

SOURCES OF SPIRITUALITY AND THE CAROLINGIAN EXEGETICAL
TRADITION

by

JAMES FRANCIS LEPREE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree, The City University of New York.

2008

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Abstract

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This study examines how the Regula s. Benedicti as well as other monastic, ascetic and patristic sources helped to shape the religious ideology of major Carolingian writers as well as their original exegetical methods the latter employed in the treatment of their sources. Chapter 1 discusses the considerable impact the Regula s. Benedicti exercised over Jonas of Orléans' specula principum: the Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali. Yet, as the chapter attempts to demonstrate, other sources such as John Cassian's Institutiones cénobitiques and Julius Pomerius' De vita contemplativa were equally important in defining Jonas's spirituality and his exegetical originality. Chapter 2 discusses how the Carolingian noblewoman Dhuoda manipulated sources such as the Holy Scriptures, the writings of St. Jerome, and the mid sixth-century Verba seniorum in her Manuel pour mon fils to serve as a personal spiritual guide for her son William. Chapter 3 stresses the significant impact of the sixth-century Regula s. Columbani, the pseudo-Basil's De admonitio ad filium spiritualem and Cassian's Institutiones cénobitiques on Alcuin of York's Epistulae and his Liber de virtutibus et vitiis. Chapter 4 examines Abbot Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel and his original treatment of sources such

as the Institutions cénobitiques of Cassian, the pseudo-Basil's De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, the Defensor of Ligugé's Liber scintillarum and Bishop Cyprian of Carthage's third-century De opere et eleemosymnis. Chapter 5 explores Archbishop Hincmar of Reims' original treatment of such sources such as the sixth-century Regula s. Benedicti, pseudo-Cyprian's seventh-century De XII abusivis saeculi and Ambrosiaster's late fourth-century commentaries on the Pauline letters. The conclusion suggests the need for further research in order to define the precise relationship between early Carolingian writers and their sources.

To my darling wife, Myrna
whose love and infinite patience
have been an inspiration to me in the
best of times and the worst of times,
I lovingly dedicate this dissertation

Acknowledgements

I'd like to first acknowledge my advisor Professor Thomas Head who, with his great patience, outstanding teaching and academic expertise, served as an inspiration for me from the inception of this project to its completion.

I would also like to extend my appreciation and gratitude to Professors Celia Chazelle, Pamela Sheingorn, Joann McNamara and Michael Sargent for their support and guidance. Additionally, I would like to thank Father Adalbert de Vogüé as well as Professors Rosamond McKitterick and Hans Hubert Anton for their support and kindness in wishing me much success in the completion of my degree.

I am also grateful to Professor Joshua Freeman and Ms. Betty Einerman who cleared many obstacles that enabled me to complete this dissertation.

Finally, I would like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Stewart Mitchell who taught me that nothing is impossible if you only believe in yourself and Mr. Edwin Shell and Mrs. Rosemarie Shell for their continuous love, support and encouragement.

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SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AASSOSB</u>	<u>Acta Sanctorum ordinis Sancti Benedicti</u> , Luc d' Achéry and Jean Mabillon, eds. 1 st ed. 9 vols (Paris: 1668-1701).
<u>BRG</u>	<u>Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum</u> , ed. Philipp Jaffé, 6 vols (Berlin, 1864-73).
<u>CCCM</u>	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis.
<u>CCM</u>	<u>Corpus Consuetudinem Monasticarum</u> , ed. Kassius Hallinger, 14 vols. (Siegburg, 1963-).
<u>CCSL</u>	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout, 1952-).
<u>MGH</u>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
<u>AA</u>	<u>Auctores antiquissimi</u>
<u>Cap. reg. Fr.</u>	<u>Capitularia, Legum sectio II, Capitularia Regum Francorum</u> , 2 vols. (Hanover, 1883-97).
<u>Con.</u>	<u>Concilia. Legum Sectio III</u> , 3 vols. (Hanover, 1893-1984).
<u>Epp.</u>	<u>Epistulae</u> , 8 vols. (Hanover, 1887-1939).
<u>Poet. Lat.</u>	<u>Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini</u> , 4 vols. (Hanover, 1881-99).
<u>SS</u>	<u>Scriptores</u> , 30 vols. (Hanover, 1824-1924).
<u>SSRG</u>	<u>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</u> (Hanover, 1871-1987).

PL

Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series
Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-66).

SC

Sources chrétiennes.

Introduction

Almost up until the present day, the exegetical literary methodology of principal Carolingian biblical commentators was too often discounted as static and unoriginal, and it was dismissed as a mere potage of available stale derivative sources. In the eyes of scholarly reviewers, the fundamental mission of the Carolingian renovatio or renaissance biblical scholars was mostly to reproduce, not only biblical commentaries but also treatises of a moral and theological nature whose authors drew almost exclusively on the texts of Late Antiquity and especially on the writings of the Fathers.¹ The result was the production of collections of didactic texts designed primarily for the spiritual guidance of Carolingian rulers and magnates whose task it was to lead the populus dei to eternal salvation. For these earlier scholars, it seemed clear that instructive texts meant to provide spiritual mandates for Carolingian rulers were mere derivative compilations gleaned from historical authority and tradition. Their authors were hardly credited with any attempt to mold or manipulate their sources to reflect the concerns of the Carolingian

¹ Studies on the Carolingian Renaissance have been numerous. Some more recent scholarship includes: Giles Brown, "Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance," in Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; rep. 1997), pp. 1-51. See also Celia Chazelle, The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Rosamond McKitterick, "The Carolingian Renaissance of Culture and Learning," in Charlemagne: Empire and Society, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2005), pp. 151-66. See also Alessandro Barbero, Charlemagne: Father of a Continent, trans. Allan Cameron (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press), 2004.

period.² For example, as scholars Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards noted of Eduard Riggenbach's early twentieth-century study of Latin commentaries on Paul's letter to the Hebrews, Riggenbach had the following to say about the exegetical tradition of the Carolingian renaissance:

The commentaries of celebrated Frankish works of theology possess almost no independent value. For instance, two thirds of Alcuin's exegesis on Paul's letter to the Hebrews was taken literally from Mutian's Latin translation of John Chrysostom's homilies.³

By mid-century, opinions of scholars on the originality of Carolingian commentaries had undergone little or no change. Beryl Smalley in 1952 could still remark:

The first necessity of Carolingian exegesis was to make the patristic tradition available and intelligible. Scholars achieved this end by adopting the methods of Bede. They prepared handy textbooks or chains of selected extracts. Picking flowers in the gardens of the Fathers had never been done so systematically. To study the commentaries of

² Catalogues of lay and monastic libraries are important sources for the Carolingian renaissance. See, especially, Rosamond McKitterick, The Carolingians and the Written Word (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Bernard Bischoff, Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne, trans. Michael M. Gorman (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and Pierre Riché, "Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laïcs carolingiens," Le Moyen âge, 69 (1963): 87-104.

³ Eduard Riggenbach, Historische studien zum Hebräerbrief, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1907), p. 24, cited in The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era, eds. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Medieval Church Studies, 3; Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 7, n. 18.

Alcuin, Claudius of Turin, Raban Maur and Walafrid Strabo his pupil, to mention outstanding names, is simply to study their sources.⁴

Even as late as 1983, Smalley's views on the unoriginality of Carolingian commentators remained virtually unchanged while R.W. Dyson could claim that Jonas of Orléans' Le métier de roi "was not much more than an anthology of scriptural quotations and passages taken from Patristic, pseudo-Patristic and other writings, stitched together by a thread of commentary."⁵

Indeed, as Chazelle and Edwards have so ably demonstrated, the prefaces of Carolingian theological treatises seemed to validate these static interpretations of Carolingian exegetical methods. References in these prefaces to flowers of the dicta of the Fathers, plucked from diverse meadows and collected into one basket, were taken literally by scholars such as Riggenbach, Smalley and Dyson. These prefaces, such as the one found in Jonas' De institutione laicali, offered further evidence for dismissing Carolingian scholarship as rote, derivative, duplication.⁶

But did the body of Carolingian spiritual literature confine itself merely to the compilation of previous authoritative sources, or did its authors practice a much more

⁴ Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), pp. 37-8, cited in The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, p. 7.

⁵ Beryl Smalley, The study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983). For the comments of Chazelle and Edwards, see The Study of the Bible, p. 7, n. 18. See also a Ninth-Century Political Tract: The De institutione regia of Jonas of Orléans, trans. R.W. Dyson (Smithtown, NY: Exposition Press, 1983), p. xii.

⁶ Jonas, De institutione laicali, preface, PL 106, col. 123: "Quapropter studii mei fuit pro captu ingenii eloquia divina, sanctorumque Patrum dicta scrutari; ac veluti et diversis pratis diversos flosculos carpere, et quasi in quodam cartallo congerere...."

complex literary technique? Chazelle and Edwards have questioned the traditional view of Carolingian exegetical methods. They observed that Carolingian references to the “collection of flowers of patristic wisdom” could be viewed, at least in part, as a literary topos of humility. Any reevaluation, they feel, clearly indicates that Carolingian exegesis betrays a far more intricate and demanding labor of spiritual zeal than a derivative collection of cautionary tales.⁷ Careful reexamination of the evidence seems to support Chazelle and Edwards’ conclusion. Recent studies reexamining the methods of Carolingian biblical commentators have concluded that the writers meticulously altered and manipulated their sources. They often adapted them to significant contemporary political and theological issues, and even tailored them to their specific audiences. Such revisionist criticism marks an important shift in our perception of the Carolingian renaissance. From a period characterized by unoriginal, derivative and static literary production, current scholarship begins to consider the movement as one of dynamism, originality and remarkable innovation. For example, Donald Bullough, writing about Alcuin in the early 1980’s notes that “even when Alcuin uses phrases or sentences taken from earlier authors, seemingly without change or with minor alterations, the context in which they occur and the adaptations (however slight) have the effect of altering the sense of his original source.”⁸

⁷ The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, pp. 9-10.

⁸ Donald Bullough, “Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age,” in Carolingian Essays, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1983), p. 40.

Scholars writing more recently have echoed the view of Bullough. For instance, Carol Scheppard, commenting on the Eclogae tractatorum in psalterium, writes:

In the author's extensive recourse to patristic authorities, the composite effect of the compilation presents a new picture. It is as if the compiler collected sentences from patristic authorities like magazine pictures, and arranged them in a collage that reflects more his own thoughts than those of his sources.⁹

John C. Cavadini comments in similar terms on Alcuin's use of Hilary of Poitiers' De trinitate:

The effect of all this careful selection and juxtaposition is that the passages from Hilary are recontextualized. We hear Hilary differently. He is given a more determinate voice on the issue in question than he originally had. He speaks with the unified voice of the tradition, and it is Alcuin's creation, or at least demonstration, of this unified voice, rather than the effectiveness of any particular citation on its own, that is his brilliant accomplishment, and that itself is strong medicine against Adoptionism.¹⁰

Finally Giles Brown in his study of the Carolingian renaissance has the following remarks to offer on Carolingian compilers of scriptural commentaries:

Hraban's commentaries, like those of Alcuin, and especially Bede before

⁹ Carol Scheppard, "Prophetic History: Tales of Righteousness and Calls to Action in the Eclogae tractatorum in psalterium," in The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, p. 65.

¹⁰ John C. Cavadini, "A Carolingian Hilary," in The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, p. 137.

him, contain a sizeable element of originality, on occasion (for example, in his Matthew commentary) his own contribution amounting to nearly fifty percent of the whole. Moreover these compilations are sensibly and intelligently arranged, all carefully integrated into a credible and coherent whole, and bearing the impress of the writer's own mind and personality. To this extent, they constitute "original" works of scholarship.¹¹

Chazelle and Edwards' studies as well as those of authors such as Cavadini, Scheppard and Brown have been instrumental in establishing and shaping the parameters of the present study. In this dissertation, I shall demonstrate that the exegetical originality employed by Carolingian biblical commentators in the treatment of their sources is also applicable to Carolingian "mirrors of princes," letters and theological treatises. My fundamental approach to the study of these texts will be twofold. First, I will demonstrate their dependence on the Regula s. Benedicti. My study will attempt to show that rather than drawing from the Regula s. Benedicti in a static and unoriginal manner, Carolingian authors of these various literary genres drew from the Regula s. Benedicti in a very original and creative manner. Moreover, many passages in the Carolingian sources are far too commonplace to be attributed to the Regula s. Benedicti with any certainty and may have been drawn from other sources.

Secondly, in addition to the Regula s. Benedicti, I will examine alternative sources such as Cassian's Institutiones cénobitiques and Conférences, Julius Pomerius' De vita contemplativa and pseudo-Basil's De admonitio ad filium spiritualem. I will attempt

¹¹ Giles Brown, "Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance," in Carolingian Culture, p. 41.

to demonstrate that Carolingian authors of letters, theological treatises and “mirrors of princes” altered and manipulated sources to reflect their own particular literary styles. Often tailored to meet the needs of their audience and viewed through the lens of real Carolingian political and theological conflicts, their strategies and techniques often altered their source’s original meaning.

As well as demonstrating a major shifting of paradigms in the study of Carolingian literary exegesis by its textual comparison with earlier original sources of Christian scholarship, this study will attempt to expand heretofore- marginal awareness of the authors’ personal interpretations and expressions in response to the theology and politics of the Carolingian renaissance. It also proposes to sample and promote an undeniably fertile field of future investigation into other Carolingian authors and their original sources of spirituality.

In chapter 1, I will discuss Bishop Jonas of Orléans’ Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali: the former penned for Carolingian rulers, the latter aimed at members of the Carolingian nobility.¹² One must begin by questioning the former practice of attributing certain passages in Jonas’ “mirrors of princes” to the Regula s. Benedicti based merely on pointing out close parallels. The chapter will go on to demonstrate that such parallels, when representing universal Christian themes can be challenged as having been culled by Jonas from myriad sources other than the Regula s. Benedicti. Further, in cases where Jonas’ use of the Regula s. Benedicti is more certain, I will show that far

¹² For the most recent edition of Jonas’ De institutione regia, see Le métier de roi, ed. and trans. Alain Dubreucq (SC, 407; Éditions du Cerf, 1995). The De institutione laicali can be found in PL 106, cols. 121-178.

far from being static and unoriginal as earlier scholarship suggests, Jonas altered and manipulated the Regula s. Benedicti as he strove to adapt, for example, Benedict's description of the abbatial cura animarum to his model of Carolingian Christian rulership.¹³

In addition to discussing the significant role the Regula s. Benedicti may have played in the development of Jonas' spirituality, chapter 1 will emphasize the complexity of Jonas' exegetical method in dealing with sources other than the Regula s. Benedicti, with which my evidence shows Jonas to have been well acquainted. One example suffices to illustrate this. Drawing from Cassian's twenty-fourth conference that there is one source and origin of all vices (omnium vitiorum unus fons atque principium est), Jonas subtly modifies his source's message. Recontextualizing it, he states that the Holy Spirit is the origin and source of all virtues (Spiritus sanctus, sed quod unus atque idem cunctarum virtutum fons sit atque principium).¹⁴

An additional concern of chapter 1 is to present for the first time, Jonas' use of the Defensor of Ligugé's chapter on charity found in the Liber scintillarum.¹⁵ Finally, I

¹³ Compare Regula s. Benedicti, ed. Rudolph Hanslik, 2nd ed. (CSEL, 75; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1977), chap. 3, p. 28: "Ipse tamen abba cum timore dei et observatione regulae omnia faciat sciens se procul dubio de omnibus iudiciis suis aequissimo iudici deo rationem redditurum" with Le métier de roi, chap. 5, p. 210: "Quia ipse procul dubio rex aequissimo, iudici de commisso sibi ministerio rationem redditurus est."

¹⁴ Compare Cassian, Conférences, ed. and trans. E. Pichery (SC, 64; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1959), 24, chap. 15, p. 186: "...there is one source and beginning of all vices..." with Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 1, chap.4, PL 106, col. 131: "There is one and same origin and beginning of all virtues and that is the Holy Spirit."

¹⁵ Compare Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 1, PL 106, col. 233 with Defensor, Liber scintillarum, ed. H. Rochais (CCSL, 117; Turnhout: Brepols, 1957), chap. 2, p. 2.

will stress Jonas' innovative exegetical skills in his treatment of the African Christian Julius Pomerius' late fifth-century De vita contemplativa, most particularly, Jonas' adaptation of Pomerius' discourse on pride and the Last Judgment.¹⁶

In chapter 2, I will attempt first to reconstruct Dhuoda's life based on evidence found in her Manuel pour mon fils. Then the chapter will discuss the thrust of such a manual itself and explore the precise technique in Dhuoda's exegetical method.¹⁷ I will address Dhuoda's original didactic treatment of key passages from the Regula s. Benedicti. I continue by illustrating through close stylistic and grammatical parallels that Dhuoda's instructions her son William to read the Manual frequently, lock it in his memory and never to neglect it, appears to be a close personal and specific adaptation of Augustine's general admonition to his monks that they should read the Rule weekly, use it as a mirror of the soul, and not become remiss through forgetfulness.¹⁸

Building on the previous research of Pierre Riché and Marie Anne Mayeski, the chapter examines Dhuoda's original use of source texts more deeply by carefully analyzing her adaptation of the Holy Scriptures. For Dhuoda, as Mayeski has noted, "interpretation of the Holy Scriptures becomes an instrument of moral training and

¹⁶ Julius Pomerius, De vita contemplativa, PL 59, cols. 411-520.

¹⁷ Dhuoda composed her Manual at Uzès in southern France between November 30, 841 and February 2, 843 to serve as a moral and spiritual guide for her oldest son, William. For the most recent edition of Dhuoda's Manual, see Manuel pour mon fils, ed. Pierre Riché, trans. Bernard de Vregille and Claude Mondésert, 2nd ed. (SC, 225; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997).

¹⁸ Compare Augustine, La Règle de Saint Augustin, ed. Luc Verheijen, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions augustiniennes, 1967), 1, chap. 8, p. 437 with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, epigram, p. 72 and bk. 2, chap. 3, p. 126.

development, not merely the expression of its highest ideal. This leads to a new concrete interpretation of the text, appropriate for William's situation."¹⁹ Paralleling Mayeski's fundamental premise, I intend to present additional evidence for Dhuoda's manipulation and molding of biblical references to reconstruct them as a living part of her text, a personalized contemporary guide for her son.

A further concern of this chapter will be to address Dhuoda's seemingly close adaptation of passages from Julius Pomerius' De vita contemplativa, partially filtered through Isidore of Seville's Liber numerorum.²⁰ Additionally, here I present evidence, which strongly suggests that Dhuoda adapted Jerome's words in his letter to the monk, Rusticius, to serve as a personal model for William in his relationships with the Carolingian nobility at the court of Charles the Bald.²¹ The chapter will conclude by addressing Dhuoda's adaptation of a story from book 3 of the sixth-century Verba seniorum to her own text as she culled from it the spiritual lesson that the unconverted would suffer eternal damnation, but believers who lapsed and neglected God's mandates would suffer a worse fate in the inner recesses of Hell. Detailed discussion and analysis of textual comparisons will highlight the subject matter for the second chapter.

¹⁹ Marie Anne Mayeski, Dhuoda: Ninth-Century Mother and Theologian (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 1995), p. 107 and Riché, Manuel pour mon fils, p. 36. See also Mayeski, "A Mother's Psalter: Psalms in the Moral Instruction of Dhuoda of Septimania," in The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages, ed. Nancy Van Deusen (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 139-51.

²⁰ Isidore, Liber numerorum, PL 83, cols. 179-99.

²¹ Compare Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 9, p. 170 with Jerome, Epistulae, ed. Isidor Hilbert, 2nd ed. (CSEL, 56; Vienna: Vienna Academy of Science, 1996), 125, pp. 133-4.

In chapter 3, I will focus on the important role Alcuin of York played in our perception of the nature of scholarship during the Carolingian renaissance. While it is true that Michael Fox, for instance, discovered evidence for the original scholarship of Alcuin the exegete in his Quaestiones in Genesim, Alcuin's other writings have not received the same attention.²² Therefore, utilizing Alcuin's Epistulae and Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, the chapter will reveal his original treatment of hitherto undetected sources.²³ These include the pseudo-Basil's discussion of monastic vigils found in the full text of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, Cassian's teachings on vainglory in his Conférences and Columbanus' discourse on sadness found in the De octo vitiis principalibus.²⁴

Abbot Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, unlike Alcuin has not been the object of current study in relation to the Carolingian exegetical tradition. As a result, chapter 4 will focus on Smaragdus' masterful treatment of Cassian's Institutions cénobitiques, Jerome's commentary on avarice, extracted from the Liber scintillarum as well as Bishop Cyprian of Carthage's De opere et eleemosynis, stressing the need for further

²² Michael Fox, "Alcuin the Exegete: The Evidence of the Quaestiones in Genesim," in The study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, pp. 39-60.

²³ Alcuin, Epistulae, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, eds. Wilhelm Wattenbach and Ernst Dümmler (BRG, 6; Berlin: Weidmann, 1873), pp. 144-897. See also Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, PL 101, cols. 614-38.

²⁴ Pseudo-Basil, De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, ed. Paul Lehmann (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 7; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1955), chap. 9, p. 45; Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, ed. and trans. Jean-Claude Guy (SC, 109; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), bk. 11, chaps. 1-19, pp. 428-37; Columbanus, De octo vitiis principalibus, in Opera, ed. and trans. George S.M. Walker (Scriptores latini Hibernae, 2; Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), p. 210.

investigation and the need for more critical editions of Smaragdus' Via regia and Diadema monachorum.²⁵

The final chapter will discuss the writings of Archbishop Hincmar of Reims. Celia Chazelle, in her essay on the ninth-century Eucharist controversy has noted the following in Hincmar's De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis: "Hincmar shows enormous dexterity in handling the sources chosen. He often abbreviates and edits, and his tight, seamless interweaving of mostly brief excerpts from a wide range of sources lends the appearance of original coherent writing."²⁶

Despite Chazelle's masterful study, scholars have virtually ignored Hincmar's exegetical dexterity in his other writings. Inspired by Chazelle's innovative scholarship, chapter 5 will present further examples of Hincmar's exegetical skill, such as his unique adaptation of Ambrosiaster's commentary on Paul's Letter to the Corinthians in his Epistulae and the Regula s. Benedicti in his De una et non trina deitate that underscore his own views on Trinitarianism and Predestination.²⁷

²⁵ Defensor of Ligugé, Liber scintillarum, chap. 25, p. 109; Cyprian of Carthage, De opere et eleemosynis, ed. M. Simonetti (CCSL, 3A; Turnhout: Brepols, 1976). For Smaragdus' Via regia, see PL 102, cols. 931-70 and for the Diadema monachorum, see PL 102, cols. 594-690.

²⁶ Celia Chazelle, "Exegesis in the Ninth-Century Eucharist Controversy," in The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, p. 179. See also Hincmar of Reims, De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis, ed. Doris Nachtmann (MGH, Quellen zur geistesgeschichte des Mittelalter, 16; Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1998).

²⁷ Ambrosiaster, Commentarius in epistulas Paulinas, ed. Henry Joseph Vogels (CSEL, 81:1-3; Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 1966-69). See also Hincmar, Epistulae, MGH Epp. 6.1 and Hincmar, De una et non trina deitate, PL 125, cols. 495-6.

Chapter 1

Bishop Jonas of Orléans

Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali

I. Introduction

Bishop Jonas of Orléans was an erudite scholar, writing “mirrors of princes,” a major theological treatise on the cult of images and two hagiographical works. Additionally, we learn from contemporary sources that Jonas participated in the leading church councils of his day, and functioned as a major ecclesiastical and monastic reformer. In addition, he served as a close confidant of Carolingian emperors, notably, Charlemagne, and later his son, Louis the Pious. Most important, he occupied the prestigious see of Orléans from 818-843.

Yet, of all the literary works mentioned above, it is his “mirrors of princes,” or spiritual guides for Carolingian rulers and magnates for which we perhaps best remember Jonas. These include the Le métier de roi, written in 831 for King Pepin of Aquitaine, and the De institutione laicali, written at the request, (as Jonas tells us in his preface), of Count Matfrid of Orléans in 828.²⁸

In the Le métier de roi, Jonas alludes to a possible monastic education in his early years and employs in his Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali, numerous themes and expressions culled from monastic and ascetic sources. Yet only the influence of the Regula s Benedicti has been widely recognized by scholars such as André Wilmart,

²⁸ Jonas, Le métier de roi, ed. and trans. Alain Dubreucq (SC, 407; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994, pp. 148-284 and Jonas, De institutione laicali, PL 106, cols. 121-278.

Thomas Noble, and more recently, Alain Dubreucq.²⁹ The additional presence of other monastic and ascetic sources such as the seventh-century Liber scintillarum, written by the Defensor of Ligugé, the Institutions cénobitiques and Conférences of John Cassian, and the late fifth-century De vita contemplativa of Julius Pomerius have been ignored in both past and present scholarship.

In this chapter I will attempt to: 1) reconstruct Jonas' life and Episcopal career from his own writings and other extant contemporary sources; 2) assess the extent of the connection between the Regula s. Benedicti and Jonas' own writings, both by summarizing past studies and drawing attention to relationships hitherto unnoticed and unexplored; 3) demonstrate that in addition to the Regula s. Benedicti, Jonas drew from a wide array of monastic and ascetic sources, some of questionable attribution, others more certain to provide a model of spiritual salvation for Carolingian rulers and magnates; and, 4) demonstrate that, in accordance with recent scholarship on Carolingian exegetical methods, Jonas' exegeses of the Regula s. Benedicti and other sources were not always derivative and unoriginal but that he occasionally showed great dexterity in altering and manipulating his sources. In this way, Jonas provided a means for devout believers such as Louis the Pious and Matfrid of Orléans to turn the eyes of their hearts and the Carolingian Christianum imperium from the tartarean darkness of carnal desires to the blissful tranquility of divine illumination, to fulfill faithfully their divine ministerium as

²⁹ André Wilmart, "L'admonitio de Jonas au roi Pépin et le florilège canonique d'Orléans," Revue bénédictine 45 (1933): 214-233; Thomas Noble, "The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire: The Case of Louis the Pious," Revue bénédictine 88 (1976): 235-50. For Dubreucq's remarks, see Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 160, n.1.

curatores animarum to navigate the ship of the Frankish populus dei to the port of spiritual stabilitas and eternal salvation.

II. Jonas' Early Life and Episcopal Career

The events of Jonas' life are shrouded in obscurity, but a partial reconstruction can be attempted with the aid of his own writings and those of other contemporary Carolingian sources. Dubreucq placed Jonas' birth approximately in the year 760, and indicated that Jonas, based on his own testimony, was born and raised in Aquitaine, receiving an education in the liberal arts and the tonsure there, dedicating his life to Christ.³⁰ Dubreucq also observed that the extent of Jonas' early education in the liberal arts can be estimated from Bertholdus of Micy's Vita s. Maximini, where Jonas is referred to as a second Homer, and compared favorably to the Roman epic poet, Vergil.³¹ In addition, (according to Thomas Head in his study of the cult of saints in the Orléanais),

³⁰ Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 10. Dubreucq based his approximate date of 760 for Jonas' birth on a poem of Alcuin that placed Jonas at the court of Charlemagne between 778 and 780; see Alcuin, Carmina, 4, MGH Poet. Lat. 1: 222. For the poem's date of 778-779, Dubreucq followed Peter Godman, Poets and Emperors, Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 44-5. Franz Brunhölzl merely places Jonas' birth before 789; see Frank Brunhölzl, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalter, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1996), 1: 403. For Jonas remarks on his education in the liberal arts and the tonsure he received in Aquitaine, consult Jonas, Le métier de roi, pp. 148-50.

³¹ Bertholdus of Micy, Vita s. Maximini I, "Carmen auctoris Jonam Aurelianensem episcopum," AASSOSB, 1: 591, cited in Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 10.

“Jonas, in an aside to Bishop Walcaudus of Tongres-Liège, recalled their studies of the ‘science of letters’ at the palatine school.”³²

Although it seems evident, based on the aforementioned evidence, that Jonas pursued the study of secular literature at the court of Charlemagne, there is nonetheless some indication that the fundamentals of his later secular and spiritual erudition were established during his early years within the confines of a monastic environment. Jonas’ remarks, discussed previously in this chapter, that he received an education in the liberal arts, was tonsured and handed over to Christ’s service in Aquitaine, lend a certain degree of credibility to this notion. Additionally, Jonas’ expression sum mancipatus indicates that he was handed over to a monastery, perhaps as a child oblate. This is a plausible supposition. As Mayke de Jong has noted “It was only in the decades after the Aachen council of 816/817 that child recruits to monastic life were expected to be Benedictine oblates rather than children informally entrusted to abbots or other monastic educators.”³³ Furthermore, the use of militiae Christi in monastic sources such as the Institutions cénobitiques of John Cassian, and others, permits us to speak of Jonas’ monastic monastic and ascetic background with more certainty. Added to this is Jonas’

³² See Thomas Head, Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans 800-1200 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th Series, 14; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 42.

³³ Jonas, Le métier de roi, pp. 148-50 and Dubreucq’s remarks on p. 150, no. 1; Mayke de Jong, “From Scolastici to Scioli: Alcuin the Formation of an Intellectual Elite,” in Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court, eds. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (Mediaevalia, Groningana, 22; Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998), p. 52. According to Alcuin, children, whether destined for the cloister or the priesthood, were to be entrusted to the care of monastic educators. See his remarks in the Admonitio generalis, MGH Cap. reg. Fr. 1, chap. 22, pp. 52-62 and Epistula de litteris colendis, MGH Cap. reg. Fr. 1, chap. 29, pp. 78-79.

intimate familiarity, as we shall see later in this chapter, with monastic and ascetic sources such as the Regula s. Benedicti, the Conférences of Cassian, the pseudo-Basil's De Admonitio ad filium spiritualem, and Julius Pomerius' De vita contemplativa.³⁴

As bishop of the important see of Orléans, Jonas seems to have been actively involved in the ecclesiastical affairs of his diocese.³⁵ In the case of Micy, the anonymous author of the Vita s. Maximini II (according to Head in his hagiographical study of the diocese of Orléans), recorded that the monks and their abbot, Heiric requested Jonas to return the remains of Saint Maximinus and two anonymous disciples to the church of Saint Stephan at Micy. In addition, as Dubreucq has noted, Letaldus of Micy, writing in the tenth century, indicated that Jonas also enlarged Saint-Stephan's and covered the eastern furnace most elegantly with tiles made of lead and restored other buildings as well.³⁶

Jonas also appeared prominently in the service of Louis the Pious, serving him as an advocate of monastic rights. In 835 at the request of Abbot Boso of Fleury, Jonas and Count Hugh of Tours were sent by the Emperor to investigate the charge that Gislehar had usurped the villa on Sonchamp that had been donated to the monastery by the

³⁴ Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, ed. and trans. Jean-Claude Guy, 2nd ed. (SC, 109; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), bk. 2, chap. 3, p. 62. Cassian uses the expression militia Christi that I have translated as “army of Christ.”

³⁵ Dubreucq, following Ermold the Black, placed Jonas' elevation to the see of Orléans in approximately the year 818; see Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 13 and Ermold the Black, Poème sur Louis le Pieux ete Épîtres au roi Pépin, ed. and trans. Edmond Faral (Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge; 14; Paris: H. Champion, 1932), p. 114.

³⁶ See Head, Hagiography and the Cult of Saints, p. 232, n. 141 and Letaldus of Micy, Liber miraculorum s. Maximini, MGH SS 1: 518-613, cited in Dubreucq, Le métier de roi, p. 16.

Emperor's grandfather, Pepin. Because of the investigation, Louis issued a diploma in the same year, ordering a full restitution of the villa to the monastery. He further decreed that "the villa should be under the governance and authority of the monastery of Fleury, for the use of the monks, in perpetuity."³⁷

In contrast to the paternalistic role he played at Micy and Fleury, Jonas exercised a more punitive function at an assembly convened on June 22, 832 in Paris at the request of Abbot Hilduin of Saint-Denis. The evidence suggests that a portion of the monks of Saint-Denis had contested the strict observance of the Regula s. Benedicti imposed by Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane. The assembled bishops attributed the behavior of the recalcitrant monks to the "snares of the devil," and decreed that they should submit to the Regula s. Benedicti and undergo penance as prescribed by canon law.³⁸ Jonas' death seems to have occurred between 840 and 843.³⁹

III. Jonas and the Regula s. Benedicti

As indicated previously in this study, Jonas' monastic background can be inferred from numerous references to monastic and ascetic sources found throughout his Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali. Despite this, scholars have discussed Jonas'

³⁷ Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, eds. Maurice Prou and Alexandre Vidier, 2 vols. (Société historique et archéologique du Gatinais, 5, Paris, 1907), no. 19, 1: 44-6.

³⁸ Constitutio de partitione bonorum monasterii s. Dyonisii, MGH Con. 2: 688-98: "...antiquae salutis humanae hostis versutia...." Philippe Depreux also emphasizes Jonas' close working relationship with Louis the Pious in his study, Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (780-840) (Instrumenta 1; Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1997), pp. 276-7.

³⁹ Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 25.

literary debt to monasticism and asceticism almost exclusively within the context of the Regula s. Benedicti. Several important studies have discussed the influence of the Regula s. Benedicti on Jonas' "mirrors of princes." As early as 1933, André Wilmart in his discussion of the Le métier de roi noted the existence of a close relationship between Jonas' Le métier de roi and the Regula s. Benedicti. We can see the parallels that he drew in the following textual comparisons:

Le métier de roi, admonitio 144

Hiis ita per accessum exsecutis ad te
 rex bone, rex pulcherrime, specialiter
sermo mediocritatis meae rursus dirigitur.

Regula s. Benedicti, prologue

Ad te ergo nunc mihi sermo dirigitur...

Le métier de roi, admonitio 225

Tertium ut diem mortis suae quotidie
 ante oculos sibi ponat....

Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 4

...mortem cotidie ante oculos
 suspectum habere.

For Wilmart, Jonas almost certainly derived his ad te sermo dirigitur and diem mortis suae quotidie ante oculos sibi ponat from the ad te ergo nunc mihi sermo dirigitur and the mortem cottidie ante oculos suspectam of the Regula s. Benedicti.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Compare Wilmart, "L'admonitio de Jonas," p. 217, n.1 with Regula s. Benedicti, ed. Rudolph Hanslik, 2nd ed. (CSEL, 75; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1977), prologue and chap. 4, pp. 1, 34. However, it should be noted that the phrases under discussion could not be attributed to the Regula s. Benedicti with absolute certainty, due to their appearance, with many variations, in numerous Western monastic and ascetic sources. For a further discussion, see Mark Delcogliano, "Porcarius of Lérins and His Counsels: A Monastic Study II," The American Benedictine Review 54 (2002): 30-58.

Thomas Noble in a similar fashion attempted to establish parallels between the Le métier de roi and the Regula s. Benedicti. According to Noble, Jonas' notion that "earthly kings should be mindful of the account they will have to lay down before God for their conduct in office" derived from Benedict's admonition in chapters 2, 27 and 36 of the Regula s. Benedicti that the abbot should render an account to God for the souls of all those entrusted to him. Likewise, according to Noble, Jonas was indebted to Benedict's notion in chapters 3, 64 and 65 that the abbot will have to render an account for all his actions and judgments.⁴¹

Etienne Delaruelle, and more recently, Alain Dubreucq echoing the views of Wilmart and Noble accentuated the impact of the spirituality of the Regula s. Benedicti on Jonas' eschatological thought, outlined in the Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali. Delaruelle has characterized Jonas as a representative of a new Carolingian episcopacy, imbued with a renewed sense of morality and concerned with pastoral duties, the care of souls and concomitantly, the Last Judgment. In Delaruelle's opinion, the twin pillars of the Old Testament and, more importantly, the Regula s. Benedicti provided a firm foundation for this new moral ethos.⁴² In particular, he referred to their common use of Benedict's injunction to "place nothing before the love of Christ," as well as Benedict's adaptation of the Pauline theme of dying daily, found in his First Letter to the

⁴¹ Noble, "The Monastic Ideal," p. 244.

⁴² Etienne Delaruelle, "Jonas d'Orléans et le moralisme carolingien," Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique 55 (1984): 137-8. Hans Hubert Anton has also stressed the importance of monastic ideals in defining the spirituality of Jonas; see Hans Hubert Anton, Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit (Bonner historische Forschungen, 32; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1968), p. 355.

Corinthians, thus underscoring Jonas' debt to the Regula s. Benedicti.⁴³ Despite the relationships that the aforementioned scholars attempted to establish between Jonas' Le métier de roi, De institutione laicali and the Regula s. Benedicti, the phrases in question commonly occur in Western monastic, ascetic and patristic literature and clearly constitute a long and firmly established tradition. This makes their attribution to the Regula s. Benedicti far from certain. One example is the phrase ad te sermo dirigitur found in the prologue of the Regula s. Benedicti and Jonas' admonitory letter addressed to King Pepin in the Le métier de roi. The earliest example appears in epistula 107, written by Jerome in 401 and addressed to the aristocratic woman Laeta, concerning the education of her daughter, Paula. Discussing more the history of monastic life than education in antiquity, Jerome, observing that it had been proposed to him by Marcella's prayers and Laeta's invitation, remarks that he intends to direct his discourse to her (ad te sermonem dirigere) in order to teach her how to instruct her daughter Paula who had been dedicated to Christ before her birth.⁴⁴ Equally important is a sermon of Augustine's

⁴³ For the notion of nihil amore Christi praeponere, see Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 160, n. 3 and Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 4, p. 32. The scriptural source is 1 Cor. 15:31. For Dubreucq's discussion of Benedict's adaptation and attribution of this theme, see Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 166. Adalbert De Vogüé also discussed the moriens cotidie theme. He saw it as a common monastic theme, also Pauline in nature, see Adalbert De Vogüé, "Avoir la mort devant les yeux chaque jour comme un événement imminent," Collectanea cisterciensia 48 (1986): 267-8.

⁴⁴ Jerome, Epistulae, ed. Isidor Hilberg, 2nd ed. (CSEL, 55; Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 1996), 107, pp. 292-3: "...propositum enim mihi erat sanctae Marcellae et tuis precibus invitato ad matrem, id est ad te, sermonem dirigere et docere, quomodo instruere Paululam nostrum debeas, quae prius Christi est consecrata quam genita, quam ante votes quam utero suscepisti." See also Adalbert De Vogüé, Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité, 10 vols. (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1991-2006), 3: 135.

delivered in 414 in which he admonishes pastors who wish to be called pastors, but do not wish to fulfill the responsibilities of their office. Augustine, emphasizing the account they must render to God at the Last Judgment for those entrusted to them, warns that he addresses his sermon especially to them (ad hos sermo dirigitur).⁴⁵ While Jerome and Augustine may have provided a model for Jonas, subsequent monastic and patristic literature also provides close parallels. Thus, Cassian in book 5 of the Institutions cénotiques addresses Bishop Castor concerning the eight principal vices:

The causes of these passions are recognized at once by all when the traditions of the seniors reveal them; but before they are exposed, they linger in all men and are ignored by all. Yet, if your prayers and also the Lord's words should be addressed to us (sermo domini dirigitur), through the prophet Isaiah, we believe we can explain this to a certain extent.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Augustine, Sermones de veteri testamento, ed. Cyrille Lambot (CCSL, 41; Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), serm. 46, pp. 529-30: "Sed quoniam sunt pastores, qui pastorum nomina audire volunt, pastorum officium implere nolunt, quid ad eos per prophetam dicitur sicut, lectum audivimus, recenseamus, ad hos sermo dirigitur." Augustine's sermons should be read in conjunction with Patrick Verbraken, Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin (Instrumenta Patristica, 12; Steenbrugge: Martin Nijhoff, 1976) and Adalbert Kunzelmann, "Die Chronologie der Sermones des hl. Augustinos," Miscellanea agostiniana 2 (1933): 417-520. Rosamond McKitterick has demonstrated the availability of the letters of Jerome in the Carolingian world in The Carolingians and the Written Word (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 262. She relates that Liutward, scribe of Charles the Bald, was able to borrow two of the four volumes of Jerome's letters in the possession of the monastic library of Saint-Gall.

⁴⁶ Cassian, Institutions cénotiques, bk. 5, chap. 2, p. 190: "Quarum passionum causae quoadmodum, cum patefactae fuerint traditionibus seniorum, ad omnibus protinus agnoscuntur ita priusquam revelentur, cum ab ipsis universi vastemur et in cunctis hominibus inmorentur ad omnibus ignorantur. Verum eas ita nos aliquatenus explicare posse confidimus si intercessionibus vestris ad nos quoque ille per Esaiam prolatus est sermo domini dirigatur."

Finally, Gregory the Great, in his Moralia in Iob, remarks that his discourse is directed to those (ad hos sermo dirigitur) who question the present life because they discern many of the impious are shining in the light of prosperity and many of the pious are hidden in the darkness of ignobility and poverty.⁴⁷

Another parallel that scholars have claimed to identify between the Le métier de roi and the Regula s. Benedicti is the Pauline notion that all Christians should have the day of their death continuously before their eyes. Nevertheless, the common nature of this theme and the close but not absolute parallel between the texts in question makes specific attribution to the Regula s. Benedicti far from certain.⁴⁸ Jonas, in the Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali, gives considerable attention to this theme, which he shares with numerous monastic and ascetic writers, both in textual structure and in style of language and expression. Echoing this phrase, almost certainly a close adaptation of the Pauline theme, cotidie moriens, Jonas admonishes King Pepin “always have your day of death daily before your eyes and be mindful that if you meditate day and night on how terrible and fearsome the future judgment will be, you will seldom or

⁴⁷ Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob, ed. Marc Adriaen (CCSL, 143A; Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), bk. 14, p. 702: “Haec si in praesentis vitae definitione denuntiat fallitur; quia plerumque et impiis inesse lumen prosperitatis cernitur et pios tenebrae ignobilitatis ac paupertatis abscondunt. Sin vero ad hoc eius sermo dirigitur.”

⁴⁸ The most recent scholar to draw this parallel is Dubreucq in Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 155, n. 1. Compare Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 166: “Tertium, ut diem mortis suae quotidie ante oculos sibi ponat” with Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 4, p. 34: “...mortem cottidie ante oculos suspectam habere....”

never sin.”⁴⁹ Similarly, in the De institutione laicali, gravely concerned over the eternal salvation of the Carolingian aristocracy, Jonas in admonitory terms reminds Count Matfrid of the transitory and uncertain nature of human existence, while at the same time grimly invoking the terrible finality of God’s judgment:

Who places before his eyes the last hour of his life, when his soul must separate from his worthless body, and remembers how fragile a vessel his body is and how quickly it is consumed and returned to dust, and reflects upon the punishments of the wicked and glory of the saints, he will rarely or ever sin. In addition, since many pages of the Old and New Testaments warn us to be prepared for the coming of the Lord; it is proper then, with so many beneficial exhortations and admonitions that we should place death daily before our eyes.⁵⁰

The earliest source that may have influenced Jonas’ version of the moriens cotidie

⁴⁹ Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 166: “Tertium, ut diem mortis suae quotidie ante oculos sibi ponat verum si eamdem horam sedula meditatione ruminare studuissemus et, quia inevitabilis et ineleuctabilis est, quantum sit tremenda perpendere curassemus, aut raro aut numquam peccare praesumeremus.”

⁵⁰ Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 12, PL 106, cols. 255-6: “Qui ultimam vitae suae horam, qua ex hoc luteo habitaculo eximendus est, ante oculos ponit, seque vos fragile, citoque conterendum, et in pulvere redigendum gestare meminit, poenasque impiorum, et gloriam sanctorum sedula meditatione tractat, aut vix aut raro peccat. Paratos autem nos esse debere in occursum domini utriusque testamenti paginatae copiosissime instruunt, oportet ergo ut tot tantisque saluberrimis admonitionibus et exhortationibus obtemperantes, mortem quotidie ante oculos nostros constituamus....”

theme is the mid fourth-Century Latin recension of Athanasius' Vie de s. Antoine.⁵¹

When we compare Jonas' Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali with Athanasius' Vie de s. Antoine, the thematic and textual parallels become readily apparent. Equally significant is the importance both Jonas and Athanasius placed on the Pauline concept of moriens cotidie as a crucial step on the road to spiritual salvation. The view of Jonas that Christians would never sin if they remembered death daily and the terrible and fearsome finality of the Last Judgment parallels Antony's admonition to his own listeners about the virtue of meditating on death daily. Athanasius further elaborates on this theme as he has Antony address his followers as a spiritual army of Christ:

For if we live as though dying, we will not sin. Rising daily, let us think we will not remain until evening. And again, when we have begun to sleep, let us not think we will rise in the morning. The nature of our life is uncertain, which is enumerated daily by the providence of God. Therefore, forming up our ranks in this manner and crying out daily, we will not sin or desire anything, nor can we be angry at someone or accumulate treasure upon this earth; but as if hoping to die daily, we will remain without any possessions

⁵¹ Athanasius, La plus ancienne version latine de la vie de s. Antoine par s. Athanase. Éditions de critique textuelle, ed. H. Hoppenbrouwers (Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva, 14; Nijmegen: Dekkers and Van De Vegt, 1960). Hoppenbrouwers' edition is the most recent and will be used throughout this chapter. It is based on the oldest Latin recension of the Vita s. Antonii, discovered in Rome by André Wilmart, who convincingly demonstrated it to be an anonymous work dating to the last quarter of the fourth century. For Wilmart's analysis, see "Une version latine inédite de la vie de saint Antoine," Revue bénédictine 31 (1914): 153-73.

and we will be kind to everyone everywhere. We will not have a longing for a woman, nor any other unclean desire, contending zealously daily and having the day of judgment before our eyes.⁵²

The vivid portrayal of Antony as a soldier of Christ, contemplating the themes of daily death and the final judgment, finds similar expression in an anonymous ascetic source of the fifth century, the pseudo-Basil's De admonitio ad filium spiritualem. In chapter 20, entitled De morte cogitanda, the author provides a possible model for Jonas, as the pseudo-Basil echoes and develops more fully the eschatological view of Athanasius. He advises his spiritual son to "let the day of your death turn always before your eyes, and upon going to bed, not to think about the arrival of the morning, so that you may refrain more easily from all vices."⁵³ The language of the pseudo-Basil recalls Athanasius' words put into the mouth of Antony that "when we go to sleep, we should not think we will rise in the morning," and Jonas' admonition in the De institutione laicali,

⁵² Athanasius, Vie de s. Antoine, chap. 19, pp. 103-4: "Si enim nos quasi morientes ita vivamus, non peccabimus. Cotidie surgentes putabimus nos non remanere usque ad vesperam, et iterum coeperimus dormire, arbitremur non nos posse surgere mane. Natura incerta est vitae nostrae, quae numeratur cotidie a providentia Dei. Sic ergo disponentes nos et taliter cotidie ululantes, non peccabimus necque alicuius desiderium habemus, nec alicui irasci possumus, non thesaurizamus nobis super terram, sed quasi cotidie sperantes mori permanebimus sine aliqua possessione, et omnibus ubique indulgebimus. Concupiscentiam autem mulieris aut alterius sordidae voluntatis omnino non tenebimus, contententes semper et ante oculos habentes diem iudicii."

⁵³ Pseudo-Basil, De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, ed. Paul Lehmann (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 7; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1955), chap. 20, p. 61: "Semper ante oculos versatur ultimus dies, et cum in lectulo ad quiescendum membra posueris, noli confidere de lucis adventu, facilius poteris te refrenare ab omnibus vitiis."

that “all Christians who place the last hour of their life before their eyes will rarely sin.”⁵⁴ Finally, in the third book of the mid fifth-century De vitis patrum, the Verba seniorum, in words closely paralleling Jonas’ in the Le métier de roi Abbot Moses teaches that a monk “should always be mindful of his sins and at every hour, he should place his death before his eyes.”⁵⁵

As we have seen, past and present scholars have viewed Jonas’ treatment of the Regula s. Benedicti as static and derivative. In addition, the evidence presented here, in the absence of verbatim parallels, has disclosed the inherent dangers in attributing to the Regula s. Benedicti key passages in Jonas’ Le métier de roi commonly found in numerous monastic and ascetic sources, based solely on close conceptual similarities. Yet, passages do exist in Jonas’ Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali that can, with a fair degree of certainty, be attributed to the Regula s. Benedicti, passages that Jonas clearly manipulated with great dexterity in adapting them in a very personal way to the needs of contemporary Frankish rulers. For example, evidence strongly suggests that Jonas deliberately selected Benedict’s description of the abbatial cura animarum from the Regula s. Benedicti, not only to underscore his own personal theological beliefs, but also to provide a fundamental conceptual framework in order to instruct rulers in the duties

⁵⁴ See Athanasius, Vie de s. Antoine, chap. 19, pp. 103-4 and Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 12, PL 106, col. 255. De Vogüé also noted parallels between the Vita s. Antonii and the De admonitio ad filium spiritualement. For his discussion, see Histoire littéraire, 7: 424.

⁵⁵ Verba seniorum, chap. 196, PL 73, col. 803: “...semper suorum sit memor peccatorum, et omni hora ponat sibi mortem ante oculos suos....” The words of Abbot Moses in the Verba seniorum seems to resemble Jonas’ more closely in the Le métier de roi than Benedict’s in the Regula s. Benedicti.

and obligations of their divine ministerium as well as its proper functioning in a Christian society. A comparison of the texts in question will perhaps illustrate this:

Le métier de roi, chap. 5

Valde enim exigit necessitate ut,
quia ipse procul dubio rex aequissimo
iudici de commissis sibi ministerio
rationem redditurus est, ut etiam singuli
qui sub eo constituta sunt ministri
diligentissime ab eo inquirantur, ne ipse
pro eis iudicium incurrat divinum.⁵⁶

Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 3

Ipsa tamen abba cum timore dei et
observatione regulae omnia faciat
sciens se procul dubio de omnibus
iudiciis suis aequissimo iudici deo
rationem redditurum.

Here we can see remarkable stylistic parallels as well as close similarities in thematic approach. Most conspicuous is the analogy between Jonas' remarks on the royal cura animarum and Benedict's on the abbatial cura animarum. Jonas' observations that each king must render an account to God, the most just judge, for the ministerium entrusted to him on the Day of Judgment, closely parallels those of Benedict's in chapter 3 of the Regula s. Benedicti. There Benedict teaches that the abbot should do everything with the fear of God and observation of the Rule, know that he must render an account to God, the most just judge, for all his judgments.

⁵⁶ Compare Jonas, Le métier de roi, chap. 5, p. 210 with Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 3, p. 31.

From a linguistic point of view, both texts share the phrase procul dubio that occurs within the same contextual framework and both use an identical expression, aequissimo iudici, when referring to God as the most just judge. Yet, Jonas deliberately reshapes Benedict's words that "the abbot must render an account to the most just judge for all his judgments" when he says that "the king must render an account to God for the ministerium entrusted to him." Such an alteration and manipulation reflects the originality of Jonas' exegetical skill as he adapts his original source to the contemporary theological ideology of ninth-century Christian kingship.

IV. Alcuin of York's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis and the Defensor of Ligugé's Liber scintillarum.

In addition to the Regula s. Benedicti, evidence suggests that Jonas drew on other sources for his Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali. Four that I include in this chapter have not been identified previously and reflect the broadness and complexity of his literary exegetical methodology. The first two I will discuss, Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis and the Defensor Ligugé's Liber scintillarum, represent the static and derivative way in which Jonas treated his sources. Nevertheless, a comparison of his De institutione laicali with Cassian's Conférences and Julius Pomerius' De vita contemplativa indicates that Jonas' exegetical methodology could be original, dynamic and creative as well. It is to his seemingly unoriginal and derivative exegetical approach to the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis and Liber scintillarum that we will now turn.

The Liber de virtutibus et vitiis of Alcuin is one of the most notable examples of the “mirror of princes” genre. Written between 799 and 804, dedicated to Count Wido of the Breton March, it is divided into thirty-five chapters, and contains an introductory epistle and a brief peroration.⁵⁷ Donald Bullough estimated its importance and popularity in the Middle Ages by the fact that it survived in over one hundred and forty manuscripts.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, (as Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards have pointed out), it exists today in printed form only in the Patrologia Latina, “a nineteenth century collection of reproductions of older, most flawed editions, many from the sixteenth century.” Furthermore, while modern scholars have analyzed the sources of Alcuin’s treatise on virtues and vices, on the subject of its profound impact on later Carolingian writers, they have been strangely silent.

One such author was Jonas of Orléans. A comparative assessment of the De institutione laicali and the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis reveals that Jonas considered Alcuin an authority on the subject of virtues and vices and drew extensively from his text.

⁵⁷ Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chaps. 1-26, PL 101, cols. 614-23. For critical studies on the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, see Luitpold Wallach, “Alcuin on Virtues and Vices: A Manual for a Carolingian Soldier,” Harvard Theological Review 48 (1955): 174-95 and Henri Rochais, “Le liber de virtutibus et vitiis d’Alcuin. Note pour l’étude des sources,” Revue Mabillon 41 (1951): 77-86. More recently Franz Sedlmeier has analyzed the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis in his Die laienparänetischen Schriften der Karolingerzeit: Untersuchungen zu ausgewählten Texten des Paulinus von Aquileia, Alkuins, Jonas von Orléans, Dhuodas und Hinkmar von Reims (Deutsch Hochschuledition, 86; Neuried: Ars Una, 2000), pp. 25-112.

⁵⁸ Donald Bullough, Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 16; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 23.

For example, in his enumeration of vices and the virtues that can overcome them, Jonas specifically mentions Alcuin as his source:

They are, as the venerable master Alcuin said, the eight leaders of all impiety with their armies and the most formidable warriors of diabolical fraud against the human race, who, with God's aid are easily conquered by the soldiers of Christ through holy virtues. First, namely, pride through humility; gluttony through abstinence; fornication through chastity; greed through liberality; anger through patience; sloth through performance of good works; harmful sadness through spiritual joy; vainglory through the love of God.⁵⁹

Clearly, Jonas knew Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis well. Yet other relationships exist between the respective texts of Jonas and Alcuin, more numerous than the previously discussed passages might suggest. For example, in many instances, Jonas drew on Alcuin for his discussion on virtues and vices without naming his source. These relationships have neither been recognized nor discussed. For instance, in his discussion on avarice, Jonas quotes almost verbatim from Alcuin:

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 6

Nam et de ira pullulate tumor mentis

Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 31

De qua, id est ira, pullulate tumor mentis,

⁵⁹ Compare Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 6, PL 106, col. 237 with Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 34, PL 101, cols. 636-7.

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 6

rixae, contumeliae, clamor, indignatio
 praesumptio, blasphemiae, sanguinis
 effusion, homicidia, ulciscendi cupiditas
 injuriarum memoria, et alia quamplurima.

Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 31

rixae et contumeliae, clamor, indignatio,
 praesumptio, blasphemiae, sanguinis
 effusio, homicidia, ulciscendi cupiditas,
 injuriarum memoria.⁶⁰

Here we can see Jonas' close dependence on Alcuin as he discusses the negative results that proceed from anger; excitement of the mind, strife, violence, shouting, disdain, praesumption, blasphemy, shedding of blood, homicide, desire for revenge, injury to the memory. Jonas, with his nam et de ira deviates only slightly from Alcuin's de qua, id est ira. Additionally, Alcuin's account lacks Jonas' alia quamplurima.

A further relationship between Jonas and Alcuin can be found in the former's discussion on sloth when he enumerates the evils that can arise from it:

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 6

De qua nascitur somnolentia, pigritia
 operis boni, instabilitas loci, pergravatio
 de loco in locum, tepiditas laborandi

Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 32

De qua nascitur somnolentia, pigritia
 operis boni, instabilitas loci, pervagatio
 de loco in locum, tepiditas laborandi,

⁶⁰ Compare Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 6, PL 106, col. 245 with Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 32, PL 101, col. 634.

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 6

Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 32

taedium cordis, murmuratio in inaniloquia. taedum cordis, murmuratio et inaniloquia.⁶¹

In this textual comparison, Jonas' close dependence on Alcuin's chapter on the spiritual dangers of sloth is readily apparent. Jonas cites his source in its entirety, without verbal or stylistic deviations, as he lists the evils that are born from the vice of sloth: sleepiness, laziness in carrying out good works, instability of place, wandering from place to place, laziness in working, weariness of the heart, murmuring and idle talk.

Another source that seemed to exercise considerable influence over early Carolingian literature was the Defensor of Ligugé's Liber scintillarum. A monk of Ligugé who refers to himself merely as the "Defensor," wrote the Liber scintillarum or "book of sparks." This monastic text, written between 632 and 750, is divided into eighty-one chapters. Covering various aspects of monastic and ascetic life and drawing extensively on scriptural, patristic, monastic and ascetic sources, it may have played a significant role in the development of Carolingian spirituality.⁶² Yet, although Henri Rochais attempted to establish a close relationship between the Liber scintillarum and the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, and Pierre Riché found what he believed to be clear

⁶¹ Compare Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 6, PL 106, cols. 244-5 with Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 32, PL 101, col. 635.

⁶² Defensor of Ligugé, Liber scintillarum, ed. Henri Rochais (CCSL, 117; Turnhout: Brepols, 1957), pp. 1-234. For an analysis of the Liber scintillarum, see Henri Rochais, Liber scintillarum, pp. vii-xxxii. While Rochais dated the text to the end of the seventh century (see Henri Rochais, "Le liber scintillarum attribué Defensor de Ligugé," Revue bénédictine 48 (1948): 77-83), David Ganz preferred a date between 630 and 750 (see David Ganz, "Knowledge of Ephraim's Writings in the Merovingian and Carolingian Age," Journal of Syriac Studies 1 (1999): 1-10).

indications of the Liber scintillarum's influence in Dhuoda's Liber manualis, similar relationships between the Liber scintillarum and Jonas' De institutione laicali have been almost virtually ignored in modern scholarship. This unique relationship between the two authors rests fundamentally on their use of common scriptural passages characteristically cited within a congruent thematic framework. This is evident in their corresponding chapters on charity. A close analysis of the texts in question will serve to illustrate this principle:

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 1

Paulus: *Charitas patiens est,*

benigna est, et reliqua.

Vulgate 1 cor. 13:4-7

Caritas patiens est benigna est

*caritas non aemulatur non agit....*⁶³

Liber scintillarum, chap. 1

Paulus Apostolus dixit: *Karitas*

paciens est benigna est, et reliqua.

As the textual comparisons show, Jonas quotes verbatim the Defensor's citation of Paul's words, Charitas patiens est, benigna est. Much more important, however, is their shared expression, reliqua est, used in conjunction with their citation of the aforementioned scriptural passage, and conspicuously absent in the Vulgate reading. In addition to the above example, both authors cite Solomon's words that "hatred causes strife and love overwhelms all transgressions." The Defensor's reading, hodium suscitatur rixus, et

⁶³ Compare Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 1, PL 106, col. 233 with Defensor, Liber scintillarum, chap. 1, p. 2. See also 1 Cor 13:4-7.

universa delicta operit caritas, only derivates slightly in orthographic form from Jonas' reading of odium suscitatur rixas, et universa delicta operit caritas. Moreover, both share Peter's injunction to have continuous love for each other since love covers a multitude of sins. The Liber scintillarum provides ante omnia autem mutuam in vobismetipsis caritatem continuam habentes, quia caritas operit multitudinem peccatorum. Jonas differs only by his omission of the Defensor's autem mutuam. The existence of such parallels clearly indicates the mutual dependency between the Liber scintillarum and the De institutione laicali.⁶⁴

V. John Cassian's Conférences and Julius Pomerius' De vita contemplativa

As noted earlier, the Regula s. Benedicti played a significant role in shaping the pastoral theology of Jonas. As the evidence has suggested, not only did Jonas use the Regula s. Benedicti mere in a derivative unimaginative way, but he also adapted passages from the Rule, manipulating and reshaping them to meet the needs of his contemporary audience, and occasionally to serve as a mirror for his own theological notions as well as contemporary controversial theological issues. More important, however, Jonas also drew on additional sources in a manner that clearly demonstrated the breadth and scope of his exegetical skill.

Among these sources, Cassian's Conférences stand in close relationship with the De institutione laicali, a relationship that tells us much about the texts known to Jonas

⁶⁴ Compare Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 1, PL 106, col. 233 with Defensor, Liber scintillarum, chap. 1, p. 2. For the biblical references, see Prov. 10:12 and 1 Petr. 4:8.

and one that has been virtually ignored in modern scholarship. In one instance, Jonas' almost verbatim copying of Cassian, as well as his unique exegetical skills, are readily apparent in his interesting and innovative adaptation of a key Cassianic passage. This shared passage appears in Cassian's twenty-fourth conference when he repeats Abbot Abramham's remark that there is one source and origin of all vices (omnium vitiorum unus fons atque principum). Jonas is almost certainly indebted to Cassian for his own discussion on the seven remissions of sins. Clearly exhibiting his originality by slight textual variations, Jonas changes the sense of his original source when he substitutes virtues for Cassian's vices and relates that the Holy Spirit is the source and origin of all virtues (Spiritus sanctus, sed quod unus atque idem cunctarum virtutum fons sit atque principum).⁶⁵ Such a relationship indicates the significant role Cassian played in the fundamental development of Jonas' spirituality. Even more noteworthy, however, is the failure of scholars to recognize Jonas as an early Carolingian transmitter of the principal themes of Cassianic monastic and ascetic literature.

In addition to his dependence on Cassian's Conférences, Jonas also seems to have relied upon the late fifth-century De vita contemplativa written by the African Christian

⁶⁵ Compare Cassian, Conférences, ed. and trans. E. Pichery (SC, 64; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1959), 24, chap. 15, p. 186 with Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 1, chap. 5, PL 106, col. 131. For a more recent discussion on Cassian and his Conférences, see Columba Stewart, Cassian the Monk (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). In addition to Stewart's excellent study, see also the methodical analysis by De Vogüé of Cassian's Institutions cénobitiques and Conférences which he has dated to approximately 427 in Histoire littéraire, 6: 45-449.

Julius Pomerius.⁶⁶ Much of Pomerius' neglect by modern scholars is due to the false ascription of his work to his contemporary, Prosper of Aquitaine. Yet, scholars such as M.L.W. Laistner, J.C. Plumpe, Jean Devisse and more recently, Raffaele Savigni have convincingly demonstrated that all citations in the De institutione laicali attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine were in reality borrowed from Pomerius' De vita contemplativa.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, my close examination of the De institutione laicali indicates that we must extend the parameters established by the previously mentioned studies. Evidence suggests that unattributed expressions commonly ascribed to Jonas also contain, in some cases, considerable extracts from the De vita contemplativa, either through the intermediary Liber scintillarum or direct full textual citations. In the case of the latter, Jonas either copied passages verbatim or adapted them to his own peculiar grammatical style, spiritual ideology and particular audience.

One clear indication that Jonas indirectly used the De vita contemplativa filtered through the pages of the Liber scintillarum occurs in his chapter on pride where his expression, haec de angelis daemones fecit; humilitas autem homines aequales angelis

⁶⁶ The De vita contemplativa exists only in printed form in PL 59, cols. 411-520. For Pomerius' background, see Isidore of Seville, De viris illustribus, PL 83, col. 1096 and the Vita s. Caesarii, trans. William E. Klingshirn (Translated Texts for Historians, 19; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), chap. 9, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁷ M.L.W. Laistner, "The Influence During the Middle Ages of the Treatise De vita contemplativa and its Surviving Manuscripts" in The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages, ed. Chester G. Starr (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1957), pp. 40-56; J.C. Plumpe, "Pomeriana," Vigiliae Christianae 1 (1947): 227-30. See also Jean Devisse, "L'influence de Julien Pomère sur les clercs carolingiens," Revue d'histoire de l'église de France 56 (1970): 285-295; Raffaele Savigni, Giona de Orléans: Una ecclesiologia carolingia (Christianesimo antico e medievale 2, Bologna: Pàtron, 1989), p. 272.

reddit, closely resembles Pomerius' words, superbia ex angelis daemones fecit, humilitas homines sanctis angelis similes reddit, in a thematically similar chapter. Nevertheless, Jonas' words just as closely resemble the Defensor's citation, in his chapter on pride from the De vita contemplativa, superbia ex angelis daemones fecit; humilitas autem homines sanctis similes reddit⁶⁸ Furthermore, the assertion that Jonas extracted the aforementioned passage of the De vita contemplativa from the pages of the Liber scintillarum receives further confirmation if we consider that in the same chapters under discussion, both Jonas and the Defensor not only share almost verbatim the previously mentioned extract of the De vita contemplativa, but also identical scriptural citations. The following comparisons will serve to illustrate this:

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 4

Et Salomen: *Ubi, inquit, fuerit superbia, ibi erit et contumelia. Item: Melius est humiliari cum mitibus, quam dividere spolia cum superbis.*

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 4

Et dominus in evangelio: *Omnis, inquit qui se exaltat, humiliabitur, et qui se*

Liber scintillarum, chap. 17

Salomen dixit: *Ubi fuerit superbia, ibi erit et contumelia. Melius est humiliare cum mitibus, quam dividere cum superbis.*

Liber scintillarum, chap. 17

Dominus dicit in evangelio: *Omnis enim qui se exaltat humiliabitur; et qui se*

⁶⁸ Compare Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap, PL 106, col. 239 with Pomerius' De vita contemplativa, bk. 3, chap. 3 in PL 59, col. 458 and Defensor, Liber scintillarum, chap. 17, p. 77.

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 4

humilitate, exaltabitur.

Paulus: *Noli altum sapere, sed time.*

sapere, sed time.

Liber scintillarum, chap. 17

humilitate exaltabitur. Paulus: *Noli altum*

Paulus apostolus dixit: *Noli altum*

*sapere, sed time.*⁶⁹

For example, in both the De institutione laicali and the Liber scintillarum, Jonas and the Defensor, in their respective chapters on Pride, draw on Solomon's words in the book of Proverbs, "where pride exists, there violence will exist also" and "it is better to be humbled with the meek than to divide spoils with the proud." Moreover, both repeat the words of the evangelist Luke that "all who exalt themselves will be humbled and those who humble themselves will be exalted." Further, both echo the injunction of the apostle Paul, "Don't be conceited, but fear."

As this evidence suggests, Jonas drew freely on Pomerius' De vita contemplativa through the florilegia of the Liber scintillarum. Nonetheless, as a closer examination of the De institutione laicali and De vita contemplativa seems to indicate, Jonas relied on the full text of the latter as well. For example, in his discussion on the punishment of the wicked at the Last Judgment, drawn almost verbatim from the De vita contemplativa, Jonas provides Count Matfrid with vivid eschatological imagery as he sternly admonishes him about the terrible eternal torments awaiting the souls of the reprobate who have closed the eyes of their hearts to God's divine illumination:

⁶⁹ Compare Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 4, PL 106, col. 239 with Defensor, Liber scintillarum, chap. 17, p. 77. For the biblical references, see Luke 14:11, Rom. 11:20 and Prov. 11:2, 16:19

To these and similar things, hear and read freely, place them before your eyes continually; trust in future things, fear them without any perturbation. Think how bad it would be to be excluded from that joy of divine contemplation; deprived of the most blessed fellowship of all the saints; to be exiled from the heavenly country; to live an eternal death, to be cast into eternal fire with the devil and his angels; where a second life is the exile of damnation; to suffer a life of torment; to suffer the terrible cracking of the rushing fire; to be blinded by the calamitous darkness of the smoky abyss; to be immersed in the depths of a fiery hell; to be devoured by gluttonous worms for all eternity. To meditate on these and many similar things is nothing other than to repudiate all vices and hold in check all carnal pleasures.

A comparative textual analysis of the passages in question illustrates more clearly the remarkable similarities and unique relationship between the De vita contemplativa and the De institutione laicali:

De vita contemplativa, bk. 3, chap. 12

Haec et his similia libenter audire vel
legere jugiter ante oculos mentis adducere,
futura credere, sine ulla perturbatione
metuere, cogitare quale malum sit ab illo

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 19

Haec et his similia libenter audire vel
legere, jugiter ante oculos mentis
adducere, futura credere, sine ulla
perturbatione, et vere cogitare quale

De vita contemplativa, bk. 3, chap. 12

gaudio divinae contemplationis excludi
 beatissima sanctorum omnium societate
 privari, fieri patriae coelestis extorrem
 mori vitae beatae morti vivere sempiternae,
 cum diabolo et angelis eius expelli, uti sit
 mors secunda damnatis exsilium, vita
 supplicium, non sentire in illo igne quod
 illuminant, sentire quod cruciat, exundatis
 incendii terribiles crepitus pati, barathri
 fumantis amara caligine oculos obcaecari
 profundo gehennae fluctantis immergi
 edacissimis in aeternum dilaniari vermibus
 nec finiri; haec et multa similia cogitare
 nihil est aliud quam vitiis omnibus
 repudium dare, et omnia blandimenta
 carnalia refrenare.

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 19

malum sit ab illo gaudio divinae
 contemplationis excludi, beatissima
 sanctorum omnium societate privari,
 fieri patriae coelestis extorres, mori
 vita beatae, morti vivere sempiternae
 in aeternum ignem cum diabolo et
 angelis eius expelli; ubi sit mors
 secunda damnatis exsilium, vita
 supplicium; non sentire in illo igne
 quod illuminant, sentire quod cruciat;
 exundantis incendii terribiles
 strepitus pati, barathri fumantis amara
 caligine oculos caecari profundo gehennae
 fluctantis immerge, edacissimis in aeternum
 dilaniari vermibus, nec finiri; haec et multa
 his similia cogitare, nihil est aliud quam
 vitiis omnibus repudium dare, et omnia
 blandimenta carnalia refrenare.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Compare Pomerius, De vita contemplativa, bk. 3, chap. 12, PL 59, col. 492 with Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 19, PL 106, col. 274. For the possible influence of the De vita contemplativa on Jonas' Le métier de roi, see also Jonas, Le métier de roi, p. 156: "...gaudia mundi a felicitate paradisi sanctorumque angelorum et hominum consortio extorrem fieri."

As we have seen, Jonas' exegesis of Pomerius' discourse on the Last Judgment and the punishment of the wicked seem to be derivative and unoriginal, suitable for either a lay or a clerical audience. Yet, as Jonas continues to follow Pomerius' eschatological theme in the same chapter, his literary style, although maintaining close ties with his source, nevertheless diverges abruptly, and his language becomes somewhat more simplistic in tone. The reason for this seems clear. Although Pomerius' continued discussion was appropriate for clerical and Episcopal ears and clearly addressed to them, Jonas had to alter its language for the more worldly sensibilities of Count Matfrid. For example, in both the De vita contemplativa and the De institutione laicali, similar eschatological themes continue. For instance, in the De vita contemplativa, Pomerius states that clerics should ascend from the terrible evils that strike the minds of the faithful with terror. Jonas, in a more rhetorical fashion, submits the question to Count Matfrid, whether or not a man exists of such slowness of mind or possessing such a breast of iron that the terrors of hell do not terrify him. Similarly, Pomerius juxtaposes infelicitate and miserius when he notes that no misfortune is sadder than the soul that can no longer be emended. Jonas, closely paralleling Pomerius, establishes a similar relationship between miserabilius and infelicius when he asks what can be more misfortunate and miserable than when one leaves the suffering of the transient world and finds himself in a world of eternal suffering. These close similarities can be shown by comparing the appropriate passages from the De institutione laicali and the De vita contemplativa:

De vita contemplativa, bk. 3, chap. 12

Quis tam stolidae mentis, tamque ferrei
 pectoris existit, quam ista non terreant?
 Miserabilis plane et valde lugubris
 humana conditio, quae in hac mortalitate
 nunquam sine labore vivit. Quid, inquam,
miserabilius et infelicius esse potest, se de
 labore praesenti ad laborem aeternam et
 nullum finem habiturum pervenitur?

De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 19

Sed nos jam, si videtur, ab his terribilibus
 malis, quae fidelium mentes salubri
 terrore concutiunt, atque ab omnibus
 vitiosis delectationibus abducunt, et
 quae amatores voluptatum suarum
 tunc suae damnationis experimento
 probabunt, quando jam, quod est omni
infelicitate miserius, se emendare non
 poterunt...⁷¹

Consequently, Jonas' use of the De vita contemplativa indicates the wide range of his exegetical skill. On one hand, his relationship with his sources seems unoriginal, highly derivative and static. On the other hand, however, it is evident that in some cases, Jonas manipulated his source, adapting it to his own peculiar literary style, theological notions and particular audience. Much more fundamentally, his widely divergent paraphrase of the De vita contemplativa reflects the infusion of his own nuanced views of the Last Judgment; the divine salvation of the blessed and eternal punishment of the damned, especially tailored for the members of the Carolingian lay aristocracy.

⁷¹ Compare Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 19, PL 106, col. 275 with Pomerius, De vita contemplativa, bk. 3, chap. 12, PL 59, cols. 473-4.

VI. Conclusion

In past scholarship, the early Carolingian literary exegetical tradition was portrayed as static, derivative and highly unoriginal. Typifying the view, (as Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards have observed), were Beryl Smalley's comments that "to study the commentaries of Alcuin, Claudius of Turin, Rabanus Maurus and Walafrid Strabo, his pupil, to mention some outstanding names, is simply to study their sources," and Robert E. McNally's remarks that "throughout the period from 650-1000, the Church's understanding of scripture remained static, traditional, and conservative."⁷² More recently, however, the studies of such scholars as Michael Fox, Johannes Heil, Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards have convincingly demonstrated that early Carolingian exegetes were much more original, innovative and dynamic in the use of their sources than formerly supposed. Fox, for example, discussing Alcuin's Quaestiones in Genesim, noted that Alcuin was not merely a compiler of his sources but exhibited a surprising degree of originality and exegetical skill. Similarly, for Heil, Carolingian exegetes possessed a remarkable ability to break down patristic texts in order to form new textual interpretations. Following this line of inquiry, Chazelle, in her study of ninth-century exegesis, has drawn attention to writers such as Archbishop Hincmar of Reims, who could "choose, edit and arrange borrowings from varied authorities to reflect his own

⁷² The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, pp. 7-8.

intellectual predilections.”⁷³

As I have attempted to demonstrate in this chapter, we can only partially explain Jonas’ writings by the traditional view of a static and unoriginal Carolingian exegetical tradition. A thorough analysis of his Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali suggests rather an early Carolingian author who not merely bowed to the authority of the Fathers such as Augustine, Gregory and Isidore but also exhibited a high degree of original and innovative exegetical skill in his utilization and adaptation of earlier monastic and ascetic sources. These include Cassian’s Conférences, the Defensor’s Liber scintillarum and Pomerius’ De vita contemplativa. In a much more important sense, however, Jonas emerges as an author who played a significant role in the textual transmissions of the aforementioned sources that has given them an influence that has extended far beyond their intended audiences. Perhaps we can gain some insight into Jonas’ significant contribution to the development of Carolingian spirituality by listening to the words of June-Ann Theresa Greeley. In her study on Jonas’ contemporary and Episcopal predecessor Theodulf, she states: “each participant in a social group must be willing to act as a spiritual shepherd, through instruction and example for others, that redemption can be realized in this temporal existence, only by the robust sanctity of

⁷³ Michael Fox, “Alcuin the Exegete: The Evidence of the Quaestiones in Genesim,” in The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, p. 42; Johannes Heil, “Labourers in the Lord’s Quarry: Carolingian Exegetes, Patristic Authority and Theological Innovation: A Case Study in the Representation of Jews in Commentaries on Paul,” in The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, pp. 75-95; Celia Chazelle, “Exegesis in the Ninth-Century Eucharist Controversy,” in The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, p. 171.

society.”⁷⁴

⁷⁴ June-Ann Theresa Greeley, “Social Commentary in the Prose and Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A Study in Carolingian Humanism.” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, 2000), p. 15.

Chapter 2

Sources of Spirituality in Dhuoda's Manuel pour mon fils

I. Introduction

“Although I, Dhuoda, am of the weaker sex, living unworthily among the weaker, still I am your mother, my son William. To you now, I direct the words of my Manual.⁷⁵

For over a century, interest in Dhuoda's Manuel pour mon fils has resulted in numerous editions and translations as well as a multitude of secondary studies. Typifying such scholarship, Glenn Olsen has categorized Dhuoda as “standing in a well-established tradition, particularly prominent in the Merovingian period, in which aristocratic mothers were seen as responsible for the moral and religious instructions of their children.”⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, ed. Pierre Riché, trans. Bernard de Vregille and Claude Mondésert, 2nd ed. (SC, 225; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1997), prologue, p. 80: “Dhuoda quanquam in fragili sensu, inter dignas vivens indigne, tamen genitrix tua, fili Wilhelme, ad te nunc meus sermo dirigitur manualis.” The English translation is from “The Liber manualis of Dhuoda: Advice of a Ninth-Century Mother for her Son,” ed. and trans. Myra Ellen Bowers (Ph.D. Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1977), p. 12. More recent English translations of the Liber manualis include Dhuoda, Handbook for William: A Carolingian Woman's Counsel for her Son, trans. Carol Neel (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1991) and Dhuoda, Handbook for her Warrior Son: Liber manualis, trans. Marcelle Thiébaux (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁷⁶ Glenn Olsen, “One Heart and One soul (Acts 4:32 and 34) in Dhuoda's ‘Manual,’ ” Church History 61 (1992): 27. See also Vita s. Desiderii, eds. Henri Rochais and Bruno Krusch (CCSL, 117; Turnhout: Brepols, 1957), pp. 353-6, especially Herchenefreda's letters to her son, Bishop Desiderius of Cahors and Pierre Riché, “L'education religieuse par les femmes dans le haut Moyen Age: Le Manuel de Dhuoda,” in La religion de mère: Le rôle des femmes dans la transmission de la foi, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992), p. 37.

Yet, Dhuoda's work is unique in its autobiographical nature, its scope, style and what it reveals of her intense spirituality.

Scholars have long recognized the influence the Regula s. Benedicti exercised over Dhuoda's Manuel pour mon fils. Further, they have to some extent, also noted the significant role played by additional monastic and ascetic sources, such as the fifth-century Conférences and Institutions cénobitiques of John Cassian as well as the sixth-century Verba seniorum, in providing a fundamental spiritual framework for key passages in the Manuel pour mon fils.

Nevertheless, a thorough examination of Dhuoda's manual suggests that scholars have not studied the full impact of these monastic and ascetic sources on her spiritual ideology. Dhuoda's dependence on further monastic and ascetic sources, such as the fourth-century La Règle de saint Augustin, the Epistulae of Jerome, the late fifth-century De vita contemplativa of Julius Pomerius (possibly filtered through the pages of the seventh-century Liber numerorum of Isidore of Seville), as well as the originality of her exegetical method has not received adequate attention. Consequently, this chapter will focus on these sources, as well as Dhuoda's original exegetical skill in their adaptation, in order to provide a coherent model for her theological notions. She tailored these to the particular needs of her son, William. In this way, Dhuoda provided for him not only a guide to abstract spirituality but one firmly embedded in the realism of practical theology.

II. The Manuel pour mon fils as vox matris

Certainly one of the most important Carolingian literary works in the "mirror of

princes” genre, the Manuel pour mon fils, while having much in common with the didactic Christian specula principum, is unique in revealing the sentiments and spirituality of an aristocratic laywoman and mother. Steven Stofferahn, following Hans Hubert Anton and Pierre Riché, has noted its emphasis on spirituality with its ideals of patience and humility.⁷⁷ Clella Jaffe has characterized the text as one “which stands out as the lone woman author’s voice from the ninth century.”⁷⁸ Yet if Dhuoda’s was a voice crying out in the Carolingian period, her popularity today is assured, evidenced by the enormous volume and diversity of secondary literature that her work has stimulated. Indeed, Dhuoda and her Manual has even been the subject of historical fiction.⁷⁹

Dhuoda composed her Manual at Uzès in southern France between November 30, 841 and February 2, 843, to serve as a moral and spiritual guide for her eldest son,

⁷⁷ Steven Stofferahn has compiled an excellent historiographical study of past and present scholarship on Dhuoda’s Manual, in “The Many Faces in Dhuoda’s Mirror: The Liber manualis and a Century of Scholarship,” Magistra 4 (1998): 85-134. See also Hans Hubert Anton, Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit (Bonner Historische Forschungen, 32; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1968), p. 213 and Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, p. 12. For an analysis of specula principum in the Carolingian age, see Ritamary Bradley, “Background of the Title Speculum in Medieval Literature,” Speculum 19 (1953): 103-110 and Karen Cherewatuk, “Speculum matris: Dhuoda’s Manual,” Florilegium 10 (1988-91): 29-64.

⁷⁸ Clella Jaffe, “Dhuoda’s Handbook for William and the Mother’s Manual Tradition,” in Listening to Their Voices: The Rhetorical Activities of Historical Women, ed. Molly Meijer Wertheimer (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), p. 177. See also Rosamond McKitterick, “Frauen und Schriftlichkeit im Frühmittelalter,” in Weibliche Lebensgestaltung im frühen Mittelalter, ed. Hans-Werner Goetz (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1991), p. 105.

⁷⁹ For the latest work of historical fiction on Dhuoda, see Jocelyne Godard, Dhuoda, la carolingienne, 2nd ed. (Paris: Le Sémaphore, 2001).

William.⁸⁰ As Dhuoda informs us, she has heard that her husband, Count Bernard of Septimania, had commended William into the hands of King Charles the Bald of Aquitania, almost certainly as a hostage to ensure the loyalty of his father.⁸¹

We know very little of Dhuoda herself. As Riché has correctly stated “if the manuscripts of the Manuel pour mon fils had not survived, we would be totally ignorant of Dhuoda.”⁸² That Dhuoda was a member of the Carolingian aristocracy is evident, not only by her education, but also by her comment to William that her ancestors were once powerful in the world, and her reference to him as the progeny of a noble lineage.⁸³

⁸⁰ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 11, chap. 10, pp.368-70. The dates used here are based on Riché’s calculations. For an analysis of these dates and especially the year 843 for the completion of the Manual, see Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, p. 11. See also Bowers, “The Liber manualis of Dhuoda,” p. 1.

⁸¹ Charles was the son of Louis the Pious and the empress, Judith. As a result of his victory in the battle of Fontenoy, during the summer of 841, he became the effective ruler of Aquitania. The reason for William’s “commendation” is clarified by the contemporary historian Nithard who relates that William was delivered into the hands of Charles as part of the price for his father’s neutrality during the battle and for aiding Pepin with counsel, see Nithard, Historiarum libri IV in Quellen zur karolingische Reichgeschichte, ed. Reinhold Rau, 3 vols. (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, 5; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1955-60), 1: 430.

⁸² Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, p. 17. As Riché has noted, the Manuel pour mon fils survives in three major manuscripts: the Nîmes manuscript, containing nine fragments and dating to the ninth or tenth century; the Paris manuscript, complete, but with many scribal errors and alterations, dating to the seventeenth century; and the fourteenth-century Barcelona manuscript, first discovered by Alfred Cardolini in 1950, and made known publicly for the first time by André Vernet in 1956. For analyses of the manuscripts, see Franz Sedlmeier, Die laienparänetische Schriften, pp. 373-4 and Manuel pour mon fils, pp. 45-50. For Vernet’s study, see “Un nouveau manuscrit du Manuel de Dhuoda,” Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes 118 (1956): 18-43.

⁸³ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 1, chap. 6, p. 110: “...qui fuerunt in saeculo quasi potentes...” and Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 4, p. 148: “...ex magno utrumque nobilitatis orto progenie....”

Moreover, Dhuoda relates that she was given in marriage to Bernard in the eleventh year of the Emperor's reign on June 29, 824.⁸⁴

Clearly, Dhuoda wrote her Manual during a time of great political turmoil. She describes it as a time of increasing troubles, numerous vicissitudes and discord in the kingdom. This is in all probability an allusion to the civil wars of the Emperor's sons: Lothar, Louis the German, and Charles the Bald.⁸⁵ This resulted in the exile of Dhuoda and the writing of the Manual for her son William, who was born during the thirteenth year of the Emperor's reign, on November 29, 826.⁸⁶ We can almost sense the agony of a grieving mother, as she informs William of his younger brother's fate, born in the year after the Emperor's death, March 22, 841, in the city of Uzès:

In the year following the death of the Emperor, your brother was born, the second son after you, having emerged from my womb, God pity him, in the city of Uzès. While still a small infant, before he had even received the

⁸⁴ Both Riché and Bowers support this date for Dhuoda's wedding, see Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, p. 17 and Bowers, "The Liber manualis of Dhuoda," p. 1.

⁸⁵ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, preface, p. 84: "Voluente et crescente calamitate huius saeculi miseria, inter multas fluctationes et discordias regni...." For the political background of Dhuoda's time, see Janet Nelson, "The Search for Peace in a Time of War: The Carolingian Brüderkrieg, 840-3," in Träger Instrumentarien des Friedens in hohem und später Mittelalter, ed. Johannes Fried (Vorträge und Forschungen, 43; Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1996), pp. 87-114.

⁸⁶ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, preface, p. 86: "Sed cum diu, ob absentiam praesentiae nostrae, sub iussione senioris mei, in predicta, cum agone illius iam gaudens, residerem urbe, ex desiderio utrorumque vestram hunc codicillum secundum parvitas meae intelligentiam tibi transcribe et dirigere curavi." For William's birth, see Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, preface, p. 86: "Et iterum in tertio decimo anno regni eius, III Kalendarium decembrium, auxiliante, ut credo, Deo, tua ex me, desideratissime filii primogenite, in saeculo processit natiuitas."

sacrament of baptism, Bernard, lord and father to you both, summoned him along with Bishop Elephantus of Uzès, and his other retainers into his presence in Aquitania.⁸⁷

The family origins of Dhuoda are not known with any degree of certainty and have been the subject of diverse studies as well as considerable debate. Bowers, for instance, has noted that Dhuoda was once thought to have been a daughter of Charlemagne, while Riché has drawn attention to Edouard Bondurand's description of Dhuoda as an aristocrat of Septimania, possibly of Visigothic descent.⁸⁸ In addition, Riché attempted to discover Dhuoda's origins through the variant spellings of her name. The form Duda appears on a sixth-century epitaph found in Worms, and a Doda in the ninth century appears as a sister of Count Lambert of Nantes. Furthermore, Riché

⁸⁷ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, preface, p. 84: "Post mortem quoque eius, in anno sequente, nativitas fratris tui XI kalendas aprilis, ex meo secundus est te, in Uzecia urbe, deo miserante, egressus est utero. Etenim parvulum illum, antequam baptismatis accepisset gratiam, dominus et genitor Bernardus utrique vestrum, una cum Elefanto, praedictae civitatis episcopo, et cum ceteris fidelibus suis, in Aquitaniae partibus ad suam fecit aduci praesentiam." Riché dated the birth of Dhuoda's second son to March 22, 841, and identified him as Bernard Plantevelue, father of William the Pious, founder of Cluny, see Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, p. 18 and 21. Dhuoda's reference to Aquitania is interesting. It may be the result of circumstances surrounding the events of the summer of 841 following the battle of Fontenoy. In addition to commending his son William into the hands of Charles the Bald, and upon receiving assurances that his honor in Burgundy would be restored, Bernard, according to Nithard, promised to secure an alliance between Charles and Pepin II, who was (according to Janet Nelson) still at large in Aquitania; see Nithard, Historiarum libri IV, bk. 3, chap. 2, p. 430. See also Janet Nelson's discussion in Charles the Bald (London and New York: Longman, 1972), pp. 120-1.

⁸⁸ Bowers, "The Liber manualis of Dhuoda," p. 11; Edouard Bondurand, L'éducation carolingienne. Le Manuel de Dhuoda (Paris: Picard, 1887), pp. 16-17, cited by Riché in Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, p. 22.

discovered a Doda as a concubine of Emperor Lothar in 853.⁸⁹ Joachim Wollasch thought Dhuoda was of Germanic origin, while for Max Manitius, Dhuoda was the daughter of a wealthy nobleman from Nîmes who mentioned her favorably in his will. Franz Brunhölzl simply states that she came from a wealthy family in the region of Nîmes.⁹⁰ More recently, Donald Jackman has reaffirmed Wollasch's thesis of the Germanic origin of Dhuoda by establishing her connection with Charlemagne's Swabian queen Hildegard through Count Odo of Orléans. Conversely, Ronald Malan claimed a Gascon origin for Dhuoda and identified her father as Sancho Lupus of Gascony and her mother as a putative daughter of Count Aznar Galindo of Aragon.⁹¹

III. The Spirituality of the Manuel pour mon fils

A. Listening, Pondering, and Implementation: Dhuoda and the Regula s. Benedicti

It has been noted in the previous chapter that the Regula s. Benedicti served as a fundamental model of spirituality for Jonas of Orléans' Le métier de roi and De

⁸⁹ Edouard Salin, La civilisation mérovingienne, 4 vols (Paris: Picard, 1952), 2: 86-7; Chronique du Nantes, ed. R. Morlet (Paris, 1967), p. 67, cited by Riché in Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, p. 22 and Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, p. 22.

⁹⁰ Joachim Wollasch, "Eine adlige Familie des früher Mittelalters. Ihr Selbstverständnis und ihre Wirklichkeit," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 39 (1957): 184-5; Max Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 3 vols. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, IX, 2; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1911; rep. 1974), 1: 42; Franz Brunhölzl, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 2 vols, 2nd ed. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1995), 1: 409.

⁹¹ Donald Jackman, Criticism and Critique: Sidelights on the Konradiner (Occasional Publications of the Oxford Unit for Prosopographical Research 1; Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, 1997), p. 135. See also Ronald Malan, "The Ancestry of Dhuoda, Duchess of Septimania," The Genealogist 11 (1997): 116.

institutione laicali. This influence continued in the Manuel pour mon fils. A comparative study of the Manuel pour mon fils and the Regula s. Benedicti illustrates this point. For example, in her chapter on the reverence due a father, Dhuoda instructs William to be obedient to his father in all-important affairs, to hear her admonition to listen and observe the precepts of his father, to heed and read frequently the sayings of the holy fathers, and to bind them together in his heart. Finally, Dhuoda advises William sternly that those obeying their fathers, and carrying out their orders freely, with their hearts, will inherit the earth.⁹² As Riché has indicated, Dhuoda's tripartite division of listening, pondering and implementing also occurs, with some regularity, in the Regula s. Benedicti. For instance, in the prologue of the Regula s. Benedicti, Benedict enjoins monks to listen to the precepts of the master, just as William is. According to Benedict, they are to incline the ear of their heart to the admonition of a pious father. Finally, they are to receive freely these precepts and efficaciously carry them out.⁹³

In the previous section, I demonstrated the significant influence the Regula s.

⁹² Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 1, chap. 3, p. 134: "Sis in omni negotio utilitatis obediens patri, et iudicium illius obsculta" and Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 1, chap. 3, pp. 138-9: "Tu ergo, fili Wilhelme, audi mea admonentem te, absculta et observa praecepta patris tui nec sis inauditer dicta Patrum sanctorum, legensque frequenter in corde tuo ea[m] iugiter liga, ut semper crescens in bonum anni tibi multiplicentur vitae. Nam benedictentes et sustinentes deum atque Patribus obediens illorum iussa animo libenti complentes, ipsi hereditabunt terram." Dhuoda is partially drawing on scriptural sources here. For her passage corde tuo ea[m] iugiter liga, see Prov. 6:21 and for ipsi hereditabunt terram, see Ps. 36:9.

⁹³ Regula s. Benedicti, ed. Rudolph Hanslik, 2nd ed. (CSEL, 75; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1977), P. 1: "Obsculta, o fili, praecepta magistri et inclina aurem cordis tui et admonitionem pii patris libenter excipe et efficaciter comple...." See also Terrence Kardong, Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1996), p. 7.

Benedicti exercised over Dhuoda's Manuel pour mon fils, and underscored the role of the former in providing a linguistic and conceptual framework for her theological notions.

Another noteworthy example of this concerns Dhuoda's vivid conceptualization of prayer and its language of expression. Pierre Riché, for instance, observed that Dhuoda and Benedict use identical expressions (De reverentia orationis) for their respective chapters on prayer.⁹⁴ Riché also noted that both authors, on the same subject, employ numerous expressions, similar both in their grammatical construction and in spiritual conceptualization. We may demonstrate this by comparing Dhuoda's chapter on reverence in prayer with The Regula s. Benedicti's chapter on humility. Riché comments on Dhuoda's definition of reverence in chapter 3 of the Manuel pour mon fils where she advises William to seek out an object of veneration with a sincere heart and a pure mind, which underscores her debt to chapter 7 of the Regula s. Benedicti. Here, Benedict, speaking of the seventh level of humility, reminds his followers that a monk should not only confess with his tongue but also believe with all his heart that he is lower and less honorable than all the rest.⁹⁵

Myra Ellen Bowers has also drawn attention to the influence of the Regula s.

⁹⁴ Compare Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 2, chap. 3, p. 124 with Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 20, p. 82.

⁹⁵ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 2, chap. 3, p. 126: "...dicta autem reverentia ad rem venerabilem cum intimo cordis et puro rationis affectu quaerendam." For the English translation, see Bowers, "The Liber manualis of Dhuoda," chap. 10, p. 43; Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 7, pp. 53-4: "Septimus humilitatis gradus est, si omnibus se inferiorem et viliorem non solum sua lingua pronuntiet, sed etiam intimo cordis credit affectu." See Kardong's translation of this passage in Benedict's Rule, p. 134. For further discussion on Benedict's views on prayer, see Michael Casey, "St. Benedict's Approach to Prayer," Cistercian Studies 15 (1980): 17-46.

Benedicti on the Manuel pour mon fils. Bowers, working on her edition of the Manual independently of Riché, noted the significant role the Regula s. Benedicti played in shaping the fundamental structure of Dhuoda's theology. In establishing a connection between the the Manual and the Regula s. Benedicti, Bowers suggested that the Regula s. Benedicti, next to the Bible, was Dhuoda's most important source. To demonstrate this, she discussed the close parallels between reverence in prayer in the two texts, as well as their common styles, while at the same time emphasizing their common expressions for the monastic qualities of obedience and humility. We can see this parallel in style and expression of obedience and humility in their respective chapters on prayer.⁹⁶ In chapter 3 of the Manuel pour mon fils, Dhuoda remarks:

And if we wish to ask a powerful person of the world to give us something useful, large or small, we do not ask in pride or with the roar of noisy clamor, but in humility so that he may be pleased to give what we are asking—how much more should the Creator and Bestower of all good things be prayed to with the highest respect in asking, seeking and finding what must be sought from him.⁹⁷

Paralleling this with chapter 20 of the Regula s. Benedicti, we read the following:

⁹⁶ Bowers, "The Liber manualis of Dhuoda," pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

⁹⁷ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 2, chap. 3, p. 126: "Et si homini terreno potentiori nos aliquam utilitatem, magnam vel parvam, volumus petere ut det, non superbiendo nec in strepitu calmoris petimus murmurando, sed humiliando rogamus, ut hoc quod quaerimus iubeat dari, quanto magis conditori et largitori omnium bonorum summon cum honore orandum est, petendi, quaerendi inveniendique." The English translation is Bowers'.

When we wish to propose something to powerful people, we do not presume to do so without humility and reverence. How much more should we petition the Lord God of the universe with great humility and total devotion.⁹⁸

Another relationship that Bowers established between the Manuel pour mon fils and the Regula s. Benedicti concerns Dhuoda's specific use of the verb militare in book 3, chapter 4 of the Manual. In this chapter, entitled, "Admonition on the Conduct to be Exhibited to your Lord," Dhuoda uses the verb in the sense of "to serve," as she advises William to observe those who serve him (Charles the Bald), most faithfully and assiduously, and learn from them the lessons of service.⁹⁹ In book 3, chapter 7, Dhuoda advises William to serve such men, comparing them to Old Testament figures such as Doeg the Edomite and the humble Mordecai.¹⁰⁰

Turning to the corresponding passages in the Regula s. Benedicti, Bowers notes that Benedict seems to have provided a monastic model for Dhuoda. For instance, in

⁹⁸ Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 20, p. 82: "Si, cum hominibus potentibus volumes aliqua suggerere, non praesumimus nisi cum humilitate et reverentia, quanto magis domino deo universorum cum omni humilitate et puritatis devotione supplicandum." I am following Kardong's English translation; see Kardong, Benedict's Rule, p. 206.

⁹⁹ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 4, p. 150: "...considera etiam et conspice illos qui illi fidelissime, militant assidue, et disce ab illis documenta servitii.

¹⁰⁰ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 7, p. 162: "Volo etenim, fili, ut cum talibus delectes militari quails fuit Doech Idumean, et Mardocheus humilis." Riché identified Doech as Doeg, the faithful servant of King Saul and Mardocheus as Mordecai, faithful advisor of King Ahasuerus of Persia and uncle of Queen Esther. He became her guardian after the death of her father Abihail. For Doeg, see 1 Sam. 21:8, 9:22. Mordecai is described in the Book of Esther 8:2 and by Riché in Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, pp. 162-3.

chapter 58, Benedict uses the verb militare when he refers to the Rule as a law under which monks may wish to serve, and in chapter 1, describing the coenobitic form of monastic life, Benedict uses militare to emphasize the idea of service under a rule and a abbot.¹⁰¹ Additionally, just as Dhuoda uses militare to describe those who faithfully serve one lord and king, Charles, so Benedict in chapter 61 of the Regula s. Benedicti employs militare when he reminds his followers that they faithfully serve one Lord and one King, Christ; and also in the prologue of the Regula s. Benedicti where he warns brothers to prepare their bodies and hearts to serve under the holy obedience due to God's precepts.¹⁰²

More recently, Carol Neel has confirmed the studies of Bowers and Riché, emphasizing Dhuoda's knowledge of the Regula s. Benedicti. M.A. Claussen has also highlighted the Regula s. Benedicti as a significant source for the Manuel pour mon fils. Claussen suggests that Dhuoda alluded several times to the Rule, especially in terms of a common approach to prayer and humility, attributing Dhuoda's instructions to

¹⁰¹ Bowers, "The Liber manualis of Dhuoda," pp. xxiv-xxxviii; Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 58, p. 148: "...ecce lex, sub qua militare vis" and Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 1, p. 18: "...primum cenobitarum, hoc est monasteriale, militans sub regula vel abbate." In discussing monastic categorization, Benedict was following a long and firmly established tradition. See, especially, John Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, ed. and trans. Jean-Claude Guy, 2nd ed. (SC, 109; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), bk. 5, chap. 36, pp. 246-8; Regula s. Eugippii, eds. Fernand Villegas and Adalbert De Vogüé (CSEL, 86; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1976), chap. 26, p. 47; La Règle du Maître, ed. Jean Neufville, trans. Adalbert De Vogüé (SC, 105; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1964), chap. 1, p. 238. Cistercian Studies 9 (1974): 231-8. The most recent analysis on the etymology and origin of the title of abbot is Adalbert De Vogüé in Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité, 10 vols. (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1991-2006), 2: 72-4.

¹⁰² Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 62, p. 156: "...et quia in omni uni domino servitor, uni regi militatur" and Regula s. Benedicti, prologue, p. 8: "...ergo praeparanda sunt corda et corpora nostrae sanctae praeceptorum oboedientiae militanda."

William to pay with a sincere heart to chapter 7 of the Regula s. Benedicti.¹⁰³

B. The “Mirror” as Spiritual Metaphor in the Manuel pour mon fils and La Règle de saint Augustin

Dhuoda’s Manuel pour mon fils has been related to two traditional genres, the handbook and the “mirror of princes,” as Cherewatuk and others have noted, but it is the latter that is of primary interest here. In this sense, Dhuoda’s Manual, didactic in nature, served not only as a model for noble living, but significantly, as a “mirror” into which her exiled son William could gaze to measure the state of his own soul. Indeed, it is the Manual as a reflection of spiritual preparedness that seems to be always uppermost in Dhuoda’s mind, the didactic element it shares with other contemporary Carolingian specula principum such as Jonas’ Le métier de roi and De institutione laicali.¹⁰⁴

This recalls Jonas’ comments in the De institutione laicali, (mentioned in the previous chapter), that Holy Scriptures should be contemplated as if gazing into a mirror, and serve as the example for holy and righteous living. In a similar fashion, his admonition in the Le métier de roi that King Pepin should contemplate the words of Cyprian, as if looking into a mirror, so that he may know what to do and what to fear, parallels Dhuoda’s advice to her son that he will find her Manual a mirror in which he

¹⁰³ Dhuoda, Handbook for William, p. xvi. Neel, like Riché and Bowers, has attributed many of Dhuoda’s expressions to the Regula s. Benedicti. See also M.A. Claussen, “Fathers of Power and Mothers of Authority,” French Historical Studies 19 (1996): 794-6.

¹⁰⁴ Cherewatuk, “Speculum matris: Dhuoda’s Manual,” pp. 51-5. For further studies on the nature of Carolingian specula principum, see Claussen, “Fathers of Power,” p. 786. See also Y. Bessmertney, “Le monde vu par une femme noble au IXe siècle: La perception du monde dans l’aristocratie Carolingienne,” Moyen âge 93 (1987): 162-84.

can contemplate the salvation of his soul.¹⁰⁵

However, scholars such as Marie Anne Mayeski see the Manuel pour mon fils as much more than a standard Carolingian speculum principum. Mayeski observed that it is a sort of last will and testament, a genealogical work stressing William's noble lineage, a "mirror", reflecting the personal world of Dhuoda. In the words of Mayeski:

In Dhuoda's hands, the Carolingian mirror reflects a wide variety of images: the ideal knight, the concrete dangers and opportunities in the political world, and, not least of all, the concerns, character and interior life of Dhuoda herself. Her Liber is not completely understood, if seen only as an example of the Carolingian speculum. It needs the wider context of Carolingian scholarship as its frame.¹⁰⁶

Pierre Riché also sees Dhuoda's Manual, as sharing certain characteristics with other contemporary Carolingian "mirrors." These include the war against vices and the practice of vices, respect toward parents, king and priests, devotion to prayer, and the sanctity of marriage. Nevertheless, Riché, like Mayeski, feels that Dhuoda goes far beyond the traditional Carolingian "mirrors", and views the her Manuel pour mon fils as an expression of her unique personality, a spiritual testament of a woman who wishes

¹⁰⁵ Compare Jonas, De institutione laicali, preface, PL 106, cols. 123-4: "...ut in eo quasi in quodam speculo te assidue contemplari, qualiterque conjugalem vitam honeste ducere debeas..." with Jonas, Le métier de roi, chap. 3, p. 188: "...in eius verba, quasi in quodam speculo, quid esse, quid agere quidve cavere debeatis, iugiter vos contemplantini..." and Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, prologue, p. 80: "...invenies etiam et speculum in quo salutem animae tuae indubitanter possis conspicere...."

¹⁰⁶ Marie Anne Mayeski, Dhuoda: Ninth-Century Mother and Theologian (Scranton: University of Scranton Press, 1995), p. 28.

her distant son to return.¹⁰⁷

Yet, in determining the influence of monastic and ascetic sources, one element of Dhuoda's Liber manualis is of special significance; that is, its function as a mirror reflecting, as it were, the health or sickness of the soul. In her Manuel pour mon fils, Dhuoda describes four slightly nuanced but nevertheless closely related examples of the theme. First, in her prologue, Dhuoda reminds William that he will find the Manuel pour mon fils a mirror in which he can indubitably contemplate the salvation of his soul.¹⁰⁸ Secondly, in her chapter on the Trinity, Dhuoda instructs William in the following manner:

Many of the holy fathers before the advent of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, contemplating the image of the Holy Trinity, as though through a mirror, confessed and worshipped it to the utmost degree. One of these, it is reported (Abraham) had seen three men coming down the road to meet him. Recognizing them as the Holy Trinity, he spoke to the three as if they were one; that is, the Trinity.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Riché, "L'éducation religieuse par les femmes," p. 40.

¹⁰⁸ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, prologue, p. 13.

¹⁰⁹ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 1, chap. 1, p. 118: "Multi autem ex eis, ante adventum Domini et Salvatoris nostril Christi Ihesu, figuram Sanctae Trinitatis contemplantes quasi per speculum, ad summum confitebantur atque adorabant. Unde unus ex his, cum sub ilicem sederet Mambre, tres ad se descendere per viam vidisse perhibetur viros quos in specie summae Trinitatis conspiciens, sic tribus quasis uni loquitur, et cetera. Unum in trinitate et trinum in unitate, hoc est Trinitas.

Third, Dhuoda develops the mirror imagery to a personal degree not envisioned by the writers of other Carolingian specula as she counsels William to let her Manual serve as a mirror in which both her words and her physical presence are reflections against which William can measure the state of his spiritual perfection. Dhuoda's words bear repeating:

Your intercessor, Dhuoda, is always at hand, son, and If I should fail or die, as will happen in the future, you have a little book as a reminder, a moral guide, and as if in an image in a mirror, you can see me mentally and physically by reading it and praying to God, and you can find out exactly how to obey me, my son.¹¹⁰

Finally, Dhuoda advises William that her manual of instruction is dedicated to him, adding that just as some women look at their own image in mirrors to remove the grime and show clean features that please their husbands, she wishes that William would frequently read the little book she wrote for him alone as though gazing into a mirror, and never neglect it.¹¹¹

While it might be argued that the theme of the mirror as a spiritual metaphor is commonly found in medieval Christian literature, specific grammatical and thematic nuances employed by Dhuoda in discussing this metaphor, and more importantly, other expressions found throughout the Manual, are remarkably similar to the language of Augustine's in book 8, chapter 2 of the La Règle de saint Augustin. There Augustine discusses the Rule as a sort of soteriological "mirror" as well as other closely related

¹¹⁰ See Bowers' translation in "The Liber manualis of Dhuoda," chap. 7, p. 41.

¹¹¹ Bowers, "The Liber manualis of Dhuoda," prologue, p. 13.

themes. This commonality of expression and theme becomes apparent in the following comparative textual analysis:

La Règle de saint Augustin, chap. 8

Ut autem vos in hoc libello tamquam in speculo possitis inspicere, ne per oblivionem aliquid neglegatis, semel in septimana vobis legatur. Et ubi vos inveneritis ea quae scripta sunt facientes, agite gratias domino bonorum omnium largitori. Ubi autem sibi quicumque vestrum videt aliquid deesse, doleat de praeterito, caveat de futuro, orans ut ei debitum dimittatur et in temptationem non inducatur.

Manuel pour mon fils, prologue

...hunc libellum a me tibi directum frequenter legere, et, ob memoriam mei, velut I speculis atque tabulis ioco, ita non negligas... ..invenies etiam et speculum in quo salutem animae tuae indubitanter possis conspicere....

Manuel pour mon fils, epigram

...largitori omnium bonorum....

Manuel pour mon fils , bk. 8, chap. 2

Ora pro praeteritis, praesentibus et futuris...praeterita, si negligens fuisti, ut obliviosus maneat ex ea; praesentia mala, ut fugias semper; futura, ut caveas et numquam in te adhaereat ultra.¹¹²

¹¹² Augustine, La Règle de Saint Augustin, ed. Luc Verheijen, 2 vols. (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1967), 1: 437. According to Adalbert De Vogüé, Augustine composed the Rule in 392 for his lay monastery at Hippo; see Adalbert De Vogüé, Les règles monastiques anciennes (400-700) (Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, fasc 46; Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), p. 53.

As is readily apparent, both authors refer to their respective texts as libelli or little books; both compare their libelli to mirrors, employing similar expressions. Dhuoda's et speculum in quo salutem animae tuae indubitanter possis, closely parallels Augustine's in hoc libello tamquam in speculo possitis inspicere. Moreover, in both the La Règle de saint Augustin and the Manuel pour mon fils, the reader is encouraged to read the text often. In the Manuel pour mon fils, Dhuoda uses the words frequenter legere while Augustine with the words in septimana vobis legatur admonishes the members of his lay monastery to read the Rule weekly, at the very least. Further, both authors draw attention to the idea of neglect in connection with their textual mirror imagery. Augustine in his Rule reminds his readers to contemplate the Rule weekly so that they may regard it as a mirror and not neglect anything through forgetfulness. Dhuoda, closely following Augustine's thought and language, advises William that if he reads the Manual frequently and never neglects it, he will hold her in his memory like an image in a mirror. This imagery continues as Dhuoda emphasizes to William the importance of the Manuel pour mon fils as a mirror in which he can unfailingly contemplate the salvation of his own soul.

An additional expression that Augustine associates with the mirror imagery of his Rule and which appears prominently in Dhuoda's Manual is domino bonorum omnium largitori or "the Lord, Bestower of all Blessings." This appears in the La Règle de saint Augustin where the author reminds his followers that they should give thanks to "the Lord, Bestower of all Blessings," whenever they find themselves carrying out the precepts of his Rule. This expression also occurs in the Manuel pour mon fils, although

in a somewhat different context. In her epigrama operas subsequentis, or “epigram of the work to follow,” Dhuoda, in commending William’s soul to God, refers to the latter as largitorem omnium bonorum. Similarly, in her discourse on prayer, Dhuoda also characterizes God as largitori omnium bonorum, instructing William to pray to Him with greatest honor.¹¹³

Augustine’s final thoughts in the La Règle de saint Augustin, regarding the associated ideas of past sins and future temptations, not only find remarkably similar expression in Dhuoda’s Manual but offer insight into the originality and skill of her exegetical style. In this case, her adaptation of a prominent Augustinian theme, for example, Augustine’s notion of negligence through forgetfulness of his Rule. His words ne per oblivionem aliquid neglegatis closely parallel Dhuoda’s ni negligens fuisti, ut obliviosus maneat ex ea, as she reminds William that, if he neglects her Manual, he may forget it. Parallels can be seen in theme and phrasing in both the La Règle de saint Augustin and the Dhuoda’s Manual. For instance, Augustine uses the phrase doleat de praeterito caveat de futura, orans ut ei debitum dimittatur et in temptationem non inducatur, as he instructs his followers to repent about the past and beware of the future, praying that their sins be forgiven and they not be led into temptation. Dhuoda’s

¹¹³ Compare La Règle de saint Augustin, chap. 8, p. 427 with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, epigram, p. 72 and bk. 2, chap. 3, p. 126. For other post-Augustinian uses of largitor omnium bonorum, see especially, pseudo-Basil, De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, ed. Paul Lehmann (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1955), chap. 9, p. 46: “Et Judae pectus avaritiae ardore exarsit, ut dominum, largitorem sibi bonorum cunctorum, in manus traderet impiorum,” and Annales regum Francorum in Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte, 1: 64: “Qui accepto peracta Deo largitori omnium bonorum gratiarum actione....”

remarks about the past, si negligens fuisti ut obliviosus maneas ex ea closely resemble Augustine's in expression, yet display a certain thematic deviation. Her remarks about the future, futura ut caveas et numquam in te adhaerat ultra, when she implores William to beware of the future and never allow evil to grasp him, recall Augustine's caveat de futura orans ut ei debitum dimittatur et in temptationem non inducatur when he counsels his followers to beware of the future, praying they not be led into temptation. Thus, while Pierre Riché has demonstrated Dhuoda's close dependency on Augustine's other writings, the La Règle de saint Augustin emerges as a hitherto unexplored source that affords us a rare look into the sources of Dhuoda's unique and intensely personal spirituality.¹¹⁴

C. Dhuoda's Use of Sacred Scriptures in the Liber manualis

In addition to the La Règle de saint Augustin, Dhuoda drew extensively and directly from the Sacred Scriptures to provide a model of righteous living for her son. However, her scriptural citations are not bare unoriginal compilations or mere static derivations. As Mayeski and Riché have observed in their studies of the Manuel pour mon fils, Dhuoda's biblical references are not detached from her text but become a living part of it. She manipulates and alters her sources so that biblical injunctions become hers, personalized, contemporary guides as it was, speaking directly to

¹¹⁴ Compare La Règle de saint Augustin, chap. 8, p. 437 with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8, chap. 2, pp. 305-6. For Riché's comments on Dhuoda's Augustinian dependency, see Manuel pour mon fils, pp. 33-4.

William.¹¹⁵ They speak to him in a unique way, directing his moral behavior in both private and public actions and relationships.

We find one of the most conspicuous examples of this practice in Dhuoda's chapter entitled, "Reverence Due to a Father," where she counsels William on filial devotion and paternal reverence. She begins by informing her son that she does not hesitate, as far as she is able, to instill in his mind how he, whether present or absent, should fear and love his father, Bernard, and be faithful to him in all ways.¹¹⁶ Next, Dhuoda appropriates the words of God to Moses in Exodus, "honor your mother and father so that you may reach a great age on the land which the Lord God will give to you." Altering this passage considerably, both thematically and contextually, Dhuoda gives it contemporary expression as she adapts it to William's relationship with his own father: "You son, honor your father and pray for him assiduously so that you may reach a great age upon the earth and you can live a long time."¹¹⁷

Clearly then, Dhuoda manipulated biblical sources to suit her own purposes and her own particular themes. However, she did not confine this practice to the Book of

¹¹⁵ Marie Ann Mayeski, "A Mother's Psalter: Psalms in the Moral Instruction of Dhuoda of Septimania," in The Place of Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages, ed. Nancy Van Deusen (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 139-51. See also Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, p. 36.

¹¹⁶ Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 134: "Qualiter domino et genitori tuo Bernardo, tam praesens quam absens, timere, amare, atque fidelis in omnibus esse debeas, insinuare, ut valeo, non pigeo."

¹¹⁷ Compare Exod. 20:12: "Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam ut sis longevus super terram quam Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi" with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 134. "Tu, fili, honora patrem tuum, et pro e ora assidue ut sis longaevus super terram, et ut multo possis vivere tempore."

Exodus. This is evident throughout the chapter. For example, in Leviticus, we read the Lord's words to Moses "whosoever will have reviled his mother and father shall be put to death." Dhuoda's version reads: "Whomsoever will have reviled the father who bore him shall receive an injurious and foul death." Moreover, Dhuoda transforms Moses' dire warning in Deuteronomy that God will curse those who do not honor their father and mother into "cursed is he who does not honor his father." In a similar fashion, Dhuoda personalizes the general injunction of Jesus, son of Sirach that sons should heed the advice of their fathers as she applies it to William's relationship with his own father, "be obedient to your father in all matters of importance and heed his advice."¹¹⁸

Another biblical theme makes a prominent appearance in Dhuoda's discussion on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, derived from Isaiah's prophecy that "a rod shall go forth from the stem of Jesse and a branch will come forth from his roots and the spirit of the Lord, the spirits of wisdom and understanding, counsel, knowledge and piety will rest upon him and he will be filled with the spirit of the fear of the Lord."¹¹⁹ Yet Dhuoda's approach to her source is unique. It is not her design to provide William with the biblical florilegia of a detached spiritual intellectualism. Rather, it is her wish to provide him with an intimate and personal guide of personal theology, a model of

¹¹⁸ Compare Lev. 20:9: "Qui maledixerit patri suo et matri morte moriatur" with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 136: "Qui maledixerit patri generanti se, inutili et turpi moriatur morte." Compare also Deut. 17:16: "Maledictus qui non honorat patrem suum et matrem" with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk 3, chap. 1, p. 136: "Maledictus qui non honorificat patrem suum." Finally compare Eccli: 3:2: "...iudicium patris audite filii" with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 136: "Sis in omnis negotio utilitatis obediens patri, et iudicium illius obsulta."

¹¹⁹ Isa. 11:2-3: "...et egredietur virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet et requiescat super eum spiritus Domini spiritus sapientiae et intellectus spiritus consilii et fortitudinis spiritus scientiae et pietatis et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini...."

righteous behavior suitable for a worldly soldier of Christ who must do battle daily with the vices and moral corruption of his mundane existence. This becomes apparent if we compare the words of Isaiah with those of Dhuoda:

Isaiah 11: 2-3

*...et egredietur virga de radice
Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet
et requiescat super eum spiritus
Domina spiritus sapientiae et
intellectus spiritus consilii et
fortitudinis spiritus scientiae
pietatis et replebit eum spiritus
timoris Dominis.*

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 4, chap. 4

Septem sunt Sancti Spiritus dona, ut scriptum est in Esaya propheta: spiritus sapientiae, spiritus intellectus, spiritus consilii, spiritus fortitudinis, spiritus pietatis, spiritus timoris Domini. Tu si Deum ex toto tuo dilexeris corde, et et volumina librorum in veteris et ovi Testamenti Scripturarum perscrutaberis seriem, et lecta opere compleveris digno, *requiescat super te spiritus sapientiae.* Si scrutatus fueris sermones Domini, et intellexeris minas aeternis suplicii et aeterni suplicii et gehennam peccatoribus mancipandam, dignis digna facta pro meritis gloriam acipere regna, *requiescat super te spiritus intelligentiae.*

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 4, chap. 4

Si in prosperis atque in adversis recto
gradieris tamite, eo tamen tenore ut nec
in adversis deiciaris, nec in prosperis
unquam mens elevator tua, consilium
perquirendo Domino, ut tibi in utrumque
negotii pensum adiutorium dignetur
parare, tunc *requiescat super te consilii*.

Si contra vitia fortis fueris et ea
subplantando pro nichilo computaveris,
tunc *spiritum* habebis *fortitudinis*. Si
humilis fueris corde et castus corpore,
pro certo poteris in sublime erigi et in
spiritus scientiae fiducialiter militare
valebis. Has virtutes et corpori animo
adieceris tuo, absque dubio *requiescat
super te spiritus scientiae*. Si
compassionem erga proximos habueris
fraternam, et hospitalium spectator,
pauperumque et moerentium consolator
assiduus fueris, habebis *spiritum pietatis*.
Si timorem et amorem, ex fidelitatis circa

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 4, chap. 4
 genitorem et seniorum tuum, vel circa
 optimates ducum et cunctos pares tuos,
 maiorumque sive et iuniorum, tenens, ne
 in offensa vel in scandalis discordantium
 utrumque cadas illorum, absque dubio
 quiescet in te *spiritus timoris* Domini.¹²⁰

Here we note that Dhuoda appropriates the seven blessings of Isaiah that form the basis of her discussion on the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. As she manipulates her source, William steps into the role of Isaiah's offspring while Dhuoda's adaptation of the seven blessings in the form of the seven gifts provides William with a contemporary guide for righteous living.

First, however, Dhuoda provides a theoretical framework of an abstract theology to further William's spiritual development. For example, she reminds her son that if he loves God with all his heart, meditates thoroughly upon the writings of both the Old and New Testaments and seriously practices what he reads, the spirit of wisdom will rest upon him. In similar fashion, she adds that if he thoroughly examines the words of the Lord and understands that the threat of eternal punishment in Hell is reserved for sinners, and that those who do worthy deeds receive for recompense the glory of the kingdom,

¹²⁰ Compare Isa. 11: 2-3 with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 4, chap. 4, pp. 214-6. See also Mayeski, Dhuoda: Ninth-Century Mother, pp. 93-107.

then the spirit of understanding will rest upon him. Continuing the same theme, Dhuoda stresses the importance of counsel when she says, “if you march on the right path, both in prosperity and adversity, not letting yourself be dejected in adversity nor elevated in prosperity, but seeking the counsel of the Lord, then the spirit of counsel will rest upon you.”

Yet, as Mayeski has observed, there is a shift from abstract to practical theology when Dhuoda discusses the spirit of piety and the spirit of the fear of the Lord within the context of the social relationships William will have to establish, and the public obligations he will have to assume as a member of the Carolingian aristocracy.

According to Dhuoda: “If you therefore have fraternal compassion towards your neighbors and are a follower of hospitality, an assiduous comforter of the poor and the afflicted, you will possess the spirit of piety. If you exhibit fear and love, because of your fidelity towards your father and seniors, towards the great magnates of the kingdom, and all your older or younger peers, not offending them or falling into the scandals of their quarrels; without doubt, the spirit of the fear of the Lord will rest upon you.” In this way, the theology of Dhuoda’s Manual would form a practical guide for the political realities that William would undoubtedly have to confront.

D. Dhuoda and Julius Pomerius’ De vita contemplativa

Like her contemporary, Jonas, Dhuoda seems to have made good use of Julius Pomerius’ De vita contemplativa. This becomes evident when we consider that both the

Manuel pour mon fils and the De vita contemplativa provide close parallels in their thematic approaches, stylistic and grammatical structures and, most importantly, in their common expressions. These parallels are especially striking if we compare the discussions of both authors on the function and nature of the priesthood. First, both Dhuoda and Pomerius use similar and in some cases identical language when referring to priests. For instance, for Pomerius, priests are ministri verbi, the oraculum Spiritus sancti, adjutores Dei. They are, in addition, cultores led by God who wish to renounce all worldly desires so that divine charity might be increased and perfected in them. Likewise, Dhuoda, echoing Pomerius, employs similar language as she urges her son William to venerate priests, referring to them as the sortes Dei, and the dei adiutores cultoresque.¹²¹ Both authors use the expression sacerdotibus et ministros in reference to the priesthood. Pomerius mentions that tithes, first fruits, sin offerings and the vows which God ordered to be offered to Him should be distributed to priests and ministers so that with “the necessities of life provided them by a most devoted people, they might minister to the Creator and Pastor with untroubled minds.” Dhuoda, using the same phrase, encourages William to follow the example of the true priest, made pontiff for eternity, along with the sacerdotibus et ministros of the Holy Church of God, so that he might arrive at a true and worthy position, with the aid and consent of God who rules

¹²¹ Compare Julius Pomerius, De vita contemplativa, bk. 1, chap. 25, PL 59, col. 440: “Isti sunt ministri verbi, adjutores Dei, oraculum Spiritus sancti” and bk. 2, chap. 16, col. 461: “...ac sic propterea voluit Deus cultores suos omnibus renuntiare propter quae diligitur mundus; ut exclusa cupiditate mundi, divina in eis caritas possit augeri vel perfici” with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 11, p. 194: “Tu ergo, fili Wilhelme, venera eos ut praedixi, digno Deo famulantium sacerdotes. Dei enim sunt sortes, Dei adiutores cultoresque.”

forever.¹²²

E. Dhuoda and the Liber numerorum of Isidore of Seville

Dhuoda also seems to have drawn material from the pages of Isidore of Seville's Liber numerorum. This supposition rests on evidence of a common structure as well as similarly related themes that both authors share which becomes evident when we compare the Manuel pour mon fils with the Liber numerorum:

Liber numerorum, chap. 5

Unum enim, et duo, et tria, et quattuor decem faciunt. Similiter et centum ex decade quaternario cumulantes; id est, c, cc, ccc, cccc. Sic decem milia caeteraque eodem incremento copulentur.

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 9, chap. 3

Sicut unus et duo et III et IV decem sunt, six X et XX et XXX et XL centum faciunt. Centum autem et CC et CCC et CCCC millesimum complent numerum. Mille namque et II et III et IV, centum milia sunt.

Liber numerorum, chap. 5

In creaturis autem rerum quatuor sunt

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 1, chap. 5

...quaternaries vero ad IV, quatuor

¹²² Compare Julius Pomerius, De vita contemplativa, bk. 2, chap. 16, PL 59, col. 61: "Et ideo decimas atque primitias frugum, primogenita et sacrificia pro peccato, vel vota quae sibi Deus iussit offerri, sacerdotibus ac ministris tribui debere constituit..." with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 11, p. 196: "Verus sacerdos aeternum factus pontifex, te, cum sacerdotibus et ministros sanctae Dei ecclesiae, scholasticando et militando eorumque utilitatem exempla sectando, ad verum et dignum faciat pervenire profectum, adiuvante et concedente illo qui regnat per omnia saecula Deus."

Liber numerorum, chap. 5

terrae partes, quatuor coeli frontes, Oriens, Occidens, Septentrio, sive Meridies. Quatuor enim mundi elementa habentur, ex quibus universa subsistent, ignis, aer aqua, et terra. Annus quoque quatuor temporibus dividitur, aestatis, autumnus, hiemis atque veris. Ipsa denique hominis natura ex quatuor est elementis concreta, ex calido et frigido, humido atque sicca. Virtutes quoque animi quatuor scribuntur, iustitia, prudentia fortitudo et temperantia....

Liber numerorum, chap. 11

Denarius vero ultra omnes habendus est numerus, quia numeros diversae virtutis ac perfectionis intra se continet.

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 1, chap. 5

elementa corporum, hoc est calidam, frigidam, humidam et siccam, in se retinendum; sive per quatuor virtutes, videlicet et iustitiam, fortitudinem, prudentiam et temperantiam, in se custodiendas; vel quatuor evangeliorum dicta; per quatuor mundi partes, hoc est oriens, occidens septentrio atque meridies, in se intellegendam custodiendamque agnoscat.

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 1, chap. 5

Nam id expressa, secundum illorum compoti elementa, quaternarium perfectionis continet numerum....

First, a glance at both texts shows that Dhuoda and Isidore are remarkably alike

in their discussions of the numbers ten, one hundred and one thousand. Thus for Isidore, “one and two and three and four make ten.” Similarly, “one hundred accumulates by ten four times; that is, ten twenty, thirty and forty which are one hundred.” Likewise, “four numbers yield one thousand; that is, one hundred, two hundred, three hundred and four hundred.” Dhuoda, repeating Isidore almost verbatim, notes, “one and two and three and four are ten. Ten, twenty, thirty and forty makes one hundred, while one hundred, two hundred, three hundred and four hundred yields the number one thousand.” Moreover, in both accounts, in the passages previously discussed, the authors make common use of the verbs sunt and faciunt, although Dhuoda inverts Isidore’s usage. Where Dhuoda uses sunt when referring to the number ten, Isidore applies it to the number one hundred. Where Dhuoda uses faciunt to refer to one hundred, Isidore uses it in conjunction with the number ten.¹²³

As the textual parallels suggest, Dhuoda also seems to have drawn from the Liber numerorum for the themes that there are four parts of the world; East, West, North and South; four elements of the body; warm, hot, humid, and dry; four virtues; justice, fortitude, prudence and temperance. Finally, when Dhuoda refers to four as containing the number of perfection, she uses quaternium perfectionis continet numerorum. This expression closely parallels the quia omnes numeros diversae virtutis ac perfectionis intra se continet of the Liber numerorum.¹²⁴

¹²³ Compare Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 9, chap. 3, pp. 329-30 with Isidore, Liber numerorum, chap. 5, PL 83, col. 183.

¹²⁴ Compare Isidore, Liber numerorum, chap. 11, PL 83, col. 190 with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 1, chap. 5, p. 106. Compare also Isidore, Liber numerorum, chap. 11, pl 83, col. 190 with Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 1, chap. 5, p. 104.

F. The Manuel pour mon fils and Jerome's Letter to Rusticius

In addition to the sources we have previously discussed, Dhuoda also seemed to have depended upon epistula 125 from Jerome written in 411 to the monk Rusticius. Originally intended to be an encomium of the coenobitic life, Dhuoda considerably altered and manipulated her source material, tailoring it to the specific language and environment of William's own world that of the Carolingian lay aristocracy. Let us compare these words of Jerome and Dhuoda:

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 9

Jerome, epistula 125

In domo etenim magna, ut est illa

...sed vivere debere in monasterio

fuitque, et erit, si iusserit Pius,

sub unius disciplina patris consortioque

collationes conferuntur multae. Unus

multorum, et ab alio patientiam, hic te

ibi ab alio potest, si vult discere

silentium, ille doceat mansuetudinem....

humilitatem, karitatem, castitatem

mansuetudinem, modestiam sobrietam,

astutiam....¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Compare Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 9, p. 170 with Jerome, Epistulae, ed. Isidor Hilbert, 2nd ed. (CSEL, 56; Vienna: Vienna Academy of Science, 1996), 125, pp. 133-4. In this case, Dhuoda may have been following Jerome's full text. On the other hand, Dhuoda may have borrowed the Jerome passage under discussion from a later intermediary. For instance, Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert, the most recent editors of Abbot Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel's Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, identified the passage in question in chapter 1 of Smaragdus' text. It should be noted however that Smaragdus drew not from Jerome's full text as Engelbert and Spannagel imagined, but from Columbanus' extract of Jerome's passage. Compare Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, eds. Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert (CCM, 8; Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1974), chap. 2, p. 60 with Jerome, epistula, 125, pp. 133-4 and Regula s. Columbani in Columbanus, Opera, ed. and trans. George S.M. Walker (Scriptores latini Hiberniae, 2; Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), p. 140.

A mere glance at the texts in question reveals some striking parallels which suggest Dhuoda equated the palace of Charles the Bald with the coenobium and Carolingian aristocrats with the members of its monastic community. Moreover, Dhuoda seems to have assumed the role of Jerome while William played the secular counterpart of the monk Rusticius. The notion that I argue here—that Dhuoda’s account is a secular adaptation of Jerome’s advice to Rusticius on the benefits of a coenobitic community—rests primarily on the unique ideals that Dhuoda and Jerome share. First Jerome says to Rusticius, “You should live in a monastery under the discipline of one father, in the fellowship of many, so that you may learn humility from one, patience from another; this one may teach you silence, that one may teach you mildness.” In like fashion, Dhuoda closely follows Jerome when she advises William that in the palace of the king, “you can learn if you wish, from another, humility, patience and mildness,” differing only from Jerome’s account with her slight grammatical divergence and, more significantly by her addition of the virtues of chastity, moderation, temperance and shrewdness, conspicuously absent in Jerome. However, it is interesting to note that Dhuoda omits Jerome’s virtue of silence, crucially important for a coenobitic monk but less significant for a worldly Carolingian aristocrat.¹²⁶

F. Dhuoda and the Verba seniorum

Another important source that helped shape and define Dhuoda’s spirituality

¹²⁶ Compare Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 3, chap. 9, p. 170 with Jerome, Epistulae, 125, pp. 133-4. For the most recent study on Jerome’s letter to Rusticius, see De Vogüé, Histoire littéraire, 5: 190-2.

was the Latin version of book 6 of the sixth-century Verba seniorum. It was translated, (as Riché noted), by the deacon Pelagius, later to become Pope Pelagius I and by the sub-deacon John who followed Pelagius in the apostolic dignity as Pope John III. Dhuoda culled from its pages the valuable spiritual lesson that while the unconverted suffer the penalty of eternal damnation, the baptized who lapse and neglect the mandates of God would suffer a far worse fate in the inner recesses of Hell. The following comparisons illustrate Dhuoda's close dependency on the Verba seniorum:

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8, chap. 13

Nam, cum spiritus ad interrogationem cuiusdam senis responderet, ait: Nos qui necdum legem novimus nec gratiam baptismatis unquam accipimus, quantulumcumque tolerabilior a nobis poena manent, ac si dixisset: *Nemo* nos conduxit. Illi vero qui, agnita Dei virtute, sanctae Trinitatis fide, cum baptismatis gratiam acceperunt, et post agnitionem absque fructum poenitentiae dies finierunt suos, duriora nobis sentient tormenta. Tunc dixit senex: Et quails est poena

Verba seniorum, bk. 6, chap. 13

Dicebant de eodem abbate Macario majore, quia dum ambularet aliquando in eremum, invenit caput hominis mortui in terra jacens; quod cum moveret de virga palmae, quam in manu habebat, locutum est apud illud ad eum. Cui dixit senex: Quis es tu? Respondit caput illud ad senem: Ego eram sacerdos gentillum qui commanebant in hoco hoc; tu vero es abbas Macarius, qui habes Spiritum sanctum Dei. Quacunque ergo hora misertus fueris eorum qui sunt in tormentis, et oraveris pro eis, tunc consolantur pusillum. Dicit ei

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8, chap. 13

vestra? Respondit vox: Quantum distat coelum a terra, tantum est ignis super caput meum et subtus pedes meos. Ego autem, cum meis similibus in medio stamus. Hi autem quos dixi, subtus pedes nostros in profundissimum inferni immanissima sentient tormentea. Tunc senex cum rugitu coepit lamentare, dicens: Vae diei in quo homo praeceptum Domini transgressus est, et tunc recessit.

Verba seniorum, bk. 6, chap. 13

senex: et quae est ipsa consolatio? Respondit illud caput: Quantum distat coelum a terra, tantum est ignis sub pedibus nostris, et super caput nostrum. Stantibus ergo nobis in medio ignis, non est ut quis facie ad faciem videat proximum suum. Ait ergo senex cum fletu: Vae illi diei, i qua natus est homo, si haec est consolatio supplicii. Rursum dixit senex: est pejus tormentum ab his? Respondit caput illud: Major poena subtus non est. Dixit ei senex: Et qui sunt in ipsa? Dicit ei apud illud: Nos qui ignoravimus Deum, vel ad modicum habemus aliquid misericordiae hi vero qui cognoverunt Deum, et negaverunt eum, nec fecerunt voluntate eius, hi sunt subtus nos.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Compare Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8, chap. 13, p. 316 with Verba seniorum, bk. 6, PL 73, col. 1013. See also the comments of Riché in Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8, chap. 13, pp. 316-7, n. 2 and Bowers in “The Liber manualis of Dhuoda,” p. xxxiii. For a more recent discussion, see Sedlmeier’s remarks in Die laienparänetischen Schriften der Karolingerzeit, pp. 393-4.

Here we can see at least one instance of Dhuoda quoting almost verbatim from the Verba seniorum. In the Verba seniorum, when questioned by Abbot Macarius about the nature of his eternal punishment, a pagan priest's severed head responds in the following way: "As great as the distance is between heaven and earth, so is the distance of the fire of Hell over our heads and under our feet. Closely following her source, with slight textual divergence, Dhuoda tells of a certain spirit responding in a similar manner when asked by an old man why he viewed his eternal punishment as a consolation: "How great is the distance between heaven and earth, so is the distance of the fire of Hell above my head and below my feet."¹²⁸

Even when Dhuoda diverges from her source, the close similarities in both theme and expression between the Manuel pour mon fils and Verba seniorum are clearly recognizable. One remarkably close parallel occurs when a spirit distinguishes for his listener the difference between the eternal punishments of the unconverted believers who have disobeyed God. First, in both accounts, unconverted spirits stand in the middle of the fire of Hell. In the Verba seniorum, the author expresses this theme with the words stantibus ergo nobis in medio ignis while Dhuoda in her Manual follows her source closely with the words meis similibus in medio stamus.¹²⁹

Much more importantly, however, in both accounts unconverted spirits suffer a more tolerable punishment than those Christians who failed to make amends in life for

¹²⁸ Compare Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8, chap. 13, p. 316 with Verba seniorum, bk. 6, PL 73, col. 1013.

¹²⁹ Compare Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8, chap. 13, p. 316 with Verba seniorum, bk. 6, PL 73, col. 1013.

their spiritual transgressions. For instance in the Verba seniorum, we read an account of the spirit of an unconverted pagan priest: “A greater penalty is below us. We who have been ignorant of God have some degree of compassion. Those who have known God and denied him and have not carried out his will, these are underneath us.” In Dhuoda’s version in the Manuel pour mon fils, the unidentified unconverted spirit recounts a similar tale: “We, who have not yet known the law or ever accepted the grace of baptism, suffer a punishment a little more tolerable. They truly who have known the virtue of God, the faith of the Holy Spirit, have accepted the faith of baptism and after this knowledge have ended their days without the benefit of penance, suffer torments far worse than ours.” The spirit then goes on to describe this punishment: “Those whom I spoke about suffer inhuman torments, under our feet, in the deepest recesses of Hell.”¹³⁰

Finally, Dhuoda uses the Verba seniorum, properly altered, to provide a more poignant and suitable lesson for her son and to vividly portray the terrors of the eternal punishing awaiting the lapsed Christian. For instance, the words of Abbot Macarius in the Verba seniorum, “therefore the old man said with a groan, ‘woe to that day on which man was born if this is the consolation of eternal punishment,’ ” are expressed in like fashion by the unidentified old man in Dhuoda’s Manuel pour mon fils: “Then the old man begainto lament with a groan saying, ‘woe to the day on which man transgressed the law of the Lord.’ ”¹³¹

¹³⁰ Compare Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8, chap. 13, p. 316 with Verba seniorum, bk. 6, PL 73, col. 1013.

¹³¹ Compare Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8, chap. 13, p. 316 with Verba seniorum, bk. 6, PL 73, col. 1013.

As previously discussed, scholars such as Mayeski, Riché, Bowers and Sedlmeier noted a close connection between Dhuoda's story about different eternal punishments for unconverted and converted spirits, and a similar one concerning Abbot Macarius found in book 6 of the Verba seniorum. Nevertheless, contrary to the earlier assertions of the aforementioned scholars as well as others, I have noted evidence that suggests that a virtually unnoticed version of this story, found in book 3 of the Verba seniorum, may in fact have been Dhuoda's source of inspiration. Let us, for example, compare specific elements of books 3 and 6 of the Verba seniorum with the relevant passages of the Manuel pour mon fils:

Verba seniorum, bk. 6

Vae illi diei, in qua natus est homo,
 si haec est consolation supplicii. Rursum
 dixit senex: est pejus tormentum ab his?
 Respondit caput illud: Major poena
 subtus nos est. Dixit ei senex: Et qui
 sunt in ipsa? Dicit ei caput illud: Nos
 qui ignoravimus Deum, vel ad modicum
 habemus aliquid misericordiae; hi vero
 qui cognoverunt Deum, et negaverunt
 eum, nec fecerunt voluntatem eius
 hi sunt subtos nos. Et post haec

Verba seniorum, bk. 3

Vae diei illi in quo homo mandata Dei
 transgressus est! et iterum ab eo, si
 esset altera poena major, inquirat. Cui
 ille respondit: Sunt nobis alii multo
 inferius. Cumque qui essent illi
 interrogaret, dixit: Nos quidem, qui deum
 non cognovimus, misericordiam
 quantulamcunque patimur: illo vero qui
 cognitium negaverunt, gravioribus et
 ineffabilibus poenis subtus nos cruciantur.
 Quibus auditis, beatus Macarius capite

Verba seniorum, bk. 6

sumens senex caput illud
sepelivit.

Verba seniorum, bk. 3

terrae defesso discessit

Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8. chap. 13

Nos qui necdu legem novimus nec gratiam
baptismatis umquam accipimus, quantulumcumque
tolerabilior a nobis poena manent. Illo vero qui,
agnita Dei virtute, sanctae Trinitatis fide, cum
baptismatis gratiam acceperunt, et post
agnitionem absque fructum poenitentiae dies
finierunt nos, duriora nobis sentient tormenta.
Tunc senex cum rugitu coepit lamentare, dicens:
Vae diei in quo hoc praeceptum Domini
transgressus est....¹³²

As we can see, the Manuel pour mon fils shares at least three verbatim and nearly verbatim passages with book 3 of the Verba seniorum, passages not found in book 6 demonstrating these specific similarities. First, Dhuoda's vae diei in quo homo praeceptum domini transgressus est, closely resembles in both words and meaning, the vae diei illi in quo homo mandata dei transgressus est found in book 3 of the Verba

¹³² Compare Dhuoda, Manuel pour mon fils, bk. 8, chap. 13, p. 316 with Verba seniorum, bk. 6, PL 73, col. 1013 and Verba seniorum, bk. 3, PL 73, col. 798.

seniorum. Conversely, although the vae illi diei, in qua natus est homo, si haec est consolatio supplicii found in book 6 of the Verba seniorum reveals apparent similarities to Dhuoda's phrasing in the same context, there is considerably more divergence in both fundamental meaning and grammatical structure. Secondly, Dhuoda employs the word quantulumcumque that she put into the mouth of the unconverted spirit as he refers to the compassion granted him while enduring eternal punishment.¹³³ As a comparison of all three texts demonstrates, this is also characteristic of book 3 of the Verba seniorum, which uses the acceptable variation quantulamcunque but not of book 6 where the word in any form is conspicuously absent. Finally, in the Manuel pour mon fils, the expression illo vero is used when the unconverted spirit refers to those who have sinned against the Lord and have ended their days without undergoing the fruits of penance. This finds identical expressions in book 3 of the Verba seniorum, but not in book 6 where we find the similar but not identical hi vero.

IV. Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that Dhuoda used, with amazing exegetical dexterity, a diversity of sources to guide her son as he stepped into what she saw as a world of moral and spiritual decay on the verge of political anarchy. Yet her adaptation of the Holy Scriptures as well as many sources identified by authorities such as Riché, Mayeski, Bowers and Sedlmeier need to be more judiciously assessed and

¹³³ The word quantulumcumque is rarely used by Dhuoda. In fact, this is the only example of its usage in the Manuel pour mon fils.

adequately explored. Concurrently, recently identified sources such as the La Règle de saint Augustin, Julius Pomerius' De vita contemplativa, Isidore of Seville's Liber numerorum, Jerome's letter to Rusticius the monk, and book 3 of the Verba seniorum must be seriously considered in any study examining the nature of Dhuoda's spirituality.

As I have attempted to demonstrate in this study, Dhuoda seems to have been well aware that the Carolingian Christianum imperium was the instrument of salvation for all Christians, believing that the moral and spiritual decay of the Carolingian empire deeply affected the well-being of its political institutions. As Mayeski has observed, "Dhuoda's view of God's absolute priority is not eschatological; she does not depict the divine commands and the heavenly kingdom as standing over against the world and its political realities. Rather the divine will is embedded in the social and political realities of the Frankish kingdom."¹³⁴

Dhuoda's choice of sources presented in this study reflects that view. She does not merely intend to develop for her son a vivid eschatological spirituality divorced from the realities of the political and social world he inhabits. Dhuoda draws from sources such as the Epistulae of Jerome and the Holy Scriptures, significantly altering and manipulating them so that they might serve as intensely personal spiritual lessons that William can apply to the realities of his own social and political experiences. In this way, just as Dhuoda's Manual served as a mirror for his own spiritual growth, William might serve, in turn, as a mirror for the spiritual growth of others, thus ensuring that the Carolingian Christianum imperium would realize the lofty goals of its divine mission.

¹³⁴ Mayeski, Dhuoda, Ninth-Century Mother, p. 141.

Chapter 3

The Liber de virtutibus vitiis and Epistulae of Alcuin of York

I. Introduction

Another example of Christian specula principum, discussed in previous chapters, is Alcuin of York's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, written in the latter part of Alcuin's life, and dedicated to Count Wido of the Breton March. It was constructed to guide Wido through the vicissitudes of the civitas terrena. The Liber de virtutibus et vitiis contains patristic, monastic and ascetic sources that Alcuin drew upon to instruct Wido on the proper avoidance of vices and the cultivation of virtues. This chapter investigates the impact of these monastic and ascetic sources on the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis. Although this topic is not a new one, research indicates that the influence of monastic traditions, such as the Cassianic, needs to be more properly assessed and carefully explored. Further, Alcuin's monastic and ascetic sources such as the Regula s. Columbani and the pseudo-Basil's De admonitio ad filium spiritualem have been virtually ignored. Moreover, in the light of recent scholarship, careful reevaluation and reappraisal of Alcuin's exegetical methods may lead to a revision of Alcuin's image as an unoriginal and derivative writer. A further aim will be to determine if the monastic and ascetic sources used by Alcuin in his Liber de virtutibus et vitiis also appear in his other writings, especially his Epistulae. In the chapter, I will examine both within the context of a broader framework: Alcuin's attempt to reconstitute Carolingian spirituality on the firm foundation of monastic and ascetic values so that they might serve as the instrument of salvation for the Frankish populus dei.

II. Alcuin's Early Years

Despite the abundance of evidence for Alcuin's later life, both in York and in Francia, neither the precise date, nor geographical locations of his birth, nor his lineage are known with absolute certainty. Scholars have attempted to establish some parameters. Drawing inferentially from the evidence of contemporary documents, Peter Godman and Donald Bullough, for example, have attempted to reconstruct the date and place of Alcuin's birth, as well as his familial history. Godman places Alcuin's family in Northumbria; Bullough more precisely in southern Deira. Both Godman and Bullough reject the nobili gentis exortus prosapia of the Vita Alcuini as evidence for Alcuin's noble lineage, dismissing it is a mere hagiographical topos. Instead, they prefer to emphasize Alcuin's connections to Saint Wiligis and Saint Willibrord, Godman arguing for a possible noble lineage, Bullough suggesting rather a modest landowning family origin. Finally, these two scholars diverge widely on the question of Alcuin's birth. Godman, citing internal evidence from Alcuin's The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, has opted for a date of 737/738, while Bullough, questioning the validity of Godman's argument, prefers a date slightly before or after 740.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Alcuin, The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, ed. and trans. Peter Godman (Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. xxxvi and Donald Bullough, Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 165. For Godman's argument on Alcuin's date of birth, see Alcuin, The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York, p. 133 and for Bullough's remarks, see Alcuin, p. 34. For the nobili gentis exortus prosapia of the Vita Alcuini, see Vita Alcuini, chap. 1, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach and Ernest Dümmler (BRG, 6; Berlin: Weidmann, 1873), p. 6. It is generally agreed that the Vita Alcuini was written in the early ninth century by an anonymous author of the monastery of Ferrières. See, for example, Bullough, Alcuin, pp. 25-6. Godman dates the Vita Alcuini more precisely between 823 and 829 in Alcuin, The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, p. xxxviii.

Scholars have spoken with a unanimous voice on Alcuin's Northumbrian origins, their unanimity owed to inferential evidence drawn from his Epistulae. First, in a letter dated to 783, and addressed to King Aethelred of Northumbria, Alcuin refers to Northumbrians as nostra gente, when speaking of the great calamity and misery that arose there upon the departure of Saint Paul from York and the birth of the Christian religion in that territory. Moreover, in a letter dated 795 to the monks of York, Alcuin expresses his gratitude in the following manner:

You cherished me in my infancy with maternal affection, sustained me in the playful time of my childhood with pious patience, taught me until manhood with the discipline of paternal correction, and strengthened me with the erudition of sacred teachings.

Further, in a letter dated 806, addressed to the newly elected Archbishop Eanbald of York, Alcuin alludes to the cathedral of York as the place where he was reared and educated.¹³⁶

As has been noted in his letter to the monks of York, Alcuin, from an early age, seems to have been exposed to the rigid spiritual discipline and sacred erudition of the vita regularis. This, in turn, has engendered endless debate among scholars concerning

¹³⁶ Alcuin, epistula 22, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 181; Alcuin, epistula 34, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 349: "Vos fragiles infantiae meae annos materno fovistis affectu; et lascivium puericiae tempus pia sustinuistis patientia et paternae castigationis disciplinis ad perfectam viri edoculistis aetatem et sacrarum eruditione disciplinarum roborastis" and Alcuin, epistula 72, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 331: "...in aecclesia, ubi ego nutritus et eruditus fueram." Alcuin's epistle to the monks of York has also been discussed by Mayke de Jong, "From Scolastici to Scioli: Alcuin and the Formation of an Intellectual Elite," in Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court, eds. L.A.J.R. Houwen and A.A. MacDonald (Mediaevalia Groningana, 22; Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1995), p. 45.

Alcuin's own donning of the monastic habit. Albert Hauck, in particular, has argued that the answer to this fundamental question depends on whether the community Alcuin belonged to at York was a church or a monasterium. Opting for the latter, Hauck accorded Alcuin monastic status, citing especially his intimate familiarity with Benedictine monastic ideals. More importantly, he emphasized Alcuin's desire, denied by Charlemagne, to return to Saint Boniface's monastery of Fulda so that he could live in accordance with the precepts of the Regula s. Benedicti. Walter Delius, closely following Hauck, styled Alcuin "a former Anglo-Saxon monk remaining true to the role of the York cloister until the end of his days."¹³⁷

Many scholars have questioned these views. Arthur Kleinclausz, for instance, has noted that the Vita Alcuini refers to Alcuin as "one whose life was not interior to the monastic life," and characterized him as "a veritable monk, without ever having taken monastic vows." More recently, Albrecht Diem, in general agreement with Kleinclausz, has denied monastic status for Alcuin, noting that in Alcuin's time, no clear distinction existed between monk and cleric. Mayke de Jong, in similar fashion, has observed that for Alcuin, the issue of distinguishing between clerical and monastic status was

¹³⁷ Albert Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, 6 vols. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1912-1929), 2: 130. Compare Wilhelm Pückert, Aniane und Gellone: Diplomatisch-kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Reformen des Benediktinerordens im IX. und X. Jahrhundert (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1899), p. 248 and Arthur Kleinclausz, Alcuin (Annales de l'Université de Lyons, III/15, Paris: Société d'édition des belles lettres, 1948), bk. 3, chap. 4, p. 169. See also Walter Delius, "War Alcuin Mönch?" Theologische Studien und Kritiken 10 (1931): 473.

unimportant and insignificant.¹³⁸

Whether one accepts or rejects the evidence for Alcuin's monastic status, his monastic education left an imprint on an impressionable mind, one that was later to define sharply the parameters of his own intense spirituality.¹³⁹ This is indicated years later when, as has been previously discussed, he fondly remembered his spiritual matres and magistri, the monks of York, and affectionately recalled, through the eyes of a dutiful young nutritus, their contribution to his physical and spiritual maturation. Moreover, as has been noted, Alcuin had requested permission from Charlemagne to leave the world and retire to the monastery of Fulda, preferring to live according to the Regula s. Benedicti. In addition, when Alcuin retired to his monastery of Tours in 796, his biographer reports that he led a monastic life, engaging in fasts, prayers, and mortifications of the flesh.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Kleinclausz, Alcuin, bk. 3, chap 4, p. 169. For Albrecht Diem's study, see "The Emergence of Monastic Schools: The Role of Alcuin," in Alcuin of York, p. 43. See also De Jong, "From Scolastici to Scoli," in Alcuin of York, pp. 50-1. Further studies denying Alcuin's monastic status include Bullough, Alcuin, p. 165-6 and Michael Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England," in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings, ed. Mary P. Richards (New York: Garland Publications, 1994), p. 105. Lapidge seems to be following the interpretation of Wattenbach and Dümmler, see Alcuin, epistula 72, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 331, n. 1.

¹³⁹ Alcuin's monastic education may have been entrusted to monks attached to the York cathedral school or members of the secular clergy. For the fluid nature of the boundaries between monk and cleric in Alcuin's time, see Mayke de Jong, "Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer," in The New Cambridge Medieval History, ed. Rosamond McKitterick, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 2: 628-9. For a similar argument, see Bullough, Alcuin, pp. 166-7.

¹⁴⁰ Vita Alcuini, chap. 8, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 20: "Vita denique eius non monasticae inferior fuit. Nam qualis in patribus superius nominatis praecesserat, talis et in illo durabat; in ieiuniis scilicet, in orationibus, in carnis mortificatione...."

III. Egbert, Aelbert and the Cathedral School of York

In the community of York, two personalities stand out as shining luminaries with whom Alcuin formed intimate and lasting relationships; there was Archbishop Egbert of York (from 735-766), and Aelbert who succeeded him to the see of York in 767. Of the nature of his relationship with Egbert, Alcuin's own writings and the testimony of his anonymous biographer give some indication.¹⁴¹

The portrayal of Egbert that comes down to us in the Vita Alcuini, confirmed by Alcuin's The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York indicates that Egbert was instrumental in the development of Alcuin's spirituality, both by word and example. Egbert, according to Alcuin's biographer, was accustomed to pouring out twice a day the most fervent and secret prayers in his oratory, with both knees bent devoutly on the ground and hands outstretched to heaven in the form of a cross, this before he ended his fast and before he celebrated Compline. The anonymous author continues: "Following Compline, no student dared to go to bed without his blessing." More importantly, the anonymous author notes that of all his faithful followers, Egbert loved Alcuin the most because of the diversity of his merits.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ For the genealogy and careers of Egbert and Aelbert, see Alcuin, The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, verses 1250-1530, pp. 98-131. For Alcuin's personal relationship with Egbert and Aelbert, see Bullough, Alcuin, pp. 169-237.

¹⁴² Vita Alcuini, chap. 3, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 11: "...bis in die secretissimam orationem erat solitus fundere, purissimi cum irrigatione fontis, genu utroque in terram flexo, manibusque diutius instar cruces in coelum erectis; ante scilicet quam cibum sumeret, et priusquam completorium cum suis omnibus celebraret. Quo celebrato, nullus discipulorum ipsius sine eius benedictione capiti suo data. Qui omnes quidem diligebat, maxime tamen Albinum, fidelissimum suorum actuum sequacem, propter meritum distantiam."

Similarly, Egbert, following in his master's footsteps (Bede), studied thoroughly the secrets of the Holy Scriptures every morning until the sixth or very often the ninth hour.¹⁴³ This description of Egbert's spirituality finds similar expression in Alcuin's The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York:

He was a most famous ruler of the church and a distinguished teacher, venerated by all the people, excellent in morals, just, affable, and savage to the wicked. He spent his days and nights engaging in various sacred duties, praying tirelessly and assiduously throughout the long nights, celebrating the solemnities of the Mass on holy days.¹⁴⁴

The personality who emerges as Alcuin's closest teacher, patron and friend, however, as characterized by Godman, was Archbishop Aelbert, Egbert's successor in the see of York in 767. This close friendship between magister and discipulus was fondly remembered by Alcuin, and in fact, finds confirmation in much of his later writing, particularly in his epistles and The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York.¹⁴⁵ In epistle 72, dated 796, Alcuin remarks to Archbishop Eanbald II that part of the literary collection in the cathedral library of York was bequeathed to him by his beloved teacher, Archbishop

¹⁴³ Vita Alcuini, chap. 2, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, pp. 10-11: "Cuius iam, ut dictum est, sequens Hechbertus vestigia, totum thesaurum suum domini deputavit eloquia, scripturarum rimando penetralia. Nam a luce diei surgente, si inevitabilis non obstitit praepeditio vel ulla solemnitas praecellens aut festivitas magna sanctorum, usque horam quasi ad sextam, saepissime et nonam, suo residens in lecto, discipulis cuique convenientia scripturae pandebat arcane."

¹⁴⁴ Alcuin, The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, verses 1260-5, p. 98. I have used Godman's translation throughout.

¹⁴⁵ Alcuin, The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, p. xxxvii.

Aelbert. Moreover, in epistle 78 dated 797, Alcuin mentions to Charlemagne how he reluctantly left behind in York books of exquisite erudition acquired through the diligence of his most beloved master, Aelbert. In another letter written in the same year and addressed to Eanbald, Alcuin recalls their service under Aelbert's instruction as he reminds him that "these are dangerous times in Britain, the death of kings is a sign of misery and discord, the beginning of captivity, as you have often heard from our master previously mentioned."¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, in the Vita Alcuini, Alcuin is said to have wept inconsolably over the death of Aelbert, as if for his own mother, and in the The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, Alcuin uses the words proprii magistri to underscore his personal relationship with Aelbert.¹⁴⁷

Alcuin's anonymous biographer paints a vivid portrait of Master Aelbert, "adorning" the minds of his pupils with secular erudition, and their souls with divine inspiration. In one instance, the anonymous Vita Alcuini records that Alcuin, reading the Gospel of John before Aelbert with fellow students, arrived at the part only the pure in heart comprehend—from the place where John himself reclined on the breast of the Lord to where Jesus crossed the Kidron with his disciples. Suddenly, he had the same

¹⁴⁶ Alcuin, epistula 74, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 338: "Tempora periculosa sunt in Britannia; et mors regum miseriae signum est." For Kleinclausz's discussion, see Alcuin, bk. 2, chap. 3, p. 24.

¹⁴⁷ Vita Alcuini, chap. 5, in Monumenta Alcuini, p. 16: "...pius Albinos ut matrem deplorans lacrimis, nolebat tamen consolationem recipere." See also Bullough, Alcuin, p. 237. Bullough is correct when he notes that Alcuin's grief is not a hagiographic commonplace, due to similar expressions of genuine and profound affection voiced by Alcuin himself in the letters previously alluded to. For a further discussion, see Walter Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil in lateinischen Mittelalter III (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 10; Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1991), pp. 175-82

vision experienced by Benedict of Nursia: the whole world gathered together under a beam of the sun.¹⁴⁸

In another instance, Alcuin is said to have reluctantly learned from Aelbert the bitterness of secular literature so that he might penetrate God's holy mysteries.¹⁴⁹ Alcuin, himself, gives us a detailed description of the saecularia litteratura provided by Aelbert:

There (at York), he watered parched hearts with diverse streams of learning, and the varied dew of knowledge, training some of them in the arts and the rules of grammar and pouring over altars a flood of rhetorical eloquence. Some he polished with the whetstone of true speech, teaching others to sing in Kaonian Strain; training some to blow on the Castalian pipe; and to run with lyric over the peaks of Parnassus. To others, this master taught the harmony of the spheres, the labors of the sun and moon, the five zones of heaven, the seven planets, their rising and setting, the movements of the air, the tremors of the earth and sea, the natures of man and cattle, of birds and wild beasts, the diverse forms and shapes of numbers.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Vita Alcuini, chap. 4, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 14. For a further discussion of Alcuin's vision, see Bullough: Alcuin, p. 173 and De Jong, "From Scholastici to Scioli," in Alcuin of York, p. 49. See also John Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, ed. and trans. Jean-Claude Guy (SC, 109; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), bk. 5, chap. 34, p. 245.

¹⁴⁹ Vita Alcuini, chap. 4, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 13: "...qui noluit absincium saecularis litteraturae nosse, Dei quatenus intraret in potentiam."

¹⁵⁰ Alcuin, The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, verses 1432-48, pp. 113-15. Alcuin lists the specific authors collected by Aelbert in the York cathedral library in verses 1535-60, pp. 123-6. For further discussion of the York cathedral school in Alcuin's time and a reconstruction of authors and curriculum, see Virgil R. Stallbaumer, "The York Cathedral School," The American Benedictine Review 22 (1971): 286-97; Lapidge, "Surviving Booklists," pp. 105-12, and Bullough, Alcuin, p. 252-60.

As Alcuin informs us, Aelbert also traveled abroad, particularly to Rome to obtain books for the Cathedral Library at York. As Alcuin in the same communications adds the phrase “and due, to some extent, to my own efforts as well,” it is highly probably that he accompanied Aelbert on his continental peregrinations.¹⁵¹ This is perhaps best exemplified by epistolary evidence and the epitaph Alcuin wrote for Aelbert, (according to Bullough) shortly after Alcuin returned from Rome in 781. In a letter addressed to the monastery at Murdach that cannot be dated with precision, Alcuin explains that while following in his master’s footsteps, he had absorbed and greatly admired the Murdach monastic life and avowed that during that time, he himself was fervently inspired to become a member of the community.¹⁵²

In a much more informative letter, dated to 799, Alcuin, writing from the monastery of Saint-Martin at Tours, related to Charlemagne how, while traveling to Rome as a young man, he had lingered in the Lombard capital of Pavia for a few days. In the same letter, Alcuin adds that a dispute took place between a certain Jew, named Lullus, and a Master Peter, whom Alcuin identifies as the same Peter who distinguished himself teaching grammar in Charlemagne’s palace.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Alcuin, *epistula* 78, in *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, p. 346. Lapidge discusses this letter in “Surviving Booklists,” pp. 105-7. The importing of texts from the continent for insular cathedral libraries was a common practice among Anglo-Saxon prelates; see Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 132-4.

¹⁵² Alcuin, *epistula* 269, in *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, p. 385. See also Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 112, 116.

¹⁵³ Alcuin, *epistula* 112, in *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, p. 458. See also Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 344. For the identification of Master Peter with Peter of Pisa, the distinguished grammarian, See Dümmler’s remarks in Alcuin, *Carmina* 4, *MGH Poet. Lat.* 1: 222, n. 3.

More importantly, Alcuin relates how he followed Aelbert when the latter traveled to Rome, “a city venerated by all nations, and to the flourishing kingdom of the Franks.”¹⁵⁴

As previously noted, Alcuin’s writing of the Epitaphium Aelberti in 781 coincided with a journey to Rome he undertook following the death of Aelbert. That journey, as Godman has observed, marked a major turning point in Alcuin’s career.¹⁵⁵ A discussion of the circumstances surrounding that voyage will enhance Godman’s meaning. According to the Vita Alcuini, the trip was organized by Eanbald, Alcuin’s fellow student at the cathedral school of York and Aelbert’s successor to the see there. In the author’s words:

Having been ordered by Eanbald, successor to Aelbert, that Alcuin was to obtain the pallium from the Apostolic See, he came to Rome.

Returning after he received the pallium, Alcuin encountered King Charles in the city of Parma. Addressing him, the king implored him with great entreaty to return to Francia following the completion of his mission. Alcuin, wishing to contribute to the success of others, agreed to Charlemagne’s appeal, with the permission of his own king and archbishop, on the condition that he could return to them. And so, with Christ directing his footsteps, Alcuin came to King Charles, who welcomed

¹⁵⁴ Epitaphium Aelberti, MGH Poet. Lat. 1: 206-7: “Romam cunctis venerandam gentibus urbem vel iam Francorum florida regna petit.”

¹⁵⁵ Alcuin, The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, p. xxxvi.

him like a father by whom King Charles was introduced to the liberal arts.¹⁵⁶ However one chooses to interpret the events surrounding this encounter, one thing was certain; it would initiate an intimate friendship between the Frankish monarch and the York scholar that would usher in a new and highly significant phase in the development of Carolingian spirituality.

IV. Alcuin at the Frankish Court

As Peter Godman has indicated “At Charlemagne’s court, Alcuin was the center of the international elite of scholars and poets in whose works is celebrated the first brilliant phase of the Carolingian renovatio.”¹⁵⁷ Although the notion that such a circle of distinguished scholars constituted an institutionalized palace school has been seriously challenged, it nevertheless reflected a serious attempt by Charlemagne to surround himself with the most renowned continental and insular litterati of his day, many of whom are known to us. The previously mentioned Lombard, Peter of Pisa, was characterized by Alcuin as a scholar who distinguished himself teaching grammar at the palace of Charlemagne. Other luminaries included: Paulinus, later Patriarch of Aquileia (787), best known for his speculum principis, the Liber exhortationis, which was addressed to Duke Erich of Friuli and heavily indebted to pseudo-Basil’s De Admonitio ad filium spiritualement; Theodulf, a Goth from Spain, who later become Bishop of Orléans (790); Einhard, author of the Vita Karoli magni; and a certain Jonas, portrayed even at an

¹⁵⁶ Vita Alcuini, chap. 5, in Monumenta Alcuiniana. p. 17. For the most recent analysis of the encounter between Alcuin and Charles at Parma, see Bullough in Alcuin, pp. 331-6.

¹⁵⁷ Alcuin, The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York, p. xxxvii.

early age, as an eminent scholar at Charlemagne's court, and identified by Dubreucq as the Jonas who later became Bishop of Orléans (818).¹⁵⁸

Nevertheless, Alcuin was esteemed above all others by Charlemagne and exercised a preponderant influence over both the ruler's private and public affairs. Privately, as his biographer Einhard relates in the Vita Karoli magni, Charlemagne learned grammar from Peter of Pisa, but in other disciplines, his teacher was Alcuin. Einhard goes on to add that under Alcuin's tutelage, Charlemagne had a special interest in learning the rudiments of astronomy.¹⁵⁹

Publicly, Alcuin served as close confidant to Charlemagne, advising him on the resolution of major Christological and Trinitarian issues, serving as lay administrator of important monastic communities, and acting as the major architect of Charlemagne's educational reforms. For instance at the Synod of Frankfort, held in 794, Alcuin played a major role in suppressing the heretical teachings of Bishop Felix of Urgel and Archbishop Elipand of Toldeo. The heresy, known as Adoptionism or "the error of the

¹⁵⁸ Studies on the Carolingian renovatio and Charlemagne's court scholars have been exhaustive. See, for example, see June-Ann Theresa Greeley, "Social Commentary in the Prose and Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A Study in Carolingian Humanism." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, 2000), pp. 69-124 and Giles Brown, "Introduction to the Carolingian Renaissance," in Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1-151. For Dubreucq's discussion, see Le métier de roi, pp. 9-10.

¹⁵⁹ See Einhard, Vita Karoli Magni, chap. 25, in Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte, ed. Reinhold Rau, 2 vols. (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutsche Geschichte des Mittelalter, 5; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1955), 1: 196. For Charlemagne's love of astronomy, see Alcuin, epistolae 83, 99 and 103, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 359, 414 and 431. Philippe Dupreux, in a more recent study, has also noted that Alcuin exercised the same function for Charlemagne's younger son, Louis the Pious. See Philippe Dupreux, Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781-840) (Instrumenta 1, Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1997), pp. 93-4.

Spaniards” as Alcuin called it, held that the crucified Christ or Christ in his human form was not the true son of God, but a son only by adoption. It was at this synod that Charlemagne accorded Alcuin a singular distinction. In the last chapter of the Roman acta, at Charlemagne’s suggestion, the assembled bishops agreed to welcome Alcuin, a man distinguished in ecclesiastical doctrine, into the fellowship and prayers of the Holy Synod.¹⁶⁰ This recognition of Alcuin’s theological expertise by Charlemagne receives further confirmation by Alcuin’s anonymous biographer who states that at Charlemagne’s request, Alcuin wrote for him a most useful book about the Holy Trinity; this testimony is also supported by Alcuin in an epistle dated 802 where he stated that he was sending Charlemagne a short manual concerning faith in the one and indivisible Trinity.¹⁶¹

Alcuin also appears as the chief architect behind what are perhaps two of the most influential and most extensively quoted texts in Carolingian history, the Admonitio generalis, promulgated in 799, and the Epistula de litteris colendis, dated to between 789 and 800. That Alcuin was the author of at least chapters 72 and 73 of the Admonitio generalis and the entire text of the Epistola de litteris colendis is evident in the close

¹⁶⁰ Synodus Franconofurtensis (794), chap. 56, MGH Cap. reg. Fr., 1: 76. For Alcuin’s part in the Adoptionist heresy, see Alcuin, epistulae 22, 29, 93, 99, 222 in Monumenta Alcuiniana, pp. 209, 384, 414, 452, 457 and Vita Alcuini, chap. 7 in Monumenta Alcuiniana, pp. 18-19. For detailed modern studies, see Kleinclausz, Alcuin, bk. 2, chaps. 2-3, pp. 71-90, and Bullough, Alcuin, pp. 419-41.

¹⁶¹ Vita Alcuini, chap. 12, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 28: “Postulante namque imperatore Karolo scripsit librum de sancta Trinitate utilissimum...”; Alcuin, epistula 191, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, p. 672: “...direxi sanctissimae auctoritate vestae de fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis, sub specie manualis libelli, sermonem....”

grammatical parallels between those texts and his own writings¹⁶²

Let us address the contents of chapters 72 and 73 of the Admonitio generalis, which reveal its fundamental purpose: to restore the spirituality of the Frankish populus dei, reunite the ecclesia under the auctoritas of Charlemagne as the rector ecclesiae, and establish the Frankish Christianum imperium as the instrument for the salvation of souls. To this end, Alcuin clearly conceived of the monastic schools as a training ground for both clergy and members of the laity, who would return to the world, and create a community of religious believers bound by the disciplina of the vita monastica. Individually assuming the ministerium of rector ecclesiae, each would implement a fundamental goal, the salvation of souls. A close analysis of chapters 72 and 73 of the Admonitio generalis illustrates this. According to its author, ministers of God, both those canons and members of monastic communities should adorn themselves with good morals. They should lead good and morally upright lives. The author of the Admonitio generalis further states that they are to do this in order to attract many to the service of God, not only children of servile condition, but freeborn boys as well. The author goes

¹⁶² See Admonitio generalis, no. 22, MGH Cap. reg. Fr. 1: 52-62, and the Epistula de litteris colendis, no. 29, MGH Cap. reg. Fr. 1: 78-9. The studies on the Admonitio generalis and Epistula de litteris colendis have been numerous. See especially Diem, "The Emergence of Monastic Schools," in Alcuin of York, pp. 37-44; Friedrich-Carl Schiebe, "Alcuin und die Admonitio generalis," Deutsches Archiv 14 (1958): 221-9. For Alcuin's authorship, see Thomas Martin, "Bemerkungen zur Epistola de litteris colendis," Archiv für Diplomatik 31 (1985): 227-272, and Luitpold Wallach, Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, 32; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959), pp. 204-11.

on to stress the importance of properly correcting books in all monastic and Episcopal schools, especially those associated with psalms, letters, songs, mathematics, and grammar. The Admonitio generalis explains that faulty texts cause Christians to make mistaken requests of God. Additionally, continues the author, boys should not be allowed to lapse into sin by reading and writing erroneous books. The author concludes by noting that if there is a need to write gospels, Psalters and missals, men of mature age should write them, and with great care. As a result, secular education would serve as the handmaiden of theology. With masters properly imbued with monastic virtues to teach by word and example, students could gain eternal salvation by penetrating the mysteries of Sacred Scripture, subsequently passing on their spiritual knowledge to others.¹⁶³

The monastic foundation and soteriological nature of Charlemagne's educational reforms is even more prominent in the Epistula de litteris colendis. First, if monks are to lead the Frankish populus dei to salvation, they must possess the spiritual understanding to undertake such an endeavor. For Alcuin, such understanding could only come, however regrettably, through the study of secular literature. Monks thus, for Alcuin, must

¹⁶³ Admonitio generalis, chap. 72, MGH Cap. reg. Fr. 1: 50-60: "...ut ministri altaris Dei suum ministerium bonis moribus ornent, seu alii canonice observantiae ordines vel monachi propositi congregationes obsecramus, ut bonam et probabilem habeant conversationem, ut eorum bona conversatione multi protrahantur ad servitium Dei, et non solum servilis conditionis infantes, sed etiam ingenuorum filios adgregent sibi que socient. Et ut scholae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, computum, grammaticam per singularis monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate; quia saepe, dum bene aliquam Deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male rogant. Et pueros vestros non sinite eos vel legendo vel scribendo corrumpere; et si opus est evangelium, psalterium et missale scribere, perfectae aetatis homines scribant cum omni diligentia."

in the Augustinian sense “spoil the Egyptians” by harnessing saecularia litteratura to the higher goal of spiritual enlightenment. According to Alcuin, monks should apply their minds eagerly, and, in a manner pleasing to God, cultivate the study of letters in order to penetrate the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures more easily and more correctly. Moreover, he adds that due to certain rhetorical devices and figurative language found in the sacred pages, the spiritual meaning of the Holy Scriptures would be more quickly understood due to the prior secular learning that monks will have had.¹⁶⁴

But for Alcuin, it is not enough for monks merely to be morally upright and thoroughly trained in spiritualis scientia; they in turn must prepare other leaders, by both word and example, by their spiritual erudition and moral ways of life, both lay and clerical, to lead the Frankish people to salvation in the militia spiritualis. Alcuin explains how this might be accomplished:

We also hope that you, as soldiers of Christ, devoted inwardly, learned and morally pure teachers outwardly, because of the name of the Lord and a pious way of life, will have set a good example for members of the nobility. Thus, his spiritual vision is edified by your appearance.

Having been instructed, and having persevered in singing and reading, as a result of our wisdom, he may return to the world, rejoicing and giving

¹⁶⁴ Epistula de litteris colendis, MGH Cap. reg. Fr. 1: 79: “...verum etiam humillima et Deo placita intentione ad hoc certatim discere, ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare. Cum autem in sacris paginis schemata, tropi et caetera his similia inserta inveniantur, nulli dubium est, quod ea unusquisque legens tantocius spiritualiter intelligit, quanto prius in litterarum magisterio plenius instructus fuerit.”

thanks to almighty God.¹⁶⁵

However, a critical question remains. How do members of the Frankish aristocratic laity who have not shared the disciplined environment of the monastic schools come under the spiritual aegis of monastic and ascetic values? Paulinus of Aquileia had already suggested a solution: the dissemination of monastic and ascetic values through the medium of the Liber exhortationis. Presently, Alcuin also would bring Count Wido of the Breton March into his monastic and ascetic spiritual army through the pages of the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis. It is to that work we now turn.

V. The Liber de virtutibus et vitiis

Specula principum constituted a major literary genre in the Carolingian period. Centered on the fundamental premise that salvation can only be attained by the avoidance of vices and cultivation of virtues, they played an important didactic role in providing rulers and members of the Carolingian aristocracy with instruction in the proper ordering of Christian society. Additionally, these literary specula, as the name implies, served as “mirrors” in which rulers and magnates alike could contemplate the health or sickness of their souls, by laying down parameters to enable readers to walk the royal road of virtue from the earthly to the heavenly kingdom.

¹⁶⁵ Epistula de litteris colendis, MGH Cap. reg. Fr. 1: 79: “Optamus enim vos, sicut decet ecclesiae milites, et interius devotos et exterius doctos castosque bene videndo et scholasticos bene loquendo, ut, quicumque vos propter nomen Domini et sanctae conversationis nobilitatem ad videndum expetierit, sicut de aspectu vestro aedificatur visus, ita quoque de sapientia vestra, quam in legendo seu cantando perceperit, instructus omnipotenti Domino gratias agendo gaudens redeat.”

One of the most notable examples of these metaphoric “mirrors of princes” is Alcuin’s Liber de virtutibus et vitiis. As we know from the introduction to the treatise, the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis is dedicated to a certain Count Wido, almost certainly the same individual who, according to the author of the Annales regni Francorum, was presiding over the March of Brittany.¹⁶⁶

The Liber de virtutibus et vitiis is prefaced by an introductory epistle and terminates with a brief but engaging peroration. Divided into 36 chapters it projects a literary landscape, diverse in both style and tone. The treatise is strictly theological in nature, presenting vivid eschatological overtones; with a fundamental underlying theme mandating cultivation of virtues and avoidance of vices as prerequisites for the attainment of eternal salvation. The first 26 chapters, based on excerpts primarily from the sermons of pseudo-Augustine and pseudo-Basil’s De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, deal with the usual assortment of virtues and vices found in this literary genre.¹⁶⁷ Chapters 28-34

¹⁶⁶ Annales regni Francorum, in Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte, 1: 70. See also Bullough, Alcuin, p. 78, no. 188. In a letter addressed to Charlemagne, dated by Dümmler to 801/802, Alcuin refers to Count Wido as a “...viro perfecto et iudice incorrupto et misso fideli...,” see Alcuin, epistula 249, MGH Epp. 4: 402

¹⁶⁷ Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 1-26, PL 101, cols. 614-623. Luitpold Wallach has convincingly argued that Alcuin relied extensively on the sermons of pseudo-Augustine. For Alcuin’s discussion on virtues, see Luitpold Wallach, “Alcuin on Virtues and Vices: A Manual for a Carolingian Soldier,” Harvard Theological Review 48 (1955): 180-7. For the identification of pseudo-Augustine with Bishop Caesarius of Arles, see Franz Sedlmeier, Die laienparänetischen Schriften der Karolingerzeit: Untersuchungen zu ausgewählten Texten des Paulinus von Aquileia, Alkuins, Jonas von Orléans, Dhuodas und Hinkmar von Reims (Deutsch Hochschuledition, 86; Neuried: Ars Una, 2000), pp. 55-9. For Alcuin’s reliance on the De Admonitio ad filium spiritualem, see Henri Rochais, “Le Liber de virtutibus et vitiis d’Alcuin: Note pour l’étude des sources,” Revue Mabillon (1951): 77-86, and my arguments later in this chapter.

were once primarily attributed by Arthur Kleinclausz to Augustine, but were convincingly shown by Wallach to be derived from the Moralia of Gregory the Great, the Sententiae of Isidore of Seville and (despite Hauck's early argument denying direct influence of Cassian on Alcuin), the Conférences and Institutions cénobitiques.¹⁶⁸

These chapters treat the common theme of the eight principal vices: pride, gluttony, fornication, greed and anger, apathy in the practice of virtues, sadness and vainglory. Concluding with chapter 34 in language calculated to appeal to a Carolingian warrior, Alcuin refers to the eight principal vices metaphorically as armies of impious leaders that are conquered by soldiers of Christ through holy virtues. Finally, in chapter 35, the four cardinal virtues are discussed: prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance, a theme closely paralleling, and possibly derived from Gregory's 18th homily on Ezekiel.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Kleinclausz, Alcuin, bk. 3, chap. 3, p. 221; Wallach, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices," p. 188. Wallach notes that Alcuin's discussion of vices derives principally from Gregory's Moralia in Iob, chapter 35, and Cassian's fifth conference. Although he attributes Alcuin's comments at the end of each chapter in the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis on the subject of virtue overcoming vice to Isidore's Sententiae, it is much more likely that Alcuin's source was the De octo vitiis principalibus of Columbanus. Compare, for instance, Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 33, PL 101, col. 635: "...tristitia, quae vincitur per laetitiam spiritualem et spem futurorum" with Isidore's Sententiae, ed. Pierre Cazier (CCSL, 141; Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), bk. 2, chap. 37), p. 166: "...tristitiae maerorem spes aeterni gaudii superat..." and Columbanus, De octo vitiis principalibus, in Opera, ed. and trans. George S.M. Walker (Scriptores latini Hiberniae, 2; Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1957), p. 210: "Tristitia vero laetitia spiritali et spe futurae beatitudinis vincenda est."

¹⁶⁹ Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chaps.28-35, PL 101, cols. 633-638. See also Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 35, PL 101, col. 637: "Cuius partes sunt, ut diximus, quatuor principales: prudentia, justitia, fortitudo, temperantia." For Gregory's Homelies on Ezekiel as a possible source for Alcuin's four cardinal virtues, see Gregory the Great, Homélie sur Ézekiel, ed. and trans. Charles Morel, (SC, 360; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), hom. 10, p. 518: "Qui dum prudentiam, fortitudinem, iustitiam atque temperantiam." Other probable sources are Cassian, Conférences, ed. and trans. E. Pichery (SC, 64; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1959), 21, chap. 12, p. 87.

However, it is in the introductory epistle and peroration that Alcuin reveals his fundamental purpose for composing a work of such moral exhortation. Alcuin reminds Count Wido (a man occupied with military affairs) that he promised to write a short treatise of moral advice as urgently requested. Alcuin further states that he wishes to place in Wido's hands sentences of paternal admonition on which to gaze to arouse his enthusiasm for eternal salvation.¹⁷⁰

Alcuin then proceeds to employ the usual Carolingian literary trope of humility when he apologizes to Wido that his writing may not seem eloquent, but he nevertheless emphasizes its spiritual value with reassurance that his words are inspired with the intent of holy charity. Finally, Alcuin informs his reader that he has divided his work into separate chapters, so that Wido, burdened with the thoughts of many worldly affairs (possibly an allusion to his comital duties), might more easily remember his words.¹⁷¹

In the peroration, Alcuin once again draws attention to the importance of his manual for Wido's eternal salvation. Repeating the introductory remarks that he has composed a brief treatise, in accordance with Wido's request, Alcuin adds that in his

¹⁷⁰ Alcuin, *Liber de virtutibus et vitiis*, *Epistola nuncupatoria*, PL 101, col. 613: "Memor sum petitionis tuae et promissionis meae, qua me obnixe flagitasti, aliqua tuae occupationi, suam te in bellicis rebus habere novimus, exhortamentum brevi sermone conscribere, ut habeas jugiter inter manus manuales paternae admonitionis sententias, in quibus teipsum considerare debuisses, atque ad aeternae beatitudinis excitare studium...."

¹⁷¹ Alcuin, *Liber de virtutibus et vitiis*, *Epistola nuncupatoria*, PL 101, col. 613: "...minus eloquenter videas esse compositos, tamen certissime me scito sanctae charitatis vigore essem esse dictatos, singulis siquidem huic sermonem seriem distinxi capitulis, sciens te in multis saecularium rerum cogitationibus occupatum, quatenus facilius vestrae devotionis memoriae haec mea dicta inhaerere potuissent." See also Alcuin's dedicatory letter to Beornrad of Sens in the *Vita s. Willibrordi*, in *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, preface, p. 39: "...sed tamen longe imparem me petitioni vestrae consideravi, utpote nullo praerogativae munere eloquentiae suffultus, ad implendum quod iussisti..."

little work Wido can learn what he should avoid, and (in words closely resembling Cassian's), what he should pursue to climb to the summit of spiritual perfection.¹⁷²

Addressing Wido's fear that he may not be worthy to enter the portals of heaven because of his lay status and his secular way of life, Alcuin reassures him with the following:

The kingdom of God is open to every sex, age and person equally, according to the value of their merits. There is no difference based on whether one was of the world, lay or cleric, rich or poor, junior or senior, slave or master, but each will be crowned with eternal glory, according to their measure of good works.¹⁷³

Alcuin's notions on virtues and vices, as we have seen, derived not only from the writings of the fathers such as Gregory and Isidore, but also from various monastic and ascetic sources. In fact, a cursory examination of the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis reveals that it rests firmly—at least in terms of monastic and ascetic influence—on the Porcarian, Cassianic and Columbanian monastic traditions. The Porcarian monastic tradition,

¹⁷² Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, peroration, PL 101, col. 638: "...quid cavere, vel quid agere debeas, atque ad culmen perfectionis ascendere debeas." Alcuin's words find similar expression in the writings of only two pre-Carolingian sources: Cassian, Conférences, 1, chap. 23, p. 107: "...perfectionis culmen ascenderit" and Jerome, In Joelem in Commentarii in prophetas minores, ed. M. Adriaen (CCSL, 76; Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), bk. 3, chap. 18, p. 106: "...perfectionis culmen ascenderit..." It is more likely, given the internal evidence of the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, that Alcuin borrowed from Cassian, while Jerome was almost certainly Cassian's source.

¹⁷³ Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, peroration, PL 101, col. 638: "...ita omni sexui aetati, et personae aequaliter secundum meritorum dignitatem regni Dei patet introitus. Ubi non est distinctio, quis esset in saeculo laicus vel clericus, dives vel pauper, junior vel senior, servus vel dominus; sed unusquisque secundum meritum boni operas perpetua coronabitur gloria."

the topic of our present discussion, is represented by the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem. Paul Lehmann, the most recent editor of the text, dated it to the mid-fifth century, and attributed it to the hand of Rufinus of Aquileia, who he claims translated it into Latin from an original Greek work of Bishop Basil of Caesarea, now lost. More recently, however, De Vogüé dated the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem to around 500 and identified the author as Abbot Porcarius of Lérins. De Vogüé based his conclusion on remarkably close thematic and textual similarities between the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem and Porcarius' Monita or Counsels, a book of spiritual exhortations, presumably intended for his monastic community at Lérins.¹⁷⁴

That Alcuin drew inspiration from the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem for his Liber de virtutibus et vitiis is not surprising, since evidence suggests that the former was widely available in the Carolingian period both during and after Alcuin's lifetime, accessible both directly in full text, and indirectly through the late seventh-century Defensor of Ligugé's Liber scintillarum.¹⁷⁵ Scholars such as Franz Brunhölzl, Albert

¹⁷⁴ See Lehmann's comments in pseudo-Basil's De admonitio ad filium spiritualem (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 7; Munich: C.B. Beck, 1955), pp. 3-29. For the Porcarian authorship of the Admonitio ad filium spiritualem, see the important study of Adalbert De Vogüé, "Entre Basile et Benoît: Admonitio ad filium spiritualem de pseudo-Basile," in Études sur la règle de saint Benoît (Vie monastique, 34; Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellfontaine, 1996), pp. 4-72 and De Vogüé, Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité, 10 vols. (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1991-2006), 7: 418-29. For the life of Porcarius and an analysis of the Monita, see Mark Decogliano, "Porcarius of Lérins and his Counsels: A Monastic Study II," The American Benedictine Review 54 (2003): 30-58 and De Vogüé, Histoire littéraire, 7: 389-99.

¹⁷⁵ For a discussion of the Liber scintillarum, see Defensor of Ligugé, Livre d'étincelles, ed. and trans. Henri Rochais, (SC, 77; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961), pp. 9-44.

Hauck, Hans Hubert Anton, and more recently, Franz Sedlmeier have all noted that Paulinus of Aquileia drew extensively from the full text of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem for his Liber exhortationis, copying extensive passages verbatim from the former.¹⁷⁶ Second, comparative textual evidence suggests that Smaragdus drew from the full text of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem for specific passages in chapter 4 of the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti.¹⁷⁷ Finally, but no less crucial for our argument, it is interesting to note that such Carolingian magnates such as Marquis Eward of Friuli, (as Pierre Riché has observed), possessed a copy of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem in his private library.¹⁷⁸

As in the case of Paulinus and Smaragdus, a close relationship also exists between passages found in the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem and Alcuin's Liber de

¹⁷⁶ Franz Brunhölzl, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 3 vols, 2nd ed. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1995), 1: 254; Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, 2: 162, n. 2; Hans Hubert Anton, Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit, (Romer historische Forschungen, 32; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1968), p. 83; Sedlmeier, Die laienparänetischen Schriften der Karolingerzeit, pp. 50-5. For the text of Paulinus' Liber exhortationis, see PL 99, cols. 197-282.

¹⁷⁷ Compare Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, ed. Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert (CCM, 8; Siegburg: Francis Schmitt, 1974), chap. 4, p. 103: "Unus prospectus sit tibi fili: Si uno domino servire desideras, omnimodo abscide a te carnalem amorem, ne a te dei excludat amorem" with pseudo-Basil, De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, chap. 2, p. 32: "Unus prospectus sit tibi, fili, si uno domino servire desideras. Nec in diversas res occupes animum tuum, sed omnimodo abscide a te carnalem amorem, ne carnalis amor te Dei amorem excludat;" Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 4, p. 117: "Multi per vinum a daemonibus capti sunt. Nec est aliud ebrietas quam manifestissimus daemon" with pseudo-Basil, De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, chap. 14, p. 54: "...alii per vinum a daemonibus capti sunt. Nec est aliud ebrietas quam manifestissimus daemon."

¹⁷⁸ Pierre Riché, "Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laïcs carolingiens," Le Moyen âge 69 (1963): 98-9.

virtutibus et vitiis, possibly filtered through the pages of the Liber scintillarum:

Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 5 De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, chap. 12

...sicut enim ex carnalibus escis	Sicut enim ex carnalibus escis aliter caro,
alitur caro, ita ex divinis eloquiis	ita ex divinis eloquiis interior homo nutritur
interior homo nutritur ac pascitur.	ac pascitur.

Liber scintillarum, chap. 81

Sicut enim ex carnalibus
escis alitur caro, ita et divinis
eloquiis interior homo.¹⁷⁹

Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 9 De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, chap. 9

Avarus vir inferno est similes, qui	Avarus enim vir inferno est similes.
nunquam impletur.	Infernus igitur, quantoscunque
	devoraverit, non dicit satis est...

Liber scintillarum, chap. 25

Avarus vir similes est infernum,
avariciam palam saevit.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 5, PL 101, cols. 616-17 with pseudo-Basil, De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, chap. 12, p. 51 and Defensor, Liber scintillarum, chap. 25, p. 109.

¹⁸⁰ Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 9, PL 101, col. 619 with pseudo-Basil, De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, chap. 9, p. 46 and Defensor, Liber scintillarum, chap. 25, p. 109.

Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 9 De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, chap 9

Qui patienter tolerat malo in futuro coronam merebitur sempiternam. Qui enim patienter pertulerit mala, in futurum coronabitur.

Liber scintillarum, chap. 2

Qui patienter tollerat mala,
in futuro coronam merebitur.¹⁸¹

To begin, Alcuin's remarks sicut enim ex carnalibus escis alitur caro, ita ex divinis eloquiis interior homo nutritur et pascitur can almost certainly be ascribed to the extracts from the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem found in the Defensor's Liber scintillarum or from the full text of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem itself. Similarly, Alcuin's comments avarus vir inferno est similes, qui nunquam impletur seems to be derived from either the text of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem or passages preserved in the Liber scintillarum's chapter on avarice. Further, Alcuin's exhortation qui patienter tolerat mala in futuro coronam merebitur sempiternam can with a fair degree of certainty be attributed to the Defensor's florilegium of pseudo-Basil's comments found in the Liber scintillarum's chapter on patience—or again, Alcuin may have borrowed it from the full text of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem.

If there is a question concerning the manner in which the above mentioned

¹⁸¹ Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 9, PL 101, col. 619 with pseudo-Basil, De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, chap. 9, p. 46 and Defensor, Liber scintillarum, chap. 2, p. 10.

passages of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualement were transmitted to Alcuin for incorporation in the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, the answer is quite clear when dealing with his letters. For, in one specific letter, there is no doubt that Alcuin relied on the full text of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualement. In that letter dated 801-802, Alcuin clearly borrows the words of the pseudo-Basil, not found in any known florilegium. Borrowing almost verbatim from the De admonitio ad filium spiritualement, Alcuin admonishes his former students, Onias, Candidus, and Nathanahelios, that “riches of this world are foreign to us. We bring nothing into this world and we can carry nothing out, for our possession is the kingdom of God.” Let us compare the Latin of Alcuin’s letter and chapter 9 of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualement:

Alcuin, epistula 251

De admonitio ad filium spiritualement, chap. 9

Alienae sunt a nobis huius

Alienae sint a nobis huius saeculi facultates,

seculi facultates, id est

nostra autem possessio regnum caelorum est.

extra nostram sitae naturam.

Nihil enim intulimus in

hunc mundum, haud dubium,

quia nec auferre quid possumus.

Nostra autem possessio regnum

caelorum...¹⁸²

¹⁸² Compare De admonitio ad filium spiritualement, chap. 9, p. 45 with Alcuin, epistula 251, MGH Epp. 4:406. See also Jerome, Epistulae, ed. Isidore Hilberg, 2nd ed. (CSEL, 54; Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 1996), 22, p. 192: “...aliena nobis auri argentique sunt pondera, nostra possessio spiritalis est....”

Therefore, we can conclude that for his pseudo-Basilian expressions, Alcuin drew both upon the extracts of the Defensor's Liber scintillarum, and, like his friend and confidant, Paulinus, upon the original text of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem as well.

Another source used extensively by Alcuin in his Liber de virtutibus et vitiis are the writings of John Cassian. Yet while Alcuin does reproduce verbatim Cassian's remarks on a particular subject, to some extent, in other instances (as Donald Bullough has noted) he manipulates and rewords Cassian in a highly original manner.¹⁸³ More recently, Michael Fox echoed Bullough's sentiments, "Alcuin quotes some of his authorities verbatim, while he paraphrases and manipulates others."¹⁸⁴ It is in Alcuin's discussion of vainglory in chapter 34 of the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis that we see most clearly his literary originality as well as his skilled exegetical elaborations. Here Alcuin is unquestionably drawing on Cassian, not randomly, but in a calculated deliberate manner, in his discussion of vainglory; tailoring it to his own style, adding expressions omitted in Cassian, most appropriate for a secular soldier, yet superfluous or meaningless for a monastic audience. Let us compare the fundamental similarities and significant differences between the two authors:

¹⁸³ Donald Bullough, "Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age," in Carolingian Essays, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1983), p. 140. In Bullough's words: "Moreover, even when Alcuin uses sentences or phrases taken from earlier authors—principally but hardly exclusively Augustine—without change or with minor changes to expound his Genesis text, the context in which they occur and the adaptations (however slight) commonly have the effect of altering the sense of the source commentary."

¹⁸⁴ Michael Fox, "Alcuin the Exegete: The Evidence of the Quaestiones in Genesim," in The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era, eds. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Medieval Church Studies, 3; Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 2.

Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 34

...ista pestis, id est, vania gloria avaritia est, et undique bellatori contra vitia pugnanti, ex omni parte victori etiam vitiorum occurrit. Nam et in habitu et in forma corporis in incessu, in voce, et in opere, in vigiliis in jejniis, in oratione, in remotione, in lectione, in scientia, in taciturnitate, in obedientia, in humilitate, in patientiae longanimitate militem Christi vulnerare conatur, et velut perniciosissimus scopulus tumentibus undis obiectus improvisum ac miserabile naufragium prospere navigantibus, dum non cavetur, importat. Nam cui sub specie pulchrae vestis ac nitidae cenodoxiam non potuit generare, pro squalida et inculta ac viliori conatur inserere; quem non potuit per honorem dejicere, humilitate supplantat; quem

Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 11, chaps. 1-6

...etenim cetera vita seu perturbationes uniformes ac simplices esse noscuntur haec vero multiplex et multiformis ac varia, undique bellatori et ex omni parte victori occurrens. Nam et in habitu et in forma, in incessu, in voce, in opere, in vigiliis, in ieiuniis, in oratione, in remotione, in lectione, in scientia, in taciturnitate, in obedientia, in humilitate, in longanimitate militem Christi vulnerare conatur, et velut quidam perniciosissimus scopulus tumentibus undis obiectus ac miserabile naufragium secundo navigantibus vento dum non cavetur nec praevидetur, inportat. Nam cui sub specie scientiae succinctae. Vestis ac nitidae χένοδοξίαν non potuit generare, pro squalida et inculta ac viliori conatur inserere: quem non potuit per honorem deicere, humilitate subplantat: quem scientiae et elocutionis ornatu nequivit

Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 34

scientiae et elocutionis ornatu nequivit
 extollere, gravitate taciturnitatis elidit.
 Si jejunat palam, gloria vanitatis
 pulsatur; si illud contemnendae gloria
 causa contexerit, eodem vitio elationis
 intus in seipso homo subtunditur. Ne
 vanae gloriae contagione maculetur,
 orationes prolixus sub fratrum vitat
 celebrare conspectus et quod eos
 latenter exerceat, non effugit aculeos
 vanitatis. Alium quod patientissimus
 prolixitate tentatur. Non solum ergo
 saecularibus operibus sed etiam suis
 virtutibus hominem hic morbus
 nititur sauciare.

Institutions cénobitiques bk. 11, chaps. 1-6

extollere, gravitate taciturnitatis elidit.
 Si ieiunet palam gloria vanitatis pulsatur:
 Si illud prolixus sub fratrum vitat
 celebrare conspectus: et quod eas latenter
 exerceat nullumque habeat conscium
 facti, non effugit aculeos vanitatis. Alium
 quod patientissimus sit operum ac laboris
 alium quod ad oboediendum promptissimus,
 alius lectionis, alius vigiliarum prolixitate
 temptatur. Nec alius quemquem hic morbis
 nisi suis nititur virtutibus sauciare...¹⁸⁵

Here, from the outset, Alcuin introduces his subject in words calculated to appeal to a Carolingian count. He refers to vainglory as a pestilence, avarice in many forms which attacks everywhere, on all sides; to the warrior as a fighter against vices, as well

¹⁸⁵ Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap 34, PL 101, cols. 635-6 with Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 11, chaps. 1-6, pp. 428-32.

as a conqueror of vices. If we compare Alcuin's ista pestis, id est, vana gloria, multiformis avaritia est, et undique bellatori contra vitia pugnanti, ex omni parte victori etiam vitiorum occurit with Cassian's etenim cetera vita seu perturbationes uniformes ac simplices esse noscuntur haec vero multiplex et multiformis ac varies, undique bellatori et ex omne parte victori occurrens, we note that while there are some interesting textual divergences, source attribution is almost certainly beyond question. Both, for example, refer to vainglory as attacking the warrior and conqueror everywhere, on all sides. Yet, interestingly enough, Alcuin identifies vainglory as a pestilence, a many-faceted form of avarice: ista pestis, id est, vana gloria multiformis avaritia est. Cassian, employing the vague haec to refer to vainglory, simply states that it manifests itself in many various forms. Similarly, both Cassian's and Alcuin's military metaphors reflect the status of their particular audiences. Cassian's use of bellatori and victori are enough to identify them as soldiers and conquerors for his monastic readers; since the metaphor was clear, he does not have to explain further. Alcuin, on the other hand, must explain the spiritual meaning of his metaphoric language to his secular audience in unequivocal terms; he evokes a warrior fighting against vices (bellatori contra vitia pugnanti) and a conqueror of vices (victori etiam vitiorum).¹⁸⁶

Next, Alcuin, in discussing the various ways vainglory can harm a Christian, follows Cassian very closely with slight grammatical variation. According to Alcuin, vainglory can ruin a soldier of Christ in appearance, in gait, in voice, in work, in vigils,

¹⁸⁶ Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 34, PL 101, col. 636 with Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 11, chap. 3, p. 428. For a further discussion of Cassian's thoughts on vainglory, see De Vogüé, Histoire littéraire, 6: 60-165.

in fasts, in prayer, in renunciation, in reading, in knowledge, in silence, in obedience, in humility, and in long-suffering patience, a virtue not listed in Cassian's account.¹⁸⁷ Both describe how an unsuspecting soul, unaware of a rock hidden beneath treacherous waves, is suddenly and unexpectedly shipwrecked. Alcuin uses the words: et velut perniciosissimus scopulus tumentibus undis obtetus improvisum ac miserabile naufragium prospere navigantibus dum non cavetur, importat. Cassian employs slightly different terms: et velut quidam perniciosissimus scopulus tumentibus undis obtectus improvisum ac miserabile naufragium secundo navigantibus vento, dum non cavetur nec praevidetur, inportat.¹⁸⁸

Continuing to draw from Cassian for his discourse on vainglory, Alcuin warns Wido about Satan. If the devil cannot induce vainglory with beautiful and glittering vestments, he will do so by using a dirty, unpolished and rude appearance. Alcuin then proceeds to enumerate the various ways in which the devil can use vainglory to cast down a Christian:

¹⁸⁷ Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 34, PL 101, col. 636: "Nam et in habitu et in forma corporis, in incessu, in voce, et in opera, in vigiliis, in jejuniis, in oratione, in remotione, in lectione, in scientia, in taciturnitate, in obedientia, in humilitate, in patientiae longanimitate militem Christi vulnerare conatur..." with Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 11, chap. 3, p. 428: "Nam et in habitu et in forma, in incessu, in voce, in opera, in vigiliis, in ieiuniis, in oratione, in remotione, in lectione, in scientia, in tacturnitate, in obedientia, in humilitate, in longanimitate militem christi vulnerare conatur..."

¹⁸⁸ The navigation metaphor was a recurrent theme in the pre-Carolingian and Carolingian Christian literary tradition. For the pre-Carolingian period, see, for example, J.W. Smit's discussion in Studies on the Language and style of Columba the Younger (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1971), pp. 171-89. For a Carolingian example, see Frotharius of Toul, La correspondance d' un évêque carolingien, ed. and trans. Michel Parisse (Textes et documents d'histoire médiévale, 1; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), 5, p. 94.

Whom he cannot cast down through honor, he overthrows by humility;
whom he cannot flatter with the adornment of knowledge and elocution,
he destroys by the weight of silence. One who fasts openly is inspired
by vainglory; if he hides it to disdain praise, he succumbs to the sin of pride.

Additionally, Alcuin echoes and closely parallels Cassian's remarks that a man, who tries to escape contamination by vainglory, by avoiding extended prayer in the presence of his brother, will find that praying in seclusion will not stop the darts of pride. Alcuin further observes that vainglory attempts to flatter one soul who is most patient in work and labor, another who is most servile in obedience, and another who excels his peers in humility. Finally, and most importantly, it is important to note Alcuin's exegetical originality by his adaptation of Cassian's nec alias quamquam hic morbus nisi suis nitritur virtutibus sauciare for his secular audience, with the inclusion of saecularibus operibus, a phrase conspicuously absent in Cassian. As he explains to Wido, "this disease attempts to wound a man, not only through his secular words but also through his virtues."¹⁸⁹

The Cassianic tradition continued to exercise considerable influence over Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis in his chapters on gluttony and sadness. Although

¹⁸⁹ Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 34, PL 101, col. 636 with Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 11, chap. 4, pp. 430-2. Compare also Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 34, PL 101, col. 636: "Non solum ergo saecularibus operibus, sed etiam suis virtutibus hominem hic morbus nitritur sauciare" with Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 11, chap. 4, p. 432: "Nec alias quemquam hic morbus nisi suis nitritur virtutibus sauciare." See also Wallach, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices," p. 189. In light of the evidence presented here, Wallach's remarks that Alcuin's chapter on vainglory was derived word for word from bk. 11, chaps. 3, 4, 6, and 29 of Cassian's Institutes cénobitiques are manifestly incorrect.

the discussion of gluttony and sadness were common themes in both sacred and profane literature, evidence suggests that Cassian's thought served as the source for Alcuin's inspiration and prose and both subjects. For example, both Alcuin in chapter 28 of the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis and Cassian in book 5 of the Institutions cénobitiques recognize the tripartite nature of gluttony. For Alcuin, it is quae tribus modis regnare videtur in homine or the three ways gluttony can rule over a man, while Cassian refers to the triplex enim natura gastrimargia or the triple nature of gluttony.¹⁹⁰

The influence of Cassian's language continues as Alcuin elaborates on gluttony's nature. Closely paralleling Cassian's remarks that the first manifestation of gluttony appears when a monk is drawn to the table before the established canonical hour of refreshment (una quae canonicam refectionis horam praevenire compellit), Alcuin relates to his reader that when a man desires to take food before the established canonical hour, it is for the sake of gluttony (dum homo horam canonicam et statuum gulae causa anticipare cupit).¹⁹¹

This textual relationship is further evident as both Cassian and Alcuin use similar language in ascribing excessive overeating and the preparation of exotic foods to the sin of gluttony. In his account, Cassian using the expressions alia quae tantummodo ventris ingluvie et saturitate quarumlibet gaudet escarum and quae accuratioribus epulis

¹⁹⁰ Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 28, PL 101, col. 633 with Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 5, chap. 12, p. 230. Compare also the De octo vitiis principalibus in Columbanus, Opera, p. 210: "Gula triplex vincenda est per abstinenciam ieiunii de hora nona in horam nonam et parcitatem cibique vilitatem."

¹⁹¹ Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 28, PL 101, col. 633 with Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 5, chap. 23, p. 230.

esculentioribus oblectatur teaches that a monk who delights only in gorging his stomach and entertaining himself with more elaborate and delicate feasts is guilty of the sin of gluttony. In a similar fashion, Alcuin, echoing Cassian's expressive language, admonishes Wido with the words aut exquisitiores cibos sibi praeparare iubet when he warns him to avoid the sin of gluttony by not ordering more exotic food to be prepared than is necessary for the body. Further, with the words si plus accipet in edendo vel bibendo propter desiderium intemperantiae suae, quam suae proficiat saluti he adds that Wido should not eat or drink more than is needed for survival because of desires born of intemperance.¹⁹²

Turning our attention to the sin of sadness, we find that Cassian once again seems to have provided a monastic and ascetic model for Alcuin. In both chapter 33 of the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis and Cassian's fifth conference, we learn that there are two distinct types of sadness (tristitiae genera sunt duo). Moreover, both Alcuin and Cassian exhibit distinct parallels in their discussions of vices generated by sadness. Both list as coming from sadness, the vices of rancor, pusillanimity, bitterness and despair (tristitia: rancor, pusillanimitas, amaritudo, desperatio). Alcuin differs from Cassian only in his

¹⁹² Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 28, PL 101, col. 633 with Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 5, chap. 12, p. 230 and Cassian, Conférences, 5, chap. 22, p. 199: "Et ut singillatim nunc de uniuscuiusque vitii generibus disputemus, gastrimargiae genera sunt tria: primum quod ad refectionem perurget monachum ante horam statuat ac legitimam festinare; secundum quod expletione ventris et quarumlibet escarum voracitate laetatur; tertium quod acuratiores ac delicatissimos desiderat cibos." For further discussion on Cassian's notions of gluttony, see De Vogüé, Histoire littéraire, 6: 217-22; Sedlmeier, Die laienparänetischen Schriften der Karolingerzeit, pp. 179-80 and Donatella Marocco Stuardi, Alcuino di York nella tradizione degli 'specula principis.' (Milan: Francoangeli, 1999), pp. 78-9.

addition of malice (malitia), which he presumably drew from Gregory's Moralia in Iob.¹⁹³

In addition to the Cassianic tradition, the writings of Columbanus seem to have provided specific themes and rhetoric for the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis of Alcuin, as well as for the writings of his contemporaries. One example noted by Bullough was Alcuin's fellow Northumbrian, the anchorite Alchfrid, who borrowed extensively from Columbanus' third instruction or sermon for a letter he wrote to Higlic (mentioned merely as a lectorem et presbiterum, or presbyter and reader).¹⁹⁴ For Alcuin, like Alchfrid, we observe not only verbatim borrowing from Columbanus, but also close paraphrasing. A significant example, virtually ignored in past and present scholarship, occurs in a letter written by Alcuin to the brothers of the monastery of Marmoutier. In this epistle, dated from 782-796, Alcuin sternly reminds his readers that they are in the place where the remains of the blessed Martin rested and that they should pour out prayers, as if speak

¹⁹³ Compare Cassian, Conférences, 5, chap. 11, p. 200: "...tristitiae genera sunt duo" with Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 33, PL 101, col. 635: "Tristitiae duo sunt genera" and Cassian, Conférences, 5, chap. 16, p. 209: "...de tristitia rancor, pusillanimitas, amaritudo, desperatio..." See also Gregory the Great, Moralia in Iob, ed. M. Adriaen (CCCL, 143B; Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), bk. 31, chap. 45, p. 1618.

¹⁹⁴ Interestingly enough, according to Bullough, this relationship went entirely unnoticed by Wilhelm Levison and Colin Chase, previous editors of the letter in question, see Bullough, Alcuin, pp. 327-9 and R. Hughes, "Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Early English Private Prayer," Studia Celtica 5 (1970): 59. Compare Epistula Alchfridi in Wilhelm Levison, England and the Continent, p. 298 and Two Alcuin Letter Books, ed. Colin Chase (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1975), p. 63 with Instructio III in Columbanus, Opera, p. 78. Although almost nothing is known about Alchfrid, Bullough has identified Higlic with a teacher living in the southern Northumbrian monastery described in Aethelwulf's De abbatibus, see Bullough, Alcuin, p. 179. For the authenticity of Columbanus' third sermon, see Claire Stancliffe's study, "The Thirteen Sermons Attributed to Columbanus and the Question of their Authorship," in Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings, ed. Michael Lapidge (Studies in Celtic History, 17; Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 93-202.

in the presence of God and all his saints. Stressing the phrase nec sit aliud in corde, aliud in ore, a curious adaptation of the Pauline theme, quia si confitearis in ore tuo dominum Iesus et in corde tuo credideris, Alcuin goes on to warn his listeners not to have one things in their hearts and another in their mouths, for men hear what the mouth speaks, but God understands the innermost thoughts of the heart.¹⁹⁵

Admittedly, this theme is neither exclusively Columbanian nor even monastic. Nonetheless, Alcuin's usage, based on close similarity of expression, vocabulary and anaphoric construction may, with some degree of certainty, be ascribed to Columbanus' non aliud ore, aliud corde habet found in his second epistle where he warns his followers that unless they become as little children, they cannot enter the kingdom of God. He further adds: "An infant is humble, having been hurt, bears no grudge, seeing a woman, does not lust, has not one thing in his mouth, another in his heart."¹⁹⁶

Much more important for this study, however, is the remarkable relationship that seems to exist between the writings of Columbanus and Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis. This can be seen most clearly in Alcuin's section on vices, particularly his chapter on sadness. For this chapter, according to Wallach, Alcuin borrowed extensively from patristic sources such as the Institutions Cénobitiques and Conférences of John Cassian.

¹⁹⁵ Alcuin, epistula 51, MGH Epp. 4: 95: "In loco, in quo elegit sibi requiem dulcissimam, sic fundite praeces vestras, quam praesente Deo loquentes et sanctis eius. Nec sit aliud in corde, aliud in ore; quia homo audit quo os loquitur."

¹⁹⁶ Compare Alcuin, epistula 51, MGH Epp. 4: 65 with epistula 2, in Columbanus, Opera, p. 20. Columbanus' epistles are generally considered to be of genuine Columbanian authorship, see the study of Smit, Studies on the Language and Style of Columba the Younger, pp. 33-8 and more recently, Neil Wright, "Columbanus' Epistulae," in Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings, pp. 29-92.

Yet, Wallach failed to see the close connection between Alcuin and Columbanus; he wrongly attributed the last section of the chapter—where Alcuin connects what virtues may overcome the vice of sadness to Isidore’s Sententiae—and failed to see Alcuin’s dependency for those passages on the De octo vitiis principalibus of Columbanus.¹⁹⁷

As noted previously in this chapter, Alcuin’s opening statement in his chapter on sadness, tristitiae duo genera, almost certainly derives from Cassian’s adaptation of a Pauline theme. Alcuin then proceeds to discuss kinds of sadness: one salubrious, the other pestilent. In his discussion on salubrious sadness, not attributed by Wallach’s or any other study, Alcuin notes its presence when a soul is sorry for its sins, and contritely seeks confession and penance in the desire to turn itself to God.¹⁹⁸ Conversely, in his discourse on sadness as pestilence, Alcuin comments that there is another sadness of this world that brings about the death of the soul so that it accomplishes no good works. This in turn so disturbs the soul that it is often sent into despair, turning it away from the hope

¹⁹⁷ See Wallach, “Alcuin on Virtues and Vices,” p. 188. For the text of the De octo vitiis principalibus, see Columbanus, Opera, p. 210. According to Walker, it was relegated to the appendix of the Opera because of a dubious manuscript tradition, but nevertheless he feels that it is probably authentic, based on close parallels with other writings almost certainly of genuine Columbanian authorship, see Columbanus, Opera, p. lxii. In addition to Walker, advocates for the Columbanian authorship of the De octo vitiis principalibus are Stancliffe, “The Thirteen Sermons Attributed to Columbanus,” p. 10, no. 43. See also Otto Seebass’ Über Columba von Luxeuils Klosterregel und Bussback (Dresden, 1883), p. 43 and “Über die sogenannte Instructiones,” Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 13 (1892): 530-31, cited in Stancliffe, “The Thirteen Sermons Attributed to Columbanus,” p. 102, n. 43.

¹⁹⁸ Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 33, PL 101, col. 635: “Tristitia salutaris est, quando de peccatis suis animus constrictatur peccatoris, et ita constrictatur, ut confessionem et paenitentiam agere quaerat, et converte se ad Deum desideret.” For the Pauline origin of Cassian’s spiritual and worldly sadness, see 2 Cor 7:10. See also De Vogüé’s discussion in Histoire littéraire, 6: 152-3.

of future rewards.¹⁹⁹

Most pertinent to our argument, however, is Alcuin's concluding passage in his chapter on sadness where he notes that pestilential sadness can be conquered by spiritual joy and the hope of future rewards, a theme that, according to Wallach, Alcuin derived from Isidore's Sententiae. Nevertheless, Wallach's attribution in this case is open to serious doubt. Although Alcuin's quae vincitur per laetitiam spiritualem et spem futurorum does agree, at least in principle, with Isidore's rendering of the same theme, tristitiae maerorem spes aeterni gaudii superat, grammatically, they differ. A much more likely source for Alcuin's remark is the almost verbatim quotation, tristitia vero laetitia spirituali et spe futurae beatitudinis vincenda est, found in Columbanus' De octo vitiis principalibus.²⁰⁰ This relationship, therefore, establishes Alcuin with Alchfrid as important early Carolingian transmitters of the Columbanian monastic tradition.

VI. Conclusion

Alcuin's reputation as theological originator of Charlemagne's education reforms and architect of Carolingian spirituality is well known. What has not been emphasized is his extensive use of monastic and ascetic values and sources as means to redeem a society he perceived to be in a grave state of spiritual deprivation and moral depravity.

¹⁹⁹ Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 33, PL 101, col. 635.

²⁰⁰ Compare Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 33, PL 101, col. 635 with Isidore, Sententiae, bk. 2, chap. 37, p. 166 with De octo vitiis principalibus, in Columbanus, Opera, p.210.

Admittedly, some scholars have drawn attention to Alcuin's use of monastic and ascetic sources in his literary and legal writings, such as Albrecht Diem in his comparative study on the Regula s. Columbani and Alcuin's Epistula de litteris colendis. Moreover, Luitpold Wallach's analysis of the close relationship between Cassian's Institutions cénotiques and Conferences and Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, as well as Henri Rochais' study on Alcuin's use of the De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, extracted from the florilegia of the Liber scintillarum are significant. Nevertheless, as this study has attempted to demonstrate, the Cassianic influence on the Liber de virtutibus et vitiis has not been fully addressed. More significantly, Alcuin's original exegetical treatment of Cassian's writings has not been adequately explored. Furthermore, the hitherto undiscovered parallels between the Columbanian writings and Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, as well as those between the pseudo-Basil's De admonitio ad filium spiritualem and Alcuin's Epistulae constitute areas of study that call for more extensive investigation to be precisely assessed.

Chapter 4

The Writings of Abbot Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel

I. Introduction

In the past, scholars such as Hans Hubert Anton, Otto Eberhard, Rosamond McKitterick, Fidle Rädle, and Bengt Löfstedt have noted extensive textual parallels between the writings of Smaragdus and the Regula s. Benedicti, as filtered through Benedict of Aniane's Concordia regularum, and monastic reform statutes from the 816 and 817 councils held at Aachen.²⁰¹ Among those scholars, only Eberhardt joined Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert in claiming to have uncovered additional rich veins sifted through by Smaragdus to formulate his exegetical literary texts adapted to the Carolingian era, his Expositio in Regulam s. Benedicti, Diadema monachorum, and the Via regia.²⁰² Despite this, discussion of these additional sources has received little attention and the centrality of the Regula s. Benedicti in shaping Smaragdus' spirituality remains virtually unchallenged in modern scholarship.

²⁰¹ Hans Hubert Anton, Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit (Romer historische Forschungen, 32; Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1968), p.133; Otto Eberhardt, Via regia: Der Fürstenspiegel Smaragds von St. Mihiel und seine literarische Gattung (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 28; Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1977), p. 33; Rosamond McKitterick, The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians: 751-987 (London and New York: Longman, 1983), p. 115; Fidle Rädle, Studien zu Smaragd von Saint-Michel (Medium Aevum philologische Studien, 29; Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1974), pp. 77-78; Smaragdus, Liber in partibus Donati, eds. Bengt Löfstedt, Louis Holtz and Adele Kibre (CCCM, 68; Turnholt: Brepols, 1986), p. x.

²⁰² Eberhardt, Via regia, pp. 13-142; Expositio regulam s. Benedicti, eds. Alfred Spannagel and Pius Engelbert (CCM, 8; Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1974).

While I agree in broad principle that the Regula s. Benedicti and the texts of Benedict of Aniane's reform movement played a major role in influencing Smaragdus' monastic writings and his speculum principis, the Via regia, I will challenge the centrality and exclusivity of that role and will attempt to demonstrate that additional sources played an equally significant role in the development of Smaragdus' spiritual notions and expressions. I will also highlight the originality of his exegetical skills. Some of these additional sources, previously identified in the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti and Diadema monachorum, although not adequately addressed, include the Conférences and Institutions cénobitiques, pseudo-Basil's De Admonitio ad filium spiritualem and the Verba seniorum. Others I identify in the Via regia, thus far virtually unexplored, include the Defensor of Ligugé's Liber scintillarum and Cyprian of Carthage's De opere et eleemosynis.

Consequently, the focus of this chapter will be to: first, to reconstruct his life, and illustrate Smaragdus' achievements; second, to question Benedict of Aniane's traditional portrayal as a zealous reformer ruthlessly replacing the variegated Carolingian spiritual environment with one ruled by the revisionist reformulated Regula s. Benedicti; third, to establish the diversity of Smaragdus' sources by a thorough examination of his major writings. Finally, I will attempt to show that Smaragdus drew not only from the Regula s. Benedicti and the texts of the monastic reform movement, but also excerpted and adapted from the various alternative sources cited above. I propose to demonstrate that Smaragdus laid down clear patterns and boundaries of spirituality growth for the edification and salvation of not only members of his own monastic community,

but for the Carolingian rulers and magnates as well.

II. Smaragdus' Early Life and Monastic Career

Regrettably, lack of evidence and the absence of Smaragdus' own testimony has left scholars little to aid their efforts to reconstruct an outline of Smaragdus' early life; neither a date of birth nor the identify of his parents is known.²⁰³ Only a few charters, two letters, the chronicle of his cloister, and a reference to Smaragdus in 820 as a missus of Louis the Pious remain.²⁰⁴

If the records are relatively mute on Smaragdus' birth and genealogy, the evidence of his own writings has allowed scholars to speak in more specific terms in reconstructing his territorial roots and ethnic origins. Writing in the early decades of the twentieth century, Max Manitius underscored Smaragdus' insular origins, suggesting his original name was Moridac.²⁰⁵ In 1930, historian Adele Kibre also focused attention on Smaragdus' insular connections:

²⁰³ See especially the discussions of Jean Leclercq, "Smaragdus," in An Introduction to the Medieval Mystics of Europe, ed. Paul Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), p. 37; Franz Brunhölzl, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 3 vols, 2nd ed. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1975), 1: 444; Anton, Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos, p. 132. See also M.L.W. Laistner, "The Date and the Recipient of Smaragdus' Via regia," Speculum 3 (1928): 392. Laistner, as Anton, also gives 750 as the date of Smaragdus' birth, without giving any valid reasons for doing so.

²⁰⁴ See Rädle, Studien zu Smaragd, pp. 13-14. The letters are nos. 21 and 22 in MGH Epp. 5: 290-292. For Smaragdus, see Catalogi abbatum s. Eugendi Iurensis in MGH SS 13: 744.

²⁰⁵ Max Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 3 vols (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, IX, 2; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1911; rep. 1974), 1: 461-462.

Whether Smaragdus was an Irishman or not, it seems certain that he lived in an insular center; some of the manuscripts contain insular abbreviations (Paris 13029, Avranches 229); it is significant too that he apparently knew the amatory poems of Ovid, whose early tradition was insular. Similarly, Smaragdus used the Ars grammatica of Julian of Toledo, the manuscripts of which were almost entirely insular.²⁰⁶

More recently, scholars have abandoned the insular theory and have advanced the notion that evidence in Smaragdus' writings, in particular the Liber in partibus Donati, bears witness to his Iberian, perhaps Septimanian, origins. For Leclercq, Smaragdus was Ibero-Roman, possibly a Visigoth, as suggested by the affinities of expression and style he shared with other Ibero-Roman authors, as well as favorable references he made to a number of these writers. Eberhardt, in a similar vein, noted that scholars have unanimously advocated Smaragdus' Ibero-Roman or Visigoth heritage.²⁰⁷

Discussing Smaragdus' cultural origins more fully, Löfstedt author of the most recent study notes Smaragdus' affinities with numerous Iberian Visigoth authors and his intimate relationship with members of noble Visigoth lineage such as Benedict of Aniane and Theodulf of Orléans. Löfstedt groups his evidence for this into four major

²⁰⁶ As quoted in Rädle, Studien zu Smaragd, p. 15. See also Laistner, "The Date and Recipient," p. 392. Laistner was also an advocate for Smaragdus' insular origins, although he produces no evidence to support such a claim.

²⁰⁷ LeClercq, "Smaragdus," p. 37; Eberhardt, Via regia, pp. 31-32. See also Brunhölzl, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 1: 444 and June-Ann Theresa Greeley, "Social Commentary in the Prose and Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A Study in Carolingian Humanism." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, 2000), p. 108.

categories: 1) Smaragdus' personal relationships; 2) the Iberian sources of his literature; 3) his knowledge of Visigoth names; and, 4) the language and style of his poetry. For instance, Löfstedt draws attention to Smaragdus' dependence on Theodulf's poetry, especially for his verse preface to the Liber in partibus Donati. Additionally, he underscored Smaragdus' use of Benedict of Aniane's Concordia regularum in his Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti and stressed the commonality of his views with those of Benedict and his monastic reforms.²⁰⁸

Turning to Smaragdus' Iberian sources, Löfstedt observes the extensive influence of Taio of Saragossa's Sententiae on Smaragdus' Diadema monachorum. Löfstedt also points out Smaragdus' indebtedness in the Via regia to an anonymous poem of Visigoth origin and the close relationship between Smaragdus' Liber in partibus Donati and the Ars grammatica of Julian of Toledo.²⁰⁹ Finally, Löfstedt remarks on Smaragdus' extensive knowledge of Visigoth names and following Rädle, observes the common styles and expressions in the poetry of Smaragdus, Benedict of Aniane, and Theodulf of Orléans.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Smaragdus, Liber in partibus Donati, pp. ix-xi; Rädle, Studien zu Smaragd, p. 18.

²⁰⁹ Smaragdus, Liber in partibus Donati, pp. x-xi. For Taio of Saragossa's Sententiae, see Taio of Saragossa, Sententiarum libri quinque in PL 80, cols. 732-990. The texts of Smaragdus' Diadema monachorum and Via regia may be found in PL 102, cols. 593-690 and PL, 102, cols. 931-970 respectively. For the Ars grammatica of Julian of Toledo, consult Ars Iuliani Toletam episcopi. Una gramática Latina de la España visigoda. Estudio y edición crítica, ed. M.A.H. Maestre Yenes (Toledo, 1973).

²¹⁰ For the verses of Smaragdus, see Versus quos Smaragdus ad unum de filiis Ludovici Pii in MGH Poet. Lat. 4: 918-924. The poetry of Theodulf is located in MGH Poet. Lat. 1: 437-581. For the most recent study on Theodulf's poetry, see Greeley, "Social Commentary," pp. 173-252.

The almost complete absence of documentation for Smaragdus' formative years stands in stark contrast to that available for his later life as chronicles, the acta of church councils, and epistolary evidence allow us to view more clearly the events of his monastic, literary, and political careers. Concomitantly, the unfolding of these events also allows us to visualize what is conspicuous in contemporary documents: Smaragdus' intimate relationship, not only with members of the Carolingian aristocracy, as I noted briefly earlier in this study, but also with Charlemagne himself, and later his son and successor, Louis the Pious. Löfstedt also infers from key passages in the Liber in partibus Donati that Smaragdus enjoyed a close personal relationship with Charlemagne and his court. In his discussion of the four aspects of proper nouns, Smaragdus has the following remarks to offer:

A noun of proper quality should exhibit complete understanding without the support of another name, so that if you say, "I come to the palace of the emperor, and the emperor spoke to me," it is completely understood to whom you are referring, just as if you are saying, "I come to the palace of Charles, and Charles spoke to me." Therefore, one can properly count these among proper nouns."²¹¹

The key role Smaragdus played in the filioque controversy seems to confirm

²¹¹ Smaragdus, Liber in partibus Donati, chap. 1, p. 29: "Nam propriae qualitatis nomen sine alterius nominis adminiculo suum absoluta debet ostendere intellectum, ut si dicas: 'De palatio venio imperatoris et imperator mihi fuit locutus,' sic plenum habet intellectum, ac si proprium ponas nomen et dicas: 'De palatio venio Caroli et Carolus fuit mihi locutus.' Et ideo ista duo inter propria rite possunt nomina computari."

Löfstedt's hypothesis. Charlemagne gravely concerned over the Eastern belief that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son and the heretical implications involved, had taken steps to secure its exclusion from the rites of the church.

Concurrently, he had attempted to champion the Frankish formula that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and to ensure that it would be the basic declaration of faith for all Christians.²¹²

Summoning a synod at Aachen in 809 to formulate the orthodoxy of his position on the filioque question, Charlemagne issued an order to the theologians of his kingdom to gather sententiae of the holy fathers in order to articulate his view to Pope Leo III, who agreed with him in principle, but had decided to remain neutral on the issue.²¹³ Three dignitaries responded to his call. Theodulf, with his De Spiritu Sancto, remarked in his preface that he willingly brought, at the king's request, documents affirming that the Holy Spirit emanated from the Father and the Son. Smaragdus produced the De processione sancti spiritus. Although he did not refer to Charlemagne, his remarks about church doctrine on the origins of the Holy Spirit and his references to the doctrinal controversy strongly suggest that Smaragdus wrote it at Charlemagne's request that he provide expert testimony at the Synod of Aachen. A third respondent was an unidentified

²¹² For a discussion of the filioque controversy and Charlemagne's involvement, see Brunhölzl, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalter, 1: 290, and Greeley, "Social Commentary," pp. 175-181.

²¹³ According to Waitz, MGH Con. 2: 235, the canons of the Synod of Aachen held in 809 are no longer extant, yet a reference to the Synod can be found in contemporary chronicles; see, for instance, Einhard's remarks in Annales Einhardi in MGH SSRG 6: 129: "Imperator de arduenna Aquisgrani reversus, mense Novembrio concilium habuit de processione Spiritus sancti...."

writer who stated that he had written at Charlemagne's request, a short book on the origin of the Holy Spirit, following the authoritative opinions of the holy evangelists and blessed fathers.²¹⁴

One question that does not seem to be satisfactorily resolved is the identification of Smaragdus with the "experts" consulted by Charlemagne on this filioque issue. Rädle, as Löfstedt noted, questioned whether Smaragdus possessed sufficient ecclesiastical rank to be worthy of being designated an "expert" in theological affairs. Yet Eberhardt observed that profound theological learning for a humble monk was not unprecedented, arguing that high ecclesiastical rank was less important in this case than theological sagacity. In support of Eberhardt, Donatella Stuardi has characterized Smaragdus as "a Benedictine of great erudition." Judith Herrin has identified him as one of the emissaries sent by Charlemagne to Rome, to present to Pope Leo the findings of the Aachen council and concurrently, the orthodoxy of the Frankish position on the filioque issue.²¹⁵

²¹⁴ Theodulf, De spiritu sancto, PL 105, cols. 239-240: "Imperii vestri, rex inclite, jussa secutus, defero Theuodulfus haec documenta libens. Quis patere seu nato procedit spiritus almus astruitur...;" MGH Con. 2.1: 126: "Quaestio, quae de Spiritus sancti processione est nuper exorta, iam dudum est diligentissime a sanctis patribus ventilata;" MGH Epp. 2: 490-491: "...sancti etiam evangelii et beatorum patrum auctoritatem secutus parvum secundum vestrae sublimitatis iussionem conscripsi libellum." See also the remarks of Löfstedt in his introduction to Smaragdus' Liber in partibus Donati, pp. vii-ix. See also Rädle, Studien zu Smaragd, pp. 60-62, and Eberhardt, Via regia, pp. 59-60.

²¹⁵ Rädle, Studien zu Smaragd, p. 21; Löfstedt's remarks are in the Liber in partibus Donati, pp. vii-ix; Donatella Marocco Stuardi, Alcuino di York nella tradizione degli "specula principis," (Milan: Francoangeli, 1999), p. 14; Judith Herrin: The Formation of Christendom (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 462. For Smaragdus' participation in the embassy, see also Reginald Grégoire, "La tradizione manoscritta del 'Diadema monachorum' di Smaragdo," Inter fratres, 34 (1984): 2.

Although the views of Herrin and Grégoire cannot be fully substantiated, contemporary evidence does support the arguments of Eberhardt and Stuardi. For instance, Smaragdus' authorship of the De processione Spiritu Sanctus strongly suggests an extensive knowledge of the testimonia of the church fathers and their theological arguments. Furthermore, Charlemagne himself recognized the value of Smaragdus' theological erudition. His letter to Leo III concerning the deliberations and findings of the Synod of Aachen was edited by Smaragdus and was quite clearly a verbatim account of his treatise on the origins of the Holy Spirit.²¹⁶ Whether we can place Smaragdus with any degree of certainty in the concilium held in Rome in 810, Waitz has convincingly demonstrated, based on a meticulous textual comparison of the De processione Spiriti Sanctus and the Notitia de colloquio romano, that the former supplied the basis for the theological deliberations held between Leo and Charlemagne's imperial missi.

As a result, the significant role Smaragdus' theological tract on the procession of the Holy Spirit played in a major ecclesiastical controversy indicates an intimate relationship with his Frankish overlord. In a similar fashion, if we can accept Löfstedt's view that Smaragdus assumed the abbatial dignity of Saint-Mihiel in the early months of 810, we can almost certainly consider that event within the greater context of Charlemagne's ecclesiastical polity that is, as a reward, as Löfstedt indicates, given by a grateful

²¹⁶ De processione sancti spiritus in MGH Con. 2.1: 236-239. Compare the De processione sancti spiritus with Charlemagne's Epistula ad Leonem III Papam in PL 98, cols. 923-929.

sovereign for services rendered.²¹⁷

Smaragdus' close relationship with and dedicated service to the Carolingian dynasty as Abbot of Saint-Mihiel continued unabated under Charlemagne's son and successor Louis the Pious. We can best demonstrate this in two fundamental ways; Smaragdus' active participation in the monastic reform movement, and the lavish privileges Louis bestowed on his monasteries of Saint-Castellion and Saint-Mihiel. For example, an entry for the year 820 in the catalogue for the monastery of Eugendus mentions Smaragdus as an imperial missus, who together with the chaplain Teutbert did an inventory of monastic property apparently finding the worldly clothes of former novices stored there.²¹⁸ This incident clearly links Smaragdus with enforcement of the monastic reforms of Benedict of Aniane since Abbot Achinus was manifestly violating the Aachen decrees of 816 particularly no.33 that mandated that novices upon entering a monastery must surrender their worldly possessions into the custody of their parents.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ For Löfstedt's discussion, see the Liber in partibus Donati, pp. vii-ix. The first authentic reference to Smaragdus as abbot occurs in the title of his De processione spiriti sanctus, which Waitz has dated to the last months of 809, see his comments in MGH Con .2.1: 235-236.

²¹⁸ MGH SS 13: 744. See also Eberhardt, Via regia, pp. 42-43.

²¹⁹ Synodi primae Aquisgranensis decreta authentica, ed. Josef Semmler (CCM, 1: Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), pp. 466-567. See also Regula s. Benedicti Anianensis, chapter 28 in CCM, 1: 533. Benedict of Nursia had originally allowed novices to donate their possessions to the poor or the monastery, Regula s. Benedicti, ed. Rudolph Hanslik, 2nd ed. (CSEL, 75; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1977), p. 150. However, Benedict of Aniane had amended this, fearing, (according to Semmler), abbatial avarice. See Semmler's remarks in his "Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils im Jahr 816," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 74 (1963): 45-46.

On another occasion, in 824, Smaragdus with Bishop Frotharius of Toul, as imperial missi, were to ensure that the monks of Moyenmoutier were living in strict accordance with the decrees of the 816 and 817 Aachen Synods. Although it is unclear whether their Abbot, Fortunatus, resisted, Smaragdus, according to Louis' mandate, turned a portion of the abbey over to the monks so that they might live according to the Regula s. Benedicti; thus, they lived by the Rule until Fortunatus' death in 825.²²⁰

Under the abbatial authority of Fortunatus' successor, Ismund, this amicable relationship rapidly deteriorated. According to the brothers of Moyenmoutier, Ismund had reclaimed the monks' portion of the abbey and refused to provide for them, a flagrant disregard for Louis' injunction and the 817 Aachen decrees, ruling that abbots, who had assigned cells to monks and canons, must provide for them.²²¹ Frotharius' subsequent remarks are noteworthy:

Thus, the monks now come to us, saying they can no longer live spiritually according to the Rule nor fulfill the material needs of their bodies. We came, discovered, and understood there was neglect both on the part of the monks themselves as well as their abbot's. For his part, the abbot promised to emend all his negligence. We agreed to this and attempted to gain the monks' consent as well. But fearful that the promise was worthless as the abbot or

²²⁰ MGH Epp. 5: 290. Rädle and Eberhardt have also discussed the events at Moyenmoutier, see Rädle, Studien zu Smaragd, p. 20, and Eberhardt, Via regia, pp. 43-44.

²²¹ MGH Epp. 5: 290; Synodi secundae Aquisgranensis, p. 474.

his ministers would likely renege, the monks neither believed it, nor accepted the abbot's amends – ‘unless that portion which you ordered given to them be returned to them. Further, they insisted the abbot would do nothing without your order. They are of one mind and have requested with prayer that we grant them permission to stand in our presence, and implore your compassion, saying they would sooner be expelled from the monastery to live as wanderers and mendicants, than to believe his fake promises, and serve under the false name of monk.’ For this reason, we have given them leave to appear before you.²²²

Numerous imperial charters also show Smaragdus' close relationship with Louis the Pious. Such charters reflect the extensive privileges Louis bestowed on Smaragdus' monasteries of Saint-Castellion and Saint-Mihiel. Concurrently, such privileges allow us to uncover, as Eberhardt has confirmed, still more examples of the Abbot of Saint-Mihiel

²²² Frotharius of Toul, *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien*, ed. and trans. Michel Parisse (Textes et documents d'histoire médiévale, 2; Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), p. 96: “Unde et nunc venerunt ad nos reclamantes et dicentes se nec regulariter vivere interius nec regulariter alimenta corporis sumere exterius. Venimus itaque pariter illuc et ita esse invenimus et cognovimus ex parte neglegentiam ipsorum monachorum, ex parte neglegentiam abbatis eorum. Promisit ergo iterum se per omnia emendare velle, quicquid actenus neglegenter ex, sua parte fuerat actum.. Cui rei et nos consensimus et ut illi monachi adsumum praeberent, laboravimus. sed illi timentes, ne forte, sicut, sepius evenerat, aut per eum aut per eius ministros illius promissio frustraretur, nec eius promissionibus iam amplius credere nec eius emenationem se recipere posse dixerunt, nisi illis portio redderetur, sicut dudum illis dare iussistis. Quod quia ipse sine vestra iussione ullatenus se facturum dixit, ideo illi omnes pariter communi intencione comunique prece postulaverunt, ut illis licentiam daremus ad vestrae pietatis praesenciam recurrendi et vestram misericordiam implorandi, dicentes se magis velle de eodem monasterio expelli et in peregrinatione et mendicitate vivere, quam falsis promissionibus ulterius credere et sub falso monachorum nomine militare. Quamobrem dedimus eius licenciam ad vos veniendi.” For more information on Frotharius, see Parisse's remarks, pp. 11-26.

as a staunch advocate and enforcer of the reforms of Benedict of Aniane. We also discover a charter issued jointly by Louis and his son Lothar, dated December 2, 826, imposing certain monastic reforms on the abbey of Saint-Mihiel. It stipulated that after Smaragdus and his successors departed from this world, as long as the monks could find leaders who would rule according to the Regula s. Benedicti, they would enjoy the privilege of free abbatial elections. In return, Louis and Lothar requested that the monastic community pray continuously for the Lord's compassion, not only for themselves, but also for their wives and their children. Added to institutional privilege like free elections of abbots, we must also mention the economic benefits Smaragdus' monastic communities enjoyed as a result of Louis' beneficence. In a charter dated July 13, 816, Louis confirmed his father Charles' earlier concession stipulating that all vassals holding benefices from the monastery over which the venerable Smaragdus presided pay yearly the ninth and tenth parts of their estate's produce to the aforementioned monastery.²²³ In a further charter emanating from Aachen, dated September 1, 816, Louis directed that no tolls or other taxes should be levied on wagons or packhorses carrying items of necessity for the brothers serving God at the Monastery of Saint-Castellion and its congregation.²²⁴

²²³ Chronique et chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Mihiel, ed. André Lesort (Mettensia, 6; Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1909-12), pp. 63-64. See also Eberhardt, Via regia, p. 45.

²²⁴ Chronique et chartes, pp. 65-67: "Ut de carris et saugmariis necessaries ipsius monasteries vel congregationis ibidem deo famulantibus deferentibus nullus teleoneum aut alias quaslibet exactionis requirere aut exactere presumeret."

Another unresolved issue is the date of Smaragdus' death; Manitius stated that the year is unknown. Brunhölzl concurred with Manitius, yet added that it is usually accepted that Smaragdus was still active as Abbot of Saint-Mihiel between 825 and 830. Rädle based his calculations on inferential arguments from the meager evidence available. He indicated that Smaragdus' epitaph, mentioned in the chronicle of Saint-Mihiel, only refers to the month he died, October, but not the year. Nevertheless, he places it between 828 and 841 by noting that Smaragdus was still Abbot of Saint-Mihiel in 826 and that a charter promulgated in 841 refers to a certain Hadegaud as Abbot of Saint-Mihiel.²²⁵

III. The Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti

In the minds of succeeding generations of scholars, the Carolingian monastic reforms of Benedict of Aniane and Louis the Pious conjured up images of a spiritual climate dominated by the Regula s. Benedicti providing a means of salvation, for monks and kings alike, based almost exclusively on the monolithic foundation some scholars

²²⁵ Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 1: 462; Brunhölzl, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 1: 444; Rädle, Studien zu Smaragd, pp. 19-21. For Rädle's evidence, see Chronique et chartes, p. 9: "Scorpio jam Phebum duodena parte premebat, sysdere thelogo cum patuere viro." Lesort has indicated that the sun enters the sign of Scorpio in the month of October; see Chronique et chartes, no. 9, p. 9. Rädle refers to the charter issued by Louis from Aachen December 2, 826, granting the monks of Saint-Mihiel free abbatial elections. It was the last known reference to Smaragdus as abbot; see Chronique et chartes, pp. 69-71. For the reference to Hadegaud as Abbot of Saint-Mihiel in 841, see charter no. 11 in Chronique et chartes, p. 72. See also Terrence Kardong's recent study on Smaragdus, "The Earliest Commentator on RB: Smaragdus on Benedict's Prologue," The American Benedictine Review, 55 (2004): 173. Kardong, following Rädle's argument, dates Smaragdus's death to about 826.

refer to as the “Benedictine tradition.”

Even if we accept Philibert Schmitz’s viewpoint, (convincingly argued years ago), that the monastic reforms represented not a simple return to the halcyon days of the Regula s. Benedicti, but the imposition of Benedict of Aniane’s own rule, ninth-century Benedict’s issue was widely divergent from that of his namesake and predecessor, Benedict of Nursia, heretofore monastic spiritual guidance standard-bearer.

Some critics also challenge the efficacy of Benedict of Aniane’s Una regula et una consuetudo. Moreover, authors like Josef Semmler and Dieter Greunich have questioned the allover ultimate success of the later Benedict’s monastic reforms. They even deny the centrality of his role. Rosamond McKitterick further notes that numerous monastic rules and ascetic literary works such as the Rules of Basil, Columbanus, Augustine, the Vie de saint Antoine, Institutions cénobitiques and Conférences, and Julius Pomerius’ De vita contemplativa continued to be copied in monasteries throughout the Christian world, by communities such as Reichenau, Fulda and Saint-Gall. This speaks for the idea that a multiplicity of other manuscript sources, in addition to the original Regula s. Benedicti still played an active and major role in illuminating the road to eternal salvation for many Carolingian coenobitic communities.²²⁶

²²⁶ Philibert Schmitz, “L’ influence de saint Benoît d’Aniane dans l’histoire de l’ordre de saint Benoît,” in Il monachesimo nell’alto medioevo e la formazione della civiltà Occidentale (Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 4; Spoleto: Presso la sede del centro, 1957), pp. 26-27. See also John J. Contreni, “From Benedict’s Rule to Charlemagne’s Renaissance: Monastic Education in the Early Middle Ages and Today,” The American Benedictine Review, 48 (1997): 193-194. See also Mayke de Jong, “Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer,” in The New Cambridge Medieval History II c. 700-900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 631; McKitterick, The Frankish Kingdoms, p. 121.

Thus, whether one accepts the premise that the Carolingian reforms were a simple return to the Regula s. Benedicti or represented an entirely new creation, it is evident that earlier monastic and ascetic literature continued to flourish in the Carolingian spiritual ethos. Consequently, Smaragdus like his contemporary Jonas of Orléans could encompass a variety of sources of monastic rules and ascetic literature into the pages of his Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti for the contemplation of his monastic communities.

The extent of the significant role Smaragdus, Abbot of Saint-Mihiel, played in the ninth-century monastic reform movement is explored in this chapter, and we can measure its success, at least to some degree, by the influence of one of his major literary works, the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, traditionally identified with the reforms of Benedict of Aniane. Scholar Hans Hubert Anton pointed out that the monastic reform statutes emanating from the Aachen council of 816 clearly influenced Smaragdus' commentary on the Regula s. Benedicti, placing him squarely in the ninth-century Benedict's camp.²²⁷ Like Anton, Eberhard drew attention to repeated references in the commentary to specific monastic statutes issued by the Council. For example, Smaragdus' remarks in chapter 15 that abbots receiving guests must share a common table in the refectory bears a striking resemblance to chapter 25 of the 816 Aachen capitulary and the author attributes them to "... rulings of bishops, abbots, and the rest of the Franks in a great council." Likewise, Smaragdus' observation, noted by McKitterick that Alleluias should cease from Septuagesima until Easter is the result of a synod

²²⁷ Anton, Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos, p. 133.

“assembled in the kingdom of the Franks.”²²⁸ In a similar manner, Rädle argues that Smaragdus worked closely with the Carolingian Benedict on monastic reforms. These were promoted chiefly through his two major monastic works, the Diadema monachorum, and the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti. Löfstedt, on the other hand, has focused on the uniformity of views expressed in Smaragdus’ commentary on the Regula s. Benedicti when compared with the monastic reforms of Benedict of Aniane upon whose Concordia regularum Smaragdus relied extensively.²²⁹

Many scholars have emphasized Smaragdus’ close relationship with Benedict of Aniane, as I have indicated, and have stressed the strength of the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti as a model for the success, if only partially, of Benedict’s monastic reforms. Yet the presence of monastic and ascetic sources other than the Regula s. Benedicti at that time suggests that the success of the reforms was far from total. Smaragdus’ Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti is an indicator of their ultimate failure since numerous allusions and direct references to monastic and ascetic sources other than the Regula s. Benedicti and quite unconnected with the Concordia regularum, abound in its pages. Consider for example, the following passages from Cassian’s Institutiones cénobitiques and Smaragdus’ Expositio in Regula s. Benedicti:

²²⁸ Eberhardt, Via regia, p. 33. Compare Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 53, p. 283 with Synodi primae Aquisgranensis decreta authentica, chap. 25, pp. 464-465. See also McKitterick’s remarks in the Frankish Kingdoms, p. 115. Compare also Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 15, pp. 203-204 with Synodi primae Aquisgranensis, chap. 5, p. 465. McKitterick discusses this in The Frankish Kingdoms, p. 113.

²²⁹ Rädle, Studien zu Smaragd, pp. 77-78; Smaragdus, Liber in partibus Donati, p. x.

Institutions cénobitiques bk. 12
chap. 32

...ut quemadmodum diximus
primum fratribus nostris
humilitatem veram intimo
cordis exhibeamus affectu.

Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 7

...ad hoc monachus vivit in monasterio, ut
humilitatum habens animum ceteris praebeat
humilitatis exemplum. Ille bene ceteris
humilitatem insinuate, qui eam in corde
veraciter portat; qui non se magnum et altum
sed ut vile et dispectum componit et aptat
mancipium; qui se pauperem spiritu et ut
puerum parvulum in medio existimat et
existimat et exhibit fratrum.

As we see in the Institutions cénobitiques, Cassian explains that monks following his precepts would exhibit to their brethren an example of true humility with a most sincere heart. Smaragdus echoes Cassian's thoughts on humility when he remarks that a monk lives in a monastery so that having a humble spirit he may exhibit an example of humility to all. Smaragdus adds:

He presents humility well to others who carries it truly in his heart; who does not consider himself noble and exalted, but vile and lowly, suitable only to be a slave who considers himself poor in spirit, a child in the midst of his brothers.²³⁰

²³⁰ Compare Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, ed. and trans. Jean-Claude Guy, 2nd ed. (SC, 109; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2001), bk. 12, chap. 32, p. 498 with Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 7, p. 185.

Smaragdus also exhibits a high degree of originality and exegetical skill in adapting verbatim and paraphrased passages from the Institutions cénobitiques to the exigencies of his own writing. A close comparison of the Institutions cénobitiques and the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti illustrates this:

<p><u>Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 4, chap. 3</u></p> <p>Et quoniam hic liber de institutione est eius qui renuntiat huic mundo, per quam scilicet introductus ad humilitatem veram et oboedientiam perfectam ceterarum quoque <u>virtutum culmina possit ascendere...</u></p>	<p><u>Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 73</u></p> <p>Cui nos libenter obtemperare et eius praecepta libenter debemus audire, quia felix qui hanc recte implere poterit regulam; felix qui in praesenti adhuc positus vita ad <u>virtutum poterit ascendere culmina.</u></p>
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Here Smaragdus exhorts his readers to listen cheerfully to Benedict's precepts and obey them happily to be able to properly implement the Rule, achieve perfection of virtues while still in the present life, and gain eternal life in the next. When we turn to Cassian's Institutions cénobitiques, we immediately notice that he employs language that in both theme and expression almost certainly inspired the pages of the later Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti. Just as Smaragdus taught his followers that perfection of virtues and the attainment of eternal salvation could be achieved by listening to Benedict's salutary precepts and implementing his Rule, so Cassian had reminded his readers that

the Institutions cénobitiques was for those who had renounced the world that they might be introduced to true humility, perfect obedience, and the achievement of perfection of virtues.²³¹

Smaragdus was also heavily indebted to Cassian's Conférences. For example, drawing extensively on Cassian's eighteenth conference for his commentary on Benedict's four types of monks, he explicitly refers to the Conferences (as Engelbert and Spannagel have ably demonstrated) to echo Cassian's remarks about the origins of coenobitic monasticism. A comparative study of the texts in question permits us to observe their shared literary genres and common expressions as well as their subtle grammatical and orthographical nuances:

Conference 18, chaps. 5-6

...monachi sive μονάξοντες
a singularis ac solitariae vitae
sunt. Unde consequens fuit ut
ex communione consortii
coenobiotae cellaque ac
diversoria eorum coenobia
vocarentur. Istud ergo

Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 1

In libris conlationum μοναχαι sive
μονζοντες singularis ac solitariae vitae
districtione nominati sunt: Unde
consequens fuit, ut ex communione consortii
χοινοβίωταί cellaeque ac diversoria eorum
χοίνοβία vocarentur. Istud ergo solum fuit
antiquissimum monachorum genus, quod

²³¹ Compare Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 4, chap. 3, p. 152 with Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 73, p. 337. For the use of Smaragdus' exegetical methods by other Carolingian authors as well, see Michael Fox, "Alcuin the Exegete: The Evidence of the Quaestiones in Genesis," in The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era, eds. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Medieval Church Studies, 3; Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 39-60.

Conference 18, chaps. 5-6

solummodo fuit antiquissimum
 monachorum genus, quod non
 solum tempore sed etiam
 gratiam primum est quodque
 per annos plurimos inviolabile
 usque ad abbatis Pauli vel
 Antonii duravit aetatem. Cuius
 nun adhuc in districtiis coenobiis
 cernimus residere vestigia.
 Iaque coenobitarum disciplina
 a tempore praedicationis
 apostolicae sumpsit exordium.
 De hoc perfectorum numero et ut
 ita dixerim fecundissima radice
 sanctorum etiam anachoretarum
 post haec flores fructusque prolati
 sunt.

Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 1

non modo tempore sed gratia primum est,
 quodque per annos plurimos solum usque
 abbatis Pauli vel Antonii duravit aetatem
 Cuius etiam nunc adhuc in districtiis
 coenobiis cernimus residere vestigia.
 Itaque coenobitarum disciplina a tempore
 praedicationis apostolicae sumpsit
 exordium. De hoc perfectorum numero et
 ut ita dixerim fecundissima radice
 sanctorum etiam anachoritarum post haec
 flores fructusque prolati sunt.

Both authors begin with a discussion of the etymology of monastic nomenclature, pointing out that monks are those who lead austere singular and solitary lifestyles. Cassian employs the Latin monachi and the Greek, μοναζοντες. Smaragdus slightly

diverges from his source when he uses μονεχοί and μοναζόντες. The etymological explorations of both Cassian and Smaragdus continue as they observe that monks who form communities are called coenobiotae and their cells and lodgings, coenobia.²³²

Moving from etymology to institutional origins, both Cassian in the Conférences and Smaragdus in the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti refer to the coenobites as the most ancient monastic order, first not only in time but also in grace. Moreover, as the comparison of authors indicates, Smaragdus echoes Cassian's creation of a fictitious origin for coenobitic monasticism as he associates its beginnings with the period of apostolic preaching.²³³ He further adds, as Cassian did, that the coenobites of the apostolic age lasted until the time of the Abbots Paul and Anthony and he echoes Cassian's observation that they were the first of the holy anchorites whose fruits and

²³² Compare Cassian, Conférences, ed. and trans. E.Pichery, (SC, 64; Paris: Éditions du Cerf: 1959), 21, chap. 12, p. 16 with Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 1, p. 55. For Jerome as a probably source for Cassian's monastic etymology, see De Vogüé, Histoire littéraire, 6: 355 and Jerome, Epistulae, ed. Isidor Hilberg, (CSEL, 56; Vienna: Vienna Academy of Science, 1996), 125, p. 127: "...mihi oppidum carcer est et solitudo paradus. Quid desideramus urbem frequentiam, qui de singularite censemur?" Compare Isidore, Etymologiae, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 1, bk. 7, chap. 13.1: "Monachus greca ethimologia vocantur, eo quod sit singularis, μοναχς etiam Graece singularitas dicitur. Ergo si solitarius interpretatur vocabulum monachi, quid facit in turba qui solus est?" Isidore's source is clearly Jerome, see Jerome, Epistulae, ed. Isidor Hilberg (CSEL, 54; Vienna: Vienna Academy of Science, 1996), 14, p. 52: "Interpretare vocabulum monachi, hoc est nomen tuum: quid facis in turba, qui solus est?"

²³³ Compare Cassian, Conférences, 18.chap. 5, p.14 with Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 1, p. 55. Cassian's view that the discipline of the coenobites originated in apostolic times has been a subject of some debate. Kardong, in Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary, p. 34, notes that Cassian's listing of coenobites first indicates chronology, not importance. For a different interpretation, see Marilyn Dunn, The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 75.

flowers sprung from the most fertile root of the post-apostolic coenobitic community.²³⁴

Another monastic and ascetic source which seems to have exercised considerable influence on Smaragdus and appears conspicuously within the pages of the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti is the mid fifth-century pseudo-Basil's Ad admonitio ad filium spiritualem. This is evident in the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti where Smaragdus' commentary on Benedict's condemnation of excessive sleep, clearly derives in part from the pseudo-Basil's chapter on fasting despite minor deviations. Compare, for instance, the textual parallels:

<u>De admonitio ad filium spiritualem, 13</u>	<u>Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, 4</u>
Sicut namque miles plurimo onere	Sicut enim miles multo onere
praegravatus praepeditur ad bellum, ita	praegravatus praepeditur ad bellum, ita
impeditus monachus ad vigiliis cum	inpeditur monachus ad vigiliis multarum
escarum largitate torpescit. Non enim	saturitate escarum gravatus. Non enim
possumus vigilare, cum fuerit dapibus	possumus vigilare cum dapibus fuerit
venter noster onustus, sed oppressi somno	venter noster onustus; sed oppressi
vigiliarum fructus amittimus et maximum	somno vigiliarum fructus amittimus, et

²³⁴ Compare Cassian, Conférences, 18, chap. 6, pp. 16-17 with Smaragdus, Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, chap. 1, p. 56. Here Cassian is not only establishing a chronological relationship between coenobites and anchorites. He is also establishing the notion that the coenobitic community served as a spiritual school for the anchoritic life, see Cassian, Conférences, 18, chap. 16, p. 36 and Jerome, Epistulae, 125, pp. 128-129. For a fuller discussion, see Gerd Summa, Geistliche Unterscheidung bei Johannes Cassian (Studien zur systematischen und spirituellen Theologie, 7; Würzburg, Echter, 1992), pp. 188-190.

IV. The Diadema monachorum

As previously noted, in writing his Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti, Smaragdus drew freely, not only from the Regula s. Benedicti, but other monastic and ascetic sources as well. This practice is also characteristic of his Diadema monachorum. Its pages, as Rädle correctly observed, betray the presence of sources other than the Regula s. Benedicti such as Cassian's Institutions cénobitiques and the mid sixth-century Verba seniorum.²³⁶

The close dependency of Smaragdus on Cassian can be determined by carefully considering common elements such as literary genre, thematic approach, and certain specificity in narrative detail. The story of Abbot John of Lycopolis and the dry stick will serve to illustrate this point. In the Diadema monachorum, Smaragdus stresses the importance of unqualified obedience as a crucial step on the path to salvation with a tale of a certain old man who planted a dry stick in the desert. Wishing to test the obedience of a brother, he ordered the monk to water it daily until it bore fruit. Although the nearest source of water was a distance away, the young man nevertheless did as his senior commanded for three years until the stick became green and bore fruit. Picking the fruit, the old man traveled to the church and told the brothers to receive and eat the fruit of

²³⁶ Rädle, Studien zu Smaragd, pp.71-74. The most recent textual study on the Institutions cénobitiques is that of De Vogüé, Histoire littéraire, 6: 45-160. The text of the Verba seniorum can be found in PL, 21, cols. 738-810. For further information on the Verba seniorum, see Columba M. Batlle, Die adhortationes sanctorum patrum (Verba seniorum) im lateinischen Mittelalter (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens, 31; Münster and Westphalia: Aschendorff, 1972), pp. 9-15.

obedience.²³⁷

Cassian tells the remarkably similar story of an old man who took a stick of wood from his woodpile that had been cut for use in his fireplace. Because no opportunity for cooking had presented itself for some time, the wood became dry and almost putrid. Placing the wood in the earth before Abbot John, he ordered him to carry water to it twice daily, so that it having been watered regularly, it might take root, be restored to its pristine condition, and with its luxurious branches, be a pleasant sight to the eyes and shade in the hot summer to those resting beneath it. Undertaking this command, John carried out his senior's wishes. Carrying water every day for almost two miles, he watered the stick continuously. For an entire year, he did not allow bodily infirmity, solemn festivities, the severity of winter, or any impediment to deter him from execution of his mandate. Cassian further related how the old man secretly observed John daily carrying out his mandate with steadfast obedience and simplicity of heart, with no change in the expression of his face and with no complaint. Equally sad over the long labor John had engaged in for an entire year, the old man approached the dry stick and inquired of John whether he saw roots or not. Upon responding that he did not know, the old man pulled out the stick, cast it away and commanded John to cease from

²³⁷ Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum*, chap. 13, PL 102, col. 610: "Plantavit quidem senex lignum aridum in eremo, et volens obedientiam fratris probare, dixit ei: 'Per singulos dies riga lignum istud, donec fructum faciat.' Erat autem longe ab eis aqua. Quod cum fecisset frater ille per tres annos, lignum illud viride factum est, et fructum attulit. Sumens autem ex fructu eius senex, detulit ad ecclesiam, et dixit fratribus: Accipite et manducate obedientiae fructum...."

watering it.²³⁸

Here identification of Cassian as Smaragdus' source rests squarely on the following considerations: a common thematic approach, as well as certain shared phrasings of words and expressions. In both narratives, impossible tasks are assigned to put absolute and unwavering obedience to the test. They both deal with a dry stick planted in the desert. The task is to water the stick frequently—the Diadema monachorum says once daily, the Institutions cénobitiques twice daily. In each version, Abbot John carries the water a long distance: Cassian refers to it as

²³⁸ Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 4, chap. 24, pp 154-156: “Sumpsit namque de lignario suo virgultum senex, quod olim excisum usibus foci fuerat praeparatum, dumque coactionis retardat occasion, non modo aridum, sed prope putre iacebat temporis vestustate. Cumque hoc coram iso, fixisset in terram, praeceit advecta aqua cotidie bis rigari, ut scilicet diurnis umoribus radiatum atque in antiquam arborem reviviscens diffuses ramis amoenitatem oculis atque umbraculum in aestu ferventi subter residentibus exhiberet. Quod praeceptum veneratione solita sine ulla inossibilitatis consideratione suscipiens adulescens ita cotidianis diebus explevit, ut aquam per duo ferme milia indesinenter adportans nullatenus lignum rigare cessaret, ut quem per totum anni spatium non infirmitas corporis, non festivitatis sollemnitas non occupation necessitates ullius, quae illum etiam honeste excusaret ab exsecutione mandati, non denique hiemis asperitas intercedens ab observantia praecepti huius potuerit impedire. Cumque eius hanc sedulitatem tacitus senex latenter diebus singulis exploraret videretque eum simplici cordis affectu mandatum suum velut divinitus emissum sine ulla permutatione vultus vel rationis discussione servare, sinceram humilitatis eius oboedientiam conprobans, pariter etiam miserans tam longum laborem, quam per totum anni spatium studio devotionis impenderat, ad aridum virgultum accedens, o inquit, Iohannes, misitne radices haec arbor an non? Cumque ille se nescire dixisset, senex, velut inquirens rei veritatem et tamquam temptans utrum iam suis radicibus niteretur, evulsit coram ipso levi commutatione virgultum, sicque proiciens illud praecepit ut deinceps rigare desineret.” For the identification of Abbot John, see Guy’s remarks in Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, p. 152, no.2.

almost two miles, Smaragdus says only that water source was very distant. Finally, both agree that the labor was of long duration: Cassian gives it as one year; Smaragdus, with considerable divergence, calls it three years.

A second story related by both Cassian and Smaragdus illustrates a connection between the Institutions cénobitiques and the Diadema monachorum. According to Smaragdus, a certain worldly man renounced the world and entered a monastery bringing his young son with him. Holding the infant, the abbot kissed him and said to his father, “Do you love him?”

“Yes,” The father replied. The abbot responded that if he loved the child, to pick up the child and throw him into a fiery furnace. When the father unhesitatingly obeyed the abbot’s command, the furnace immediately became wet with moisture. For this instance of unflinching obedience, the father acquired for himself the glory of Abraham the patriarch.²³⁹

In the fourth book of the Institutions cénobitiques, Cassian tells a similar tale about the obedience of Abbot Paternutius. In it, he recounts how Abbot Paternutius, wishing to renounce the world for a long time, slept outside the monastery until, contrary

²³⁹ Smaragdus, Diadema monachorum, chap. 13, PL 102, col. 610: “Quidam saecularis renuntiavit saeculo, et venit in monasterio, adducens secum filium suum parvulum. Quem abbas tenens, infantulum osculabatur, et dixit patri ejus: Amas hunc? Et ille respondit, Etiam. Et iterum dixit illi: Diligis eum? Et respondit, Etiam. Postea dixit illi Abbas: Tolle ergo si amas eum, et mitte illum in furnum ardentem. Et tenens eum pater suus, jactavit in furnum ardentem, et statim factus est furnus velut ros. Ex quo facto acquisivit sibi gloriam in tempore illo, quemadmodum Abraham patriarcha.”

to all monastic custom, he was received with his small son of eight years. Smaragdus's account also speaks of a father who must make the ultimate sacrifice. In his version, the abbot orders the father to pick up his son and cast him into a fiery furnace. In Cassian's original, the superior had ordered the father to cast the child into a river. In each text, divine intervention rescues the children at the last moment. Most importantly, both versions extol the virtuous obedience of the father, invoking the image of Abraham's sacrifice of Issac. Smaragdus' wording states the father acquired glory for himself after the manner of the patriarch Abraham, while Cassian relates that Abbot Paternutius had accomplished the deed of Abraham.²⁴⁰ Finally, after spiritually edifying his monastic listeners with the examples of Abbot John and Abbot Paternutius, Smaragdus delivers a final commentary as he places obedience within the scheme of eternal salvation:

Obedience is good, because it comes from God. Obedience is the salvation of the faithful. Obedience is the mother of all virtues. Obedience is the inventress of the kingdom of heaven. Obedience opens heaven and elevates man from the earth. Obedience cohabits with angels. Obedience is universal food. On it mankind has been weaned, and through it he comes to perfection.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Compare Cassian, *Institutions cénobitiques*, bk. 4, chap. 27, pp. 158-162 with Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum*, chap. 13, PL 102, col. 610. The story of Abbot Paternutius' obedience is analyzed by De Vogüé in *Histoire littéraire*, 6: 95.

²⁴¹ Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum*, chap. 13, PL 102, col. 610: "Quapropter, o filii, bona est obedientia, quae propter Deum fit. Obedientia salus est omnium fidelium. Obedientia genitrix est omnium virtutum. Obedientia regni coelorum inventrix est. Obedientia coelum aperiens, et hominem de terra elevans. Obedientia cohabitrix est angelorum. Obedientia sanctorum omnium cibus est. ex hac enim ablactae sunt, et per hanc ad perfectionem venerunt."

In addition to his adherence to Cassianic tradition, Smaragdus seems to have relied extensively on the Vitae patrum, chapter three of the Verba seniorum. A few examples illustrate this: In his chapter on prayer, Smaragdus relates that when brothers asked Abbot Macarius how to pray properly, he responded “There is not much need to speak during prayer, but to frequently extend your hands and say, ‘Lord as you wish and as you know, have compassion on me.’ ” Similarly, the author of the Verba seniorum remarks that when certain brothers asked the blessed Marcarius how they should pray, he responded to them saying, “Superfluous words are not needed but we are to extend our hands and say, ‘Lord, whatever you wish, just as it pleases you, let it be done.’ ”²⁴²

Another instance of the rhetorical unity seen in the Diadema monachorum and the Verba seniorum occurs in Smaragdus’ chapter on humility where he repeats the words of Abbot Antony: “I saw snares of the devil extended over the earth, and groaning, I said: ‘what do you think will enable us to cross these?’ And I heard a voice saying, ‘humility.’ ” This challenging exhortation as it appeared in the Verba seniorum could not be more striking: here we also have the Blessed Antony tell of seeing all the snares of the

²⁴² Compare Smaragdus, Diadema monachorum, chap. 1, PL, 102, col. 596: “Et dixit eis Senex: Non opus est multum loqui in oratione, sed extendere manus frequenter, et dicere: Domine, sicut vis, Miserere mei” with Verba seniorum, PL, 21, col. 806: “Cum quidam fratres quemadmodum orarent beatum Marcarium requisissent, respondit illis, dicens: Non sunt necessaria nobis superflua verba, sed extendere tantum manus ac dicere debemus: Deus, quomodo vis, ita fiat.”

enemy extended over the entire earth, and when he said, sighing, “Who can cross this?”

A voice said to him, ‘Humility alone will cross it, Antony.’ ”²⁴³

V. The Via regia

As we have seen, in the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti and the Diadema monachorum Smaragdus borrowed from earlier monastic and ascetic sources to create a spiritual model for abbatial leadership and to map out thematic parameters to salvation for members of his communities. In his Via regia as well, Smaragdus built his ideology of Christian sovereignty and the redemptive mission of the Carolingian Christianum imperium on the firm foundation of authors like Cassian, the Defensor of Ligugé and the early church father, Bishop Cyprian of Carthage.

To begin, I call your attention to the influence of Cassian’s Conférences. In chapter 16 of the Via regia, entitled “not glorifying in wealth but in humility,” Smaragdus employs the phrase genitrix omnium virtutum to refer to humility as the mother and nurturer of all virtues. In his far earlier second conference, Cassian had chosen a nearly verbatim metaphor by using the phrase omnium virtutum generatrix in describing the virtue of discretion.²⁴⁴ This seemingly unnoticed relationship between the writings of Smaragdus and Cassian points to the importance of the Cassian legacy in shaping Smaragdus’ ideas and presentations centuries later.

²⁴³ Compare Smaragdus, Diadema monachorum, chap. 11, PL, 102: 608 with Verba seniorum, PL, 21: 785:

²⁴⁴ Compare Smaragdus, Via regia, chap. 16, PL 102, col. 956, with Cassian, Conférences, 2, chap. 4, p. 116.

Another textual link almost unexplored is the common message the following passages suggest is shared by Smaragdus' ninth-century Via regia and the seventh-century Defensor of Ligugé's Liber scintillarum. It rests on three fundamental premises: 1) common subjects for the chapter headings on avarice; 2) within each, the use of common scriptural citations; 3) one common citation from an unidentified source of Jerome's. First, we address the scriptural citations:

Liber scintillarum , chap. 25, De avaricia

Paulus apostolus dixit: *Omnis fornicator aut immundus aut avarus, quod est idolorum, non servitus, non habet haereditatem in regno Christi et Dei.*

Salamon dixit: *Conturbat domum suam qui sectatur avaricia; qui autem odit munera vivit. Avarus non implebitur pecunia, et qui amat divicias fructus non capiet ex eis.*

Via regia, chap. 26, De cavenda avaritia

Paulus apostolus praedicat dicens:

Omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avaris, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet haereditatem in regno Christo

et Dei. Salomon in Proverbiis: Rex Justus erigit terram: vir avarus destruet eam.

Item ipse: *conturbat domum suam qui sectatur avaritiam: qui autem odit munera, vivit. Dominus in Evangelio discipulis ait: Cavete ab omni avaritia: quia non in abundantia cujusquam vita ejus est, ex his quae possidet. Huic sententiae concordans Ecclesiastes ait: Avarus non implebitur pecunia: et qui amat divitias, fructum non*

Via regia, chap. 26, De cavenda avaritia*capiet ex eis.*²⁴⁵

Here, both the Defensor and Smaragdus quote identical biblical texts to support the sinful nature of avarice. For instance, Smaragdus quotes verbatim the Defensor's citation of Paul's dire warning that "anyone who is a fornicator, possesses an impure mind or is avaricious, and because he is a slave of idolatry, will not receive an inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God." Moreover, both authors repeat the words of Ecclesiastes that "a greedy man will never be satisfied with money and he who loves wealth will never enjoy it." Further, both cite the admonitory words of Solomon: "He who pursues avarice will trouble his own house and he who hates bribes will live."

In addition to common scriptural citations on the topic of avarice, Smaragdus reproduces a passage of Jerome's from the Liber scintillarum almost verbatim although he embellishes Jerome's words with a few thoughts of his own:

Liber scintillarum, chap. 25, De avaricia

Avaricia modum ignorat et, cum omnia devoret, nescit penitus saturare. Esurit semper et inops est, et cum feralibus dentibus universa regna mundi

Via regia, chap. 26, De cavenda avaritia

Avaritia modum ignorat temperamentum nescit, finem habendi postponit, et cum Cuncta devoret, saturitatem penitus nescit, esurit semper et mendicat, inops

²⁴⁵ Compare Defensor, Liber scintillarum, ed. Henri Rochais (CCSL, 117; Turnhout: Brepols, 1957), chap. 26, p. 108 with Smaragdus, Via regia, chap. 26, PL 102, col. 965. For the scriptural citations, see Eph. 5:5, Prov. 15:27 and Eccles. 5:9.

Liber Scintillarum, chap. 25, de avaricia

discerpsit, „tu adhuc ieiuna” ,
horrebilibus confitetur.

Via regia, chap. 26, De cavenda avaritia

est et paupertate repleta; et cum
feralibus cuncta dentibus rodatur, adhuc
se jejunam horribilis confitetur clamat.²⁴⁶

For his chapter on avarice, then, as the parallel texts show, Smaragdus almost certainly depended on Jerome’s commentary, preserved in the Liber scintillarum. Both share largely virtually the same literary and thematic elements. For instance, Smaragdus closely follows his source when he notes in reference to acquisition, “greed ignores the means.” Both sources refer to avarice as “devouring all” and “not knowing when it is fully saturated.” Further, both refer to avarice as “always hungry and poor.”

If the verbatim parallels, under discussion, strongly suggest that Smaragdus received Jerome’s influence, at least in this case, through the florilegia of the Liber scintillarum numerous textual divergences indicate Smaragdus’ attempts to adapt Jerome’s themes to his own literary style. For example, Smaragdus, unlike Jerome, describes avarice as “knowing no moderation” and “postponing the end of possessing.” Jerome, however, speaks of avarice as “always hungry and poor;” for Smaragdus “it is always hungry and begs, poor and filled with poverty.” Finally, while Jerome says that

²⁴⁶ Compare Defensor, Liber scintillarum, chap. 25, p. 109: “Avarice ignores the manner, and when it devours all, it doesn’t know that it is fully saturated. It is always hungry and needy and when it mangles with its dangerous teeth, all the kingdoms of the world, you still acknowledge your hunger” with Smaragdus, Via regia, chap. 16, PL, 102: 965: “Avarice ignores the manner, doesn’t know moderation, postpones an end of possessing, and when it devours all, it doesn’t know that it is fully saturated. It is always hungry and begs, it is needy and filled with poverty, and when it consumes all with its dangerous teeth, it is hungry and shouts....” I have not been able to identify Jerome’s original source.

when avarice, after it “mangles with dangerous teeth all the kingdoms of the world and still acknowledges its hunger,” Smaragdus differs slightly in his version, using the following words: “When avarice consumes all with dangerous teeth, it still acknowledges its hunger and shouts.”

But Smaragdus’ discussion on the sinful nature of avarice is no mere derivative and unoriginal collection of biblical and patristic expressions. He clearly manipulates his sources as he places them within the context of practical theology and, with remarkable exegetical skill, adapts them to the public activities of his imperial patron and contemporary social realities of ninth-century Carolingian society. Concurrently, it is clear that Smaragdus visualized his scriptural citations on avarice as establishing fundamental spiritual parameters for his sovereign’s moral and social obligations in a properly ordered Christian society. Thus, for example, Solomon’s warning that the avaricious man will not receive an inheritance in the kingdom of God and Christ because he is a servant of idolatry, becomes a personal injunction for Charlemagne to base his relationships with the Carolingian populus dei on the firm foundation of Christian social morality. According to Smaragdus “You there, O most liberal king, love compassion and flee avarice so that you may deserve to have an inheritance with Christ.”²⁴⁷ In a similar fashion, Solomon’s warning that “he who pursues avarice troubles his house, while he who hates bribes will live,” forms the basis of Charlemagne’s public morality as

²⁴⁷ Smaragdus, Via regia, chap. 26, PL 102, col. 965: “Tu ergo, largissime rex, ama misericordiam, et fuge avaritiam, ut cum Christo haereditatem habere merearis aeternam.” See also Eph. 5:5.

Smaragdus warns him “not to allow flatterers or bribes to divert him from his royal journey.”²⁴⁸

Another source Smaragdus uses in this way is Cyprian of Carthage’s De opere et eleemosynis. The following textual parallels clearly indicate Smaragdus’ close dependency on the De opere et eleemosynis for his chapter on compassion:

Via regia, De misericordia, chap. 10

Neque enim mereri Dei misericordiam poterit, qui misericors et ipse non fuerit; aut impetrabit de divina pietate aliquid precibus, qui ad precem pauperis non fuerit humanus.

Raphael quoque angelus ut eleemosyna libenter ac largiter fiat hortatur nos, dicens: *Bona est oratio cum jejunio, et eleemosyna magis quam thesauros auri recondere, quoniam eleemosyna a morte liberat, et ipsa est quae purgat peccata, et facit invenire misericordiam et vitam aeternam.* Revelat angelus et affirmat

De opere et eleemosynis, chap. 5.

Neque enim mereri Dei misericordiam poterit qui misericors ipse non fuerit aut impetrabit de divina pietate aliquid in precibus qui ad precem pauperis non fuerit humanus.

Raphael quoque angelus paria testator et ut eleemosyna libenter ac largitor fiat hortatur dicens: *Bona est oratio cum ieiunio et eleemosyna, quia eleemosyna a morte liberat et ipsa purgat peccata.* Revelat angelus et manifestat et firmat elemosynis petitiones nostras efficaces fieri, eleemosynis vitam de periculis redimi, eleemosynis a morte

²⁴⁸ Smaragdus, Via regia, chap 26, PL, 102: 965: Tu ergo, rex, nec pro adulatoribus, nec pro muneribus, a recto regioque divertas itinere....” See also Prov. 15:27.

Via regia, De misericordia, chap. 10

De opere et eleemosynis, chap. 5

eleemosynis petitiones nostras efficaces

animas liberari.²⁴⁹

fieri, eleemosynis vitam de periculis

redimi, eleemosynis a orte animas

liberari.

As we can see, Smaragdus draws on Cyprian's account when he states, "One cannot deserve the compassion of God who is not compassionate himself." He continues to draw on Cyprian as he notes that even with prayers one cannot hope to understand divine piety if he is not responsive to the prayer of the poor. Similarly, both authors draw attention to the exhortation of the angel Raphael when they affirm, "Alms should be given freely and liberally," although Cyprian's paria testator is conspicuously absent in Smaragdus' account. Additionally, although both seem to quote the same citation from the book of Tobit, there are some interesting and significant differences. While Cyprian's citation reads, "Prayer with fasting and almsgiving is a blessing because alms frees us from death and cleanse sins;" Smaragdus' account differs somewhat: "Prayer is better with alms and fasting than to hide treasures of gold because alms frees us from death and it is alms that cleanse sins and allow us to discover compassion and eternal life." Smaragdus' additions of magis quam thesauros auri recondere, est quae and

²⁴⁹ Compare Smaragdus, Via regia, PL 102, col. 951 with Cyprian, De opere et eleemosynis, chap. 5, ed. M. Simonetti (CCSL, 3A; Turnholt: Brepols, 1976), pp. 57-58. See also Eberhardt, Via regia, pp. 136-142 for this relationship.

facit invenire misericordiam et vitam aeternam are interesting and raise the importance question of his source. The following parallels seem to indicate that his source was always certainly biblical and not the De opere et eleemosynis:

Vulgate, Tob.12:8

*bona est oratio cum ieiunio et
et elemosyna magis quam thesauros
auri condere quoniam elemosyna a
morte liberat et ipsa est quae purgat*

De opere et eleemosynis, chap. 5

*Bona est oratio cum ieiunio et eleemosyna,
quia eleemosyna a morte liberat et ipsa
purgat peccata.*

Vulgate, Tob. 12:8

peccata et faciet invenire vitam aeternam.

Via regia, chap. 10, De misericordia

*Bona est oratio cum jejunio, et eleemosyna
magis quam thesaurus auri recondere, quoniam
elemosyna a morte liberat, et ipsa est quae purgat
peccata, et facit invenire misericordiam et vitam
aeternam.²⁵⁰*

²⁵⁰ Compare Tob. 12:8 with Cyprian, De opere et eleemosynis, chap. 5, p. 57 and Smaragdus, Via regia, chap. 10, PL, 102: 951.

Finally, Smaragdus echoes Cyprian when he says, “The angel reveals and affirms that our prayers are rendered more efficacious through alms, through alms our life is redeemed from dangers and through alms, our souls are liberated from death.” Although in referring to Raphael, he replaces Cyprian’s verbs manifestat and firmit with his own affirmit.

As in his discussion on avarice, Smaragdus uses his source as a spiritual guide for contemporary social action. It forms the basis of his injunction to Charlemagne to establish his social relationships with the Christian populus dei on the firm foundation of God’s precepts in present time so he may inherit the eternal kingdom in the future. Thus, Charlemagne should “give alms frequently to the poor so that he can possess the kingdom prepared for him from the beginning of the world.” “He will be recompensed by Christ if he has given bread cheerfully to the poor.” “He will obtain eternal compassion from Christ if he has extended his right hand liberally to the poor.”²⁵¹

VI. Conclusion

Smaragdus has not been the subject of such extensive research as some of his contemporaries such as Alcuin of York and Jonas of Orléans. Nevertheless, as I have demonstrated in this chapter, his contributions need closer examination and fuller exploration. Smaragdus, abbot of Saint-Castellion and Saint-Mihiel, confidant of

²⁵¹ Smaragdus, Via regia, chap. 10, PL 102, col. 951: “Ergo, rex, ut ab origine mundi praeparatum percipias regnum, debes pauperibus eleemosynas frequenter porrigere propter Christum. Illum enim in aeternum senties retributorem, si pro illo pauperibus hilariter porrexeris panem; ab illo aeternam consequeris misericordiam, si pro illo plenam pauperibus porrexeris dexteram.”

powerful Carolingian sovereigns, major participant in the monastic reform movement of Benedict of Aniane, bears witness to a society, sharing many close affinities with our own. Much more fundamentally, Smaragdus is a window through which we can visualize the intrinsic nature and variegated structure of ninth-century Carolingian spirituality.

But if the Expositio in regulam s. Benedicti and Diadema monachorum reveal to us much about the foundation of diverse sources upon which Smaragdus erected his edifice of monastic spirituality, this is not the case for the Via regia. There, having absorbed sources such as Cassian's Conférences, the Defensor of Ligugé's Liber scintillarum and Cyprian of Carthage's De opere et eleemosynis, and molded them in the service of his remarkable exegetical skill, Smaragdus developed a manual of practical theology and a program of contemporary Christian social morality. As a result, with this reconstituted spirituality, based on monastic, ascetic and patristic traditions, Charlemagne as rector of souls could reaffirm the soteriological mission of the Carolingian Christianum imperium and guide the Christian populus dei to the eternal kingdom.

Chapter 5

The Writings of Archbishop Hincmar of Reims

I. Introduction

Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (845-882) was perhaps one of the most influential authors in Carolingian history, who donned the humble cloth of a monk only to transcend that humble destiny in his mission to bring spiritual perfection to an errant temporal sphere. Scholars have traditionally focused on Hincmar's role as a jurist and theologian. However, in my examination of his various sources of inspiration—monastic regulae, church canons, patristic literature, and Christian Roman law—I have uncovered certain juridical sources that have not been identified in Hincmar's writings. These will provide the preliminary discussion for this chapter.

First, I must note that the juridical sources treated here do not sufficiently explain the nature of Hincmar's political ecclesiology. In addition to his extensive reliance on the Regula s. Benedicti, other monastic, ascetic and patristic sources play a prominent role in Hincmar's personal and political spirituality, as they had in the writings of earlier Carolingian authors. Thus, Hincmar's attempt to promote spiritual ideals through the use of the Regula s. Benedicti, Regula s. Basilii, Cassian's Institutions cénobitiques and Conférences, as well as Hincmar's unique and original exegetical adaptation of these sources will be the significant theme for this chapter. A further extension of this chapter

will be to examine Hincmar's use of the dicta of the Fathers. My research has discovered hitherto undetected references to and quotations from Isidore of Seville's Liber numerorum, pseudo-Cyprian's De XIII abusivis saeculi, and Ambrosiaster's Commentarius in epistulas Paulinas in Hincmar's Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis, his Ad Carolum III imperatorem and Epistulae respectively. Therefore, a discussion of these passages as well as his unique and original exegetical treatment of them will constitute the major focus in this chapter.

II. Hincmar's Early Life

Hincmar was born c. 805/806 and according to the testimony of Flodoard in his Historia Remensis ecclesiae, he was descended from a noble and prestigious lineage. Although we are not informed about the identity of his parents, aided by the research of Jean Devisse, we can determine his ethnic background, some members of his immediate family and some of his distant relatives with some degree of certainty. According to Devisse, Hincmar's name points to a Gothic or Saxon origin, and based on the information we have on his nephew Hincmar of Laon, we can perhaps establish his place of birth in the region of Boulogne. We know that Hincmar had two sisters, the mother of Hincmar of Laon and a Hildegard, whose son or son-in-law possessed estates in Alemannia. Moreover, (as Devisse noted), the fact that two relatives occupied more or

less significant comital positions, Bertrand in the Tardenois and Bernard II at Toulouse, places Hincmar in the ranks of the traditional German aristocracy.²⁵²

Turning to Hincmar's childhood, we know, based on the evidence of Flodoard and Hincmar's own testimony, that he was entrusted to Abbot Hilduin of the monastery of Saint-Denis and spent his formative years there, learning both the spiritual and secular arts. According to Flodoard's account:

Hincmar, from childhood, in the monastery of Saint-Denis, under the guidance of Abbot Hilduin, was nourished on the milk of the Regula s. Benedicti and instructed in the study of letters. Later, on account of his nobility, he was led to the palace of Emperor Louis the Pious, where he worked with the Emperor and Abbot Hilduin under the authority of the bishops to restore monastic discipline in Saint-Denis where a faction of monks had slipped into the abyss of worldly pleasures for a long time. And so, Hincmar, in order to accomplish in deed what he had persuaded by word, set a good example by having religious conversations with others, and restrained himself through correction and subjected his body

²⁵² The date of Hincmar's birth is highly conjectural and is not mentioned in any sources. Modern sources simply place it in either 805 or 806, without any valid explanation for doing so. Max Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, 3 vols. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, IX, 2; Munich: C.H. Beck; rep. 1974), 1: 339 states that Hincmar was born during the reign of Charles the Great, perhaps in the year 806. Thomas Gross and Rudolph Schieffer in Hincmar's De ordine palatii, eds. Thomas Gross and Rudolph Schieffer, MGH LL 8 (Hanover: Hahn, 1980), p. 9, also place his birth in 806 in the northwestern Frankish kingdom. See also Jean Devisse, Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims 845-882, 3 vols. (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1975-6), 2: 1096.

to spiritual servitude.²⁵³

Flodoard's evidence is confirmed by Hincmar's own recollection in 867 that from childhood he was educated in the rudiments of the monastery and received further education in the palace of the Emperor.²⁵⁴ Hincmar further relates that since he had no desire to become a bishop or prelate, he took leave of the secular world by taking vows in that monastery where the rudiments of the vita regularis first inspired him as a child.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ Flodoard, Historia Remensis ecclesiae, bk. 3, chap. 1, pp. 190-1: "Is siquidem Hincmarus a pueritia in monasterio sancti Dyonisii sub Hilduino abbate monasteriali religione nutritus et studiis litterarum imbutus indeque sui tam generic quam sensus nobilitate in palatium Ludovici imperatoris deductus et familiarem ipsius notitiam adeptus fuerat ibique, prout potuit, cum imperatore et prefato abbate sub episcoporum auctoritate laboravit, ut ordo monasticus in predidcto monasterio quorundam voluptuosa factione diu delapsus restauraretur, et ut opera quoque adimpleret, quod sermone suadebat, etiam ipse religiose conversationi cum aliis se subdidit castigans corpus suum et spirituali subiciens servituti."

²⁵⁴ Hincmar, epistula 198, MGH Epp. 6: 210. For a further discussion, see Philippe Depreux, Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (780-840) (Instrumenta 1; Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1997), pp. 257-8.

²⁵⁵ Hincmar, epistula 198, MGH Epp. 6: 210: "...converses autem ad regularem vitam et habitum fratribus in monasterio sancti Dionysii, ubi nutritus fueram, in illud saeculum fugiens sine spe vel appetite episcopatus aut alicuius praelationis diutius degui et exinde adsumptus familiaribus obsequiis praefati imperatoris ac episcoporum conventibus pro sola oboedientia mihi iniuncta inserviens post aliquot annos monasterii quietem repetii." See also, Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur, 1: 339. Schieffer, "Hincmar von Reims," Lexikon des Mittelalters 5 (1990) 355 placed Hincmar at the court of the Emperor in 822 suggesting that he went into a voluntary exile with Abbot Hilduin in Corvey in 830 and was soon back again at Saint-Denis as a monk. Devisse, Hincmar Archevêque de Reims, 2: 1091 states Hilduin was in exile at Paderborn, then Corvey and dates his return with Hincmar to Saint-Denis to about 822. It was about that time that Hincmar took monastic vows. For a discussion of the exile in contemporary sources, see the Astronomer, chap. 45, Vita Hluodowici imperatoris, MGH SSRG, 64: 462.

III. Hincmar's Episcopal Career

However, contrary to his personal wishes, Hincmar was elected Archbishop of Reims c.845 with the approval of Archbishop Wenilo of Sens, and Bishop Erchenrad of Paris, as well as the consent of the Abbot Louis for the brothers of Saint-Denis, and of course, King Charles the Bald. As in his earlier life, Hincmar's career as Archbishop of Reims continued to be characterized by the impact of monastic ideals on his spirituality and his continuing role as an active participant in monastic affairs. The most notable examples of the continuing influence of monastic ideals during his long episcopal career, (as Karl F. Morrison has observed), can be found by even a cursory examination of his numerous epistulae.²⁵⁶

For instance, in an epistolary preface, dated c.800, on the important issue of Lothar II's divorce, Hincmar citing the Regula s. Benedicti directly, and, adapting it to the specific needs of his royal reader, attempts to admonish the king about the spiritual responsibility he bears for the sins of his subjects at the Last Judgment. When Hincmar speaks of kings who were put in powerful positions by God so that those over whom they exercise the cura animarum, could gaze at them as though looking into a mirror, he is echoing a component of a well- established monastic tradition. When, in the same letter, Hincmar speaks of the spiritual importance of the eyes of the heart, he is relying on pious imagery and language that stretches from the Regula s. Basilii to the patristic writings

²⁵⁶ Karl F. Morrison, "'Unum ex multis': Hincmar of Rheims Medical and Aesthetic rationales for Unification," in Nascità dell'Europa ed Europa Carolingia: un'equazione da verificare, 2 vols. (Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, Settimane 27; Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1981), 2: 606-7.

of Augustine and Gregory the Great.²⁵⁷ In a similar fashion, Hincmar further echoes the sentiments of the Benedictine cloister when at the Synod of Soissons held c.860, he stresses to the assembled bishops the importance of good works and emphasizes the degrees of humility which one must reach to achieve spiritual illumination, a theme he repeatedly underscores by the many references he makes to the monastic quality of humility.²⁵⁸

Turning our attention to Hincmar's participation in monastic affairs, based on the evidence of Flodoard's Historia Remensis ecclesiae, we know that Hincmar regularly associated with prominent monastic personalities. For example, in a provincial synod held by Hincmar at Soissons in the monastery of Saint-Médard in 853, the seventh year of his episcopate, among those attending were: Abbot Dodo of Saint-Savin, Abbot Lupus of Ferrières and Abbot Bernhard of Fleury. Other monastic representatives included: Odo of Corbie, Heiric of Saint-Lomer, and Bavo of Orbais. What is more, Flodoard

²⁵⁷ Compare Hincmar, epistula 134, MGH Epp. 6: 78 with Regula s. Benedicti, ed. Rudolph Hanslik, 2nd ed. (CSEL, 75; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1977), chap. 2, p. 28. Hincmar's metaphorical use of a mirror to measure spiritual perfection can be found, for example, in Athanasius' Vie de saint Antoine, the Regula s. Basilii, and Cassian's Institutions cénobitiques and Conférences; see La plus ancienne version latine de la vie de s. Antoine par s. Athanase: Étude du critique textuelle, ed. H. Hoppenbrouwers (Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva, 14; Nijmegen: Dekkers and Van de Vegt, 1960), chap. 7, p. 86; Regula s. Basilii, ed. Klaus Zelzer (CSEL, 86; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1986), chap. 2, pp. 20-21; Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, ed. and trans. Jean-Claude Guy, 2nd ed. (SC, 109; Éditions du Cerf, 2001), bk. 11, chap. 17, pp. 442-4. Hincmar's use of the "eyes of the heart" can be found, inter alia, in Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 5, chap. 34, p. 244.

²⁵⁸ Hincmar, epistula 184, MGH Epp. 6: 182. For the notion of good works as a monastic ideal, see Thomas Noble, "The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire: The Case of Louis the Pious," Revue bénédictine 88 (1976): 245-6 and for the steps of humility, see Cassian, Institutions cénobitiques, bk. 4, chap. 38, p. 178-9 and Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 7, pp. 43-57.

reports that many deacons were stationed among the clergy according to rank in groups surrounding King Charles, to deliberate over “certain pressing affairs of the church of God.”²⁵⁹

We also find that Hincmar’s advocacy of monastic property rights is well documented. Between 845-850, it was at his suggestion that Charles the Bald restored to the monks at Saint-Remi, two small mansi in the territory of Perthois and the villa of Baildrion as well as two small mansi in Waldron with all dependents and legal rights.²⁶⁰ Furthermore, between 845 and 850, for the monastery of Saint-Germer, King Charles the Bald, presumably at Hincmar’s request, confirmed that he would rebuild what the invasions of the Northmen had destroyed and restore religious life to its pristine condition. Yet Flodoard tells us that the same king later attempted to take back from Hincmar what he had previously granted.²⁶¹ In addition to the restoration of monastic territory and building activity initiated by Hincmar, he also protected and defended monastic property

²⁵⁹ Flodoard, Historia Remensis ecclesiae, bk. 3, chap. 11, p. 211. For a detailed analysis of the synodal members, see Martina Stratmann, Hinkmar von Reims als Verwalter von Bistum und Kirchenprovinz (Quellen und Forschungen zur Recht im Mittelalter, 6; Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1991), pp. 28-30. For a fuller discussion of the Synod of Soissons, see Michel Sot, Un historien et son église au Xe siècle: Flodoard de Reims (Paris: Fayard, 1993), pp. 511-14 and Devisse, Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims, 1: 43-4. On this subject, see Heinrich Schrörs, Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims: Seine Leben und seine Schriften (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1884), pp. 126-134. According to Schrörs, Flodoard’s “pressing affairs of the church of God,” seems to have included among other things, deliberations on the validity of Ebbo’s deposition from and Hincmar’s election to the see of Reims.

²⁶⁰ Flodoard, Historia Remensis ecclesiae, bk. 3, chap. 10, p. 209.

²⁶¹ Flodoard, Historia Remensis ecclesiae, bk. 3, chap. 18, p. 256; Schrörs, Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims, reg. 32, p. 520; Hincmar, epistula 29, MGH Epp. 6: 10. See also Les abbayes bénédictines du diocese de Reims, ed. François Poirier-Coutansais (Gallia Monastica, 1; Paris: A.J. Picard, 1974).

outside the Diocese of Reims. Between 865 and 870, Hincmar petitioned King Louis the German for the defense and protection of Saint-Remi's possessions in Thuringia and again, in 874-876, the Archbishop petitioned for protection of possessions in the Ardennes and elsewhere.²⁶²

As well as his efforts to defend and restore monastic life and property, Stratmann notes that Hincmar expended great energy in embellishing the monastery of Saint-Remi, intervening in its monastic affairs and promoting the cult of the illustrious founder, Saint Remigius. According to Stratmann, it was during Hincmar's episcopate that the rebuilding of the Saint-Remi dome and annex took place.²⁶³ It can be said that he worked so diligently to cultivate devotion to Saint Remigius, partly from his own personal devotion to his patron saint, and partly to increase his own prestige by attracting Frankish support for King Charles as successor to his nephew Lothar. He aspired to build a bridge between heaven and earth by linking the living bishop to the posthumous saint. In Stratmann's account, the cloister church of Saint-Remi—which up to the tenth century was the burial palace of archbishops and kings—was graced with a new crypt by Archbishop Hincmar. On October 1, 852, after creating a splendid reliquary and shrine for Saint Remigius, he transferred the remains of the holy man there.²⁶⁴

²⁶² Flodoard, Historia Remensis ecclesiae, bk. 3, chap. 20, p. 263 and Schrörs, Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims, reg. 258, p. 537; Flodoard, Historia Remensis ecclesiae, bk. 3, chap. 20, p. 267.

²⁶³ Stratmann, Hinkmar von Reims, p. 53, 55; Flodoard, Historia Remensis ecclesiae, bk. 2, chap. 17, p. 170.

²⁶⁴ Stratmann, Hinkmar von Reims, p. 55; Flodoard, Historia Remensis ecclesiae, bk. 3, chap. 9, p. 205. See also Schrörs, Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims, pp. 460-1 and Devisse, Hincmar, Archevêque von Reims, pp. 446-54.

Finally, Flodoard tells us that Hincmar, between 865 and 870, informed Louis the German he was sending him the relics of the saints of Reims as well as a copy of the Vita s. Remigii that Louis had requested. In 882, with the assault of Northmen on Reims, Hincmar, taking the body of Saint Remigius, headed towards forested areas across the Marne into the villa of Éperney. There, Flodoard accounts, after guarding the body for some time, Hincmar died in the year 882.²⁶⁵

IV. Hincmar's Ad episcopos regni and the Council of Paris of 829

As noted above, Hincmar's theological views derived from numerous and diverse sources. Scholars widely believe one sequence of sources, the juridical, to have played a fundamental role in the formation of his spiritual thought. For instance, Letha Böhringer, in the most recent edition of Hincmar's De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae, observed that Hincmar relied extensively on such juridical sources as Roman law, canons of church councils and papal decretals.²⁶⁶

Interestingly, however, some juridical sources such as the 829 Council of Paris to which in certain of his writings, Hincmar was greatly indebted, have remained virtually undetected, unquoted and unexplored. Only Devisse in his important study of Hincmar has detected a close relationship between the Council of Paris and Hincmar's Ad

²⁶⁵ Flodoard, Historia Remensis ecclesiae, bk. 3, chap. 30, p. 362. Flodoard's account is confirmed by Hincmar's own testimony in Annales de Saint-Bertin, ed. Félix Grat, Jeanne Vielliard and Suzanne Clémencet (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1964), p. 362.

²⁶⁶ Hincmar, De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae, ed. Letha Böhringer, MGH, LL Con. 4; suppl. 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1992).

episcopus regni. More precisely, Devisse has argued that Hincmar's discussion of the proper functioning of the royal ministerium in chapter 12 of the Ad episcopos regni derives almost verbatim from canon 56 of the Council of Paris.²⁶⁷ A comparison of the close similarities in both texts will demonstrate this relationship more clearly:

Hincmar, Ad episcopos regni, chap. 13

Oportet enim, ut qui iudex est pauperes
ad se ingredi permittat, et diligenter
inquirat; ne forte illi, qui ab eo constituti
sunt, et vicem eius agere debent in
populo injuste aut negligenter pauperes
pati oppressiones permittant

Concilium Pariensiense A.829, c.56

Et ideo oportet, ut ipse, qui iudex est
iudicum, causam pauperum ad se ingredi
faciat et diligenter inquirat; ne forte illi
qui ab eo constituti sunt et vicem eius
agere debent in populo, iniuste aut
neglegenter pauperes oppressiones pati
permittant.²⁶⁸

As is evident, Hincmar follows his source very closely, only occasionally exhibiting minor grammatical deviations. Both texts, for example, underscore in concise terms, the king's function as curator animarum.²⁶⁹ This element of the royal ministerium

²⁶⁷ Devisse, Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims, 2: 1004.

²⁶⁸ Compare Concilium Pariensiense A.829, c.56, MGH LL Con. 2: 652 with Hincmar, Ad episcopos regni, chap. 13, PL 125, col. 1015.

²⁶⁹ For more on the cura animarum, see Giles Constable, "Monasteries, Rural Churches and the cura animarum in the Early Middle Ages," Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle compagne nell'Alto Medioevo: espansione e resistenze, (Settimane di studio 28, Spoleto, 1982), pp. 349-89.

is clearly accentuated for the ruler as both texts stress the importance of advocating the cause of the poor:

It is fitting that he who is judge of judges should permit the poor to approach him, and diligently inquire into their cause. Lest, by chance, those who have been placed in power by him and ought to work for the people on his behalf, allow the poor to suffer through injustice or neglect.

However, the relationship between the Council of Paris and Hincmar's Ad episcopos regni appears to be more extensive than Devisse' remarks suggest. A point not addressed by scholars is Hincmar's further indebtedness to the Council of Paris as per his warnings of the dire spiritual consequences awaiting negligent rulers who do not establish rectores to rule the people of God with justice and equity. The following comparative analysis will illustrate this:

Concilium Pariensiense A.829, c.57

His quae praemissa sunt declaratur, quod hi, qui post regem populum Dei regere debent, id est duces et comites, necesse est ut tales ad constituendum provideantur, qui sine periculo eius, a constituuntur, constitui possint, scientes se ad hoc positos esse, ut plebem Christi sibi

Hincmar, Ad episcopos regni, chap. 14

Qui autem post regem populum regere debent, id est duces et comites, necesse est ut tales instituantur, qui sine periculo ejus qui eos constituit, quos sub se habent cum justitia et aequitate gubernare intelligent, atque cum bona voluntate quod intellunt adimplere procurent, scientes se

Concilium Parisiense A.829, c.57

natura aequalem recognoscant eamque
 clementer salvent ei iuste regant, non ut
 dominantur et affligant neque ut populum
 Dei suum aestiment aut ad suam gloriam
 sibi illum subiciant, quod non pertinet ad
 iustitiam, sed potius ad tyrannidem et
 iniquam potestatem. Exigit necessitas
 ut, quia ipse procul dubio rex aequissimo
 iudici de commisso sibi ministerio
 rationem redditurus est, ut etiam singuli
 qui sub eo constituti sunt ministri
 diligentissime ab eo inquiratur, ne ipse
 pro eis iudicium incurrat divinum.²⁷⁰

Hincmar, Ad episcopos regni, chap. 14

ad hoc positos esse, ut plebem salvent et
 regant, non ut dominantur et affligant; neque
 ut populum Dei suum aestiment, aut ad
 suam gloriam sibi illum subjici, quod
 pertinent ad tyrannidem et iniquam etiam
 potestatem. Valde enim exigit necessitas
 quia rex aequissimo iudici de commisso
 sibi ministerio rationem redditurus est, ut
 etiam singuli qui sub eo inquirantur, et
 tales constituentur, ne ipse pro eis iudicium
 incurrat divinum.

As we can clearly see, although Hincmar periodically interjects his own literary style, his close dependence on canon 57 of the Council of Paris is unmistakable. Drawing nearly verbatim from his source, Hincmar instructs his ruler in the proper exercise of the royal cura animarum:

Who, moreover, ought to rule the people after the king; that is, dukes

²⁷⁰ Compare Concilium Parisiense A.829, c.57, MGH LL Con. 2: 656 with Hincmar, Ad episcopos regni, chap. 14, PL 125, cols. 1015-16. See also Jonas, Le métier de roi, chap. 5, pp. 209-10.

and counts, it is necessary that such be appointed that do not constitute a danger to him who established them. Who understand they must rule those entrusted to them with justice and equity and understand they should take care to perform this with good will. They should know that they have been placed in power for those reasons; to protect and rule over the people, not to dominate and afflict them, not to consider the people of God their own nor should they think they people are placed under them for their own glory which pertains to tyranny and unjust power.

Hincmar ends by echoing the words of Benedict on the abbatial cura animarum, filtered through the Council of Paris, as he warns King Carlomann of the dire spiritual consequences for monarchs who fail to correct wicked and oppressive judges:

Consequently, necessity demands that since the king must render an account to the most just judge, for the ministerium entrusted to him, he must scrutinize the actions of all his ministers established under him most diligently; lest he himself incur the wrath of the divine judgment for their actions.²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Compare Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 3, pp. 30-1: “Ipse tamen abba cum timore dei et observatione regulae omnia faciat sciens se procul duvio de omnibus iudiciis suis aequissimo iudici deo rationem redditurum” with Concilium Pariensiense, A.829, c.57, MGH LL Con. 2: 656: “Valde enim exigit necessitas ut, quia ipse procul dubio rex aequissimo iudici de commisso sibi ministerio rationem redditurus est....”

V. Hincmar and the Regula s. Benedicti

As previously noted, Hincmar in his writings drew extensively upon juridical sources. Yet the belief held by certain scholars that the more juridical basis of Hincmar's writings contrasts sharply with the pious ethos of the writings of the earlier Carolingian such as Jonas and Smaragdus is open to serious question. As we have clearly seen, not only did Hincmar derive passages of monastic origin such as the Regula s. Benedicti indirectly through juridical sources like the Council of Paris, but also in many cases, directly, by acknowledging the Regula s. Benedicti as a juridical source in its own right. Moreover, Hincmar drew numerous passages from the Regula s. Benedicti as soteriological guides for his pastoral theology, often adapting and manipulating his source with a sophisticated degree of originality. First, however, let us turn our attention to Hincmar's use of the Regula s. Benedicti as a juridical source.

One example where Hincmar seems to acknowledge the juridical nature of the Regula s. Benedicti occurs in a letter dated 852 addressed to Archbishop Amalo of Lyons. There Hincmar notes that the monk Gottschalk, for his heretical views on predestination and for lack of humility displayed at the Council of Quierzy, was condemned to be punished both by the rigors of ecclesiastical law and by the precepts of the Regula s. Benedicti. About the condemnation of Gottschalk's false doctrine, Hincmar expresses the following:

And because of his most impudent insolence, it was judged proper by the abbots and other monks that he should be flogged in accordance with the

Regula s. Benedicti. And because, contrary to canon law, he unceasingly endeavored to disturb civil law and ecclesiastical business and refused to acknowledge this, or to show proper humility in any way, he was condemned by the bishops according to ecclesiastical law.²⁷²

In a similar fashion, Hincmar underscores the juridical nature of the Regula s. Benedicti when he notes the close similarities between chapter 2 of the Regula s. Benedicti and canon 38 of the Council of Agde held in 506:

The Council of Agde, in the thirty-eighth canon, decreed saying: *A monk who has not emended his abusive use of words should be corrected with lashes.* The holy rule, promulgated through the mouth of the blessed Benedict is imbued with the same Holy Spirit as the sacred canons in the venerated councils. In the second chapter of the Rule, Benedict orders that the undisciplined be restrained by lashes and other bodily chastisement at the very onset of the sin itself. As it is written: *A foolish man is not corrected with words; strike your son with a staff and you will liberate his soul from death.*²⁷³

²⁷² Hincmar, epistula 48, MGH Epp. 6: 27-8: “Et propter inpudentissimam insolentiam suam per regulam sancti Benedicti a monachorum abbatibus vel ceteris monachis dignis flagello adiudicatus et, quia contra canonicam institutionem civilian et ecclesiastica negotia perturbare studuit defessus et se noluit recognoscere vel aliquot modo humiliare profusus, ab episcopis est secundum ecclesiastica iura damnatus.”

²⁷³ Hincmar, De una et non trina deitate, PL 125, col. 505: “Agathense concilium capite trigesimo octavo decrevit, dicens: Monachos, quos verborum increpatio non emendaverit, etiam verberibus statuimus coerceri. quod et sancta regula eodem Spiritu sancto quo et sacri canones in venerandis conciliis per os beati Benedicti promulgatas, secundo capitulo jubet indisciplinatos scilicet et inquietos durius arguere, et improbos, et duros ac superbos vel inobedientes verberum vel corporis castigatione in ipso initio peccati coercere.”

In addition to his use of the Regula s. Benedicti as a juridical source, Hincmar also characteristically incorporated into his own theological writings passages from the Regula s. Benedicti suitably altered and recast in a context more closely in tune to the sensitivities of his own audiences and the major theological quandaries of his day. To apply Carol Scheppard's words from her work on the Eclogae tractatorium in psalterium to the study of Hincmar: "It is if the compiler collected sentences from patristic authorities like pictures from a magazine and arranged them in a collage that reflects more his own thoughts than those of his sources."²⁷⁴ A conspicuous example occurs in Hincmar's De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae where he significantly alters Benedict's discussion of the abbatial cura animarum in chapter 3 of the Regula s. Benedicti to pointedly remind King Lothar of the account he must render to God for all his earthly judgments. A comparative analysis of the texts follows:

Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 3

Ipse tamen abba cum timore dei
et observatione regulae omnia
faciat sciens se procul duvio de
omnibus iudiciis suis aequissimo
iudici deo.

Hincmar, De divortio, praefatio

Et sanctus spiritus per beatos viros
Benedictum et Cyprianum confirmat,
quia unusquisque rex de omnibus
iudiciis suis aequissimo iudici deo
rationem reddet in die iudicii....

²⁷⁴ Carol Scheppard, "Prophetic History: Tales of Righteousness and Calls to Action in the Eclogae tractatorium in psalterium," in The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era, eds. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Medieval Church Studies, 3; Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 65.

Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 2

Et quantum sub cura sua fratrum
se habere scierit numerum, agnoscat
pro certo, quia in die iudicii ipsarum
omnium animarum est redditurus
domino rationem sine dubio addita
et suae animae.

Hincmar, De divortio, praefatio

...quia unusquisque rex de omnibus
iudiciis suis aequissimo iudici deo
rationem reddet in die iudicii et pro
tantis rationem reddet, quantos sub
cura sua habuerit, sine habio addita et
animae suae.²⁷⁵

Here we see remarkable stylistic parallels as well as close similarities in thematic approach. Most conspicuous is the analogy between Hincmar's remarks on the royal cura animarum and Benedict's on the abbatial cura animarum. Moreover, Hincmar's passages seem to form a composite picture drawing elements from both chapters 2 and 3 of the Regula s. Benedicti. For example, Hincmar's observation that each king must render an account to God, the most just judge, for all their judgments on the Day of Judgment, is closely drawn from chapter 3 of the Regula s. Benedicti where Benedict teaches that the abbot should do everything with the fear of God and observation of the Rule, knowing, without doubt that he must render an account to God, the most just judge, for all his judgments. Further, each text uses the identical phrases aequissimi iudici and de omnibus iudiciis when referring to God and the role of judges. Finally, when Hincmar adds that each king, in addition to his own soul, must render an account to God on the Day of Judgment, for all those under his care, a comparison of both texts shows his pen tracing

²⁷⁵ Compare Hincmar, De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae, MGH Con. 4: 110 with Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 3, p. 31 and chap. 2, p. 28.

Benedict's quantum sub cura sua fratrum se habere scierit numerum et sine dubio addita et suae animae almost verbatim from chapter 2 of the Regula s. Benedicti. According to Benedict: "And as great a number of brothers he has known to be under his care, let him know for certain that on the Day of Judgment he must render an account to God for all those souls in addition to his own."²⁷⁶

Hincmar also demonstrates a unique exegetical skill when adapting the language of the Regula s. Benedicti, in a didactic fashion, for the sake of instruction on some of the major theological controversies of his own day. A noteworthy example occurs in Hincmar's treatise against Gottschalk's heretical views on both the Trinity and predestination, the De una et non trina deitate. The following textual comparisons illustrate this:

Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 4

Veritatem ex corde et ore proferre

De una et non trina deitate, chap. 1

...velut antidotum salubre debet corde et ore proferre.²⁷⁷

Here we see rather than quoting directly from the Regula s. Benedicti and identifying his source, Hincmar has made Benedict's language his own in combating both the Trinitarian

²⁷⁶ Letha Böhringer has noted Hincmar's dependence on chapter 2 of the Regula s. Benedicti for his discussion of the royal cura animarum. However, she has not discussed his debt to chapter 3 of the Regula s. Benedicti as well as his original exegetical treatment of the Regula s. Benedicti. See Böhringer's comments in Hincmar, De divortio, p. 110.

²⁷⁷ Compare Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 4, p. 33 with Hincmar, De una et non trina deitate, chap. 1, PL 125, col. 495. For the full context of Hincmar's velut antidotum salubre debet corde et ore proferre, see Hincmar, De una et non trina deitate, chap. 1, PL 125, cols. 495-6.

and predestinarian heresies of the monk Gottschalk. Hincmar alters Benedict's veritatem ex corde et ore proferre to antidotum salubre debet corde et ore proferre as, inflamed by apostolic zeal, he admonishes the faithful to apply with heart and mouth the salubrious remedy of Christ's example against Gottschalk's evil suggestions.²⁷⁸

VI. Hincmar, the Regula s. Basilii and the Conférences of John Cassian

As I have noted in this study, monastic influence in the form of the Regula s. Benedicti pervaded the pages of Hincmar's literature. However, in addition to the Regula s. Benedicti, the Regula s. Basilii and Cassian's Conférences also reveal the influence of monastic writings in Hincmar's writings. Their inspiration as well as Benedict's was apparent in the evolution of Hincmar's spiritual thought, and suggests his attempt to expand the influence of the vita regularis far beyond the cloistered coenobitic populations for whom it was originally intended. Looking at Hincmar's use of the Regula s. Basilii, in book 1, chapter 3 of his De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis, concerning idle gossip, Hincmar shows an intimate familiarity with chapter 42 of the Regula s. Basilii. To confirm this, let us compare the following texts in juxtaposition:

De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus, bk.1, chap. 3 Regula s. Basilii, chap. 42, resp. 1-6

Due autem sunt causę in quibus licet alicui Duas opinor esse causas in quibus

²⁷⁸ For background on Gottschalk, consult George H. Tavard, Trina Deitas: The Controversy Between Hincmar and Gottschalk (Marquette Studies in Theology, 12; Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1996), and Celia Chazelle, "Exegesis in the Ninth-Century Eucharist Controversy," in The Study of the Bible, pp. 75-8. Chazelle has also noted Hincmar's original exegetical skill. For her comments, see her "Exegesis in the Ninth-Century," p. 179.

De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus, bk. 1, chap. 3

dicere et retractare aliena mala: si quando necesse est consilium habere cum ceteris, qui in hoc ipso videntur adsumi, quomodo corrigatur is qui peccavit vel male aliquid egit, et rursus si quando necesse est praeveniri aliquem et commeneri, ne forte incurrat in consortium alicuius mali dum eum putat esse bonum, quia apostolus dicit: *Nolite commisceri cum huiusmodi!* Et Salomon: *Noli manere cum homine iracundo, ne forte sumas laqueum anime tue!* Quod et ipsum apostolum fecisse invenimus per hoc, quod scribit ad Timotheum, dicens: *Alexander aerarius multa mala mihi ostendit, quem et tu evita; valde enim restitit verbis nostris.* Praeter huiusmodi autem necessitates, qui dicit adversus alium, ut vel deroget ei vel obtrechet, istud est detrahere, etiam si vera videantur esse, quae dicit.

Regula s. Basili, chap. 42, resp. 1-6

licet alicui dicere et retractare aliena mala. Si quando consilium habere necesse est cum ceteris qui in hoc ipso videntur assume, quomodo corrigatur is qui peccavit vel male aliquid egit, et rursus si quando necesse est praeveniri aliquem et commoneri, ne forte incurrat in consortium alicuius mali dum eum putat esse bonum, quia apostolus dicit: *Nolite commisceri cum huiusmodi*, et Salomon: *Noli manere cum homine iracundo ne forte sumas laqueum animae tuae.* Quod et ipsum apostolum fecisse invenimus per hoc quod scribit ad Timotheum dicens: *Alexander aerarius multa mala mihi ostendit, quem tu quoque evita, valde enim restitit nostris sermonibus.* Praeter huiusmodi

Regula s. Basili, chap. 42, resp. 1-6

autem necessitates quicumque dicit
 aliquid adversus alium ut vel deroget
 ei alium ut vel deroget ei vel
 obrectet, istud est detreahere, etiam
 si vera videantur esse quae dicit.²⁷⁹

As the above textual comparison illustrates, Hincmar relied closely on the Regula s. Basili to establish spiritual parameters for Charles the Bald on the dual nature of idle gossip. Under very specific circumstances, for example, both Basil and Hincmar permit idle gossip if it serves a purely soteriological function. According to both:

There are two circumstances in which it is permissible to speak about and disparage the faults of another; in the first place, when it is necessary for counsel to be held with others who decide how one who has sinned or done something evil should be corrected. And again when it is necessary for someone to be restrained and admonished lest he fall into the company of someone evil whom he thinks is good.

²⁷⁹ Compare Hincmar, De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis, ed. Doris Nachtmann (MGH, Quellen zur geistesgeschichte des Mittelalter, 16; Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1998), bk. 1, chap. 3, p. 174 with Regula s. Basili, ed. Klaus Zelzer (CSEL, 76; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1986), chap. 42, resp. 1-6, p. 87. For Basil's and Hincmar's scriptural citations, see 2 Thess 3:14, Prov. 22:24 and 2 Tim. 4:14. Nachtmann was the first to note Hincmar's dependency on Basil for his discussion on idle gossip, see Hincmar, De cavendis vitiis, bk. 1, chap. 3, p. 174, n. 222.

Conversely, however, both authors, citing the authority of scripture, stress the dire spiritual consequences that await those who engage in idle gossip merely for slanderous reasons. Moreover, they also acknowledge the sinfulness of all Christians who consort with those who engage in such base acts. Thus, according to both Hincmar and Basil:

As John the apostle says, Do not associate with people of that sort; says Salomon: Don't remain with an angry man lest by chance you set a trap for your soul. That the apostle John had done this, we discover through the letter which he wrote to Timothy saying: Alexander the coppersmith exhibited much evil to me. For this reason, you must also avoid him. For he greatly resisted our words. For these reasons, it is necessary to avoid one who speaks against another in defamation and Solomon disparages him even though the words which he says may seem true.

As in the case of the Regula s. Basilii and the Regula s. Benedicti, Hincmar continued to rely on the literary traditions of his monastic past and drew upon Cassian's Conférences to underscore the spiritual value of relaxation in his Vita s. Remigii. The striking similarities found in the Vita s. Remigii and Cassian's twenty-fourth conference illustrate a certain resemblance.

Hincmar, Vita s. Remigii, chap. 5

Fertur relatione maiorum, quia cum
beato Iohanni apostolo avis quae per dix
viva et sana a quodam oblate fuisset

Conférences, conference 24, chap. 21

Fertur beatissimus evangelista Johannes,
cum perdicem suis minibus molliter
demulceret, philosophum quondam ritu

Hincmar, Vita s. Remigii, chap. 5

cepit eam leni manu demulcendo tractare. Quod quidam adolescentium videns, ad coevos suos ridendo dixit: ‘Videte, quomodo ille senex cum avicula sicut et puer ludit.’ Beatus vero apostolus per spiritum ista cognoscens, vocavit ad se iuvenem, interrogans, quid manu teneret. Cui iuvenis: ‘Arcum,’ inquit. Et beatus Iohannes: ‘Quod habet officium illud quod manu tenes?’ Et iuvenis: ‘Sagittamus,’ inquit, in inde bestias sive aves vel alia queque.’ Et beatus Iohannes: ‘Quomodo,’ inquit, ‘vel quo ordine?’ Et iuvenis, curvato arcu, tetendit illum et tensum in manu teuit. Sed cum beatus Iohannes nihil et subsecutus loquendo fuit post aliquod spatium iuvenis arcum distendit. Cur beatus Iohannes, ‘Cur,’

Conférences, conference 24, chap. 21

ad se venatorio venientem subito conspexisse. Qui miratus quod vir tantae opinionis ac famae ad tam parvae et humilia se oblectamenta submitteret, tunc es, inquit ille Johannes, uius fama insignis atque celeberrima me quoque summo desiderio tuae agnitionis inlexit? Cur ergo oblectamenteis tam vilioribus occuparis? Cui beatus Iohannis: Quid est, inquit, quod manu tua gestas? At ille: arcus, inquit. Et cur ait, non eum tensum semper ubique circumfers? Cui ille respondit: non oportet, ne iugi curvamine rigoris fortitudo laxata mollescat nihil atque depreat, et cum oportuerit ut fortiori in aliquam feram specula dirigantur, rigore iam per nimietatem continuae intentionis amisso violentior ictus non possit emitti. Nec nostri, inquit beatus Iohannes, animi te offendat, o iuvenis, tam parava haec brevisque laxatio,

Hincmar, Vita s. Remigii, chap. 5

inquit, arcum distendisti?’ Ad quem iuvenis: ‘Quia si diutius tensus teneretur, infirmus tela iacteret.’ Et ad sanctus apostolus: ‘Sic et humana fragilitas, si semper in rigore contemplationis persistat et suae fragilitati non condescendat, minus necessario valida contemplationis penna sublevatur poterit.’²⁸⁰

Conférences, conference 24, chap. 21

quae nisi remissione quadam rigorem intentionis suae interdum relevet ac relaxet, inremisso vigore lentescens virtuti spiritus, cum necessitate poscit, obsecundare non poterit.

Here the close similarities between the accounts of Hincmar and Cassian on the Apostle John and the value of relaxation are truly remarkable. According to Cassian:

It is recorded that the Blessed Evangelist John when he was caressing a partridge lovingly with his hand spotted a philosopher in the garb of a hunter approaching him. The young man marveled that a man of such fame and reputation should undertake such simple and humble pleasures.

“You are,” he said, “that John whose distinguished reputation has also

²⁸⁰ Compare Cassian, Conférences, ed. and trans. E. Pichery (SC, 64; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1959), 24, chap. 32, pp 192-3 with Vita s. Remigii, MGH SSRM, 3: 267-8. Bruno Krusch was the first to note the relationship between Cassian’s Conférences and Hincmar’s Vita s. Remigii. For a similar with Antony as the principal character, see book 5 of the Verba seniorum, PL 73, col. 912.

enticed me with the greatest desire of your knowledge. Why therefore are you occupied with such common pleasures?" To whom the Blessed John replied: "What is it," he said, "that you are carrying in your hand?" "A bow," he said. "And why," John said, "do you not always keep it strung?" The young man replied: "It would not be proper, lest the force of its continuous bending weaken and destroy it and when it will have been necessary to direct stronger arrows against some wild beast, the strength of the bow will be lost from excessive continuous straining and the shot cannot be sent out with sufficient strength." To this the Blessed John replied: "Young man, such a simple and short pleasure of my mind should not offend you. For unless I sometimes relaxed and relieved the rigor of my contemplation with a little leisure relaxing from incessant strain, I would not be able to obey the higher nature of my spirit when necessity demands it."

Hincmar's story agrees with Cassian's account in both theme and specificity of narrative detail. In spite of occasional textual divergences, the similarities are truly remarkable and the close relationships remain constant throughout their individual accounts. In the words of Hincmar:

It is related by the accounts of the elders that when a bird which is called a partridge had been carried alive and well by a certain person to the Apostle John, he began to touch it with a gentle hand and stroke it caressingly. Seeing this, a certain young man said mockingly to his

companions, “See how that old man is playing with a small bird like a boy.” The Blessed Apostle discerning this through the spirit called the young man to him asking, “What is that you are carrying in your hand?” To which the young man replied, “...a bow.” And the Blessed John asked, “What is the function of that which you hold in your hand?” The young man replied, “We shoot wild beasts, birds and other things.” And the Blessed John said, “How and in what order?” And the young man with the bow curved strung it and held it tight in his hand. But when some time passed and the Blessed John said nothing, the young man unstrung his bow. The Blessed John asked him, “Why have you unstrung your bow?” The young man replied, “Because if I held the bow any longer, it would shoot the arrow with less force.” And the Holy Apostle replied to this, “Thus it is with human frailty, the less likely he may be lifted by the strong wind of contemplation when the need arises.”

Thus, by excerpting passages from the Regula s. Benedicti, the Regula s. Basilii and Cassian’s Conférences into his writings, Hincmar ensured that their spiritual lessons would not be confined merely to those embracing the cloistered life but would be transmitted to the wider audience even to include magnates and rulers of the Carolingian lay world. Yet further investigation of Hincmar’s writings also indicates that he incorporated into his literature and letters numerous passages from the dicta of the Church Fathers and commentators on Holy Scriptures, sources that he deemed necessary and proper for the attainment of spiritual perfection. It is to these sources that we now

turn our attention.

VI. Isidore, Pseudo-Cyprian, and Ambrosiaster in the Writings of Hincmar

We have already noted the influence of the Regula s. Benedicti on Hincmar's pastoral writing. Further, we have alluded to his use of the Regula s Basilii and Cassian's Conférences. There is also evidence that suggests that he drew extensively on the writings of the Fathers as well. One such patristic writer who demands our attention is the seventh-century Bishop Isidore of Seville, due to a number of similarities I observe between Isidore's Liber numerorum and Hincmar's Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis. One of the most conspicuous deals with the authors' respective discourses on spiritual numerology. Let us now explore, for example, their similarly worded discourses on the spiritually didactic function of the number six:

Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis PL 125

Nam unum duo, et tres sex faciunt. Ita in scenario dierum numero perfecit opera sua....

Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis PL 125

Qui senarius numerus quod saeculi sapientes idcirco dicitur esse perfectus, quia suo ordine numeratus perficitur, ut

Liber numerorum, PL 83, chap. 7

Senarius numerus primus et perfectus, et partibus impletur. Nam sextam sui intra nam sextam sui intra continet, quod unus; tertiam, quod duo; et dimidium, quod tres;

haec enim summa in unum ducta; id est, unum duo et tria sex faciunt. Nullus autem ante senarium invenitur qui suis partibus dividitur, impleatur, cuius perfectio etiam

<p><u>Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis PL 125</u></p> <p>cum unus, duo, tres dicuntur, senarius numerus impletur: vel quia in tribus partibus dividitur, id est sexta, tertia et dimidia: videlicet in uno, duobus et tribus.</p> <p>Ab ecclesiasticis autem doctoribus ideo perfectus dicitur numerus, quia sexto die perfecit Deus omnia opera sua.²⁸¹</p>	<p><u>Liber numerorum, PL 83, chap. 7</u></p> <p>dividitur, impleatur, cuius perfectio etiam ipso opere mundi clarescit, sex enim diebus perfecit Deus opera sua.</p>
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As the above textual comparison demonstrates, both authors use almost identical terms when they say that one, two, and three makes six. For example, Hincmar employs the words nam uno duo, et tres sex faciunt, while Isidore deviates only slightly with his id est, unum, duo, et tria sex faciunt. This pattern recurs when both authors mention the creation story in the Book of Genesis in strikingly similar terms. In Isidore's account, for instance, we read sex enim diebus perfecit Deus opera sua ("In six days, God completed his words"). Hincmar, in only slightly different terms, uses the phrase ita in

²⁸¹ Compare Hincmar, Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis, PL 125, cols. 825-28 with Isidore, Liber numerorum, chap. 7, PL 83, cols. 184-5. Although scholars such as Letha Böhringer have underscored the influence of Isidore's Etymologiae and Sententiae on Hincmar's De divortio, and Dorothy Nachtmann has noted Hincmar's use of Isidore's Sententiae in his De cavendis vitiis, the seemingly close relationship between the Liber numerorum and the Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis remains virtually undiscussed in modern scholarship. See Böhringer's critical edition of the De divortio, p. 278 and Nachtmann's edition of Hincmar's De cavendis vitiis, p. 283. For the text of Isidore's Liber numerorum, see PL 83, cols. 179-200, and for Hincmar's Explanatio in ferculum Salomonis, PL 125, cols. 817-34.

scenario dierum numero perfecit opera sua (“...in six days, he completed all his works”).

Finally, both Hincmar and Isidore refer to the number six as the numerus perfectus and emphasize its division into three parts. Isidore offers nam sextam sui intra continet quod unus; tertiam quid duo; et dimidium, quod tres. Hincmar uses the similar vel quia in tribus partibus dividitur; id est sexta tertia et dimidia; videlicet in uno, duobus et tribus.

Pseudo-Cyprian and his De XII abusivis saeculi, written c.630-c.700, was another church Father whose ethos I find echoed in Hincmar. In fact, scholar Thomas Noble has indicated that the earlier work “began to affect Carolingian thought as early as the 770’s,” and in Hincmar’s De divortio, Böhringer cites no fewer than eleven clear references to the De XII abusivis saeculi.²⁸² Nonetheless, the identification of passages from pseudo-Cyprian in Hincmar’s works has not been fully explored in modern literature. A conspicuous example does occur in Hincmar’s Ad Carolum III imperatorem:

De XII abusivis saeculi, chap. 9

Nonus abusionis gradus est rex
iniquus. Quem cum iniquorum
correctorem esse oportuit. Licet in
semet ipso nominis sui dignitatem non

Ad Carolum III imperatorem, chap 5

Proponant eis frequenter verba sancti
Cypriani, qui regis ministerium in nono
gradu abusionum aperte ostendit, regem,
iniquens non iniquum, sed correctorem

²⁸² Noble, “The Monastic Ideal,” pp. 235-6. See also Hans Hubert Anton, “Pseudo-Cyprian: De duodecim abusivis saeculi und sein Einfluss auf den Kontinent, insbesondere auf die Karolingischen Fürstenspiegel,” in Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter, ed. Heinz Löwe, 2 vols. (Veröffentlichungen des Europa Zentrums Tübingen kulturwissenschaftliche Reihe; Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 2: 568-617. For the text of the pseudo-Cyprian, see De XII abusivis saeculi, ed. Siegmund Hellmann (Texte und untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 34; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1909).

De XII abusivis saeculi, chap. 9

custodit. Nomen enim regis intellectualiter hoc retinet, ut subjectis omnibus rectoris officium procuret, sed qualiter alios corrigere poterit qui proprios mores ne iniqui sint non corrigit? Quoniam in iustitia regis exaltatur solium et in veritate solidantur gubernacula populorum. Iustitia vero regis est neminem iniuste per potentiam opprimere, sine acceptione personarum inter virum et proximum suum iudicare advenis et pupillis et viduis defensorum esse, furta cohibere adulteria punire iniquos non exaltare, impudicos et histriones non nutrire, impios de terra perdere, parridas et periurantes vivere non sinere, ecclesias defendere, elemosynis alere iustos super regni negotia constituere, senes et sapientes et sobrios consiliarios habere,

Ad Carolum III imperatorem, chap. 5

iniquorum esse oportet. Unde in semetipso nominis sui dignitatem custodire debet. Nomen enim regis intellectualiter hoc retinet, ut subjectis omnibus rectoris officium procuret. Sed qualiter alios corrigere poterit, qui proprios mores, ne iniqui sint, non corrigit? Justitia vero regis est, neminem iniuste per potentiam opprimere, sine acceptione personarum inter virum et proximum suum iudicare, advenis et pupillis et viduis defensorum esse, furta cohibere, adulteria punire, iniquos non exaltare, impudicos et histriones non nutrire, impios de terra perdere parridas et perjurantes vivere non sinere, ecclesias defendere, pauperes elemosynis alere, justos super regni negotia constituere, senes et sapientes et sobrios consiliarios habere, magorum et hariolorum, pythonissarum superstitionibus non intendere, iracundiam

De XII abusivis saeculi, chap. 9

magorum et hariolorum et pythonissarum, superstitionibus non intendere, iracundiam differre, patriam fortiter et juste contra adversaries defendere per omnia in Deo confidere, prosperitatibus animum non elevare, cuncta adversaria patienter ferre, fidem catholicam in deum habere filios non sinere impie agere, certis horis orationibus insistere, ante horas congruas non gustare cibum. Vae enim terrae, cuius rex est puer et cuius principes mane comedunt. Haec regni prosperitatem in praesenti faciunt et regem ad caelestia regna meliora perducunt. Qui vero regnum secundum hanc legem dispensat multas nimirum adversitates imperii tolerat. Idcirco enim saepe multas idcirco enim saepe multas idcirco enim saepe pax populorum rumpitur et offenticula

Ad Carolum III imperatorem, chap. 5

differre patriam fortiter et juste contra adversaries defendere per omnia in Deo vivere, prosperitatibus, animum non elevare, cuncta adversa patienter ferre, fidem catholicam in Deum habere, filios suos non sinere impie agere, certis horis congruas cibum non gustare. Vae aut terrae cuius rex puer est, et cuius principes mane comedunt (Eccle. X). Haec regni prosperitatem in praesenti faciunt, et regem ad regna coelestia meliora non perducunt. Qui vero secundum hanc legem regnum non dispensat multas nimirum adversitates imperii tolerabit. Et si rex his quae praescripta contraria senserit vel egerit, et in his contraries perseveraverit, sicut in throno hominum primus constitutus est, sic omnes quoscunque peccatores sub se in praesenti habuit supra se modo implacabili in illa futura poena habebit.

De XII abusivis saeculi, chap. 9

etiam de regno suscitantur, terarium
quoque fructus diminuuntur et servitia
populorum praepediuntur, multi et
servitia populorum praepediuntur, multi
et varii dolores prosperitatem regni
inficiunt, carrorum et liberorum mortes
tristitiam conferunt, hostium incursus
provincias undique vastant, bestiae
armentorum et pecorum greges dilacerant,
tempestates aeris a hiemisperia turbata
terrarium fecunditatem et maris ministerial
prohibent et aliquando fulminum ictus
segetes et arborum flores et pampinos
exurunt. Super omnia vero regis injustitia
non solum praesentis imperii faciem fuscant,
sed etiam filios suos et nepotes, ne post se
regni hereditatem teneant, obscurat. Propter
piaculum enim Salomonis regnum domus
Israhel Dominus de manibus filiorum eius
dispersit, et propter iustitiam David regis

De XII abusivis saeculi, chap. 9

lucernam de semine eius semper in
 Hierusalem reliquit. Ece quantum justitia
 regis aeculo valet, intuentibus perspicue patet.
 Pax populorum est, tutamen patriae,
 munitas plebes, munimentum gentis, cura
 languorum, gaudium hominum, temperum,
 hereditas filorum et sibimet ipsi spes futurae
 beatitudinis. Attamen sciat rex quod sicut in
 throno hominum primus constitutus est, sic et
 in poenis, si justitiam non fecerit, primatum
 habiturus est. Omnes namque quoscumque
 peccatores sub se in praesenti habuit, supra
 se modo plagali in illa futura poena habebit.²⁸³

First, as these textual comparisons show, Hincmar, identifying his source, draws
 directly from pseudo-Cyprian's chapter 9 on the proper functioning of the royal
ministerium:

The ninth grade of abuse is a wicked king, for a king should not be wicked
 but a corrector of the wicked. He himself should uphold the dignity of

²⁸³ Compare pseudo-Cyprian, De XII abusivis saeculi, chap. 9, pp. 51-3 with Hincmar, Ad Carolum III imperatorem, chap. 5, PL 125, cols. 991-2.

his title. He retains the name of king so that he may carry out the function of rector for all his subjects. But how can he correct others who cannot correct their own conduct and avoid what is unjust? By the justice of the king, the throne is exalted, the government of the people is reinforced by truth. Truly, the justice of the king does not exist to oppress anyone unjustly through power, the king should judge without taking sides, between a man and his neighbor. The king, with royal justice, should be a defender of strangers, widows and orphans, to repress thievery, punish adultery. The king should not exalt the wicked, maintain the imprudent and actors. He should eliminate the impious from the earth, not allow parricides and perjurers to live, defend churches, sustain the poor by alms, establish just men over the affairs of the kingdom, have wise and prudent men as counselors. The king should pay no attention to the superstitions of magi and haruspices, lay aside anger, defend his country bravely and justly against adversaries; to live in God through all, not to elevate the soul in prosperity, to bear all adversity patiently, to have Catholic faith in God, not to allow his sons to act impiously, apply himself to prayes at fixed hours, not to taste food before suitable hours. These things will bring prosperity to the kingdom in the present and lead the king to a better kingdom. Whoever does not rule his kingdom according to the law will suffer innumerable adversities to his kingdom. And if the king has acted contrary to what has been prescribed and persists in these contrary wicked

acts, he should know that just as he has been established on the throne over men, all who have sinners under them in the present life will have them over them in that future punishment.²⁸⁴

Yet, with no textual discontinuity and no hint to his audience of a new direction, Hincmar begins to cull passages from pseudo-Cyprian's chapter 6 on a lord without virtue:

De XII abusivis saeculi, chap 6

Sextus abusio- nis gradus est dominus sine virtute, quia nihil proficit dominandi habere potestatem, si dominus ipse non habeat et virtutis rigorem sed his virtutis rigor non tam exteriori fortitudine, quae et ipsa saecularibus dominis necessaria est, indigente quam animi interiorem fortitudinem per bonos mores exercere debet. Saepe enim dominandi virtus per animi negligentiam perditur, sicut in Heli sacerdote factum fuisse comprobatur. Qui dum per severitatem

Ad Carolum III imperatorem, chap. 5

Et non solum regi, sed et omni qui in dominationis est potestate, tria necessario habere oportet, terrorem scilicet, ordinationem, et amorem. Nisi enim ametur Dominus, et metuatur, ordinatio illius constare minime poterit. Per beneficia ergo ut affabilitatem procuret ut diliatur, et per justam vindictam, non propriae injuriae sed legis Dei, studeat ut metuatur. Et in his et aliis omnibus principes super Deum cogitet, et illi adhaereat: quia, nisi conditori suo

²⁸⁴ Hincmar, Ad Carolum III imperatorem, chap 5, PL 125, col. 992. The Ad Carolum III imperatorem was written by Hincmar for Emperor Charles III for Carloman, Louis III and Charles the Simple, sons of his cousin, Louis the Stammerer who had died in 879.

De XII abusivis saeculi, chap. 6

iudicis peccantes filios non coercuit, eorum vindicta Dominus velut consentienti ferociter non pepercit.

Tria ergo necessaria hos qui dominantur habere oportet, terrorem scilicet et ordinationem et amorem; nisi enim ametur dominus pariter et metuatur, ordinatio illius multi pendunt in eo, ipse Deo adhaerere debet qui illum induatum constituit, qui ad portanda multorum onera ipsum veluit fortiorem solidavit. Paxillus enim nisi bene fixus firmiter alicui fortiori adhaereat, omne quod in eo pendit cito labitur et ipse solutus a rigore suae firmitatis cum oneribus ad teram delabitur. Sic et principes nisi suo conditori pertinaciter adhaeserit, et ipse et omnis qui ei consentit cito deperit. Quidam namque per dominandi officium plus Deo appropinquant, quidam imposito sibi dignitatis honore deteriores

Ad Carolum III impeatorem, chap. 5

pertinaciter adhaeserit, et ipse, et omnes qui ei consentiunt, cito deperient. Omnes igitur qui praest hoc primitus tota animi intentione procuret, ut per omnia de Dei adjutorio omnino non dubitet. Si namque coeperit in actibus suis auxiliatorem habere Dominum, nullus hominum contemptui habere poterit ejus dominatum. Non est enim potestas ejus dominatum. Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo. Ipse elevat de stercore egenum, et sedere facit cum principibus populi sit. Deponit potentes de sede, et exaltat humiles.

De XII abusivis saeculi, chap. 6

fiunt. Moyses enim accepto populi ducatu familiaris Dei locutionibus utebatur. Saul vero filius Cis postquam scepra regni suscepit, per inoboedientiae superbiam Deum offendit. Rex Salomon postquam patris sui David sedem obtinuit. Deus illum ultra omnes mortales velut ad numerosi populi gubernationem sapientiae munere donavit; e contrario vero Hieroboam servus Salomonis, postquam regi domus David partem occupavit. Ad idolorum cultum decem tribus Israel quae erant in parte Samariae devertit. Per quae example evidenter ostenditur quosdam in sublimiori statu ad maiorem perfectionem crescere, quosdam vero per supercilium dominantionis ad deteriora defluere. Per quod utrumque intellegitur eos qui ad meliora conscendunt per virtutum animi et Domini auxilium posse id facere et eos qui ad deteriora devertunt per mentis imbecillitatem partier et negligentiam errare. Unde et dominus

De XII abusivis saeculi, chap. 6

absque virtute fieri non debet, quam
virtutem sine Dei auxilio nullatenus
habet. Qui etenim multa tuetur, si non
habeat fortitudinem, non valet id agere,
quoniam magna magnis infestionibus et
adversitatibus solent laborare. Omnis
igitur qui praest hoc primitus anima tota
intentione procuret, ut per omnia de Dei
adiutorio omnino non dubitet. Si namque
coeperit in actibus suis auxiliatorem habere
dominum dominorum, nullus hominum
contemptui abdere poterit eius dominatum.
Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo. Ipse enim
elevat de stercore egenum et sedere facit cum
principibus populi sui et potentes deponit de
sede et exaltat humiles, ut subditus fiat in
mundus Deo et egeat gloria Dei.²⁸⁵

As a close comparison of these texts show, Hincmar borrows freely from pseudo-Cyprian's chapter on a lord with virtue, as his treatise on those in power indicates:

²⁸⁵ Compare pseudo-Cyprian, De XII abusivis saeculi, chap. 6, pp. 53-55 with Hincmar, Ad Carolum III imperatorem, chap. 5, PL 125, col. 992.

Not only a king but everyone who has the power of domination ought to have three things; namely, terror, rule and love. For unless a lord is loved and feared, his government will not endure. Through kindness and affability, he ensures that he may be loved and he endeavors to be feared by just vengeance, not against wrongs done to himself, but against the law of God. And in all these other things, the ruler should always think about God and adhere to him. For unless he will have adhered to his creator obstinately, and all his followers as well, they will quickly perish. All those who rule should follow this with the application of their whole mind so that through it all, they should not doubt that they are being aided by God. For if a ruler has begun to have God's aid in all his works, no man can have contempt for his domination. For there is no power but from God. He elevates the destitute from dung, and causes them to sit with the leaders of his people. He strikes down the mightly from the seat of power and exalts the humble.

Another spiritual source of interest with likely expression in Hincmar's writings is Ambrosiaster's late fourth-century commentaries on the Pauline letters.²⁸⁶ In this study, I have chosen to focus on Ambrosiaster's commentaries on Paul's letter to the Ephesians. This is primarily due to a specific passage in Hincmar's letter dated c.860 and addressed to Archbishops Rudulf of Bourges and Frotar of Bordeaux. In this letter, Hincmar treats in some detail the sin of fornication where he notes that "if a man fornicates against his

²⁸⁶ Ambrosiaster, *Commentarius in epistulas Paulinas*, ed. Henry Joseph Vogels (CSEL, 81:1-3; Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 1996-1969).

wife, he sins against himself, since the two are of one flesh.”²⁸⁷ Traditionally, the editor of Hincmar’s Epistulae, Ernst Perels attributed this passage to the hand of Hincmar himself, and subsequent scholars have never questioned that attribution. However, a close comparative examination of the passage in question indicates that its origin can be found in Ambrosiaster’s commentaries. A comparison of the two texts reads:

Hincmar, epistula 136

Naturali ratione mulier portio
corporis viri est ac per hoc vir
in muliere se ipsum diligit; quo
modo si fornicetur in se ipsum
peccat, quia duo in carne una
sunt. Non ergo substantiam
dividunt, ut per personas numerus
fiat naturae, sed sunt unitate naturae.²⁸⁸

Ambrosiaster Comment. in Ephes. chap. 5, 25-28

Naturali ratione mulier portio corporis viri
est per hoc vir in muliere se ipsum diligit,
quomodo si fornicetur, in se ipsum peccat, quia
duo in carne una sunt. Non ergo personae
substantiam dividunt, ut per personas numerus
fiat naturae, sed sunt in unitate naturae.

Although it might seem that Hincmar’s passage on fornication, addressed here, appears to be a mere derivation of his source, a closer examination of Hincmar’s controversial theological concerns, particularly on the Trinity, suggests his use of Ambrosiaster may have been influenced by his own Trinitarian predilections. Hincmar

²⁸⁷ Hincmar, epistula 196, MGH Epp. 6: 93

²⁸⁸ Compare Hincmar, epistula 196, MGH Epp. 6: 93 with Ambrosiaster, Commentarius in epistulas Paulinas, 81:3: 5,18: 118.

wrote the letter at the height of his Trinitarian conflict with the monk Gottschalk, and Ambrosiaster's words—non ergo personae substantiam dividunt, ut per personas numerus fiat naturae, sed sunt in unitate naturae—are close to his own in his De una et non trina deitate. This suggests that in his use of his source material, his heated Trinitarian debate with Gottschalk was instrumental in his choice.

Evidently, this study is not unique in drawing attention to the impact of Ambrosiaster's commentaries on Hincmar's spirituality. Scholars such as Perels and Böhringer have adequately compiled such evidence. Rather, a corollary goal of this study is to point out that the similarities between Hincmar's and Ambrosiaster's message need to be further examined and the derivative nature or originality of Hincmar's exegetical method more clearly distinguished from those of his sources.

VIII. Conclusion

Hincmar, in formulating his political ecclesiology, cannot have failed to grasp the extreme importance of applying the spiritual medicine of his sources to the realistic wounds of Carolingian society. This study, mindful of current scholarship on the subject, has attempted to stress the fundamental importance of Hincmar's original exegetical modeling of his sources and their application to his vision of a perfectly ordered, spiritually oriented Christian society. As a Benedictine monk at Saint-Denis, Hincmar learned the importance of living in a structured and ordered community, under a Rule which Benedict referred to as “the law under which you wish to serve” and “the law of the Rule.” More importantly, he learned the lesson of living harmoniously in a religious

community, completely devoted to spiritual perfection and personal salvation. As Abbot of Saint-Remi, he perfected the art of applying the lectio divina to achieve communal unification and by the exercise of humilitas and correctio, he led his “Soldiers of Christ” onto the road to spiritual salvation.

Many centuries separate Hincmar’s ninth-century Carolingian world from our own. Yet perhaps it was a world that in many ways was not so different from our own. Hincmar, like all of us, was desperately searching for perfection in an imperfect and chaotic Europe. Deviating from the Augustinian view that government exists as a divine instrument of correction for a degenerate and sinful human race, Hincmar, like his Carolingian peers idealized society as a unified ecclesia, the actual Body of Christ, whose goal was the achievement of spiritual perfection in the temporal sphere. The belief that this could be achieved by the weaving together of the social fabric with the inspiration of monastic Rule, applying inspired Christian Roman law, church canons, and patristic literature was the messianic imperative of Archbishop Hincmar and the other great exegetes of his time.

Conclusion

The analysis of the nature of theological literature during the Carolingian era began this study and I have deemed it an appropriate subject with which to end it. In this dissertation, I have endeavored to show the extent of scholarly diversity during this period, both in subject matter and what may be termed the Carolingian exegetical tradition.

At the heart of the Carolingian intellectual tradition, represented by scriptural commentaries, classical learning, epistulae, mirrors of princes, theological treatises and various other spheres of literary activity lay Charlemagne's educational reforms. Their purpose was fundamentally spiritual: to gain a deeper understanding of the scriptures and to communicate to the Carolingian laity a more profound understanding of God's will. Alcuin, the architect of Charlemagne's program, summed up the soteriological function of the educational reforms in the Admonitio generalis and the Epistula de litteris colendis which (as this study has attempted to show) he almost certainly authored. In the Admonitio generalis, Alcuin observed that secular education should serve as the handmaiden of theology. With masters properly imbued with monastic virtues, teaching by word and example, students could gain eternal salvation by penetrating the mysteries of the sacred scriptures subsequently passing on their spiritual knowledge to others.²⁸⁹

In the Epistula de litteris colendis, Alcuin continued this line of reasoning when he noted reluctantly that a knowledge of secular literature was vital for monks to gain the

²⁸⁹ Admonitio generalis, no. 22, MGH Cap. reg. Fr. 1: 52-62.

spiritual understanding necessary to lead the Carolingian populus dei to salvation. According to Alcuin, they must harness the study of classical literature to the higher learning of spiritual enlightenment. The desire for a deeper understanding of God's will is reflected in the appearance of numerous scriptural commentaries during the Carolingian period, as Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards have noted "to comprehend and transmit the interpretations of the church fathers."²⁹⁰

Chazelle and Edwards have further observed that prior to 1970, studies paid scant attention to the exegetical treatment by Carolingian authors of their sources and the few that did such as Riggenbach and Smalley often limited their discussion to a few generalizations of the Carolingian exegetical tradition, categorizing it as static, undynamic and unoriginal. Even as late as 1983, scholars such as R.W. Dyson could still describe Jonas of Orléans' Le métier de roi as "an anthology of scriptural quotations and passages taken from patristic, pseudo-patristic and other writings, stitched together by a thread of commentary."²⁹¹

For Chazelle and Edwards, this lack of interest in the exegetical aims of Carolingian scholars can be attributed to the lack of good critical editions as well as the seemingly derivative nature of their sources. As Chazelle and Edwards have suggested:

Better critical editions of some Carolingian commentaries have been

²⁹⁰ Epistula de litteris colendis, no. 29, MGH Cap. reg. Fr. 1: 78-9; The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era, eds. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Medieval Church Studies, 3; Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 5.

²⁹¹ The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, pp. 7-8. See also Jonas of Orléans, A Ninth-Century Political Tract, trans. R.W. Dyson (Smithtown, NY: Exposition Press, 1983), p. xii.

published with improved analyses of their sources and manuscript transmissions. Studies that are more recent have questioned the derivative nature of Carolingian treatises, more sensitive to how Carolingian statements about plucking flowers of patristic wisdom partly reflect a topos of humility, widely found in medieval monastic literature and cannot be read simply as straightforward descriptions of actual methods²⁹².

Finally, Chazelle and Edwards have drawn attention to the originality of Carolingian scholarship as authors often sought to reshape their sources to reflect the sensibilities of their audiences, their own linguistic peculiarities and contemporary doctrinal issues.

Yet, despite this shift in the study of Carolingian literary historiography, (as the present study has indicated), many theological treatises and mirrors of princes have not been accorded the same attention as the writings described by Chazelle and Edwards. Many are still found only in the Patrologia Latina, based on faulty older manuscripts and replete with textual errors. Although more recent critical editions exist for others, with few exceptions, the modern editor often simply identifies new sources compiled by the Carolingian author and has virtually ignored the nature of the latter's exegetical aims.

While the fundamental focus of this study has been to identify the diversity of sources used by Carolingian writers, a further aim has been to utilize the tools of current scholarship to assess properly the true nature of their exegetical methodology. Two

²⁹² The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, pp. 9-10.

examples will suffice to demonstrate my methodological aims in this study: these concern the writings of Jonas of Orléans and Archbishop Hincmar of Reims. First, let us compare Jean Reviron's 1930 edition of the Le métier de roi and Alain Dubreucq's more recent edition of 1995. For Reviron, the Le métier de roi was a veritable mosaic of scriptural and patristic sources. Furthermore, he accepted quite uncritically, Jonas' claim, (in the preface of the De institutione laicali), that his treatise will consist of numerous extracts from the dicta of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers, as a description of the latter's actual methodology.²⁹³

The differences in Dubreucq's more recent critical edition of the Le métier de roi could not be more pronounced. He shows an acute awareness of the current state of the scholarship as he presents Jonas as an original Carolingian exegete. In one instance, Dubreucq demonstrates this when he notes that Jonas transformed an Isidorean phrase by substituting utilitas for humilitas, thereby changing the sense of his original source.²⁹⁴

²⁹³ Jonas of Orléans, Jonas d'Orléans et son De institutione regia, ed. Jean Reviron (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1930): "De meme que la generalité des oeuvres produites par la Renaissance carolingienne, le De institutione regia, nos l'avons déjà signalé, se présente comme une véritable mosaïque de textes patristiques et scripturaires reproduits les uns de première main, la autres d'après des auteurs plus anciens qui avaient déjà emprunté des citations à leurs devanciers." See also Reviron, Jonas d'Orléans, chap. 3, p. 58.

²⁹⁴ Jonas of Orléans, Le métier de roi, ed. Alain Dubreucq (SC, 407; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1995), p. 108. Compare Jonas, Le métier de roi, chap. 4, p. 202: "Saepe per regnum terrenum caeleste regnum proficit, ut qui intra Ecclesiam positi contra fidem et disciplinam ecclesiae agunt, rigore principum conterantur ipsamque disciplinam quam ecclesiae utilitas exercere non praevallet..." with Isidore, Sententiae, chap. 51; PL 83, col. 723: "Saepe per regnum terrenum coeleste regnum proficit, ut qui intra ecclesiam positi contra fidem et disciplinam ecclesiae agunt, rigore principum conterantur: ipsamque disciplinam quam ecclesiae humilitas exercere non praevallet..."

Dubreucq's portrayal of Jonas as an original exegete provided important parameters for the present study as I have endeavored to disclose further examples of his original exegetical skill in the Le métier de roi such as his original adaptation of Benedict's abbatial cura animarum.²⁹⁵ Moreover, scholars such as Dubreucq and Chazelle have enabled me to look beyond Jonas' static and derivative methodology described in the De institutione laicali to discover Jonas unique exegetical treatment of Cassian's Conférences, Julius Pomerius' De vita contemplativa and Alcuin's Liber de virtutibus et vitiis.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁵ Compare Jonas, Le métier de roi, chap. 5, p. 210: "Valde enim exigit necessitate ut, quia ipse dubio rex aequissimo iudici de comisso sibi ministerio rationem redditurus est, ut etiam singuli qui sub eo constituta sunt ministri diligentissime ab eo inquirantur, ne ipse pro eis iudicium incurrat divinum" with Regula s. Benedicti, ed. Rudolph Hanslik, 2nd ed. (CSEL, 75; Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1977), chap. 3, p. 31: "Ipse tamen abba cum timore dei et observatione regulae omnia faciat sciens se procul dubio de omnibus iudiciis suis aequissimo iudici deo rationem redditurum."

²⁹⁶ Compare John Cassian, Conférences, ed. and trans. E. Pichery (SC, 64; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1959), 24, chap. 15, p. 186: "Omnium vitiorum unus fons atque principum" with Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 1, chap. 5, PL 106, col. 131: "Spiritus Sanctus, sed quod unus atque idem cunctarum virtutum fons sit atque principum." Compare also Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 19, PL 106, col. 275: "Quis tam stolidae mentis, tamque ferrei pectoris existit, quem ista non terreant? Misserabilis plane et valde lugubris humana conditio, quae in hac mortalitate nunquam sine labore vivit. Quid, inquam, miserabilius et infelicius esse potest, se de labore praesenti ad laborem aeternam et nullum finem labiturum pervenitur?" with Julius Pomerius, De vita contemplativa, bk. 3, chap. 12, PL 59, cols. 437-4: "Sed nos jam, si videtur, ab his terribilibus malis, quae fidelium mentes salubri terrore concutiunt, atque ab omnibus vitosis delectationibus abducunt, et quae amatores voluptatum suarum tunc suae damnationis experimento probabunt, quando jam, quod est omni infelicitate miserius, se emendare non poterunt..." and Jonas, De institutione laicali, bk. 3, chap. 6, PL 106, col. 245: "Nam et de ira pullulat tumor mentis rixae, contumeliae, clamor, indignatio praesumptio, blasphemiae, sanguinis effusio, homicidia, ulciscendi cupiditas, injuriarum memoria, et alia quamplurima" with Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, chap. 32, PL 101, col. 634: "De qua, id est ira, pullulat tumor mentis, rixae et contumeliae, clamor, indignatio, praesumptio, blasphemiae, sanguinis effusio, homicidia, ulciscendi cupiditas, injuriarum memoria."

In the case of Hincmar, some historians have benefited from recent critical editions of certain of his writings and have been able to analyze them within the context of current scholarship. For instance, Doris Nachtmann's recent critical edition of Hincmar's mirror of princes on virtues and vices, the De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis enabled Celia Chazelle to say the following about Hincmar's exegetical aims in her study on the ninth-century Eucharistic Controversy:

The De cavendis molds Hincmar's Eucharistic doctrine to the treatise's basic purpose of offering moral advice to the king. Critical to Charles' salvation, the archbishop makes clear is proper and regular reception of the Eucharist. Doris Nachtmann's outstanding recent edition shows that only a tiny fraction of this work is original to Hincmar. About ninety percent consists of biblical quotations, some echoes of the liturgy and above all, excerpts from patristic and post-patristic texts, with virtually no identification of their authors. Most scriptural references occur within passages from these authorities. Yet, while Hincmar relies far more heavily on borrowed material than Radbertus or Gottschalk, he shows enormous dexterity in handling the sources chosen. He often edits and abbreviates and his tight, seamless interweaving of mostly brief excerpts from a wide range of sources lends the appearance of original coherent writing. The result is a forceful presentation of his own views and must

be read in that manner.²⁹⁷

On the other hand, many of Hincmar's other writings still exist in older editions such as the Patrologia Latina and the Monumenta Germaniae Historia while the exegetical methodology of the author in these works has not been adequately explored nor assessed in recent scholarship. Nevertheless, Hincmar's original adaptation of Ambrosiaster's Commentarius in epistulas Paulinas in his Epistulae and the Regula s. Benedicti in his De una et non trina deitate to reflect his own views on the Trinitarian Controversy (as I have attempted to demonstrate in this study) illustrates the need for more recent critical editions of these works (as well as others), and for further studies which will enable us to assess more precisely the full extent of Hincmar's literary and epistolary exegesis.²⁹⁸

As we have seen, current scholars, equipped with more accurate critical editions of the Fathers as well as commentaries and treatises of Carolingian authors, willing to look beyond the latter's methodological aims, have enabled us to understand the minds of

²⁹⁷ Celia Chazelle, "Exegesis in the Ninth-Century Eucharist Controversy," in The Study of the Bible, eds. Chazelle and Edwards, p. 179. For Nachtmann's edition of the De cavendis, see Hincmar, De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis, ed. Doris Nachtmann (MGH, Quellen zur geistesgeschichte des Mittelalter, 16; Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1998).

²⁹⁸ Compare Hincmar epistula 136, MGH Epp. 6.1: 93: "Naturali ratione mulier portio corporis viri est ac per hoc vir in muliere se ipsum diligit; quo modo si fornicetur in se ipsum peccat, quia duo in carne una sunt. Non ergo substantiam dividunt, ut per personas numerus fiat naturae, sed sunt unitate naturae" with Ambrosiaster, Commentarius in epistulas Paulinas, ed. Henry Joseph Vogels (CSEL, 81:2; Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 1968), 5, 18: 118: "Naturali ratione mulier portio corporis viri est per hoc vir in muliere se ipsum diligit, quomodo. Si fornicetur, in se ipsum peccat, quia duo in carne una sunt. Non ergo personae substantiam dividunt, ut per personas numerus fiat naturae, sed sunt in unitate naturae." Compare also Regula s. Benedicti, chap. 4, p. 33: "Veritatem ex corde et ore proferre" with Hincmar, De una et non trina deitate, chap. 1, PL 125, col. 495: "...velut antidotum salubre debet corde et ore proferre."

Carolingian exegetes more clearly. By adapting their sources to their own social, political and religious perceptions, they discovered they could utilize the former to bring order to their own lives. In addition, such sources could teach them how to apply Christian principles to the contemporary world around them. It is my sincere hope that the present study has contributed in three ways; first, by extending the boundaries of current scholarship to address the changing nature of Carolingian historiography. Second, by offering a deeper insight into the nature of the Carolingian renovatio as well as providing a strong impetus for the publication of more recent critical editions for many of the treatises discussed in this study, and; third, by providing stimulation for further scholarship which will address the shifting trends in our perception of the Carolingian exegetical tradition.

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