

ALCUIN ON VIRTUES AND VICES

A MANUAL FOR A CAROLINGIAN SOLDIER

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Dedicated to Professor James Hutton

THE WORK of the Northumbrian Alcuin in the service of Charlemagne by far excels in importance the contributions of other scholars allied with the Frankish king.¹ One of Alcuin's many interests was to develop in the leaders among the laity of a barbarian age² a sense of moral responsibility and a personal culture fit for the commanding positions which these men held. Many of the letters sent by Alcuin³ to Charlemagne and other members of the Royal household, to the kings of Mercia and Northumbria, to Frankish and British nobles and government officials, overflow with advice and requests to mend their ways. With this aim he wrote special works for some of these persons — for one example, the Rhetoric⁴ as a *Via Regia* for Charlemagne, a work which must be classed⁵ as the oldest Carolingian *speculum principis*,⁶ preceding that of Smaragdus of St. Mihiel (written for Louis the Pious), that of Jonas of Orléans (for Pippin of Aquitania), that of Sedulius Scotus (for Lothar II), and that of Hincmar of Reims (for Charles the Bald). Related to these *specula* is the treatise *De virtutibus et*

¹ See Luitpold Wallach, 'Charlemagne and Alcuin: Diplomatic Studies in Carolingian Epistolography,' *Traditio* 9 (1953), 127-154.

² Cf. the censure of barbarian procedures of law by Alcuin's friend, Theodulph of Orléans, as described by P. M. Arcari, 'Un goto critico della legislazioni barbariche,' *Archivio Storico Italiano* 110 (1952), 3-37; some of Arcari's interpretations of the *Lex Salica* are, however, mistaken.

³ Edited by Ernst Dümmler, *MGH, Epistolae IV* (1895).

⁴ This thesis will be developed in a forthcoming monograph 'The *Via Regia* of Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History.'

⁵ Heinz Löwe in Wattenbach-Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (Weimar, 1953), 230, note 211, and p. 233, accepts in principle our interpretation of the Rhetoric as a *speculum principis*, as suggested in *Speculum* 24 (1949), 588 f.

⁶ Cf. Lester Born, 'The *Specula Principis* of the Carolingian Renaissance,' *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 12 (1933), 483-612, who lists neither the Rhetoric nor *De virtutibus et vitiis* among the Carolingian *specula*.

vitii,⁷ which Alcuin wrote in the year 799 or 800 for Wido, Margrave of the Marca Britanniae, who during the same years overcame the resistance of this territory to Charlemagne. In type this ethical manual resembles the *Libellus exhortatorius*,⁸ compiled between 796 and 799 by Alcuin's friend Paulinus of Aquileia for Duke Eric of Friuli, one of Charlemagne's best generals. We recall also the *Liber manualis* of Dhuoda,⁹ wife of Bernard of Septimania, written between 841 and 843 for her son William, who was then attached, probably as a page, to the Court of Charles the Bald. An analysis of the contents, purpose, philosophy, and literary composition of Alcuin's treatise should reveal the author's way of thinking and his method of writing, and enable us to assess the historical significance of the tractate.

DE VIRTUTIBUS ET VITIIS

The treatise¹⁰ of 35 chapters may be divided into four parts distinct in style and content. A dedicatory letter opens the treatise, and a brief epistolary peroration (ch. 36) brings it to a close.¹¹ The first 26 chapters deal with the following topics: wisdom, faith, charity, hope, the reading of the Bible Lesson, peace, mercy, forgiveness, patience, humility, remorse, confession, repentance, the return to God, the fear of God, fasting, alms-giving, chastity, freedom from conceit, on judges, bearing false witness, envy, pride, wrath, deceit, and perseverance in good works. Chapters 27-34 provide a catalogue of 8 principal vices. The last chapter, 35, is a disquisition on the four cardinal virtues: wisdom, justice, courage, and temperance, which, together with the term 'virtus,' are defined and described. The division into 35 chapters is confirmed by the title, dating from the ninth century, found in the catalogue of the library at St. Gall: 'Alchvvini ad Vitonem comitem capitula

⁷ Migne, PL 101, 613-638.

⁸ Migne, PL 99, 197 ff.; Dom Rochais lists in the *Revue Bénédictine* 63 (1953), 251 the extant MSS of this treatise.

⁹ Ed. E. Bondurand, *Le Manuel de Dhuoda* (Paris, 1887); see the fine study by A. Burger, 'Les vers de la Duchesse Dhuoda et son poème *De temporibus suis*,' *Mélanges J. Marouzeau* (Paris, 1948), 85-102.

¹⁰ Ch. 36, PL 101, 638B-C, is not an original chapter of the treatise; see below note 12.

¹¹ The introductory letter and the peroration are critically edited by Dümmler, *MGH, Epistolae IV*, Epist. 305, p.464 f.

xxxv.¹² The letter-peroration (chapter 36 in Migne) was therefore not counted by Alcuin as a separate chapter.

The four parts of the treatise are obviously composed in different styles. The epistolary sections conform to the personal style of Alcuin, as known from his many epistles. But while the section on virtues is written in a homiletic vein, that on the *vitia* is factual and descriptive. And Chapter 35 contains elements of both styles. That this variety results from Alcuin's use of different sources (see below) is clear.

Alcuin allegedly wrote upon the express request of the recipient. Wido, busily absorbed in *bellicis rebus*, receives a handbook (*manualis libellus*) which is to tell him what to do and what to avoid in his daily life.

The treatise is presented as a *breviarium*,¹³ composed, as expected, *brevi sermone*. *Breviarium* is also the term used for the *Officia per Ferias*; it was intended to teach a 'homo laicus, qui adhuc in vita activa consistit,' how to pray and make the best use of his time.¹⁴ The layman Wido is not to be perturbed; his military profession will not prevent him from entering the Portals of Heaven. Heaven is open to all without distinction of sex or age or station in life, if only they perform good works (cf. Gal. 3,28; Coloss. 3,11).

Alcuin's purpose in writing can be deduced from certain topics used in the introductory letter and the peroration. His initial allegation that he wrote upon Wido's request cannot be taken seriously, since this is one of the many topics of modesty in his arsenal of rhetorical over- and understatements so abundantly drawn upon in his writings. Further, the pretence of writing upon request is supposed to lend authority to the work of the author.¹⁵ Like commonplaces also occur, for example, in the dedicatory epistle addressed to Beornrad of Sens which accompanies Alcuin's *Vita S. Willibrordi*: that Alcuin has, upon request of the recipient

¹² Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge I* (Munich, 1918), 79.

¹³ Letter and peroration are always referred to in *Dümmmler's* edition.

¹⁴ MGH, *Epistolae IV*, Epist. 304, p.462,30. A. Wilmart, *Revue Bénédictine* 48 (1936), 262 f. assumes that this collection of prayers is of post-Alcuinian origin; also F. X. Haimerl, *Mittelalterliche Frömmigkeit im Spiegel der Gebetbuchliteratur Süddeutschlands* (Munich, 1952), p.6.

¹⁵ E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Bollingen Series 36, New York, 1953), 85.

(*petitioni*), written that the style of the work is not an eminent example of eloquence (*eloquentia*), and that it is *caritas* which has spurred the author to write. Let us compare these passages: Alcuin writes to Wido (MGH, Epistolae IV, p. 464, no. 305):

Cui tam honestae *petitioni* libenter me annuere fateor, optans meae devotionis apices tibi ad perpetuam proficere salutem. Quos etiam, quamvis minus *eloquenter* videantur esse compositi, tamen certissime scito sanctae *caritatis* vigore eosdem esse dictatos.

Alcuin writes to Beornrad of Sens (MGH, Epistolae IV, p. 175, no. 120):

Sed tamen longe imparem me *petitioni* vestrae consideravi, utpote nullo praerogativae munere *eloquentiae* suffultus, ad implendum quod iussisti; ac nisi me *caritas* urgeret, quae nulla negare solet, non auderem ultra meae paupertatis vires negotium attingere.

Other matters in Alcuin's letter are the same as those he uses in epistles to high-ranking clerics recommending that they read the *Cura Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, which Alcuin calls a *speculum*¹⁶ of pontifical life.

The main topics employed in the letter to Wido are as follows:

- a. Read the treatise frequently,¹⁷ so that
- b. your mind, wearied by outward vexations, may have something to turn to in which it can take pleasure;¹⁸
- c. memorize individual chapters of the treatise;¹⁹
- d. the work is a handbook which teaches you what to avoid and what to do.²⁰

¹⁶ Epist. 116, p. 171, 27 (Dümmler): 'Speculum est enim pontificalis vitae et medicina contra singula diabolicae fraudis vulnera,' a reference overlooked by R. Bradley, 'Backgrounds of the title *Speculum* in mediaeval literature,' *Speculum* 29 (1953), 100-103. On *speculum* as book-title see Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Büchertitel* (SB. Bayer. Akademie der Wiss., 1953, Heft 3), pp. 30-44.

¹⁷ Epist. 305, p. 464, 24: '. . . litterulas, ita te humiliter depono, ut easdem saepius legere digneris.'

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 464, 22: '. . . ; ut animus exterioribus fatigatus molestiis, ad se ipsum reversus habeat, in quo gaudeat.'

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 464, 19: '. . . memoriae haec mea dicta inhaerere.'

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 464, 31: '. . . ; ut habeas cotidie quasi manualementem in conspectu tuo libellum, in quo possis te ipsum considerare, quid cavere, vel quid agere debeas.' This passage is modeled after Alcuin, ch. 5, *De lect. studio* (PL 101, 616C): 'Sanctarum lectio Scripturarum divinae cognitio beatitudinis. In his enim quasi in quodam *speculo* homo seipsum considerare potest, qualis sit, vel quo tendat.'

The same commonplaces occur also in letters addressed by Alcuin, approximately between 793 and 797, to Eanbald II, archbishop of York (Ep. 116); to Arno of Salzburg (Ep. 113), to Higbald of Lindisfarne (Ep. 124); and to an unknown ecclesiastic (Ep. 39). We again find the topics *a-d* in the following letters:

a and *d* in Epist. 116, p. 171, 25: 'Sepius illum (scil. Liber S. Gregorii Pastoralis) legas et relegas, quatenus te ipsum et tuum opus cognoscas in illo; ut, qualiter vivere vel docere debeas, ante oculos habeas;'

a, *b*, and *c*, in Epist. 113, p. 166, 12: '. . . ut illum (see above) saepius quasi enchiridion habeas in manibus et in corde reteneas . . . sanctorum doctorum scio libros habere legere et firma tenere memoria;'

a, *c*, and *d*, in Epist. 124, p. 182, 30: 'Iste liber (see above) tuis saepius inhereat manibus, illius sensus tuae firmiter infigantur memoriae; ut scias, qualiter quisque . . . se ipsum circumspicere debeat; et quibus exemplis vivere necesse sit;'

a and *b*, in Epist. 39, p. 83, 2: 'Sed et pastoralementem beati Gregorii papae saepissime perscrutare. His aepulis animam tuam pasce, ut habeas, unde alios quoque reficere valeas.'

The dedicatory Epistle is typical of Alcuin's style, and not indebted to the letter-preface of Defensor's *Liber Scintillarum*²¹ for any of its topics.

Alcuin clearly saw his treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis* as something akin—*mutatis mutandis*—to Gregory's Pastoral Rule, and as a handbook to guide the soldier Wido in moral conflicts that might occur in the everyday affairs of a military man and royal judge. A letter of Alcuin (Epist. 249, p. 402, 5) addressed to Charlemagne praises Wido as 'a perfect man and incorruptible judge.' Obviously Alcuin's essay continues the Continental tradition of Gregory the Great, not a British tradition presented 'im insularen Raum'²² by pseudo-Cyprian's treatise *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*.²³

In philosophy the treatise is simple. Life is mirrored as a conflict between the virtues and the eight vices which are the root of

²¹ Dom Rochais, *Revue Bénédictine* 63 (1953), 264 seems to assume such an influence.

²² So Heinz Löwe in Wattenbach-Levison, op. cit., p. 233.

²³ Ed. S. Hellmann in *Texte und Untersuchungen* ed. Harnack-Gebhardt, 34 (1910); Alcuin was familiar with ch. 10 on the *Rex iniquus* of this political treatise.

all evil. Thus Alcuin writes to a correspondent: 'Tu vero pacem cum omnibus habeas, *bellum cum vitiis*' (Epist. 209, p. 349, 10). The vices are overcome by their opposites among the virtues: pride is defeated by humility, gluttony by abstinence, fornication by chastity, avarice again by abstinence, anger by patience, sloth by good works, ungodly sorrow by spiritual pleasure, and vain-glory by godly charity. In this battle of contraries, the virtues are victoriously led by the four cardinal virtues, the *duces gloriosissimi*, against the *duces impietatis* and their armies. All this reflects the traditional picture of the continuous battle waged between the virtues and the vices described by Prudentius in the *Psychomachia*, by Cassian in the *Collationes* and the *Institutes* and then by Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, XXXI, 45. These authors are well-known to Alcuin, and so was the description of this battle in Aldhelm's *De virginitate*,²⁴ a model for Alcuin's metrical verse.

The preceding analysis shows that Alcuin only repeats traditional commonplaces. His reference to the content of the treatise as *haec mea dicta* (in the dedicatory letter) is therefore not to be taken literally or seriously. The expression *mea dicta* also occurs in other epistles, and belongs to the rhetorical style he employs in his letters.²⁵

A critical investigation of the treatise will finally reveal how Alcuin excerpted from his sources.

THE SOURCES OF THE SECTION DE VIRTUTIBUS

Dom Rochais has recently published a study of the source said to underlie the first section of the treatise, which deals with the virtues.²⁶ He concludes that Alcuin used a *florilegium* of patristic authors and not their original writings. The intermediary is said to have been the *Liber Scintillarum* of Defensor of Ligugé,²⁷ who

²⁴ See the prose chaps. 11 and 12, and metr., vv. 2454-72, ed. R. Ehwald, *MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi* 15 (1919).

²⁵ Cf. Epist. 257, p. 415, 24, addressed to Charlemagne, also Epist. 172, p. 284, 22.

²⁶ H.-M. Rochais, 'Le Liber de virtutibus et vitiis d'Alcuin: Note pour l'étude des sources,' *Revue Mabillon* 41 (1951), 77-86.

²⁷ Migne, PL 88, 597-718. See the studies of the *Liber Scintillarum* by Dom Rochais in *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948), 77-83; 59 (1949), 137-156; 61 (1951), 63-80; 'Les manuscrits du L. Sc.,' *Scriptorium* 4 (1950), 294-309. Furthermore A.

during the last decades of the seventh century compiled a collection of *deformationes* from the Old and New Testaments and from early and later patristic writings. Defensor always indicates in his *catenae* the authors of the quotations without expressly registering the fact that many of these quotations are not directly derived from their originals but from later *florilegia*, such as Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* and *Sententiae*. Dom Rochais believes that a similar method was also adopted by authors who used Defensor's work: they never mention Defensor's name. 'Une dépendance de ce genre apparaît dans le *Liber de virtutibus et vitiis* d'Alcuin: 130 passages de la Bible et des Pères sont communs aux deux florilèges, et la façon dont les cite Alcuin prouve qu'il les doit à Defensor.'²⁸ But these and other conclusions of Rochais in his inquiry are untenable. That Alcuin was familiar with Defensor's compilation has not been proved by Dom Rochais, despite his lists of passages in both works which are in complete textual agreement. For many sections of Alcuin's treatise whose sources are not listed by Rochais, the underlying source is easy to see. Dom Rochais gives a synopsis of the parallel passages²⁹ in the first 26 chapters of Alcuin's treatise and in Defensor, and also identifies the origin of Defensor's excerpts. Some parallels have escaped his attention. Besides those mentioned for various reasons in the course of our investigation, compare, for instance, the two following:

Alcuin, ch. 7, *De misericordia* (PL 101, 618B): 'in iudice misericordia et disciplina debet esse, quia una sine altera bene esse non possit;'

Defensor, ch. 43, *De misericordia* (PL 88, 674C): 'Gregorius. Disciplina sine misericordia multum destituitur, si una sine altera teneatur.'

Alcuin, ch. 18, *De castitate* (627B): 'castitas hominem coelo conjungit;'

Vaccari, 'Il liber scintillarum dei monaco Defensor,' *Studi Medievali* 17 (1951), 86-92. Not listed by S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States*, are two MSS of Defensor, currently offered for sale by the New York firm of Bernard M. Rosenthal, Inc.; see nos. 2 and 32 of their *Catalogue I: Selections of Medieval Text Manuscripts* (New York, 1954), pp. 2 and 21.

²⁸ Rochais, 'Contribution à l'histoire des florilèges ascétiques du Haut Moyen Âge Latin: Le Liber Scintillarum,' *Revue Bénédictine* 63 (1953), 289.

²⁹ *Revue Mabillon* 41 (1951), 81-86. All subsequent references to Rochais are to this synopsis unless otherwise indicated.

Defensor, ch. 13, *De virginitate* (633A): 'Isidorus. Castitas hominem ad coelos conjungit:' = Isidore of Seville, *Synonyma*, II, 10 (PL 83, 847C): 'castitas hominem coelo jungit.'

Dom Rochais misjudges the relation between the *Sententiae* of Isidore of Seville and the quotations from this work in Alcuin's treatise.³⁰ To be sure, the titles and some subject-matter of Alcuin's first four chapters run parallel to the beginning of the second Book of the *Sententiae*.³¹ The assertion, however, that Alcuin's text contains no part of the text of Isidore's *florilegium* which Alcuin could not have found among Defensor's many excerpts from the *Sententiae* is mistaken. Rochais does not furnish in his synopsis, for example, the source of Alc., ch. 11 (621A), 'Quando ergo ista in corde hominis fiunt, sciendum est tunc esse Deum per gratiam suam cordi humano presentem,' which is a literal quotation from *Sententiae* II, 12, 6 (PL 83, 614A). Alcuin's chapters 20 and 21, for which there is one lone parallel (overlooked by Dom Rochais) in Defensor (see below), correspond literally with the text of the *Sententiae*.

Alcuin, ch. 20, *De iudiciis* (PL 101, 628C-629B) is made up of verbatim quotations from *Sententiae* III (PL 83, 724B-726B, *passim*) in the following sequence: III, 52,4; 52,2; 52,6-7; 52,11-12; 52,16; 53,1-3. Of these passages only Alcuin 629B 'non est persona in iudicio consideranda, sed causa,' occurs in Defensor, ch. 58 (PL 88, 692B).

Alcuin, ch. 21, *De falsis testibus* (629C-630A) runs parallel to *Sententiae* III, 55,2,3,7; 54,7; 57,1,2,3,6 (PL 83, 727A-729A, *passim*).

There can be no doubt that Alcuin used the *Sententiae* directly.³² Indeed it is a question whether Alcuin used Defensor at all when compiling his treatise. The mere list of parallel passages by Dom Rochais is not evidence enough for Alcuin's dependence on Defensor, especially when we see that Alcuin used one of the *florilegia* also used by Defensor. Further, parallels to longer passages in Alcuin's treatise, for which not many parallel texts occur

³⁰ *Revue Mabillon* 41 (1951), 80.

³¹ Migne, PL 83, 599-603.

³² Alcuin repeatedly expressed special admiration for Isidore of Seville, especially in Adv. Elipandum Libri Quattuor II, 8 (PL 101, 266B): 'Isidori . . . per plurima legebamus opuscula et in magna habemus veneratione.' Alcuin's use of the *Sententiae* and *Synonyma* may be added to A. E. Anspach, 'Das Fortleben Isidors im vii. bis ix. Jahrhundert,' *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome, 1936), 350 f.

in Defensor, are found in certain Pseudo-Augustinian Sermons (Ps.-Aug., App.) in a fuller context.³³ A synoptic survey of the chapters in Alcuin's treatise and these apocryphal homilies will serve to illustrate the point.

Alcuin, PL 101, 614 ff. <i>chapter:</i>	Ps.-Aug., App., PL 39, 1932 ff. <i>sermo:</i>
1. De sapientia	302,1
2. De fide	} 108,1,4-5,2
3. De charitate	
4. De spe	
5. De lect. studio	
6. De pace	98,2
7. De misericordia	304,1
8. De indulgentia	304,2
10. De humilitate	297,1
12. De confessione	254,1-2
13. De poenitentia	254,2-3
15. De timore Dei	297,2
18. De castitate	291,1,2,3.

While the editors of the pseudo-Augustinian Appendix assume that the substance of Alcuin's treatise was incorporated into the context of the apocryphal homilies,³⁴ the editor of Alcuin's treatise refers to its individual chapters as portions evidently derived from Augustinian sermons.³⁵ We can find the relation between Alcuin and some of the homilies if we weigh internal evidence in the texts.

We read in Alcuin's ch. 8, *De indulgentia* (PL 101, 618D): 'Sciendum est certissime quod unusquisque talem indulgentiam accepturus est a Deo, qualem et ipse dederit proximo suo.' Rochais adduces as the alleged source Defensor, ch. 5, *De indulgentia* (PL 88, 611B): 'Augustinus. Unusquisque talem indulgentiam accepturus est a Deo, qualem et ipse dederit proximo suo.' *Augustinus*, the source of Defensor's citation, is not identified by Rochais. The citation is from Ps.-Aug., App., sermo 304,2 (PL 39, 2329):

³³ Migne, PL 39, In appendice, subsequently always referred to as Ps.-Aug., App. The editor of Alcuin in PL 101, 614 ff., refers to these sermons in the notes; but read 614B 'Serm. 302,' instead of 303; for ch. 6, De pace, the reference to serm. 98 (PL 39, 1933) is missing; 625 note a, read 'serm. 291,' instead of 91.

³⁴ See the b notes in PL 39, 1932, 2215, 2296, 2313, 2323, 2328.

³⁵ Cf. PL 101, 614b, 616c, 617a, 618b, 619a, 621a, 623a, 625a.

'Sciendum est certissime quod unusquisque talem indulgentiam accepturus est a Deo, qualem et ipse dederit proximo suo.' Since Alcuin's wording is closer to the text of the sermon than to the incomplete quotation of Defensor, Alcuin clearly used the sermon; and since Defensor obviously took the citation from the sermon, this apocryphal homily is older than both Defensor and Alcuin, and is the source of both.

Another example of the same kind is found in Alcuin's ch. 15, *De timore Dei* (PL 101, 624B): 'Qui timore sancto Deum metuunt, inquirunt quae bona placita sunt illi'; and 'Homo sapiens in omnibus operibus suis metuit Dominum.' Rochais refers to Defensor, ch. 12, *De timore* (PL 88, 630D): 'Augustinus. Qui timent Dominum, inquirunt quae beneplacita sunt illi'; and 'Homo sapiens in omnibus metuit.' The two citations from 'Augustinus' are not identified by Rochais. They occur, however, in Ps.-Aug., App., sermo 297,2 (PL 39, 2314): 'Qui timore sancto Deum metuunt inquirunt quae beneplacita sunt illi'; and 'Homo sapiens in omnibus operibus suis Deum timet.' So, clearly, this homily also antedates Defensor and Alcuin.

For two sentences in Alcuin's ch. 11, *De compunctione cordis* (PL 101, 621A), Rochais refers to Defensor, ch. 6, where both are cited from 'Augustinus.' I have not identified the homily which doubtless served as the source of Defensor and Alcuin. Alcuin's chapters 11, 12, and 13, are also found in Ps.-Aug., App., sermo 254, and since Defensor quotes from an unidentified work of 'Augustinus' which was also used by Alcuin in ch. 11, we must assume that Defensor and Alcuin used the same source, which was quite probably one of the apocryphal homilies ascribed to Augustinus.

Slight verbal parallels seem to join Alcuin, ch. 19 (PL 101, 627D-628A) to Defensor, ch. 77 (PL 88, 711A): 'Augustinus. Ubi lucrum, et ibi damnum. Lucrum in arca, damnum in conscientia. Acquirat pecuniam, et perdit iustitiam.' This quotation is from Ps.-Aug., App., sermo 220,2 (PL 39, 2152), i.e. from Caesarius of Arles' sermo 222,3 (ed. G. Morin, in *Corpus Christianorum*, series Latina, 104 [Turnholt, 1953], 878 f.). Defensor and Alcuin used this homily. We note that the same 'Augustinus' quotation is found in the report — written in 786 — on two Old

English synods which Alcuin attended (MGH, *Epistolae* IV, p. 26,4).

The 'Augustinus' quotations of Defensor³⁶ and Alcuin prove that the apocryphal homilies 297 and 304 antedate both authors, and that Alcuin's chapters 11 and 19 contain similar pseudo-Augustinian materials. Eight 'Augustinus' quotations of Defensor are traced by Dom Rochais³⁷ to certain sermons of Caesarius of Arles.³⁸

One example will reveal the complications we encounter in dealing with a pseudo-Augustinian homily. The editor of sermo 98 (PL 39, 1932b) states that this sermon contains ch. 6, *De pace*, of Alcuin's treatise. He thus assumes that sermo 98 is a post-Alcuinian homily. Dekkers and Gaar³⁹ also hold No. 98 to be later than Alcuin, and find it in homily 52 of the homiliary of Hrabanus. There can be no doubt that the text of ch. 6 corresponds with homily 98. The question is whether Alcuin copied 98 or the author of 98 copied Alcuin. The first alternative is confirmed by the fact that the content of ch. 6 is traceable to homily 53 of Petrus Chrysologus (PL 52, 347). Sermo 98 itself appears to be an expanded version of Ps.-Aug., App., sermo 61,⁴⁰ which in its turn is but another version of Chrysologus, sermo 53. The relation between 98, Alcuin, and Hrabanus seems to be as follows: Hrabanus could have used homily 98 directly, since the two variants (see below) *fratres* and *societatem habet* do not occur in the present text of Alcuin. On the other hand, we find (see below) that a considerable portion (five-sevenths) of Alcuin's text is paralleled by certain sections in the context of fourteen homilies by Hrabanus. So it might well be that Hrabanus' readings are traceable to the MS of Alcuin's treatise used by him. That sermo 98 does antedate Alcuin may be inferred because the homily was used, more extensively than in ch. 6, in his Epistle 219 (p. 363, 19, 23, 24), addressed to the monks of Lerins, lauding their good

³⁶ Our conclusions presuppose that Defensor's Augustinus quotations are genuine parts of the *florilegium*. Rochais is preparing a critical edition of the *Liber Scintillarum*: see *Revue Bénédictine* 63 (1953), 265.

³⁷ *Ibidem* 63 (1953), 284.

³⁸ Ed. Germain Morin, S. Caesarii Arelatensis Sermones I (Maredsous, 1937).

³⁹ *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (Sacris Erudiri 3, 1951), no. 368, p. 67.

⁴⁰ Add to *Clavis*, s.v., sermo 98: 'recensio amplificata sermonis 61.'

reputation, and exhorting them to mutual charity and peace. The *unanimitas pacis*, repeatedly stressed in this letter, but not mentioned by Alcuin in ch. 6, is a special point at issue discussed together with *caritas* in sermo 98, 4-5 (PL 39, 1933 f.).

The following excerpts of an identical passage in its five different transmissions illustrate the possible interdependences just discussed.

Petrus Chrysologus, sermo 53 (PL 52, 347C-348A):

Pax plebis charissimi est gloria sacerdotis, et pacis plena laetitia est perfecta charitas filiorum. Sacerdotis est, admonere quod decet; plebis est, audire quod monet; quidquid non licet, pastoris est prohibere, gregis audire ac velle ne fiat. . . . Custodienda *prae omnibus virtutibus* pax est, quoniam Deus semper in pace est;

Ps.-Augustinus, Appendix, sermo 61,3 (PL 39, 1859):

Pax plebis, gloria est sacerdotis: et parentum laetitia, perfecta charitas filiorum. Sacerdotis . . . [like Chrysologus, above] . . . pastoris est prohibere ne fiat; gregis est audire, ut faciat . . . Custodienda *omnibus viribus* pax est; quoniam Deus semper in pace est;

Ps.-Augustinus, Appendix, sermo 98,2 (PL 39, 1933):

Pax plebis sanitas, gloria sacerdotis, et patriae laetitia, et terror hostium sive visibillum sive invisibillum. *Omnibus viribus* pax est custodienda, fratres, quia semper in Deo manet, qui in pace sancta manet, et cum sanctis Dei societatem habet. Sacerdotis est, in pace populum admonere quod debeat agere; populi est, in humilitate audire quae monet sacerdos. Quidquid non licet, pastoris est prohibere ne fiat; plebis, audire ne faciat;

Alcuin, ch. 6, *De pace* (PL 101, 617C):

Pax plebis est sanitas . . . [the remainder is identical with sermo 98]; there are some variants; Alcuin omits *fratres*, reads *manet* instead of *societatem habet*, and at the end *est audire*; cf. Alcuin, Epist. 18, p. 51, 29 'sanitas plebis';

Hrabanus Maurus, Hom. 52 (PL 110, 96A-B):

This text is identical with sermo 98; Hrabanus reads *fratres*, and *societatem habet*, and *est audire*.

The reading '*custodienda omnibus viribus pax est*'⁴¹ as against

⁴¹ The same reading appears in the so-called OE Alcuin: 'Seo sibb is mid calle moeignen to healdene'; see R. D-N. Warner, *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century MS. Vesp. D. XIV* (EETS, Original Series, 152; London, 1917), 95-

Chrysologus' *prae omnibus virtutibus* is noteworthy. According to Chrysologus *pax* belongs to the *virtutes*, while the authors of the expanded version of his sermon evidently no longer shared this notion, which was known to the early Middle Ages especially also from Prudentius, *Psychomachia*, vv. 769 f.:

Pax plenum virtutis opus, pax summa laborum,
Pax belli exacti pretium est pretiumque periculi.

A summary of the preceding inquiry and comparison with the conclusions of Dom Rochais shows that Defensor's *florilegium* cannot have been Alcuin's source, for Alcuin excerpted some of the writings also excerpted by Defensor, such as Isidore of Seville's *florilegia* and pseudo-Augustinian homilies. One of these homilies was identified (above) with a homily of Caesarius of Arles, whose sermo 18, 2-6 (CCL 103, pp. 83-86), for example, supplied Alcuin with two-thirds of the text of ch. 14 (623B-D). It seems that Alcuin was also familiar with Pomerius, *De vita contemplativa*, since excerpts from Pomerius are found in Alcuin's ch. 23, *De superbia*.⁴² The homiletic nature of at least the first part of Alcuin's treatise was obvious to Alcuin's unknown biographer, who wrote: 'Scripsit et ad Widonem comitem *omelias* de principalibus vitiis et virtutibus.'⁴³

THE SOURCES OF THE SECTION DE VITIIS

The second part of Alcuin's treatise, which is not investigated by Dom Rochais, is in eight chapters, each dealing with one of the chief vices (*principales*), namely, pride, gluttony, lust, avarice, anger, sloth, sorrow, and vainglory (Chaps. 26-34). The chapters on the vices are followed by a brief discussion of the four cardinal

⁴² Compare this chapter and Pomerius, PL 59, 478A-B; also Alcuin, ch. 3 (PL 101, 615C) and Pomerius III, 13, 14, 15 (PL 59, 493C, 494A ff., 496B-C); A. M. Landgraf, *Dogmengeschichte der Frühscholastik* I, 1 (Regensburg a.D., 1952), 162 compares Pomerius III, 16 (PL 59, 498) and Alcuin, ch. 35. The first Pomerius item is listed by Dom Rochais, *Revue Mabillon* 41 (1951), 85. M. L. W. Laistner, *Studi e Testi* 122 (1946), 356 assumes that Alcuin was unfamiliar with Pomerius when writing his treatise.

⁴³ *Vita Alcuini* ch. 21, MGH, *Scriptores* XV, 195. — There is no apparent connection between the homiletic materials of our treatise and the extant second volume of Alcuin's homiliarium; on the latter see the note in *Speculum* 29 (1954), 823.

virtues (ch. 35), and a letter-peroration, addressed to the recipient of the handbook. The last paragraph attached to the peroration (in Migne's edition) is a cento of Scriptural passages 'On Friendship' (PL 101, 638CD) which is not an original part of the work. Its origin is not unknown, as Dom Rochais assumes.⁴⁴ The passages are taken from Defensor, ch. 63, *De amicitia* (PL 88, 696CD).

The fundamental sources of Alcuin's catalogue of vices are Gregory, *Moralia in Job XXXI*,⁴⁵ and Cassian, *Collatio V*, 1 and *V*, 16, 5.⁴⁶ The themes at the end of each chapter — the specific virtue overcoming its opposing vice — are supplied by Isidore, *Sententiae II*, 37.⁴⁷

The sequence of chapters 27–34 follows with two exceptions the order of Cassian's classification of vices, though Gregory furnishes the description of the individual *vitia*. Since *acedia* is missing in Gregory's list, Alcuin in this instance follows (635A) Cassian. And although *superbia* is the last vice in Cassian's list, it becomes the first for Alcuin as being the worst vice. Occasionally, both basic sources conflate in Alcuin's description. *Haereses*, for example, derived from Cassian's treatment of *cenodoxia*, is inserted into the description of *superbia*, copied from Gregory. As a rule, the source actually used by Alcuin can be determined without great difficulty. *Malitia* in Alcuin's treatment of *tristitia*, a vice not found in Cassian, *Collatio V*, 16, 5, is taken from Gregory's list of vices (PL 76, 621B).

The occurrence of direct literal citations from Cassian has been wrongly denied by Albert Hauck;⁴⁸ for not only the *Collationes*, but also the *De institutis coenobiorum*⁴⁹ is excerpted by Alcuin. So when Alcuin says in ch. 32, *De acedia*, 'Quae cum miserabilem obsidet mentem,' he obviously follows Cassian, *De inst. X*, 2:

⁴⁴ Revue Mabillon 41 (1951), 73.

⁴⁵ PL 76, 620–622.

⁴⁶ Ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13 (Wien, 1886), 142 f.

⁴⁷ *De pugna virtutum adversus vitia* (PL 83, 638); cf. also Isidore's *Differentiae II*, chaps. 39–40 (PL 83, 95 f.); *Quaestiones Testamentorum: In Deuteronomium* ch. 16 (PL 83, 366), following Cassian.

⁴⁸ Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands II* (3rd and 4th edd.; Leipzig, 1912), 147 f.: 'Direkt aus Cassian entnommene Sätze habe ich nicht bemerkt.'

⁴⁹ *De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis libri XII*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 17 (Wien, 1888).

'Quae cum miserabilem obsederit mentem.' Rather incongruously the 'mala otiositas' (De inst. X,20) of the monk is mentioned and rejected in this chapter of our treatise written for a layman! The first bracketed section in *De superbia* (633B) is drawn verbatim from De inst. XII,29. The chapter 'On Vainglory' (635A-D) contains longer excerpts derived word for word from De inst. XI,3,4,6, and 19.⁵⁰

Thus, our study reveals the nature of the treatise on virtues and vices and its author's method of excerpting. The same method of borrowing may be observed in Alcuin's Rhetoric,⁵¹ and in his grammatical treatise *De orthographia*.⁵²

The system of eight vices is also the basis of Alcuin's *Confessio peccatorum* in the *Officia per Férias* (PL 101, 525D). In *De animae ratione*, however, written for Gundrada, sister of Charlemagne's trusted advisor Adalhard of Corbie, Alcuin enumerates only seven vices: 'gastrimargia, fornicatio, phylargiria, tristitia, acedia, superbia, and cenodoxia.'⁵³ *Ira* is missing. Alcuin does not consider *ira* an individual vice, since it is assignable to the irascible part of the soul from which *tristitia* and *acedia* also spring. From the two other parts of the soul in this ancient division stem the remaining five vices, pride and vainglory from the rational part, gluttony, lust, and avarice, from the concupiscent. *De animae ratione*, we note, was one of the sources⁵⁴ of *De spiritu et anima* by the Cistercian Alcher of Clairvaux.

Though the treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis*, as Schmitz⁵⁵ puts it, 's'inspire beaucoup de Saint Augustin,' it is hard to identify in the tractate literal excerpts from genuine Augustinian writings, although the trace of a genuine Augustinian homily can occasionally be seen.⁵⁶ But in general there is no ground for thinking with

⁵⁰ Ibidem, pp. 195,18-26; 196,13-22; 197,6-10; 203,22-204,6.

⁵¹ Ed. Carl Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Leipzig, 1863); cf. note 4, above.

⁵² Ed. Aldo Marsili, *Alcuini Orthographia* (Pisa, 1952).

⁵³ PL 101, 640C-D; the treatise is partly edited by E. Dümmier in MGH, *Epist.* IV, no. 309, pp. 473-478.

⁵⁴ Alcuin, ch. 11 (PL 101, 644B-C) is verbatim copied in Alcher of Clairvaux's *De spiritu et anima* (PL 40, 788). On Alcher's authorship of this pseudo-Augustinian writing see H. S. Denifle, *Die deutschen Mystiker des 14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Otwin Spiess (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1951), 81.

⁵⁵ Philibert Schmitz, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît II* (Maredsous, 1949), 379.

⁵⁶ Compare, for example, Alcuin, ch. 30 (PL 101, 634B) and Augustine, *sermo*

Kleinclausz⁵⁷ 'that most of the chapters on the virtues are literally indebted to sermons of the great African doctor,' or that 'Alcuin reasoned and thought independently in the chapters on the vices, especially where he dramatically confronts the virtues and the vices.' Nor is there a basis for Kleinclausz's assumption that Cicero's *De officiis* supplied Alcuin with the definitions of the cardinal virtues (in ch. 35).

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TREATISE

The treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis* was read and copied during the ninth and subsequent centuries. About 22 MSS, saec. IX-X, are still extant,⁵⁸ and more from the following centuries are found in the libraries of all Western and Central European countries. A lone MS copy of the work has just now reached this country.⁵⁹

Carolingian writers used the treatise. The chapter on the cardinal virtues (ch. 35) was copied by Alcuin himself in his *Rhetoric*.⁶⁰ Some excerpts are inserted in an epistle of unknown Frankish origin that was sent to Italy during the early ninth century.⁶¹ Jonas of Orléans in *De institutione laicali*⁶² acknowledges his indebtedness to the section on the vices. A contemporary of Louis the Pious dedicated to his sovereign distichs on the virtues and the vices for which he adopted 32 chapter-titles in the sequence of Alcuin's treatise.⁶³ To these Carolingian witnesses we may add Halitgar of Cambrai, and Alcuin's pupil Hrabanus Maurus.

Halitgar of Cambrai appropriated Alcuin's definitions of the

177, ed. D. C. Lambot, *S. Aurel. August. Sermones Selecti (Stromata Patristica et Mediaevalia I; Utrecht-Bruxelles, 1950)*, 68; for Alcuin, ch. 14 see Appendix 28, and *Revue Mabillon* 41 (1951), 83.

⁵⁷ Arthur Kleinclausz, *Alcuin (Paris, 1948)*, 221. There are slight verbal parallels between Alcuin's definition of *prudentia* (in ch. 35) and Cicero, *De officiis* I, 153, but not enough to assume certain dependence.

⁵⁸ Listed by Rochais, *Revue Bénédictine* 63 (1953), 251 note 4.

⁵⁹ This MS is listed in the sales Catalogue I, p. 2, no. 2, quoted in note 27, above.

⁶⁰ Wallach, *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1950), 41.

⁶¹ MGH, *Epistolae* IV, no. 2, pp. 484-491.

⁶² In *Lib. III*, 6; cf. PL 106, 244-247A; compare also Alcuin, ch. 23 (630D), and the sentence from this chapter quoted by Jonas in *III*, 4 (PL 106, 239A).

⁶³ Omitting those of Alcuin's chaps. 1, 20, 26; see Strecker, MGH, *Poetae* IV, pp. 924-27.

four cardinal virtues (ch. 35) in five chapters of his Penitential, Bk. II.⁶⁴ Alcuin's influence is further noticeable in Bk. I, chaps. 6, 10-12, and 14.

We have referred above to some homilies of Hrabanus Maurus. It can be shown that the text of 25 of the 35 chapters of Alcuin's treatise is paralleled by certain sections in the context of 14 homilies by Hrabanus,⁶⁵ namely, Nos. 45, 47-49, 51-56, 58-60, and 62. Hrabanus' sermons are always more extensive than the chapters of Alcuin. Some of Hrabanus' homilies could be combinations of individual chapters of Alcuin's treatise, as may be deduced from the following summary.

Chapters 1 and 5 of Alcuin correspond with *Homilia* 48 of Hrabanus; chaps. 2, 3, 4 with hom. 45; ch. 6: hom. 52; chaps. 7-8: hom. 51; chaps. 10 and 15 with hom. 54; chaps. 11, 12, 13: hom. 55; 14: 56; 16: 49; 17: 53; 18: 47; chaps. 19 and 30: hom. 62; chaps. 20 and 21: hom. 58; chaps. 23 and 25: hom. 59; chaps. 24 and 31: hom. 60. For eleven of Alcuin's chapters (9, 22, 26-29, 32-36) parallels seem to be absent in Hrabanus' homilies.

Some of Hrabanus' sermons are identified by Dekkers and Gaar⁶⁶ with pseudo-Augustinian homilies that are also used, as we saw, by Alcuin. These identifications can now be supplemented and corrected in accordance with our findings. Hrabanus indeed utilized some of these apocryphal sermons that were not excerpted by Alcuin, for instance, serm. 194, 280, and 290. But the statement in Dekkers and Gaar, *Clavis*, No. 368, s.v., sermo 98, 'est in homiliario Hrabani Mauri homilia 52' can only refer to the identity of the texts, and not to Hrabanus' authorship of the sermon, because its origin has been ascertained (see above). Since Alcuin used sermo 98 in his treatise, Hrabanus' authorship of no. 98 is impossible. The same conclusion holds for Ps.-Aug., App., serm. 297 and 304, which are paralleled in the *Clavis* with hom. 54 and 51 of Hrabanus; the use made by Alcuin of nos. 297 and 304 forbids us to assume that Hrabanus was the author of these two pseudo-Augustinian homilies.

⁶⁴ In chaps. 6-10 (PL 105, 673D-674A; 674D-675A; 675C; 676A); see Alcuin's chaps. 22, 28, 30, and 33 in PL 105, 662B, 667B, 664D, and 665A.

⁶⁵ *Homiliae de virtutibus*, PL 110, 82 ff. I have not seen Aloys Ruppel on Hrabanus in *Jahrbuch für das Bistum Mainz* 3 (1948), 117-137.

⁶⁶ *Clavis* (see above note 39), pp. 67-70.

Hrabanus also copied for Book III of *De ecclesiastica disciplina*⁶⁷ from Alcuin's chapters 2, 4, 3, 6, 9, 23, 24, 28, and 30-32.

The definitions of virtue and the four cardinal virtues in Hrabanus' *De vitiis et virtutibus*, Bk. III⁶⁸ whose first two Books are identical with Halitgar's Penitential, Bks. I-II, are not from Alcuin's ch. 35, but from Alcuin's Rhetoric, chaps. 44-45.⁶⁹ Hrabanus here cites a sentence from Alcuin's Rhetoric⁷⁰ which does not occur in Alcuin's ch. 35.

Onulf of Speyer, writing his *Colores Rhetorici* in the seventies of the eleventh century, quotes⁷¹ from Alcuin's chap. 35.

The definition of the three kinds of alms in the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, decr. I, dist. 45, q. xii, seems to be derived from Alcuin's ch. 12, *De elemosynis*.

A manuscript of the treatise which probably contained only the section on the vices was known to Wolfger of Prüfening,⁷² who in his literary history, formerly ascribed to the so-called Anonymus Mellicensis, lists the writings of Alcuin, and says: 'Scribit de octo viciis ad Gwidonem comitem.'⁷³

Considerable use was made of Alcuin's treatise in Old and Middle English Literatures. Aelfric inserted excerpts in his *Homiliae Catholicae*,⁷⁴ and an Old English translation of the first sixteen chapters preserved in a MS of the twelfth century⁷⁵ probably was made in his period. About 1300, or perhaps a little later, Alcuin's work became the immediate source of the early English metrical poem, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*,⁷⁶ and largely determined the

⁶⁷ PL 112, in the following sequence corresponding to the Alcuin chaps. listed above: 1234A-C, 1236A-C, 1236D-1237B, 1257B, 1240D-1241A, 1242C, 1246B-C, 1245A, 1241D-1242A, and 1252A.

⁶⁸ PL 112, 1253D, 1254B, 1254D, 1255A.

⁶⁹ Ed. Carl Halm (see note 5x, above), p. 548 f.; Karl Werner, *Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert* (Paderborn, 1876), 257 wrongly assumes that Hrabanus followed *De virtutibus et vitiis*, ch. 35.

⁷⁰ Ed. Halm, p. 549, 27 f. from 'Honor eximius . . . apud Deum'; compare the Hrabanus citation in PL 112, 1255A.

⁷¹ Wallach, 'Onulf of Speyer: A Humanist of the Eleventh Century,' *Medievalia et Humanistica* 6 (1950), 40.

⁷² Now ascribed to him by H. von Fichtenau, 'Wolfger von Prüfening,' *Mitteilungen des Inst. für Oesterreich. Geschichtsforschung* 51 (1937), 341-351.

⁷³ *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, ed. Emil Ettlinger (Karlsruhe, 1896), ch. 41, p. 70.

⁷⁴ Max Förster, *Anglia* 16 (1893-94), 46 f.

⁷⁵ Referred to in note 41, above.

⁷⁶ Ed. G. L. Morrill, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* (EETS, Extra Series, 75; London, 1898), pp. xciii-cxiv, and cxvii f., on Alcuin's influence on Gy.

trend of the argument. Finally, an Old Norse translation of the treatise is found in a MS of the twelfth or thirteenth century.⁷⁷

The popularity of the treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis* during the Middle Ages as evinced by the number of MSS, by its influence on authors from the ninth until the fourteenth centuries who wrote in Latin and in vernacular languages, calls for a new edition of the treatise. Migne's edition of 1851 is reprinted from the second volume of Alcuin's *Opera* published by Froben at Regensburg on-the-Danube in 1777. It is not based on the oldest and best MSS, and is now inadequate in the light of modern standards of textual editing.

APPENDIX

1. ALCUIN AND THE COMMONITIUNCULA AD SOLOREM?

An anonymous treatise, presumably from the second half of the seventh century, in the MSS ascribed variously to Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome,⁷⁸ or Caesarius of Arles, and by A. E. Anspach,⁷⁹ its most recent editor, assigned to Isidore of Seville, is said to have left traces in Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*. But the assumption of such an influence on Alcuin cannot stand the test of a critical examination. Careful comparison of both treatises does not disclose evidence to support the contentions made by Anspach and Vaccari.

The introductory letter of the *Comm(onitiuncula ad Sororem)* is not the source of Alcuin's dedicatory epistle to Wido. The purely Alcuinian origin of the epistle has been demonstrated in the first part of this paper. Alcuin certainly needed no recourse to the exordium of the *Comm.*, 'Tuae non immemor petitionis, o charissima mater, tibi ut rogasti, scribere studui,' in order to say in his exordium (Ep. 305, p. 464, 11): '*Memor petitionis tuae et promissionis meae, qua me obnix*

⁷⁷ See G. T. Flom, *Codex AM 619 Quarto: Old Norwegian Book of Homilies . . . and Alcuin's De virtutibus et vitiis* (Univ. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 14, 4; 1929); Gustav Indrebø, *Gamalt Norsk Homiliebok Cod. AM 619. 4°* (Oslo, 1931) and the Facsimile-edition by Trygve Knudsen, *Gammelnorsk Homiliebok Etter AM 619 QV* (Corpus Codicum Norvegorum Medii Aevi, ed. D. A. Scip, Quarto Serie I; Oslo, 1952).

⁷⁸ Cf. Alberto Vaccari, 'Un trattato ascetico attribuito a S. Girolamo,' *Mélanges offerts au R. P. Ferdinand Cavallera* (Toulouse, 1948), 147-162.

⁷⁹ A. E. Anspach, *S. Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Commonitiuncula ad Sororem* (Script. eccl. hispano-latini veteris et medii aevi, IV; Escorial, 1935); Dom Rochais, *Revue Bénédictine* 63 (1953), 251 note 1, offers a list of extant MSS.

flagitasti aliquod tuae occupationi, quam te in bellicis rebus habere novimus.' This is merely a commonplace, repeated elsewhere. For example, the same exordium is used in Alcuin's dedicatory letter that accompanies parts of the Commentary of John which he presented to Gisla, sister of Charlemagne (Ep. 214, p. 357,29): *Memor petitionis vestrae et promissionis meae, quamvis tardius implerem propter occupationes per plurimas. . .* An often stereotyped exordial technique is a feature of Alcuin's epistles. The formula-like phrase *Memor conductae amicitiae inter nos,* for instance, occurs as the exordium in seven of his letters.⁸⁰

The testimonia of the Comm. allegedly preserved in Alcuin's chapters 3, 10, and 11, are hardly in point. The slight similarities between the two texts can be explained; the authors of both writings excerpted the same source. The mediaeval scribe of an expanded MS tradition of the Comm. must have been aware of this source, since he inserted into ch. XIII a passage from Isidore of Seville's *Sententiae* III, 8,2 (PL 83, 679B), which occurs also in Alcuin's ch. 5 (PL 101, 616D). Alcuin drew directly on Isidore's *florilegium*, which was — as we have seen — one of the main sources of his treatise. The passage in question assumed topical significance in Alcuin's epistolary style and appears as such in at least three of his letters.⁸¹ An interpolated passage in MS E of the Comm. (ed. Anspach, p. 34), which is identical with the opening sentences of Alcuin, ch. 5 (PL 101, 614C), might be traceable to a direct borrowing from Alcuin by the scribe of MS E, or else be directly derived from the pseudo-Augustinian sermo 302,2 (PL 39), which contains the same sentences.

2. ALCUIN AND CAESARIUS OF ARLES

The relation between Alcuin and Hrabanus Maurus can be more closely determined by an investigation of the use made by Alcuin of Caesarius of Arles' serm. 18, 2-6 (ed. G. Morin, CCL 103, 83-86, passim) in ch. 14 (PL 101, 623 f.). The literal borrowings from this homily in ch. 14 are here printed in italics. Compare:

Legitur in litteris divinitus inspiratis dictum: "Fill, ne tardes converti ad Deum, quia nescis, quid futura pariat dies" (Eccl. 5.8). Qui tardat converti, periculum facit animae suae, quia "mors non tardat" (Eccl. 14.12). Quae si tardantem converti inveniet, ad tormenta deducit eum. *Dissoluta et paralytica cogitatio est, de crastina cogitare conversione, et hodiernam negligere. Quid tu, peccator, converti dissimulas, et non metuis, ne tibi mors repentina subripiat diem conversionis? Nonne homines subito moriuntur? Si bonum est peccata dimittere, et ad Deum converti,*

⁸⁰ Epistles nos. 11, 24, 108, 122, 128, 263, 298.

⁸¹ Epistle 296, p. 455,26; 270, p. 429,6; 228, p. 372,7.

cito fiat. Deus tibi promittit remissionem convertenti a peccatis, securitatem tibi non promisit diu vivendi. (Lege prophetas, lege Apostolum, et vide si tibi promissa sit hora aut dies); Ideo convertat se citius unusquisque ad Deum, et cum invenerit eum, derelinquat impius viam suam. Si subito intrat dies extremus, perit dilatio, et restat damnatio. Perire non vis, redi ad Deum, et vives. Noli desperare (MS: peccando sperare) de venia peccatorum, nec de vita longiori confidere. Convertere ergo, et poenitentiam age. Cras, inquit, convertam. Quare non hodie? Quid mali, dicis, si cras dicam? Quid mali, si hodie? Forte dicis: Longa erit vita mea. Dicam, si longa erit, bona sit; si brevis, et ipsa bona sit. Quis ferat malum longum prandium? Longum non vis habere malum, et vitam longam vis habere malam? Villam emis; bonam desideras. Uxorem vis ducere; bonam quaeris. Filios tibi nasci vis; bonos optas. Et ut etiam de rebus vilissimis loquar, caligas emis, et non vis malas: Et vitam amas malam? Quid te offendit vita tua, quam solam vis malam, ut inter omnia bona tua solus sis malus? "Neque tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem" (Eccli. 5.8). Verba Dei sunt, non mea. Non a me haec audisti, sed ego tecum audio a Domino. Forte respondes: Cras, cras. O vox corvina! Corvus non redi(t) ad arcam, columba redi(t)it. Si enim tunc vis poenitentiam agere quando peccare non potes, peccata te dimiserunt, non tu illa. Satis alienus a fide est, qui ad agendum poenitentiam tempus senectutis exspectat. . . .

Alcuin's dependence on Caesarius' homily is obvious. Since the complete text of Alcuin's ch. 14 appears in Hrabanus Maurus' sermo 56 (PL 110, 104 f.), where it constitutes about one half of the entire sermon, Hrabanus clearly inserted the text of Alcuin's chapter into his homily. The same relationship exists between all the other chapters of Alcuin's treatise and those homilies of Hrabanus' collection *De virtutibus* that borrowed from Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*. We finally note one of the rarely found literal borrowings from a genuine Augustinian sermon; the passage 'Si enim tunc . . . non tu illa' is taken from Augustine's sermo 393 (PL 39, 1715).