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Alcuin and Charlemagne:

STUDIES IN CAROLINGIAN
HISTORY AND LITERATURE



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CHAPTER XI

Charlemagne's *De litteris colendis* and Alcuin

THE famous letter addressed by Charlemagne to Abbot Baugulf of Fulda is not only one of the most often quoted educational documents of the Carolingian Renaissance, but also, I believe, one of the most frequently misinterpreted historical sources of the period. Usually referred to as *Epistola de litteris colendis*, the letter was known for a long time only from the eleventh- or twelfth-century transmission of Metz MS 226,¹ until Paul Lehmann published an older version from the Oxford Laudianus Misc. 126, probably of the eighth century.²

¹ MGH, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, I, ed. Alfred Boretius (Legum Sectio II; Hannover, 1881), no. 29, p. 79. A Vatican MS of the letter is listed in *Neues Archiv* 9 (1884), 653, but investigation shows that Emil von Ottenthal, *MIOEG* 5 (1884), 135 refers correctly to Charlemagne's *Epistola generalis* (no. 30, p. 80), and not to no. 29. Cf. F. L. Ganshof, "Recherches sur les capitulaires," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 35 (1957), 33-87, 196-246. In 1955, Professor Ganshof kindly sent me the first edition of this study, *Wat waren de Capitularia?* (Brussel, 1955).

² "Fuldaer Studien. Neue Folge," *Sitzungsberichte, Bayerische Akademie* (Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1927, Abh. 2), pp. 4-13. F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), p. 67, write: no. 1556 (2801)

The appraisals of the epistle by historians before and after Lehmann's study show a surprising variety of interpretations at variance with one another. Lehmann concludes that the letter is a personal epistle addressed to Baugulf which was afterward forwarded by Charlemagne to an unknown archbishop with the request to send copies to his suffragan- and co-bishops and to the monasteries within their dioceses. Abel-Simson,³ Boehmer-Mühlbacher,⁴ Kleinclausz,⁵ Amann,⁶ Lesne,⁷ and Bresslau,⁸ characterize it as a circular letter addressed to archbishops.⁹ Like Amann, West¹⁰ speaks of a capitulary sent to the abbots of monasteries. Calmette¹¹ says it is a circular addressed to cathedral and monastic schools. According to Levison,¹² the circular went first to monasteries and afterwards to the metropolitans to be forwarded to their suffragans. Laistner¹³ seems to be the only scholar who took notice of Lehmann's publication, which has remained unknown to Calmette, Kleinclausz, Amann, Lesne, and

on f. 1: "A letter of Charles the Great commanding the study of letters; A.D. 787." Thus Madan and Craster recognized this transmission of the letter; their dating of the document (787) was long ago rejected by Abel and Simson (see n. 3). On the Oxford MS see E. A. Lowe, *Speculum* 3 (1928), 3-15.

³ *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter Karl dem Grossen*, II (Leipzig, 1883), 566-568.

⁴ *Regesta Imperii*, I (2nd ed.; Innsbruck, 1908), no. 292, p. 121.

⁵ Arthur Kleinclausz, *Eginhard* (Paris, 1942), p. 28.

⁶ Emile Amann, *L'époque carolingienne* (Histoire de l'église, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, Paris, 1937), 102.

⁷ Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, V: *Les écoles de la fin du VIII^e siècle à la fin du XII^e* (Lille, 1940), 15-23.

⁸ Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, II, 1 (Leipzig, 1915), 341-342.

⁹ Abel-Simson (n. 3 above), p. 567, n. 1: also to bishops.

¹⁰ A. F. West, *Alcuin* (New York, 1901), 49.

¹¹ Joseph Calmette, *Charlemagne* (Paris, 1945), 255, 271.

¹² Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), 152.

¹³ M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe* (London, 1931), 153; in 2nd ed. (1957), 196 f.

Carlo de Clercq.¹⁴ It is quite clear that Charlemagne's letter cannot be simultaneously a *circular letter* addressed to schools (n. 11), a *double circular letter* addressed to archbishops and bishops (n. 3-8), a *triple circular letter* sent to monasteries (n. 12), a *personal letter* addressed to Baugulf subsequently used as a circular letter (n. 2, 13), and a *capitulary* sent to abbots (n. 10). None of the historians mentioned refers to the document as a *mandate*, its correct "diplomatic" classification. West and Amann designate it falsely as a capitulary, although it does not possess the legal and diplomatic characteristics of this type of royal legislation. The authenticity of the document has been questioned by Julius Harttung,¹⁵ but nobody has accepted his argument. It is unwarranted to dub the letter a mere *dictamen* or a forgery, since its literary structure conforms in many details with the *formulae* of charters written by the scribes and notaries of Charlemagne's chancellery staff. A diplomatic investigation will reveal the true character of the letter and its place within the charters of the Frankish king, and lead to a probable solution of the vexing old problem of Alcuin's connection with the epistle.

The similarities in educational ideals and in style between the mandate and the writings of Alcuin, Charlemagne's close associate in educational matters, induced the great French diplomatist Jean Mabillon¹⁶ to suggest that Alcuin may have been the author of the letter. This assumption has been repeated frequently,¹⁷ but nobody has proved it. Hubert Bastgen¹⁸ never

¹⁴ *La législation religieuse franque de Clovis à Charlemagne* (Université de Louvain, 1936), 180-181.

¹⁵ *Diplomatisch-Historische Forschungen* (Gotha, 1879), 338-342, rejected by W. Diekamp, *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft* 5 (1884), 259, and by F. Kaltenbrunner, *MIOEG* 1 (1880), 452.

¹⁶ *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti* II (Lucca, 1739), 260, no. lxiv.

¹⁷ J. B. Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great* (London, 1877), 99; A. F. West, *Alcuin* (New York, 1901), 52; C. B. Gaskoin in Hoops, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, I (Strassburg, 1911-1913), 61; Richard Stachnik, *Die Bildung des Weltklerus im Frankenreiche* (Paderborn, 1926), 37-38; Arthur Kleinclausz, *Alcuin* (Paris, 1948), 68;

submitted his promised proof of Alcuin's authorship. Modifying Mabillon's original idea, I hope to determine the Anglo-Saxon's possible share in the origination of the document by adducing parallels between Alcuin's numerous letters and the text of Charlemagne's epistle.

I

Charlemagne's mandate addressed to Baugulf of Fulda, 794-800.

MS transmission:

M Metz Stadtbibliothek 226, *saec.* xi/xii, a copy of the original text.

L Oxford Laudianus Misc. 126, *saec.* viii, a copy of Baugulf's circular letter.

Editions:

M *MGH, Capitularia Regum Francorum*, 1, ed. A. Boretius, no. 29, p. 79.

L Paul Lehmann, "Fuldaer Studien. Neue Folge," *Sitzungsberichte, Bayerische Akademie* (Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1927, Abh. 2), 8-9.

English translations:

L M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe* (London, 1931), 152-153; in 2nd ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1957), 196 f.

M Dana C. Munro, *University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints* VI (1900), no. 5, pp. 12-14.

F. A. Ogg, *A Source Book of Medieval History* (New York, 1908), 146-148.

In anticipation of the results of our investigation (Pt. II), the letter is here reprinted after *M*. Since *L* is a re-edition of the archetype of *M*, the more important discrepancies between the two "versions" do not constitute actual "variants," but literary characteristics of two different letters whose contexts are almost

E. K. Rand, *The Building of Eternal Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), 245.

¹⁸ "Alkuin und Karl der Grosse in ihren wissenschaftlichen und kirchenpolitischen Anschauungen," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft*, 32 (1911), 816-817.

(yet not completely) identical. In a few instances, we follow the orthography of the older *L*, which in all probability gives the more authentic spelling of words that are identical in *M* and *L*, but were modernized by the scribe of the younger *M*. We read "relegionis" (sentence 2) with *L* and Alcuin (see commentary, n. b), and not "religionis" with *M*. The same holds true of the following readings of the Oxford manuscript which we adopt for our edition:

neglegant (2a; 7a; 10) *L*; negligent *M*;
condempnaberis (3) *L*; condemnaberis *M*;
recedat (14) *L* and Alcuin (f'); redeat *M*;
spiritaliter intellegit (11) *L* and Alcuin (x);
spiritualiter intelligit *M*.

We print Carolus and not Karolus (Boretius and Lehmann), because the king's name is spelled with a *C* in the *intitulatio* of extant original charters of Charlemagne, and with a *K* only in the documents of the imperial period after 800.¹⁰ The punctuation of Boretius has been supplemented in one instance; we put commas after *fidelibus*, *oratoribus nostris*,... (1). Finally, it seems advisable to set aside in special paragraphs sentence 14 and, together, sentences 15 and 16. The *formulae* of the mandate which are also used by the notaries of Charlemagne's chancellery in other letters and charters are printed in *italics*.

¹ *Carolus, gratia Dei rex Francorum et Langobardorum ac patricius Romanorum, Baugulfo abbati et omni congregationi, tibi etiam commissis fidelibus, oratoribus nostris, in omnipotentis Dei nomine amabilem direximus salutem.*

² *Notum igitur sit Deo placitae devotioni vestrae, quia nos una cum fidelibus nostris consideravimus utile esse, ut episcopia et monasteria a nobis Christo propitio ad gubernandum commissa praeter regularis vitae ordinem atque sanctae relegionis conversationem etiam in litterarum meditationibus eis qui donante*

¹⁰ E. Mühlbacher, *MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum*, I (1906), 77.

Domino discere possunt secundum uniuscuiusque capacitatem
2a docendi studium^a debeant impendere, *qualiter*, sicut regularis
norma^a honestatem morum,^t *ita quoque* docendi et discendi^a
instantia^b ordinet et ornet seriem verborum, ut, qui Deo placere
appetunt recte vivendo, ei etiam placere non neglegant recte
3 loquendo.¹ Scriptum^{*} est enim: 'Aut ex verbis iustificaberis,
4 aut ex verbis tuis condempnaberis.' Quamvis enim melius sit bene
5 facere quam nosse, prius tamen est nosse quam facere.^k Debet
ergo quisque discere quod optat implere, ut tanto uberius quid
agere debeat¹ intellegat anima, quanto in omnipotentis Dei lau-
6 dibus[†] sine mendaciorum offendiculis cucurrerit lingua. Nam
cum omnibus hominibus vitanda sint mendacia,^m quanto magisⁿ
illi secundum possibilitatem^o declinare debent, qui ad hoc solum-
modo probantur electi, ut servire specialiter debeant veritati.^p
7 Nam cum nobis in his annis a nonnullis monasteriis saepius scripta
dirigerentur, in quibus, quod pro nobis fratres ibidem commo-
rantes in sacris et piis orationibus decertarent, significaretur, cog-
novimus in plerisque praefatis conscriptionibus eorundem et
7a sensus rectos et sermones incultos^q, quia, quod pia devotio in-
teriorius fideliter dictabat, hoc exterius^r propter negligentiam dis-
cendi[‡] lingua inerudita exprimere sine reprehensione^s non vale-
8 bat. Unde factum est, ut timere inciperemus, ne forte, sicut minor
erat in scribendo prudentia, ita quoque et multo minor esset quam
recte debuisset in sanctarum scripturarum ad intellegendum sa-
9 pientia.⁴ Et bene novimus omnes, quia, quamvis periculosi sint
errores verborum, multo periculosiores sunt errores^u sensuum.
10 *Quamobrem* hortamur vos litterarum studia non solum non neg-
legere, verum etiam humillima^v et Deo placita intentione ad hoc
certatim discere, ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum
11 mysteria valeatis penetrare. Cum autem in sacris paginis^w sce-
mata, tropi et caetera his similia inserta inveniantur, nulli dubium
est, quod ea unusquisque legens tanto citius spiritualiter^x intellegit,
quanto prius in litterarum magisterio plenius instructus fuerit.
12 Tales vero ad hoc opus viri eligantur, qui et voluntatem^y et pos-
13 sibilitatem discendi et desiderium habeant alios^z instruendi. Et
hoc tantum ea intentione agatur, qua devotione a nobis prae-
cipitur.

- 14 Optamus enim vos, sicut decet ecclesiae milites, et interius devotos et exterius ^a doctos castosque bene vivendo ^b et scolasticos bene loquendo, ^c ut, quicumque vos propter nomen Domini et sanctae conversationis nobilitatem ad videndum ^d expetierit, sicut de aspectu vestro aedificatur ^e visus, ita quoque de sapientia vestra, quam in legendo seu cantando perceperit, instructus omnipotenti Domino gratias agendo gaudens recedat.^f
- 15 Huius itaque epistolae exemplaria ad omnes suffragantes tuosque coepiscopos et per universa monasteria dirigi *non neglegas*,
- 16 *si gratiam nostram habere vis*. Et nullus monachus foris monasterio iudiciaria teneat, nec per mallos et publica placita ^g pergat. [Legens valeat.] ^h

* Matt. 12:37.

† Cf. Acts 24:16: studeo *sine offenculo* conscientiam habere ad Deum; Esther 16:5: *mendaciorum* cuniculis subvertere.

‡ Cf. Isa. 50:4: Dominus dedit mihi *linguam eruditam*, ut sciam sustinere eum qui lassus est verbo: erigit mane, mane erigit mihi autem, ut audiam quasi magistrum.

^a See Charlemagne, *Admonitio Generalis* of 789, c. 72 MGH, *Capitularia* I, 60.4: per singula *monasteria vel episcopia*.

^b Cf. Alcuin, MGH, *Epistolae*, iv, ed. Ernst Dümmler, *Epist.* 54, p. 98, 23-24: *regularis vitae...ordinem*; *Epist.* 19, p. 53, 16-17, the same phrase. On the many occurrences of *regularis vita* in the letters of Alcuin see MGH, *Epistolae*, iv, p. 633, s.v.

^c *Epist.* 171, p. 281, to Charlemagne: et *sanctae reigionis* fervore omnibus praecellis; cf. 179, p. 296, 25: et constantiam *reigionis sanctae* in eo; 177, p. 293, 8; 195, p. 323, 10-11.

^d *Epist.* 161, p. 260, 16-17: quia tibi decet *meditatio* divinae legis, ut dicatur de te (Ps. 1:2): In lege Domini meditabitur die et nocte; 120, p. 175, 3: in Domino studium et diurnam in lege eius *meditationem*. Cf. *Regula Benedicti*, cc. 8, 48, 58.

^e *Epist.* 289, p. 447, 37: *docendi studio*; cf. 121, p. 117, 29 to Charlemagne: ad hanc omni studio discendam; 19, p. 55, 24: discendi studium.

^f *Reg. Ben.*, c.73: *norma* vitae humanae; Alcuin, *Epist.* 67, p. 111, 25-27: *regularis vita* in hac terra cadit *normula*; Charlemagne, *Capitulare Missorum Generale*, c.13, MGH, *Capitularia*, I, no. 33, p. 91: *regulari(s) norma*; Aldhelm, *De virg.*, c.58: contra...*regularis vitae normam*. See Bernhard Bischoff in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 66 (1954-1955), 176, on *norma rectitudinis*.

^g *Reg. Ben.*, c.73: *honestatem morum*; often used by Alcuin in his letters

in many combinations: pp. 268, 1; 278, 13; 437, 39; 266, 13; 368, 18; 406, 25; 51, 22; 58, 1; 117, 8; 179, 6; 179, 31; 50, 24; 440, 3; 83, 22-23; etc., etc.; Alcuin, *Rhetoric*, ed. C. Halm, *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Leipzig, 1863), 547: Cum in omni parte vitae *honestas* pernecessaria sit, maxime in sermonibus quia fere cuiusque *mores* sermo probat, nisi tibi, magister, aliud videatur.

* Alcuin, *Epist.* 289, p. 447, 36-448, 1 (793-804), addressed to Fridugis, later abbot of St. Martin at Tours: sed magis laudo hanc praedicantis *instantiam* quia parum prodest *discendi* devotio sine *docendi* studio... quocirca tota debet esse cura bene intelligenti in *docendo*, ne frustra laboret in *discendo*; 280, p. 437, 18-19 (792-804) to monks in Ireland: ubique inter vos *discenda* est et *docenda*, (p. 438.29): singuli humilitatem habent in *discendo* et devotionem in *docendo*; *discere* and *docere* also in the following letters of Alcuin: pp. 73, 9-10; 132, 30-31; 173, 6-7; 277, 1; 390, 30-31; 429, 6; 205, 18-19; 471, 25-27; 444, 9-11.

^b Very often used by Alcuin; cf. pp. 83, 21-22; 105, 8; 150, 34; 133, 17-18; 382, 5; 278, 14; 447, 36; 111, 19; 334, 24; 347, 36-37; 294, 20; 479, 39.

^c Alcuin, *Ars grammatica* (PL, ci, 857D): Grammatica...est custos *recte loquendi* et scribendi; see the discussion in our context.

* Alcuin, *Epist.* 309, p. 475, 23-24: nec aestimas tibi tantum sufficere, *nosse* quid *facere* debeas, nisi etiam opere impleas quae nosti; 124, p. 183, 38: Scio se haec omnia *melius nosse* et perfectius operari; 128, p. 191, 5: melius est ea facere, quae suadeo, quam omittere; 205, p. 342, 1: melius est non vovere, quam vota non *implere*; cf. Eccles. 5:4: melius est non vovere quam non reddere, also quoted in Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis* of 789, c.73 (MGH, *Capitularia*, I, p. 66, 11); *Missi cuiusdam admonitio* (*ibid.*, p. 240, 16-17).

^d Alcuin, *Epist.* 281, p. 440, 4: in quo *agere debeas*; 305, p. 465, 1: *quid agere debeas*.

^e Alcuin, *Epist.* 309, p. 475, 15: Haec in Virgiliacis non invenietur *mendaciis*, sed in evangelica affluenter repperietur *veritate*; cf. note ^p below.

^f Very often used by Alcuin: pp. 95, 35; 101, 32; 133, 21; 144, 3; 165, 40; 437, 16; 447, 5; etc.

^g Alcuin, *Epist.* 259, p. 417, 24-25: *secundum possibilitatem* vestram.

^h I.e., *catholicae fidei veritatem*, as in Alcuin's epistle to Charlemagne, no. 203, p. 337, 1; also 41, p. 84, 9-10; 280, p. 437, 18-19: ipsa catholica fidei *veritatis* ubique inter vos *discenda* est et *docenda*; cf. 166, p. 269, 17, and p. 271, 23.

ⁱ Alcuin, *Epist.* 163, p. 263, 10-11 to Charlemagne: in *inculto* notavi *sermone*.

^j *Epist.* 265, p. 423, 13-14: vel *exterius*...vel *interius*; 253, p. 409, 26-27: me vero scito saecularibus propemodum *exterius* negotiis liberatum, sed

male *interius* multis fatigatum occupationibus; 19, p. 55, 2: propter *interiores* hostes *exteriores* potestatem habent; see below note a'.

* *Epist.* 287, p. 446, 12: *sine reprehensione* estote omnibus; Phil. 2:15: ut sitis...*sine reprehensione*.

† Alcuin, *Epist.* 309, p. 475, 16-18: Quidquid enim *recte per sapientiam intellegitur*; 43, p. 89, 15-16, nostros studiose adulescentes in *sapientia sanctorum scripturarum* instruere; 31, p. 73, 2-3, 9: ideo necessaria est sanctorum lectio librorum, qui non discit, non docet; cf. 117, p. 173, 5-7; 166, p. 271, 17, si humiliter legeris *sanctorum scripturarum* series; *Ars grammatica* (PL, CI, 853): ad culmina *sanctorum scripturarum* perveniat.

‡ *Epist.* 169, p. 278: quia in nullo loco periculosius erratur.

§ Alcuin, *Epist.* 280, p. 438, 32-33: singuli *humilitatem* habeant in *discendo* et devotionem in *docendo*; Alcuin, *Epist.* to Beatus of Liébana, ed. Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), 321, 22: dum *humilitas discendi* defendat me ab errore pertinaciae; 280, p. 437, 27-31, nec tamen saecularium litterarum contempnenda est scientia...quatenus quibusdam sapientiae gradibus ad altissimum evangelicae perfectionis culmen ascendere valeant; cf. 121, p. 177, 18-19.

¶ Cf. J. de Ghellinck, "Pagina et Sacra Pagina," *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain, 1947), 23-59.

* Alcuin, *Exposit.* in *Psal.* CXVIII (Migne, PL, c, 597A): In Christo *spiritualiter* debet *intellegi*; cf. Bastgen in *Neues Archiv*, 37 (1912), 494.

† Alcuin, *Epist.* 257, p. 415, 19 (802), to Charlemagne: si Dominus, qui *voluntatem discendi* dederat; 214, p. 358, 12-13, qui habet *desiderium discendi* dabitur ei gratia *intellegendi*.

‡ *Epist.* 264, p. 421, 37: *aliosque erudire* studeas, ut fidem discant catholicam; 282, p. 441, 12-13, vel quomodo *alios doceas* quae tu ipse non facis?; 19, p. 55, 21, discant pueri scripturas sacras, ut aetate perfecta veniente *alios docere* possint; Charlemagne, *Admonitio Generalis* of 789, MGH, *Capitularia*, I, p. 61, 27, *aliosque* instruere.

§ See note 1 above.

¶ Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis* (PL, CI, 615AB): Vere beatus est qui et *recte credendo* bene vivit, et *bene vivendo* fidem rectam custodit; cf. Isidore, *Etym.* II.24.1.

¶ See note 1 above.

¶ Alcuin, *Epist.* 213, p. 355, 42 *ad videndum* Deum; *Ars grammatica* (PL, CI, 853C), vobis *ad videndum* ostendam; Tob. 13:20 *ad videndum*.

¶ Cf. Reg. Ben., c.47: *Cantare* autem et *legere* non praesumat, nisi qui potest ipsud officium implere ut *aedificentur audientes*.

¶ Cf. Alcuin, *Epist.* 44, p. 90, 20, quasi umbra *recedat*; *Vita Richarii*, c.x (PL, CI, 688C), velut...umbra *recedat*.

¶ Cf. F. N. Estey, "The meaning of *placitum* and *mallum* in the Capitularies," *Speculum*, 22 (1947), 435-439.

¶ Marginal endorsement of a chancellery official (see Pt. II, C).

Many parallels to the text of Charlemagne's letter appear in the more than 250 letters of Alcuin's correspondence that have survived. Although some of the parallels are common generalities of medieval Latin style, their frequent use in Alcuin's epistles still makes them elements of his personal style and diction. There are unmistakable Alcuinisms, as may be deduced from the examples listed in the commentary. Alcuin's favorite saying that *discere* is the foundation of *docere*—he uses it in twelve letters—occurs in the king's epistle in a formulation resembling the wording in one of Alcuin's. In the latter the aphorism appears also in connection with *instantia*, a term for which Alcuin displays special fondness, since we find it in about fourteen of his epistles. No author before Alcuin—and none of his contemporaries—uses the aphorism as consistently in the identical exhortatory context of his letters. Peculiarities of his diction are the frequent use of comparative constructions such as *melius-quam*, *quanto-magis*, *interius-exteriorius*, the emphasis put on the necessity that "others" (*alios*) be instructed by qualified teachers, and the parallels adduced in the notes x, y, and z. Rhetorical over- and understatement is produced by the use of comparatives such as *melius*, *prius*, *facilius*, *rectius*, *saepius*, *plenius*, and *quanto prior*. Examples of *paronomasia* are *ordinet et ornet* and *docendi et discendi*. Repetition of antithetical expressions in two clauses, i.e., *antimetabole*, appears in the fourth sentence. Instances of the enthymeme *a maiore ad minus*, a merely rhetorical, not logical, inference are: *omnibus hominibus...quanto magis illi...qui...selecti* (6); sicut *minor* erat...ita quoque *multo minor* (8); qui Deo placere appetunt *recte vivendo*, ei etiam placere non neglegant *recte loquendo* (2a).

The rhetorical element of the letter is strengthened by pas-

sages of metrical prose which seem to be the result of deliberate construction, since some of the *clausulae* betray acquaintance with the *cursus*. The *cursus* is, however, not systematically applied in accordance with Wilhelm Meyer's law, namely, that there must be an interval of two or four unaccented syllables between the last two accented syllables in the sentence.²⁰ Of the most often employed medieval *clausulae* we mention *cursus planus* (*récte loquendo; gaudens recédât*) and *cursus velox* (*débeant veritâti; âlios instruendi*).

Paul Lehmann's contention²¹ that metrical prose in this letter is more systematically employed than in the letters of Alcuin is not borne out by our investigation. Of extant letter mandates of Charlemagne²² which belong to the same diplomatic type as the one addressed to Baugulf, not one is written in metrical prose, though *homoioleuton* occurs occasionally. Many of Alcuin's letters, however, contain smaller and larger sections of metrical prose, though scarcely one is completely written in this vein. But there are obvious instances which testify to Alcuin's conscious endeavor to produce metrical prose in his letters.²³ Alcuin was quite capable of writing the kind of prose we find in the letter addressed to Baugulf. In fact, the small portions of metrical prose we find in this document are supporting evidence, though of a somewhat lesser cogency, for Alcuin's participation

²⁰ *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rhythmik*, II (Berlin, 1905), 236 ff.; Karl Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa* (Berlin, 1925), 70 ff.

²¹ *SB., Bayerische Akademie* (1927), p. 12.

²² *MGH, Capitularia*, I, nos. 75; 76; 103; 122; 124; 125; no. 76 is also printed as *DK*, 88 (see below n. 41). Charlemagne's private letters (See Pt. III, Introd., n. 1) are published in *MGH, Epistolae*, IV, nos. 85, 87, 92, 93, 100, 144, 247; pp. 528 ff.: nos. 20, 21, 32, 35, 37; and *Epistolae*, V, 242 ff.: nos. 1, 2. This private correspondence was written by trusted members of the royal household and not by official notaries or scribes of the royal *capella*; see Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, I (2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1912), 381-382.

²³ On Alcuin's metrical prose see Bastgen, *Neues Archiv* 37 (1911-1912), 511-513; Karl Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa*, pp. 328-329.

in the composition of the letter. This is true since four pieces written by him for Charlemagne are poetical creations: three letter poems²⁴ addressed to Paul the Deacon and Peter of Pisa and the epitaph of Hadrian I.²⁵ A dictation in metrical prose was no challenge at all to a versifier of Alcuin's dexterity, who composed not only many hundreds of verses, mainly in pure, and to a lesser degree in leonine, hexameters,²⁶ but also *carmina rhythmica*.²⁷ It would have been a mere exercise of the pen after the nature of a dictamen, in the writing of which the teacher of grammar trained his students.²⁸

Not only the literary elements of Charlemagne's letter but also its contents point to Alcuin's influence. Of interest is the apparent use of the *Regula Benedicti*,²⁹ parts of which became royal laws for the clergy of Charlemagne's empire.³⁰ The king's church legislation abounds in references to the *Rule*. The statement that "the monastic rule [directs] purity of conduct" (*regularis norma* [ordinet] *honestatem morum*) is a conscious adoption of one of the basic principles of the manual, summarized in its closing Chapter 73, where we read "honestatem morum" and "*norma vitae humanae*." References to the *regularis vita*, the life in accordance with the *Benedictine Rule*,³¹ appear in about twenty-five letters of Alcuin, and variations of *honestas*

²⁴ Karl Neff, *Die Gedichte des Paulus Diaconus* (Munich, 1908), nos. xxxiii, xxiv, xli; the last no. is ascribed to Alcuin also by Ernst Dümmler.

²⁵ See our Chapter X.

²⁶ Karl Strecker, "Studien zu karolingischen Dichtern," *Neues Archiv*, 44 (1922), 220.

²⁷ Ed. K. Strecker, *MGH, Poetae*, IV, 903-910. On the *Stabreim* in Alcuin's poetry see Ingeborg Schröbler in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 79 (1957), 17 f., 23, 41; on the *Ecloga de cuculo* see the fine study by Walther Bulst in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 86 (1955-1956), 193-196.

²⁸ *MGH, Epistolae*, IV, Alcuin's *Epist.* 172, p. 284, 25.

²⁹ See our commentary notes *a*, *e*, *f*, *e'*.

³⁰ See Carlo de Clercq (n. 14 above), pp. 176-177 and *passim*.

³¹ Cf. *Reg. Ben.*, cc. 32, 54, 60, 70. Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II (3rd and 4th eds.; Leipzig, 1912), 130, n. 4.

*morum*³² in at least eighteen. Although Alcuin was not a monk,³³ he was thoroughly familiar and in accord with many precepts of the *Rule*. Some allusions to the *Rule* (not recognized by Dümmler) can be detected, e.g., in *Epistle* 19,³⁴ which contains a reference to the last sentence of Chapter 66, on the porter of the monastery. In another letter³⁵ Alcuin even puns on the "wandering" porter,³⁶ saying: Qui Deo *vacare* debuerunt *vagari* per terras.

Charlemagne's appeal to attain the highest degree of wisdom by the study of the Sacred Scriptures is again and again reiterated by Alcuin. The doctrine that "in the sacred pages are found embedded phrases, figures, tropes, and other like forms of speech," puts the epistle in the well-known tradition of the *artes liberales*,³⁷ so important for the study of the Bible, which was propagated by Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Bede, all of whom suggest that the *colores rhetorici* can be found in the Bible. Alcuin defines *schemata* and *tropi* in his *Ars grammatica* (PL, CI, 858C). In a letter to Charlemagne,³⁸ he ascribes to the emperor familiarity with the figure *synekdoche* and awareness that the *tropica loquutio* may be found in the Bible. The old definition of *ars grammatica* as the science of speaking and writing well is clearly contained in Charlemagne's letter. In his *Rhetoric*, Alcuin gives a recommendation similar to that in the

³² Cf. M. Rothenhaeusler, "Honestas Morum: Eine Untersuchung zu cap. 73, 3 der Regula S. Benedicti," *Studia Benedictina* (Città del Vaticano, 1947), 127-156.

³³ The arguments of W. Delius, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1931), 103, do not convince me that Alcuin was a monk; see also W. Pückert, *Aniane und Gellone* (Leipzig, 1899), and the review in *Le moyen âge*, 15 (1902), 54.

³⁴ MGH, *Epistolae*, IV, p. 54, 22-23.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, *Epist.* 253, p. 409, 20.

³⁶ Cf. Suso Brechter, "Der umherschweifende Pförtner: Eine Textkorrektur an der Regula Benedicti," *Benedictus* (Munich, 1947), 475-504.

³⁷ See E. R. Curtius, "Das mittelalterliche Bildungswesen und die Grammatik," *Romanische Forschungen*, 60 (1947), 6-15; it seems that Curtius did not know Lehmann's study (n. 2 above).

³⁸ MGH, *Epistolae*, IV, no. 143, p. 225, 25-30; cf. *Epist.* 137, p. 212, 29.

letter: nam bonus modus est in loquendo. Alcuin seems to have applied the words of Bede: Unde et genti suae et illis in quibus exulabat, ... *exemplo vivendi*, et *instantia docendi* multum profuit (*Hist. Eccles.* III.27), to Charlemagne, when we read that "as monastic rule (directs) purity of conduct," "ita quoque *docendi* et discendi *instantia* ordinet et ornet seriem verborum, ut qui... *recte vivendo*, ei etiam... *recte loquendo*." And Alcuin's proverb that *discere* is the foundation of *docere* is reminiscent of Bede's confession: Semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere dulce habui (*ibid.* V.24).

Charlemagne's letter, then, contains elements of Alcuin's style and educational ideas which, like those of Alcuin, belong to the tradition of Anglo-Saxon humanism.

II

The final edition of Charlemagne's letter could hardly have been the work of Alcuin. Only a scribe of the royal *capella*,³⁹ whose members wrote and verified the king's official documents, would have possessed the technical knowledge required for editing Alcuin's dictation within the framework of that type of royal charter which is called a mandate.⁴⁰

³⁹ An independent royal or imperial chancellery did not exist under Charlemagne. Members of his *capella* acted as his chancery staff. We ask the reader to keep this in mind when we refer for the sake of brevity to the chancellery of the king. Cf. H.-W. Klewitz, "Cancellaria," *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 1 (1937), 44-79, and "Kanzleischule und Hofkapelle," *ibid.*, 4 (1940), 224 ff.; Heinrich Fichtenau, *Grundzüge der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (2nd ed.; Vienna, 1948), 96. Calmette, *Charlemagne: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1945), p. 209, still repeats the wrong assumption that *capella* and *cancellaria* are two different institutions.

⁴⁰ On the differences between *mandate*, *capitulary*, and *diplomatium*, see Harry Bresslau, *op. cit.*, I, 53-54; Erben, *Urkundenlehre*, in *Handbuch der mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte*, ed. Below and Meinecke, Abt. IV (1907), pp. 182 ff.; A. Giry, *Manuel de diplomatique* (Paris, 1894). The "diplomatic" terminology used in this chapter is that used by Bresslau and Erben and not Giry's terminology (which differs in certain

The document has, in contrast to those royal charters which are called *diplomata*,⁴¹ a limited legal significance. It is an expression of the king's will concerning educational matters which cannot be enforced by law. Its formalistic legality rests basically on the fact of the *fidelitas*⁴² which the addressees of the mandate owe to their king, on the immunity charter granted by Charlemagne to Fulda in 774 (DK, 85), and on another charter of the same year which guarantees to the monastery the free election of its own abbot (DK, 86). Baugulf and his congregation, subjects of the Frankish king, are admonished by their sovereign to heed his suggestions and requests. The legality of the document, designated by its scribe as an *epistola*,⁴³ is expressed in a hortatory fashion. From the diplomatic point of view the letter is a mandate of transitory validity which does not establish any new legal relationship between the king and the addressees beyond those already in existence before the writing of the document.

Like the *diplomata* of Charlemagne and some of his mandates, the letter consists of the *formulae* of (A) the protocol and (B) the context which characterize its structure as that of a royal mandate.

instances from theirs). An introduction to modern diplomatic studies is provided by Leo Santifaller, *Urkundenforschung: Methoden, Ziele, Probleme* (Weimar, 1937); cf. also Hans Hirsch, "Methoden und Probleme der Urkundenforschung," *MOEIG* 53 (1939), 1-20. On Frankish charters, formulas, and laws, see R. Schröder and E. Frh. von Künnsberg, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte* (7th ed.; Berlin-Leipzig, 1932), paragraphs 32-34, pp. 280 ff.; Émile Chénon, *Histoire générale du droit français*, I (Paris, 1926), under the relevant headings.

⁴¹ Referred to in our context as DK after MGH, *Diplomata Karolinorum*, I, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher (1906). Cf. *Diplomata Karolinorum: Recueil de reproductions*, ed. F. Lot, P. Lauer, G. Tessier, I (Toulouse-Paris, 1936), 1 ff.

⁴² Cf. Heinrich Mitteis, *Lehnsrecht und Staatsgewalt* (Weimar, 1933), 50 ff., on *Treupflicht*.

⁴³ On this category of documents see Theodor Sickel, *Acta Regum et Imperatorum Karolinorum*, I (Vienna, 1867), 396-404.

A. The introductory protocol consists of the following *formulae*:

a. *intitulatio*, the name and titles of Charlemagne.

b. *devotio* (*gratia Dei*), which is expressive of the thought that the king owes his earthly position to divine grace.

c. *inscriptio*, the names of the addressees: ...Baugulfo abbati et omni congregationi, tibi etiam commissis fidelibus, oratoribus nostris, ...salutem. The form of this *inscriptio* is identical with that in Charlemagne's letter addressed to Alcuin (*Epist.* 247 D. 399.38-39): ...Albino venerabili magistro et omni congregationi...; and in Charlemagne's letter mandate of 805, addressed to Bishop Ghaerbald (*Capitularia*, I, no. 124, p. 245, 2-3): ...Ghaerbald episcopo cum universis tibi omnipotente Deo et nostra ordinatione commissis in Domino salutem. The attributive designation *fidelibus...nostris* conforms with the *inscriptio...fidelibus nostris* of Charlemagne's charters for Fulda of 774 (DK, 85, 86).

It is evident from the parallelism between the *tibi commissis* of the *inscriptio* and the same formulation in the mandate for Ghaerbald that the *formula* of the Metz MS is the original one, and not that of the Laudianus: ...<Baugu>lf<o abbati <nec> non et omni congrega<tioni fidelibus nostris>.

d. *invocatio*, the verbal invocation of the divine name: in omnipotentis Dei nomine. The *invocatio* usually opens the protocol, but in our case it is placed after the *inscriptio*, as in Charlemagne's mandate for Ghaerbald (see c).

e. *salutatio*, the personal greeting of the king: amabilem direximus salutem.

The *formula* of (a) is identical with the corresponding one in the diplomata of Charlemagne as king, but not with those of the imperial period after 800; (c) and (e) are characteristic of his mandates.⁴⁴ The *salutatio* renders a traditional *formula* which

⁴⁴ Erben, *Urkundenlehre*, 345, assumes that the *inscriptio* of a mandate is a substitute for its *publicatio*. This is not borne out by our document, nor by other mandates which have both *formulae*.

also occurs in a private letter⁴⁵ sent by Charlemagne from the battlefields of Saxony to Queen Fastrada in 791: *Salutem amabilem tibi mittere studuimus et...ceteris fidelibus nostris*.

The *oratores* of the *inscriptio* (c) are not ambassadors,⁴⁶ as Munro and Beeson assumed, but teachers or preachers. Alcuin and Odilbert of Milan⁴⁷ both refer to themselves in letters addressed to Charlemagne as *orator vester*. In a letter addressed to Charlemagne between 774 and 800, an abbot refers to himself and his congregation as *oratores vestri*. The same designation is used by bishops for the same purpose in reports of 820 and 829 sent to Louis the Pious.⁴⁸ *Oratores* are defined by Hrabanus Maurus and Walafrid Strabo⁴⁹ as teachers and preachers. Since the letter is addressed to a cleric, and also stresses the importance of *recte loquendo* as an important part of the educational process, we see that these *oratores* were teachers.

The characterization of Baugulf and his congregation as the *fideles*⁵⁰ of the Frankish king presupposes on the part of the scribe a familiarity with the legal relationship between Charlemagne and Fulda that can be expected only from a professional scribe of the king's chancellery.

The customary concluding parts, the so-called *eschatocol* of royal charters, consisting of the signature of the king, the subscriptions of his *capella* official who supervised the scribe's cor-

⁴⁵ MGH, *Epistolae*, IV, no. 20, p. 528, 10-11.

⁴⁶ Used first by D. C. Munro, *University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints* 6 (1900), no. 5, p. 12; repeated by C. H. Beeson, *A Primer of Medieval Latin* (Chicago-New York, 1925), 152.

⁴⁷ MGH, *Epistolae*, IV, no. 177, p. 292, 9; MGH, *Capitularia*, I, no. 126, p. 247, 27.

⁴⁸ MGH, *Formulae*, p. 331, no. 5; MGH, *Capitularia*, I, p. 367, 39; II, p. 46, 16.

⁴⁹ *De institutione clericorum*, c.19 (PL, CVII, 307C); *De exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum*, ed. MGH, *Capitularia*, II, 485.

⁵⁰ Cf. Engelbert Mühlbacher, "Die Treupflicht in den Urkunden Karls des Grossen," *MIOEG*, Erg. Bd., 6 (1901), 871-883.

rect execution of the document, and the date line, are missing in the document, since the *salutatio* designates the mandate as an *epistola*, a characterization expressly referred to by the scribe in the *sanctio* (B, e below). *Legens valeat* at the very end of the letter is not the final greeting of Charlemagne but the marginal endorsement of the mandate by a chancellery official (C below).

B. The *formulae* of the context are:

a. *publicatio*, also called *promulgatio* or *notificatio*, the general announcement of the royal will (To Whom It May Concern): *Notum igitur sit...devotioni vestrae, quia nos una cum fidelibus nostris consideravimus utile esse*. The same formula is used in Charlemagne's letter mandate of 805, addressed to bishop Ghaerbald: ⁵¹ *Notum sit dilectioni vestrae, quia nos cum fidelibus nostris...invenimus necessarium esse*. This is the formulation of the *publicatio* characteristic of the charters of Charlemagne⁵² which was also adopted by the *Formulae Imperiales*.⁵³ The useful purpose of the king's expression of will is stressed in a similar manner in Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis* of 789 (*Capitularia* I, p. 57, 42): *...quae nobis utilia huic...ammonitione subiungere visa sunt*; also in a letter of Alcuin addressed to Charlemagne (*Epist.* 118 D.173, 31): "Vos enim ipsi optime scitis quod utile est regno vobis a Deo dato."

The occurrence of *consideravimus* points to a professional scribe and to a formulalike phrase also used in other legislative documents of Charlemagne. Compare: *Capitulare Missorum Niumigae* of 806, c. 18 (*Cap.*, I, 46, p. 132, 28): *Consideravimus itaque...quia...ut omnes...qui...*; *Pippini Capitulare Papiense* of 787, c. 9 (*ibid.*, no. 94, p. 199, 29): *Consideravimus, ut vias...*; and *Admonitio Generalis* of 789 (*ibid.*, no. 22, p. 53, 26): *Con-*

⁵¹ MGH, *Capitularia*, I, no. 124, p. 245, 4-5; now dated 805 (not 807) by Wilhelm A. Eckhardt, *Die Kapitulariensammlung Bischof Ghaerbalds von Lüttich* (Göttingen, 1955), 47-49.

⁵² Erben, *Urkundenlehre*, 342.

⁵³ MGH, *Formulae*, ed. Karl Zeumer, for instance, no. 48, p. 323.

siderans...una cum sacerdotibus et consiliariis nostris...et quam necessarium est....

The last-quoted *publicatio* of the royal law parallels the same *formula* in our letter: *una cum fidelibus nostris consideravimus*. It is expressive of the "consent" of some of the great of Charlemagne's entourage to the king's legislative activities (see Pt. III).

b. *arenga*, a general motivation indicative of the meritoriousness of good works to which the king is pledged by divine command. This *formula* usually opens the context of the royal charter.⁵⁴ An exception is DK, 187,⁵⁵ in which the *arenga* follows the *publicatio* (a), as seems to be the case also in our mandate: *monasteria nobis Christo propitio ad gubernandum commissa...qualiter...ita quoque (ideoque: DK, 187)*.

It is possible that the scribe included in the *formula* the entire section including sentence 6. If on the other hand "Christo propitio," which appears, for instance, in the *arenga* of DK, 96, is to be taken as a substitute for the *arenga*, then part of the section, especially sentence 6, "Nam cum omnibus hominibus..." could belong to the following *formula*.

c. *narratio*, an account of the circumstances leading up to the matter dealt with in the mandate, "Nam cum nobis" (sentence 7).

d. *dispositio*, the expression of the king's will to act upon his suggestions, exhortations, and requests: *Quamobrem hortamur vos..., ut* (sentence 10); *Optamus enim vos..., ut* (14); *Et hoc tantum ea intentione agatur, qua devotione a nobis praecipitur* (13).

The same traditional formulations of the *dispositio* occur in other mandates by Charlemagne. Compare:

⁵⁴ Cf. Martin Granzin, *Die Arenga in frühmittelalterlichen Urkunden* (Halle-Wittenberg diss., 1930), 56-61.

⁵⁵ Georg Kleeberg, *Untersuchungen zu den Urkunden Karls des Grossen* (Berlin diss., 1914), 41.

Epistola ad Ghaerbaldum of 805 (*Capitularia*, I, no. 124, p. 246, 1-2): *Quamobrem* bonum nobis omnino videtur, ut...and *Et haec debet esse praemissa orationis intentio*, ut...; *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* (*ibid.*, no. 76, p. 169, 25-DK, 217, p. 290, 14): *Quam ob rem iussimus...*, ut...; *Epistola ad Fulradum* of 806 (*ibid.*, no. 75, p. 168, 29, 20): *Quapropter precipimus* tibi, ut and *Et hoc omnino precipimus*, ut.

e. *sanctio*,⁵⁶ the loss of the king's favor in the case of negligent execution of the royal will: *Huius itaque epistolae exemplaria ad omnes suffragantes tuosque coepiscopos et universa monasteria dirigi non neglegas, si gratiam nostram habere vis*.

This part of the mandate is to be found in the Metz MS but not in the Laudianus. It is, no doubt, an original part of the document. The scribe of the mandate must have had a predilection for the *non neglegas* of his *sanctio*, since he uses the negative formulation in other parts of the mandate: *non neglegant* (2a), *non neglegere* (10).

The identical sanction is used in other mandates by Charlemagne: *Epistola ad Fulradum* (p. 168, 39-40): *Vide ut nullam neglegentiam exinde habeas, sicut gratiam nostram velis habere*; *Praeceptum pro Hispanis*, (p. 169, 35-37 = DK, 217): *...omnia in loco restituere faciatis, sicuti gratiam dei et nostram vultis habere propiciam*.

The same formulation of the *sanctio* in the letter mandates for Baugulf and Fulrad also occurs in three charters by Charlemagne: ⁵⁷ DK, 66, 88, 91. But whereas the *sanctio* of the mandates speaks to the recipient of the respective documents, that of the three charters and of the *Praeceptum pro Hispanis* (DK,

⁵⁶ Cf. J. Studtmann, "Die Pönformel der mittelalterlichen Urkunden," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 12 (1932), 291; on later occurrences of the same sanction see Carl Erdmann, *ibid.*, 16 (1939), 196-198; R. Köstler, *Huldentzug als Strafe* (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 62, 1910).

⁵⁷ Erben, *Urkundenlehre*, 361-362, overlooks the *sanctio* of the two letter mandates and that of DK, 88; also MGH, *Capitularia*, I, no. 85, p. 184, c.1: *...et nullam exinde neglegentiam habeatis*.

217) is addressed to the third person in order to enforce the rights and privileges of the recipients.

The identical sanction appears furthermore in Merovingian charters⁵⁸ of Chlodewig III in 692 and Chilperich II in 716; also in the *Formulae Marculfi*, I, 11, the *F. Senonenses* 18, and the *Formulae Imperiales* 15.⁵⁹

The discrepancies in the classification of the letter by the historians listed in our introduction can be traced to their interpretations of the meaning implied in the reference to the "suffragantes tuosque coepiscopos." The mention of these co-bishops accounts for the assumption that an archbishop was the actual recipient of Charlemagne's mandate and that this unknown metropolitan forwarded copies of the letter to bishops and abbots. But the abbot of the politically powerful and exempted monastery of Fulda, under the direct protection of Rome and not under the authority of a metropolitan, could very well be called an *episcopus*. Although the identification of abbot and bishop is not found very frequently in the sources, it occurs in Charlemagne's immunity charter of 772 for St Mihil de Marsoupe (DK, 68).

f. The concluding sentence of the mandate reads like a continuation of the *sanctio* (e):

M (p. 79, 44-45): Et nullus monachus foris monasterio iudiciaria teneat, nec per mallos et publica placita pergat;

L (p. 9, 23-26): Hoc ut fieret ortamur: Ut nullus monachorum foras monasterio iudiciaria teneat, neque per placita et mallos discurrat.

The assumption of Boretius⁶⁰ that this statement is not a genuine part of the letter is contradicted by its occurrence in

⁵⁸ MGH, *Diplomatum Regum Francorum E Stirpe Merowingica*, ed. K. A. F. Pertz (Hannover, 1872), nos. 61, 82.

⁵⁹ MGH, *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer (*Legum Sectio*, v, 1); *Form. Imp.* 15 is identical with DK, 88.

⁶⁰ MGH, *Capitularia*, I, 79.

both manuscript transmissions. Its formulation and contents correspond with several capitularies. Compare:

Admonitio Generalis of 789, c. 73 (*Capitularia*, I, p. 60): Sacerdotibus.... Et ut monachi ad saecularia placita non vadant;

Capitulary of 789, c. 30 (*ibid.*, p. 64): Ut monachi et qui in sacerdotali gradu constituti sunt ad saecularia negotia non transeant;

Capitulare Missorum Generale of 802, c. 17 (*ibid.*, p. 91): Foris monasterio nequaquam progrediendi licentiam habeant (monachi).

The hortatory request of our mandate seems to extend to monks, as lower clerics, the regulation of cap. 7 of the *Capitulare Francofurtense* of 794 (*ibid.*, p. 75), namely, that higher clerics such as bishop, presbyter and deacon, may not leave their churches. The same capitulary, cap. 11, decrees for monks specifically: Ut monachi ad saecularia negotia neque ad placita exercenda non exeant.

The initial request that no monk may hold judicial powers (*iudiciaria*) is worded in accordance with the immunity formula⁶¹ of Charlemagne's charters, which forbids representatives of the law to enter properties exempted by royal immunity in order to transact legal business. Its basic formula opens with "...ut nullus...", and closes with "...audeat" or "praesumat." The corresponding formula, which also occurs, of course, in Charlemagne's immunity charter for Fulda of 774 (DK, 85), is always fashioned after the older Merovingian immunity of the *Formulae Marculfi*, I, 2 (and others):..., ut...nulla iudiciaria potestas...non presumat ingredere.

It is obvious that the exhortations of the last sentence in our mandate presuppose already existing royal legislation. Their wording and content, coinciding with the *Capitulare Francofurtense* of 794, suggest this year as the *terminus ante quem non* for the date of Charlemagne's letter to Baugulf.

C. *Legens valeat*, the concluding formula of the letter in the

⁶¹ Maurice Kroell, *L'immunité franque* (Paris, 1910), 282 ff.

transmission of MS *M*, is deserving of special interest. *Valeat* does not mean "Farewell" as D. C. Munro would have it, although the scribe of *M* obviously considered the words to be the final greeting of the epistle. But the *formula* is not an original part of the letter. It is a vestige of an older Merovingian chancery custom that survived under the first Carolingians but became extinct under Charlemagne's rule.

Legens valeat corresponds to *Bene valiat* in Merovingian and *Bene valeat* in Carolingian charters.⁶² The latter *formula* is not an expression of well wishing nor is it addressed to the recipient of the document. It signifies the endorsement of a charter by the chancellery's *referendarius* or his Carolingian counterpart, a notary or scribe of the Royal Chapel. In Merovingian documents *Bene valiat* is usually covered by the wax of the seal. Under Charlemagne, the *formula* became superfluous because permission to affix the seal was granted through the so-called *corroboratio* of the context, a *formula* which does not occur in the context of *De litteris colendis*. The question whether *Legens valeat*, like the Carolingian *corroboratio*, stands for the official order to seal the letter after inspection by a member of the chancellery may be answered in the affirmative, though the original of the mandate is not preserved. Alcuin in a letter addressed to Charlemagne (no. 172, p. 285) mentions the fact that an epistle he received from the king was sealed. Now if a private letter of Charlemagne was sealed, we cannot go amiss in assuming that a letter containing an expression of the royal will was also closed with the royal seal. A member of Charlemagne's chancellery who read (*Legens*) the letter confirmed its formal and legal validity (*valeat*) before the seal was put on it.

The occurrence of an older Merovingian chancery custom in

⁶² For the following see Léon Levillain, "La formule Bene valiat et le sceau dans les diplômes Mérovingiens," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 92 (1931), 5-15, *passim*, and P. Classen in *Archiv für Diplomatik* 2 (1956), 48 f.

the process of releasing a document from the royal chancellery is not an unusual feature for Charlemagne's notaries and scribes. The *sanctio* (above, B, e) is likewise of Merovingian origin. Thus *Legens valeat* is not a part of the authentic text of the mandate, but the marginal endorsement of the letter by an official of Charlemagne's chancellery.

The diplomatic investigation reveals that Charlemagne's letter to Baugulf was an official document of his chancellery and that it was written by a scribe who edited Alcuin's preliminary note (*Konzept*) within the formulary of a mandate which consists of the following *formulae* that are characteristic of similar documents of Charlemagne:

A. protocol: *intitulatio*, *devotio*, *inscriptio*, *invocatio*, and *salutatio*;

B. context: *publicatio*, *arenga*, *narratio*, *dispositio*, and *sanctio*.

C. Marginal endorsement of chancellery official.

The letter is a mandate cast in the customary subjective fashion of a royal charter. The king thus speaks in the *pluralis maiestatis*: "Carolus...direximus salutem." Everything belonging to him is referred to as *noster* (*nostris*, *nobis*). Baugulf is addressed in the second person in the negative part of the *dispositio*, i.e., the *sanctio*, which speaks to him alone: *tuos coepiscopos, negligas, vis*.

Vestiges of the scribe's personal style seem to be the repetitious use of *ita quoque* (2a, 8, 14), *non neglegere* (10, 2a, 15), *quavis* (4, 9), and the divine name in the form of liturgical and Biblical phrases: *donante Domino*, *Deo placere*, *Dei laudibus*, *omnipotenti Domino*, *propter nomen Domini*. It cannot be decided whether *interius-exterior* (7a, 14) may be ascribed to Alcuin's share in the context (cf. r), or whether the antithesis, which also occurs in Charlemagne's letter of 805 addressed to Bishop Ghaerbald,⁶³ is traceable to the same scribe who wrote this mandate.

A comparison of the identical *formulae* used by the scribe who

⁶³ MGH, *Capitularia*, I, no. 124, pp. 245-246.

wrote the letter to Baugulf and those of the mandates and diplomata adduced in our investigation does not permit us definitely to identify this man as one of the scribes of Charlemagne's Chapel whose names are known to us from the recognition lines of royal charters. But we can state that the *formulae* of the *inscriptio* (*A, c*), *invocatio* (*A, d*), *publicatio* (*B, a*), and *dispositio* (*B, d*) reveal the use by the scribe of the letter of a mandate form which resembles the one used also by the unknown scribe of Charlemagne's letter mandate of 805 for Bishop Ghaerbald.

The relationship between the diverse transmissions of the letter in the Metz (*M*) and Oxford (*L*) manuscripts is explained by Lehmann and Laistner, according to chronological considerations, by assuming that the older *L* (*saec. IX*) offers the original text and *M* (*saec. XI/XII*) an expanded version of the same letter. But the relationship is just the reverse; the younger *M* offers the original text and the older *L* the text of a circular which is a somewhat shortened version of the original. Minor discrepancies in spelling between the two manuscripts are traceable to their scribes, other discrepancies to the fact that the manuscripts transmit two different documents: a personal letter (*M*), and a circular letter (*L*). The original text of the mandate is not preserved by the older manuscript, but by the later, because:

a. the *inscriptio* of *M* and not that of *L* (*A, c*) is the original one, since it is identical with a *formula* used also by the scribe of another letter mandate by Charlemagne.

b. the *sanctio* of *M* (*B, e*), which is missing in *L*, is an original part of the mandate, because the same *formula* occurs in other documents issued by Charlemagne's chancellery.

c. *M* reads *episcopia et monasteria*, *L* *monasteria* alone, because it must have been addressed to a monastery.

d. *M* alone preserves the marginal endorsement of the lost original by a chancellery official of Charlemagne.

These four text elements are not real "variants" but special features which distinguish the circular (*L*) from its source, the

personal letter (*M*). They are traces of Baugulf's re-edition of Charlemagne's personal letter as a circular letter by omitting those parts that have a merely personal connotation relating solely to the abbot of Fulda. Thus the *inscriptio* was made less personal and put in a more general formulation. The *sanctio* is missing in *L* because it refers to Baugulf alone and a repetition would have been meaningless. The marginal endorsement of the document was copied by the scribe of *M*; it does not occur in *L* since it is not a part of the mandate. The failure to mention *episcopia* characterizes the recipient of *L* as the abbot of a monastery. The re-edition of Charlemagne's letter to Baugulf as a circular which is a shortened version of its source may be compared with the emperor's personal letter of 802–805 addressed to Bishop Ghaerbald and the bishop's circular, based on this mandate, addressed to his clergy.⁶⁴ In this instance the circular letter is not a literal copy, as in our case, but a transcript of its contents.

The diplomatic investigation proves that Lehmann's publication is not of the original version of Charlemagne's letter to Baugulf, but is a copy of Baugulf's circular letter addressed to a monastery. The edition of Alfred Boretius presents the original text of the king's letter to the abbot of Fulda, urging him to promote religious education within his orbit of influence. Under Charlemagne, Fulda was a royal missionary monastery of considerable independence and power in church affairs, whose resources were used on a large scale to missionize the territories acquired during the wars with the Saxons.⁶⁵ In 781, when the king arrived in Saxony, he divided the territory into *octo episcopatus*.⁶⁶ The present writer considers the letter a personal

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 122, pp. 241–242; for the dating see Eckhardt, above, n. 51.

⁶⁵ Hans Götting, "Die klösterliche Exemption," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 16 (1939), 111.

⁶⁶ *Annalista Saxo* ad a. 781, *MGH, Scriptores*, VI, 542; cf. E. Müller, *Die Entstehung der sächsischen Bistümer unter Karl d. Gr.* (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens 47; Hildesheim und Leipzig, 1938).

mandate addressed to the abbot of Fulda, not only on the basis of the diplomatic evidence but also on these historical grounds. Under Baugulf, Fulda occupied as royal monastery a dominating position in the eastern part of Charlemagne's empire,⁶⁷ especially guiding and influencing the religious educational work in the young Saxon dioceses and monasteries.

III

What we have learned thus far enables us to suggest a more definite date for Charlemagne's letter to Baugulf. Hitherto it was assigned to the last two decades of the eighth century because Baugulf was abbot at Fulda from 780–802, and Charlemagne is not referred to as emperor (as he was after Dec. 25, 800). Internal evidence seems to point to the year 794 as *terminus ante quem non* (Pt. II, B, f). Alcuin's share in the text of the mandate provides the *terminus post quem non*.

The *consent*⁶⁸ of Charlemagne's councilors (*fideles nostri*), mentioned in the *publicatio* (Pt. II, B, a), offers internal evidence for the fact of Alcuin's contribution of a "preliminary note" used by the scribe of the letter. The Anglo-Saxon was indeed a *fidelis* of the Frankish king. Charlemagne's charter for the monastery of Corméry of June 2, 800 mentions the petitions *fidelis nostri Albini* (DK, 192), who thus at one time must have taken the oath of allegiance⁶⁹ to the king. Additional internal evidence is provided by Alcuin's editorship of Charlemagne's *Libri Carolini*,⁷⁰ the manifesto of the Frankish church against image wor-

⁶⁷ See the paragraph at the end of Pt. II, B, e, s.v. *sanctio*; Arthur Kleinclausz, *Eginhard*, 28; K. Lübeck, "Die Exemption des Klosters Fulda," *Studien und Mitteilungen OSB.* 55 (1937), 132–153; K. Lübeck, "Der Primat der Fuldaer Aebte im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Kan. Abt. 33 (1944), 244 ff.

⁶⁸ Cf. Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, II, 1 (Leipzig, 1915), 37; T. Sickel, *Acta Regum*, 1 (Vienna, 1867), 66.

⁶⁹ Cf. C. E. Odegaard, "Carolingian Oaths of Fidelity," *Speculum* 16 (1941), 284–296.

⁷⁰ Ed. Hubert Bastgen, *MGH, Legum Sectio III, Concilia, Suppl.* (1924), 92–100.

ship, which contains in Bk. II, 30, a treatise on the *artes liberales* with special emphasis on the *schemata* and *tropi* and their significance for the study of the Vulgate. Similar stress is displayed by the mention of these *colores rhetorici* in Charlemagne's mandate to Baugulf. Since the *Libri Carolini*, which were never⁷¹ published officially, originated about 791,⁷² we have gained some contemporary evidence for the historical background of the letter, whose mention of the *colores* as an allegedly unique suggestion of Charlemagne has thus been overrated by De Ghellinck.⁷³

Charlemagne's interest in the *regularis vita* at Fulda under Baugulf is paralleled by a letter⁷⁴ of Alcuin addressed to Fulda after 800. He asks the *fratres* to be lenient when judging "Baugulf, my dearest friend, who, because of old age, is unable to abide by the strictness of the *Benedictine Rule*." Charlemagne's charter for Fulda of 774 (DK, 86) expresses the same thought, namely, that the congregation must live at all times "*secundum ordinem vel regulam sanctam*." Since Alcuin and the king mention "*regularis vitae ordinem*" in their letters to Baugulf, we are inclined to believe that there is some connection between the conditions hinted at by both. Baugulf's difficulties, which seem to have necessitated the writing of both letters, must have begun some time before Alcuin wrote his letter sent from Tours to Fulda. On these and other grounds we assign Charlemagne's letter addressed to Baugulf to the period between the Synod of

⁷¹ Wolfram von den Steinen, "Entstehungsgeschichte der Libri Carolini," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 16 (1929–1930), 87; Erich Caspar, "Das Papsttum und die fränkische Herrschaft," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 54 (1935), 200. Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae* (Berkeley, 1946), 62, wrongly assumes that the *Libri Carolini* were published in 792; they were never published.

⁷² W. v. d. Steinen, "Karl der Grosse und die Libri Carolini," *Neues Archiv* 49 (1930), 207.

⁷³ J. de Ghellinck, *La littérature latine du moyen-âge*, II (Paris, 1939), 185–186.

⁷⁴ *MGH, Epistolae*, IV, no. 250, p. 405, 12–13 (801–802).

Frankfurt in June 794 and the year 800. This dating of *De litteris colendis* would well fit other measures decreed by Charlemagne⁷⁵ for the Saxon territories from 794 to 797.

⁷⁵ F. L. Ganshof, "Charlemagne," *Speculum* 24 (1949), assumes that *De litteris colendis* was issued after 789—"a little later" (p. 522, n. 7). I have abandoned the dating "794-796" proposed in *Speculum* 26 (1951), 305; see Ganshof, *Wat waren de Capitularia?* (Brussel, 1955), 37.—My interpretation of the document coincides with that offered by A. J. Macdonald, *Authority and Reason in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1933), 23, who, stressing the influence of Alcuin, writes that copies of Charlemagne's letter to Baugulf "are to be sent to all the bishops and monasteries in the abbot's neighborhood." E. E. Stengel, *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda* I, 1 (Marburg, 1956), 251-253, has not proved Alcuin's alleged authorship of *De litteris colendis*, as is properly pointed out by F.-C. Scheibe in *Deutsches Archiv für die Erforschung des Mittelalters* 14 (1958), 222 n. 18. Professor Stengel, *op. cit.* I, 3 (Marburg, 1958), 539 f., offers additional comments; I shall discuss them in my review (*Speculum* 35, 1960) of his remarkable Fulda cartulary.

Part Four

THE LITERARY METHOD OF ALCUIN