959 (1st ed. 1927); 3, R. Wexler (ed.), D. Plamenac (ed.), Philadelphia, 1992 ("American Musicological Society. Studies and Documents", 1, 3, 7).

E. Krenek, *Johannes Ockeghem*, London, 1953 (Great Religious Composers). – L. L. Perkins, "Ockeghem", *The New Grove Dictionary*, 13, London, 1980, 489-496. – M. Picker, *Johannes Ockeghem and Jacob Obrecht, a Guide to Research*, New York-London, 1988.

Claire Maître

OCKHAM, WILLIAM OF (*c.*1285-1349), OCKHAMISM. William of Ockham became a *Franciscan and a student of *theology at *Oxford. There he lectured on *Peter Lombard's **Sentences* (1317-1319). In 1320 he went to a Franciscan house at *London or perhaps Reading to await his turn to incept as *master. He never became regent master because others were given the place before him, and the chancellor of the *university of Oxford, John Lutterell, was opposed to him. In 1323 Lutterell collected 56 extracts from his *lectures and sent them to the *pope for condemnation. The pope set up a commission. In 1324 Ockham was summoned to *Avignon on charges of *heresy, where he spent the next four years and faced two successive versions of the articles of *censure pronounced upon him. He was *excommunicated.

Together with *Michael of Cesena, the general of his Order, who had been opposed to Pope *John XXII's condemnation of Franciscan *poverty, Ockham fled to Pisa, where Louis of Bavaria gave him protection. Ockham himself was drawn into the controversy about poverty, and the direction of his work and interests changed. He continued to write polemic against John XXII and his successors and in favour of temporal *authority, as one of a group of exiled scholars in the circle of the imperial court. He died in Munich in 1349.

In his early teaching years, Ockham wrote his commentary on the *Sentences* (the latter part of which survives only in the form of *reportatio*, or lecture-notes), and commentaries on the Old Logic treatises of *Aristotle. He also composed a commentary on the *Physics* of Aristotle, and **Quodlibetal* questions and questions on the *Physics*. Before 1328, and perhaps at Avignon, Ockham wrote his *Summulae Physicorum*, a survey of the Aristotelian principles of *nature, the *Summa Logicae* and the *De sacramento altaris*, which he wrote to vindicate his position on *transubstantiation.

The first treatise of Ockham's polemical period was the *Opus nonaginta dierum*, probably written in 1332. He himself realised that there was no direct connection between his early work and the preoccupations of the last period. He says in a letter of 1334 to the Franciscan general *chapter at Assisi that it was four years before he fully perceived the heresy contained in the papal *bulls attacking Franciscan poverty. The *Dialogus* (unfinished) and the

Octo quaestiones repeat the themes of the *Opus*.

Ockham's contribution and influence were important in three main areas. On the *Eucharist, he gave new life to the controversy over *transubstantiation, which had run its previous philosophical course during the late 11th and 12th centuries. He taught that quantity has no independent existence as something distinct from *substance and qualities. He argued that the consecrated bread was not inwardly transformed.

In the debate between what are conveniently called "*nominalists" and "*realists", Ockham focused his attention on the opposition between the fact that all being has individual nature, and the universality which must be a property of concepts. Ockham saw these as interdependent but fundamentally different. He neither accepted nor denied the independent reality of *universals.

The essentially Franciscan inspiration of Ockham's political beliefs has already been touched on. He has been seen as above all seeking a return to a due balance of spiritual with *temporal power, but also as a supporter of a "lay spirit" that had the potential to undermine the traditional account more fundamentally. His supreme concern was with divine and creaturely *freedom. "The law of the Gospel is the law of freedom" (*lex evangelica est lex libertatis*). He did not, like *Marsilius of Padua, want to see ecclesiastical power dominated by temporal power, but merely to see the end of excessive claims to ecclesiastical power.

Guillelmi de Ockham, *Opera Politica*, H. Offler (ed.) *et al.*, Mancuni, 1956-1974 (3 vol.). – William of Occam, *Opera Philosophica et Theologica*, J. Lalor (ed.), S. Brown (ed.) *et al.*, Saint Bonaventure (NY), 1967-1988 (7 vol.). – William of Ockham, *Quotlibetal Questions*, A. J. Freddoso (ed.), F. E. Kelly (ed.), New Haven, London, 1991. – A. S. McGrade, J. Kilcullen, *William of Ockham: a Short Discourse on Tyrannical Government*, Cambridge, 1992. – A. S. McGrade, J. Kilcullen, *William of Ockham: a Letter to the Friars Minor and other Writings*, Cambridge, 1995.

E. A. Moody, *The Logic of William of Ockham*, London, 1935; new ed., New York, 1965. – *Collected Articles on Ockham*, E. M. Buytaert (ed.), New York, 1958. – L. Baudry, *Lexique philosophique de Guillaume d'Occam: Étude des notions fondamentales*, Paris, 1958. – A. S. MacGrade, *The Political Thought of William of Ockham*, Cambridge, 1974. – G. Leff, *William of Ockham: the Metamorphosis of Scholastic Discourse*, Manchester, 1975. – *William Ockham*, Notre Dame (IN), 1987. – K.H. Tachau, *Vision and Certitude in the Age of Ockham*, Leiden, 1988. – H. Klocker, *William of Ockham and the Divine Freedom*, Milwaukee (WI), 1992.

Gillian R. Evans

OCTAVE. An octave designates either an interval, or a sequence of eight diatonic conjoined sounds. The octave interval between two sounds is governed by the proportion 1/2: to obtain it, we must vibrate two strings one of which is twice as long as the other. In medieval musical theories, the playing of two sounds separated by an octave formed a perfect consonance; a sort of identity was perceived between them.

According to the chosen starting-note, the succession of eight conjoined sounds that form an octave comprises a different succession of tones and semitones. Medieval theoreticians analysed these different arrangements under the name of *species diapason* (kinds of octaves).

F. Reckow, "Diapason, diocto, octava", *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, H. H. Eggebrecht (ed.), Freiburg im Breisgau, 1978, 1-29.

Claire Maître

ODILE (*c.*660-720). Of the patron saint of *Alsace, history attests little. The blind daughter of Duke Adalric (or Eticho) of Alsace, Odile (Odilia, Ottilia) is said to have recovered her sight at her *baptism. Like every *Merovingian prince, Adalric founded monasteries, including that of Hohenburg on a rocky spur of the foothills of the Vosges and bequeathed it (690?) to Odile, who in *c.*700 added to it a *hospice at the foot of the mountain, more accessible to *pilgrims: the lower monastery (Niedermünster). Odile's death (13 Dec 720) added to the already well-established reputation for *sanctity and growing influence of the monasteries in the area ruled by the Etichonid family.

The first source to mention Odile, nearly two centuries after her death, concerns the saint whose cult seems already well established in the prayers of the faithful, in stories and effigies: the mother *abbess holding a *crozier in one hand and blessing Alsace with the other, the open book with two eyes, representing the *miracle worked on Odile's blindness by the *water of baptism. The *Vita sanctae Odiliae*, a hagiographical compilation of the early 10th c. in which history and legend cannot be dissociated, was doubtless composed by a religious in order to offer to the devotion of the faithful a life like that of Christ marked by numerous miracles.

According to this *Vita*, Odile's father Adalric, because he wished "to lead a spiritual existence", built a church and a monastery on the mountain of Hohenburc. The noble Bereswinde, her mother, a relation of St *Leodegar, bishop of *Autun, heralded her daughter's sanctity by her piety and generosity. The birth of a blind daughter created disarray. To escape her father's shame and anger, the child was entrusted to a servant woman and sent to the monastery of Palma (Baumes-les-Dames). Led by the Spirit, Erhard, bishop of Bavaria, came to baptize the little girl, who was immediately healed by the immersion. But – homesick for Alsace? – Odile sent one of her brothers a message to "remember her". He had her sought for and, when "the betrothed of Christ surrounded by a great crowd" approached the paternal castle, the furious Adalric killed his son for having taken such an initiative. Odile, with a "British" *nun for company (links with Irish monasticism were very strong at this time), lived in poverty and charity. One day, her father met her as she was bringing flour to the poor; he bequeathed the monastery to her and died.

Then began Odile's public life, *i.e.* the fulfilment of the signs. First Odile saved her father from the pangs of hell by her mortifications and prayers. She imitated the life of Christ in her poverty and her miracles and built the church of St John the Baptist on the spot designated by the saint himself in an *apparition of light. There 130 nuns practised the canonical life. They sang perpetual praise (in use at Agaune, in the Valais, rom the 6th c.). Odile died after having received *communion and a sweet perfume immediately attested her *sanctity.

43 manuscripts later than this essential document contribute variants and especially additions as miracles multiplied around her *tomb, their unvarying theme being *water, that of baptism and purification, that of charity for the thirsty. Odile made numerous springs flow, the most celebrated being that of Mont Saint-Odile, a geological mystery.

M. Barth, *Die Heilige Odilia, Ihr Kult in Volk und Kirche*, Strasbourg, 1938.

Odile Kammerer

ODILO OF BAVARIA (died 748). Duke of *Bavaria, perhaps put in place by *Charles Martel, Odilo nevertheless continued the tradition of ducal independence from the mayors of the palace. Thus he made contact with *Boniface to organise the Church of his *duchy in 739. In 741 he married Hiltrude, sister of *Pippin and Carloman, against the will of both brothers. From then on he became the centre of anti-Pippinid opposition, and played a guiding role in the revolt of 743. Defeated in 744, he kept his duchy, amputated of the Nordgau, but no longer recognised Boniface's authority: his *bishops took no part in the reforming *synods and he gave the diocese of *Salzburg to the Irishman *Virgil.

J. Jahn, *Ducatus Baiuvariorum. Das bairische Herzogtum der Agilolfinger*, Stuttgart, 1991.

Geneviève Bührer-Thierry

ODILO OF CLUNY (961-1049). St Odilo was born in 961 or 962 to an aristocratic family in the neighbourhood of Brioude, the Mercoeur. At first a *canon of Saint-Julien de Brioude, he let himself be drawn to *Cluny by Abbot *Maiolus, one of whose most loyal disciples he became. Maiolus chose Odilo as *coadjutor in 993. The fifth *abbot of Cluny (994-1049), Odilo left a decisive mark on the history of the monastery. It was under his government that Cluny acquired from Popes Gregory V (998) and John XIX (1024) the legal instruments of sovereignty (*immunity and full *exemption). He provided the community with customs (*Liber tramitis aeui Odilonis*) which were in some way the liturgical expression of the spiritual freedom of the sanctuary and the temporal independence of the lordship. Breaking with the tradition of monastic *reform in a personal capacity as followed by his predecessors *Odo and Maiolus, Odilo laid the basis of the "Cluniac Church", a network of establishments dependent on the centre personified by the abbot. It was he who gave the decisive impetus to the memorial function of the "Cluniac Church" by being the first to take the initiative of celebrating the *feast of All Souls on 2 November, and by making the monastery and its dependencies a refuge sought by believers wishing to rest in the company of St *Peter, patron of Cluny.

The monastery's **scriptorium* was remarkably active under his abbacy, Odilo being revealed, like his predecessor Maiolus, as a dynamic commissioner of texts. His personal work is also particularly rich; it consists of *hymns, *sermons, which manifest the abbot's eucharistic and Marian piety, and hagiographical texts relating to Maiolus and the Ottonian empress Adelaide. He may also have been the author of an *epitaph on *Otto the Great, Adelaide's second husband. These last two texts set out an ideal of Christian sovereigns which was inspired by the model of *Constantine and which carried on the "mirror of the laity" formulated by Odo of Cluny in his Life of St Gerald of Aurillac. Odilo's feast day is 2 January.

Odilo, *Hymnes, sermons et textes hagiographiques*, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614 (re-ed. Brussels-Paris, 1915). – *PL*, 142, 1853. – "Epitaphium Ottonis", K. Strecker (ed.), *MGH.PL*, 5, 1937-1939, 282-283. – H. Paulhart, *Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid von Abt Odilo von Cluny*, *MIÖG.E*, 20, 2, 1962, 27-45 (ed. of Odilo, *Epitaphium domne Adaleidae auguste*).

J. Hourlier, *Saint Odilon abbé de Cluny*, Louvain, 1964. – P. Corbet, *Les Saints ottoniens. Sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l'an Mil*, Sigmaringen, 1986.

Dominique Iogna-Prat

ODO OF BAYEUX (died 1097). Son of Arlette (Herleva), concubine of Duke Robert of *Normandy, and Erluin of Conteville, Odo or Eudes was a half-brother of *William the Conqueror. Aged about 20, he received the see of *Bayeux (1049-1050), and was associated in the conquest of *England. Becoming earl of Kent, he was the greatest landowner in the country and held a place in the government of England that made him one of the first men in the land. He had the idea of justifying William's accession by the making of the *Bayeux tapestry, which condemned Harold. His behaviour brought him into disgrace from 1082 and he was imprisoned for life. Odo had pretensions; he was credited with the intention of aiming at the papal tiara. Freed on William's death and at his request, he continued to play a political role, but also concerned himself with his *cathedral church and his *diocese. He took part in the first *crusade and died at *Palermo in 1097.

D. R. Bates, "The Character and Career of Odo Bishop of Bayeux (1049-1050)", *Spec.*, 50, 1975, 1-20. – M. Parisse, *La Tapisserie de Bayeux*, Paris, 1983. – M. de Bouard, *Guillaume le Conquérant*, Paris, 1984.

Michel Parisse

ODO OF CLUNY (*c.*879-942). Son of an aristocratic family of Berry, St Odo at first received a lay *education at the court of Duke William of Aquitaine. Opting for a religious life, he entered the community of *canons of *Saint-Martin at *Tours, then continued his studies at *Paris under the guidance of *Remigius of Auxerre. Attracted by a very ascetic monastic life, he went with his companion Adhegrin to the monastery of Baume-les-Messieurs (Jura), directed by Berno. This *abbot, earlier trained in the discipline of *Benedict of Aniane, was at the head of a small monastic network consisting mainly of the establishments of Baume, Gigny, Déols, Massay and *Cluny. By his *testament of 926, Berno entrusted the direction of the three latter monasteries to Odo. In a personal capacity, Odo was later called on to found or restore numerous monasteries in *Burgundy, *Aquitaine and *Italy, in particular at *Rome. Greatly attached to St *Martin, he went to die near him at Tours, in Nov 942, which explains why his cult long remained secondary at Cluny itself; not until the abbacy of *Hugh of Semur (1049-1109) was Odo, second abbot of Cluny and henceforth seen as the founder of the monastery, celebrated with great devotion, on 18 November.

Odo's narrative work is of capital importance in the *monastic theology of the pre-scholastic age. We owe him mainly the *Vita sancti Geraldi*, first *biography of the Christian "knight" who leads a wholly monastic life in the world and puts his armed strength at the service of the Church; an abridgement of *Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*; a *florilegium, the *Collationes*; and above all the *Occupatio*, a vast metric fresco of salvation-history starting with Pentecost.

Odo, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, Paris, 1614 (re-ed. Brussels-Paris, 1915). – *PL*, 133, 1853. – Odo, *Occupatio*, A. Swoboda (ed.), Leipzig, 1900. – Odo, *AHMA*, 50, 1907, 265-270.

B. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound. Cluny in the Tenth Century*, Philadelphia (PA), 1982. – D. Iogna-Prat, "Panorama de l'hagiographie abbatiale clunisienne (*c.*940-*c.*1140)", *Manuscrits et oeuvres hagiographiques*, M. Heinzelmann (ed.), Sigmaringen, 1992.

Dominique Iogna-Prat

ODORIC OF PORDENONE (1286-1331). A *Franciscan missionary. Born in Friuli, he set out for the East, and has been credited with a *pilgrimage to the *Holy Land. *John XXII charged him with a legation to mission territory in *c.*1318: via *Trebizond and Tabriz, he reached *India. At Quilon he gathered up the *relics of the Franciscans martyred at Thana and took them by sea to Zayton in *China, where he entrusted them to the Franciscans. He stayed at Khanbaliq and returned through central Asia. In 1330, at the request of his provincial minister, he dictated an account in which he described the "marvels" he had been acquainted with, which had a considerable circulation. He died at *Udine, 14 Jan 1331, and was venerated as *beatus*.

H. Cordier, *Les Voyages en Orient du bienheureux frère Odoric de Pordenone*, Paris, 1891. – N. Guglielmi, *Oderico da Pordenone. Relacion de Viage*, Buenos Aires, 1987.

Jean Richard

óENGUS MAC óENGABA(NN) UA OíBLéIN. The putative author of the first medieval Irish metrical *martyrology or *féilire* composed between 828 and 833 at the monastery of Tallaght near *Dublin. It consists of a prologue, the martyrology proper, which commemorates Irish and foreign saints with a quatrain of four six-syllable lines for each day, and an epilogue. It is transmitted in at least ten manuscripts and acquired a body of glosses and commentary as well as a prose preface, which is one of the main sources for the traditions concerning óengus. The 12th-c. martyrology of Gorman gives March 11 as his obitual day and, in a gloss, styles him "bishop"; the 12th-c. "Book of Leinster" lists him as a member of the *fraternity of Máil Ruain († 792), the founder of the monastery of Tallaght.

Félire Óengusso Céli Dé. The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee, London, 1905. – P. Ó Riain, "The Tallaght Martyrologies, Redated", *CMCS*, 20, 1990, 21-38.

Erich Poppe

OFFERTORY. At *Rome, this term at first designated the *antiphon sung at *mass during the offering of the gifts; in the Frankish lands it designated the act of offering. In the Middle Ages the rite, called "offertory" only from the 17th c., was modified: the use of unleavened bread suppressed the bringing of bread and wine in procession by the faithful; Frankish acceptance of the *Roman liturgy led to it being "enriched" with *apologiae* (penitential prayers) and offertory prayers compensating for the silence of the canon, and to its focusing on the *consecration to the point of borrowing its sacrificial vocabulary. Because of this anticipation, 15th-c. *missals entitled the whole thing the "little canon", and Luther saw it as an "abomination". Despite everything, the 1570 missal kept all seven of these prayers.

J. B. Molin, "Depuis quand le mot offertoire sert-il à désigner une partie de la messe?", *EL*, 77, 1963, 357-380. – P. Tirot, *Histoire des prières d'offertoire dans la liturgie romaine du VII^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle*, Rome, 1984.

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OFFICES, MONASTIC AND CANONICAL. Divine office was the most important element, in length and frequency, of the set of rites and prayers that formed the liturgy. Its aim was essentially to sanctify *time in the detail of the hours of the day and through the week. The public *prayer of the Church developed in a very ancient framework (known from the 3rd c. through the *Apostolic Tradition*), partly inherited from Judaism, but conceived mainly for personal prayer in the place of one's usual occupations. The transition from private prayer to public prayer came about in the 4th c. and was due to the ascetics. Monks and ascetics living in community began to solemnize the *hours of prayer by celebrating them together and thus gave rise to the *divine office proper, while the great mass of Christians came to prayer meetings only on certain occasions: *Sundays and *feast days, either for vigils or for the evening office.

The monks completed the *cursus* of the hours (vigils, *lauds, prime, terce, *sext, *none, *vespers and compline); to them too we owe the essential content of the hours of the office, *i.e.* the introduction of the *psalms as Christian prayer, by the continuous recitation of the *psalter, recommenced at regular intervals. But in the 8th c., the evolution ended and the sole difference between the secular office and the monastic office was the number and distribution of the psalms in the course of each office. The community of *clerics celebrated the office in a way almost identical to that of the monks. A quick way to find out whether a *liturgical book was monastic or secular is to look at the vigils of feast days, the secular office having nine psalms and nine lessons while the monastic office had twelve psalms, three canticles and twelve lessons.

Collections of *Miracula* and similar works show that the *laity participated widely in the offices in their own churches or came to take part in the canons' or monastic liturgy. Vespers were considered by all as an obligation, on Sundays and feast days. On patronal feast-days, the faithful came to take part in first vespers and vigils.

The evolution that made the office of canons something similar to the office of monks had begun long before, with the difference that the rhythm and ordering of the office were modelled on what was possible for the community and on the decision of the *bishop. The whole office was not celebrated. Carolingian legislation precipitated this evolution; it put the office of clerics and that of monks on exactly the same footing as regards frequency and solemnity of celebration. At the same time it insisted on the personal obligation of each cleric to take part in the office of his church, as St *Benedict had done for monks. So when, to satisfy pastoral needs, clerics tended to relinquish a public office that had become too long for the obligations of some, they kept up the practice of reciting their hours in private, even when they were not bound to do so by the nature of their contract with the church they served (*benefice). *Councils ratified this practice and made it obligatory for all clerics in major *orders (from *subdeacons up).

Among monks, the divine office appears as one of the essential modes of their prayer life, ordered towards *contemplation, almost as a purpose of their institution, since it particularized the prayer spread throughout their life. The divine office fed their life of continual prayer. "Let nothing be preferred to the work of God", wrote St *Benedict in his *Rule. Monks put this instruction into practice in many ways.

P. Salmon, *L'Office divin, Histoire de la formation du bréviaire*, Paris, 1959 ("Lex Orandi", 27). – P. Salmon, *L'Office divin au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1967 ("Lex Orandi", 43). – O. Reiming, "Zum monastischen Offizium von Kassianus bis Kolumbanus", *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 7, Regensburg, 1961, 89-156. – G.-M. Oury, "L'office divin", *DSp*, 11, 1981, 686-707. – R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, Collegeville (MN), 1986. – J.-M. Garrigue, J. Legrez, *Moines dans l'assemblée des fidèles à l'époque des Pères (IV^e^-VIII^e^ siècle)*, Paris, 1992. – S.E. Roper, *Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy*, New York, 1993. – A. Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, Toronto, 1994.

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