AGOBARD OF LYONS
Churchman and Critic

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AGOBARD OF LYONS: CHURCHMAN AND CRITIC (1953)

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For

Frances Cabaniss Stephens

and

Elizabeth Ann Stephens

A.M.D.G.

PREFACE

My attention was directed to Agobard of Lyons some years ago by the Reverend Professor John T. McNeill of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, when I was a student and he a professor at the University of Chicago. I am indebted also to Professors Einar Joranson and Helena M. Gamer of the University of Chicago for invaluable tuition in the field of medieval learning. My colleagues at the University of Mississippi, Professors William H. Willis of the Department of Classics and Lawrence Yates of the Department of English, merit my gratitude for having read this volume in manuscript and for making important suggestions. But I hasten to absolve all five of the inevitable imperfections which remain in the book. The names in the dedication are those of my beloved sister and my dear niece.

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PROLOGUE

BACKGROUND AND EARLY LIFE

On a bright summer day of August, in the year of grace 816, the Most Reverend Lord Agobard solemnly took canonical possession of the see of Lyons.[1] He was the forty-fourth ordinary of an honorable diocese already made memorable by its first two bishops, Saint Photinus, the martyr, and Irenaeus, the scholarly disciple of Saint Polycarp. Only a few meager facts are known about the early life of the new prelate, although he was forty-seven years of age at his accession.

It was an exciting world into which Agobard, of unknown parentage and uncertain national stock, was born in 769, presumably in northern Spain.[2] Only half a century earlier, Saracen invaders had rapidly seized the Iberian peninsula and crossed the Pyrenees into Gaul. Narbonne and Septimania were quickly taken. Aquitaine was overrun, and the very heart of Frankland was threatened. It was the good fortune of a Europe not yet born that on the plains between Tours and Poitiers, in October, 732, the ranks of the Christian infantry of Charles Martel were able to break the charge of the Moslem cavalry of the Umayyad, Abd ar Rahman.

In far-away Byzantium, the Isaurian emperors were indulging in vigorous war against the cult of images, scattering germs of dissension, discontent, and ferment, which would ultimately affect the land of Gaul and engage the intellectual attention of Agobard. To the northwest, across the Straits of Dover, three years after the Saracen advance had been

checked at Poitiers, York had been raised to the rank of second ecclesiastical capital of England. Saint Bede the Venerable had just finished translating the last sentence of the Gospel according to Saint John, had laid aside his well-worn pen, and singing *Gloria Patri*, had breathed his last breath. About the same time, there was born one, called "the soul of the Carolingian Renaissance," who would bring back to the forgetful Continent the classical learning so lovingly preserved among the English and the Irish, Alcuin, whom Agobard came to know and to admire before the Northumbrian's death in 804.

But more significant for the life of Agobard were the stirring events in the land where he would spend his adult life. Charles Martel died in 741. The following year, his famous grandson and namesake was born, and by 747, Pippin, son of one Charles and father of the other, was the lord of the Merovingian realm and patron of harmony between it and the Apostolic See. In 751, at Soissons, with the approval of Pope Zacharias and the consent of the magnates of Frankland, Pippin assumed the throne and was anointed king by Saint Boniface, the great English missionary to the Continent, who with his own hands had felled the Thunder Oak of Thor at Geismar. Three years later, Pope Stephen III came into the Frankish domain and, after exacting a promise of aid against the Lombards, reanointed Pippin and granted him the additional dignity of Patrician of the Romans. The family of Charles Martel was moving up in the world.

Events proceeded at a rapid pace. Two successful campaigns by Pippin in Italy resulted in securing to the Papacy a considerable temporal dominion. Ten years before the birth of Agobard, the king conquered Narbonne, the last Saracen stronghold north of the Pyrenees. And one year before Agobard was born, Pippin died, leaving his kingdom to his sons, Charles and Carloman. The latter's death in 771 left as sole ruler the mighty Charles, who by his dominating personality and ability stamped with his name and imprint the dynasty, the realm, and the age.

In Spain, the Moslem rulers were quarreling among them-

selves and engaging in minor civil wars. Three of them appeared at the diet of Paderborn in 777 and invited the aid of Charles against the emir of Cordova. The Frankish king accepted the challenge. The following year, he entered Spain, capturing Pampluna and investing Saragossa. There the campaign bogged down ingloriously.

Meanwhile, the war which Charles waged intermittently for thirty years against the Saxons broke out anew under the heroic Widukind, who raised the standard revolt. It was necessary for the Frankish army to return as quickly as possible to meet the eastern threat -- an action which was accomplished safely, except for an incident which occurred as the baggage train and rear guard were passing through a narrow defile in the Pyrenees near Roncevalles. There, on 15 August, 778, the Franks were stricken from ambush by treacherous Christian Basques. In the encounter, many soldiers were killed, including Charles's Lord High Steward Eggihard, his Count Palatine Anselm, and the Margrave of Brittany, Hruodland (Roland). This skirmish, which happened when Agobard was a child of nine, was to be the subject of a growing legend, which would inspire countless generations of later Europeans.

Three years after Roncevalles, an event of far greater importance occurred. Alcuin of York was returning from Rome, where he had gone to secure the pallium for his master, Archbishop Eanbald, and Charles was on his way to Rome to celebrate the Paschal festival. The two met in the north Italian city of Parma. It was a pregnant moment, full of such promise as would cause men of the ninth century wistfully to think of themselves as equal in learning to the ancient Romans and Athenians, to dream with Bishop Modoin of Autun that "golden Rome renewed again is reborn on earth". It was also in 781 that the Bishop of Rome ceased using the name of the Basileus on the Bosporus in the dating of Papal documents. But, curiously enough, it was in this same year that Charles betrothed his daughter, Hruotrud, to the Emperor Constantine VI, although the contract was later repudiated.

The following year, in which Alcuin probably arrived at the court of Charles, is the next known date in the life of Agobard. "In that year," he wrote later, "I came from Spanish lands into Gallia Narbonensis."[3] He was a youth of only thirteen years when he made this move in the company of Abbot Atala.[4] Since his childhood and boyhood are veiled in mystery, it is possible to assume that he was an oblate as was the Venerable Bede before him. Or, as a result of border warfare, he may have been left an orphan at an early age and taken in charge by the kindly monk.

The chaotic conditions in the Iberian peninsula, perhaps even renewed Saracen pressure, caused Atala to seek safety and security with a number of humble folk. Charles, the king, granted him permission to settle near Narbonne, where there were many others of Visigothic blood, and establish a Benedictine monastery dedicated to Saint Polycarp.[5] At the same time, and not far away, on the river Aniane, another monk, Witiza or Benedict, was turning his estate into a notable monastery. Only the year before, Louis, the four-year-old son of Charles, had been consecrated as ruler of Aquitane and Septimania. There, in the congenial climate of the Midi, where the old Graeco-Roman culture lingered longer and in purer form than elsewhere in Gaul, the lad Agobard spent the next decade of his life, formative years of work and prayer as was required by the Rule of Saint Benedict, of study as may be discerned in his writings, and of pleasant associations which he maintained throughout his life.

The interval was crowded with events which may have had an echo in the cloister of Saint Polycarp. It began with a merciless act of the continuing war against the Saxons: on one horrible day, deep within Germany, where the Aller flows into the Weser near Verden, forty-five hundred prisoners were ruthlessly beheaded by order of the king. In fabulous Baghdad, Harun al Rashid became Caliph in 786. The next year in distant Nicaea, the prelates of Christendom, assembled in the Seventh Ecumenical Council, issued their subtle definition of the proper devotion which may be

offered to the holy icons. Nearer home, in 788, Charles began the first of his six campaigns against the Avars entrenched with their wealth behind the mysterious "rings."

But the court of Aix-la-Chapelle with its palace school probably produced more vibrant echoes at Saint Polycarp than did the tumult of arms and diplomacy. There Charles, who had great love for foreigners and who sought after wisdom, had gathered about him a brilliant coterie of scholars from England, Italy, Ireland, Spain, and southern Gaul, as well as from Frankland itself. Many fields of learning were exploited: the seven liberal arts, history and historiography, and theology. Knowledge of the Latin classics was enthusiastic and imitation of them zealous. Greek was not neglected, and even some Hebrew was probably studied. The liturgy and the hymnody of the church were brought more closely into conformity with Roman standards. The text of the Bible was improved, and a beautiful calligraphy was developed. Much of the learning was rudimentary and superficial, but it set a set a pattern for the future of Europe.

The great Charles himself went to school and became an avid student, especially of Saint Augustine's *City of God.* It was as if the dream of Plato were being fulfulled in Christian dress. A veritable renaissance seemed to be in progress. But the reality was only a mellow after-glow cast over the grey North by the antique culture of Hellas and Rome.

Of far more immediate concern to Agobard was a malignant heresy, Adoptionism, spreading throughout the church in Moorish Spain and beginning to menace the region of southern France where he lived -- not the last time that area would prove susceptible to heterodoxy. It centered about no less a dignitary than the primate of Spain himself, Archbishop Elipandus of Toledo. North of the Ebro and into Septimania, the leader was a Frankish subject, a man of exemplary life, Felix, bishop of Urgel in the Pyrenees. As many as twenty thousand of Agobard's neighbors -- prelates, priests, monks, men, women -- were infected with a doctrine related to the Nestorianism condemned over three centuries earlier by the Third Ecumenical Council.

In the very year the twenty-three-year-old Agobard left Septimania and came to Lyons (792),[6] Felix of Urgel was summoned by Charles to Ratisbon, where he was forced to renounce his Adoptionist views. Sent as a prisoner to Rome, he abdicated his see, but upon expression of repentance, he was restored to his jurisdiction and allowed to return to Urgel. Two years later, he had relapsed, and once more the "Felician heresy" was condemned by a council at Frankfort. For a moment it seemed as if the issue were settled.

Between 792 and 798, a conspiracy against the life of Charles was uncovered and crushed, the Saracens raided Septimania, and at Frankfort the prelates of Gaul, Germany, Italy, and England declared the decrees of the Seventh Ecumenical Council to be null and void. The cruel Queen Fastrada died. Master Alcuin was permitted to retire from court to the Abbey of Saint Martin at Tours, and the Carolingian state was enriched with the extensive treasure of the Avars captured after the successful penetration of the "rings."

CHAPTER ONE

TRAINING AND PERSONALITY

By 798, Agobard was twenty-nine and had been living in Lyons six years. In addition to the pursuit of learning, he had presumably been admitted to Minor Orders and also to Subdiaconate and Diaconate. About this time, his bishop, Ado or Aso, died, after having presided over the diocese ever since the year in which Agobard was born. Almost at once the palace librarian, Leidrad, received the appointment. However between the death of the former and the accession of the latter, there was a brief interval in which the duties of administration were performed by Hilduin, a layman, the nephew of Ado.[1]

In Leidrad and Lyons, the man and the place had truly met: both exercised a profound influence upon the receptive personality of Agobard. The city had had a noteworthy history which was probably well known to its clergy. In 177, it had been the scene of a brutal mass-martyrdom of its Christian community, including its first bishop. The second bishop, Irenaeus, from Asia Minor, was one of the more scintillating luminaries of the early church. Until late in the third century, the city was the metropolis of the three Gauls, but lost that position after the reorganization of the empire by Diocletian. It suffered little during the barbarian migrations and even became a capital of the Burgundian kings. In the sixth century, its bishops were occasionally referred to as patriarchs, and throughout the seventh they enjoyed a kind of primatial dignity.[2]

In the eighth century, however, Lyons fell a prey to the Saracens, who sacked it twice. Charles Martel repulsed the invaders, but did nothing to rebuild the city. Indeed it suffered at his hands perhaps more than at the hands of the Moslems. In the mid-ninth century, Ado, bishop of Vienne, a city which often shared the fate of Lyons, said that during the period when both cities were deserted and both churches were without bishops, the laity of the surrounding region despoiled the possessions of the churches like sacrilegious barbarians.[3] For a decade or more, Lyons remained in ruins with little active life in it. The slow work of restoration and renewal was begun in the second half of the century, but at the time of the accession of Leidrad, the physical reconstruction of the city was still largely incomplete. It fell to the new bishop also to perform the labor of rebuilding its educational and spiritual eminence.

Leidrad was peculiarly fitted for this task. Born about 740 in Noricum, he began his active career under Bishop Arno of Salzburg. It was not long before his ability secured for him royal attention and the position of palace librarian. In time he came to be a useful and trusted courtier, destined for advancement. As evidence of Charles's complete confidence in him, he was clothed with the weighty office of *missus* shortly before his investiture in the see of Lyons. His companion in the task was Theodulf, the bishop of Orleans, who has described in a lengthy poem not only their route through southern Gaul, but also the insidious temptations which beset the itinerant judges.[4] Theodulf speaks of Leidrad as a man characterized by wisdom, prudence, and virtue, as well as deeply religious in his outlook on life. A little later, Master Alcuin, congratulating Leidrad on his appointment to Lyons, calls him a friend of irreproachable orthodoxy, immeasurable goodness and salutary counsel.[5]

Hardly had Leidrad been installed in his new diocese when he was called upon again to perform a royal mission. The old serpent, the Adoptionist heresy, emerging from the caverns of Spain, was once more rearing its head and flicking its poisonous fangs menacingly toward Septimania.[6] Felix of Urgel was

summoned to appear before Charles to debate his position. Leidrad was sent posthaste either late in 799 or early 800 to convey the summons, assure Felix safe-conduct, and accompany him to the council of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Felix was permitted ample freedom in his able defense, but was successfully challenged by Alcuin. After six days of discussion, Felix acknowledged his error, renounced his episcopal office, and made profession of the Chalcedonian formula. Earlier he had similarly expressed penitence, yet had relapsed. Now he was committed to the custody of Leidrad in Lyons to insure the sincerity of his conversion.[7] It was in this manner that Agobard came to know the notable heresiarch.[8]

But Leidrad was even yet not permitted to devote full attention to his diocese. In the late summer or early autumn of 800, Charles, now emperor, ordered him, in company with Benedict, abbot of Aniane, and Nibridius, the new bishop of Narbonne, to conduct an intensive preaching mission throughout Septimania in order to eliminate all traces of Adoptionism.[9] By the end of the year, the undertaking had reached a successful conclusion. Leidrad was now relatively free to devote his energies to restoring the former glories of Lyons. Aging, weary, and unwell, he did not deem himself equal to the labor. Nevertheless, as a faithful servant of crown and church, he instituted a vigorous program of activity. In that, he had the ardent and loyal cooperation of Agobard, by now probably in priest's orders.

Toward the end of his life, in a letter to the Emperor Charles, Leidrad summarized his accomplishments at Lyons, in which Agobard had presumably taken an active part.[10] A major portion of the labor was physical and financial restoration. A most important achievement was the reestablishment of the financial structure of the diocese: he was able, with Imperial favor, to secure authority for the renewal of the traditional revenues of the see. With that support, he had turned to actual repairs. The roof of the church of Saint Stephen was recovered. The related baptistery of Saint John Baptist was similarly restored, and in addition the walls were partly re-

built. The church of Saint Nizier and that of the Blessed Virgin were reconstructed, as were numerous monasteries and diocesan houses. Among the new structures, he erected one unusually large dwelling with a sun-balcony on the roof to serve as a guest-house for the Emperor when he visited Lyons. Another was a house or cloister where all the clergy could live together under one roof.

Elsewhere in the diocese, similar work was in progress. The convents of Saint Eulalia and of Saint Paul were reroofed and both the church and the convent of Saint Peter were thoroughly repaired. The latter was of peculiar importance, because it possessed the relics of the martyr, Saint Annemund, a former bishop of Lyons, who had founded that convent. At the time Leidrad wrote, thirty-two nuns were living there under canonical rule. The royal monastery of Saint Martin on Île-Barbe, an island in the Saône, was recovered, and the walls were rebuilt. It housed a flourishing community of ninety monks living according to the rule of Dom Benedict of Aniane.

But the energy of Leidrad was not exhausted in such external activities. He devoted attention also to the more purely spiritual affairs of divine worship. A *schola cantorum* was established to teach singers in accordance with the liturgical revisions then in progress at the Imperial court, as well as to train future directors of music to perpetuate and transmit the correct manner of chanting. A *schola lectorum* was instituted not only for the proper reading of the Divine Office, but also for instructive preaching. Correct vestments and vessels were procured, and, above all a *scriptorium* was begun.[11] Under Leidrad, Lyons became a veritable beehive of scholarly activity, an enormously influential seminary of learning.

Here in the midst of intellectual pursuits and a thriving new life, the receptive mind of Agobard burgeoned and matured. He had been exceedingly well trained in the Holy Scriptures. There is hardly a paragraph in his works which does not contain a Biblical reference. Direct quotations indeed constitute fifteen to twenty per cent of his writings, but even more indicative of his intimacy with both Old and New Testa-

ments and Apocrypha are the innumerable allusive phrases in which he consciously or unconsciously uses a Scriptural turn of thought or expression.[12] Occasionally there is also a bold paraphrase or amplification to show how utterly secure was his possession of Biblical knowledge.[13] Agobard used several Latin versions of the Bible[14] and could probably read the original languages, the Greek of the New Testament and the Hebrew of the Old.[15] In that case, he knew three languages in addition to his own Germanic tongue.[16]

As an extension of his Biblical training, Agobard became acquainted also with the writings of the Fathers of the church and with the decisions of ecclesiastical councils. Page after page of his letters and treatises are illuminated by apt citations of such men as Hilary, Clement of Rome, Jerome, Vigilius, Gregory the Great, Cyril, and Augustine. The last was undoubtedly the favorite of Agobard as he was also of the Emperor Charles: over and over again, he quotes from him, especially from the *City of God.* That volume exercised a profound influence upon the mind of Agobard, and his language often reflects, even casually, ideas and concepts derived from it.[17] Of somewhat more than ordinary interest was his knowledge of Tertullian, a Patristic writer rarely mentioned by medieval men.[18]

By both study and experience, Agobard became imbued with the liturgy. His last three books, written near the end of his life, deal directly with the ritual of the church and show how well he had learned it.[19] Even better evidence of his training in the liturgy comes from the allusions that recur in his books which deal with other matters. There is a paraphrase of Saint Patrick's *Lorica,* of the Preface and *Sursum Corda* and *Agnus Dei.*[20] One phrase recalls the Good Friday collects, and another, the Good Friday genuflections. One of his letters can be dated by a liturgical phrase, and by means of other references, one can visualize him as he recited the canonical Offices of Prime and Vespers.[21]

In general, Agobard's training was not humanistic (although he knew Vergil and Horace), but theological; that is, Biblical, Patristic, liturgical. Only once does he refer directly to a

pagan author, the grammarian Priscian, and once to the semi-classical Christian poet, Prudentius.[22] His style, therefore, though vigorous and fluent, was primarily modeled upon Christian literature, particularly Holy Scripture. Disclaiming anything but "rustic simplicity," he had nonetheless learned, and was able to use effectively, such rhetorical devises as parallelism, rhythm and rhyme, apostrophe, dramatic hyperbole, and sarcasm. Notable also was his sensitivity to words, to their origins and to their uses.[23]

Of importance equal to his academic training was Agobard's keen observation of life: he learned from what he heard and saw in the throbbing world about him. He knew the folklore of the country side and partly believed and partly disbelieved it.[24] He watched the weather and made common-sense deductions from its regularity.[25] He talked with Jews in Lyons and became acquainted with their traditions.[26] He listened to rumors about bribery in high places and to reports concerning the piety of a bishop he knew who read the Bible as he rode along on horseback.[27] He noted the dresses the women wore and knew persons who thought more of their swine than of God.[28] Although he hated them, he was not unaware of filthy jokes that were being whispered and of suggestive entertainments that were being performed.[29]

But it was not the homely, work-a-day world alone that attracted Agobard's attention: he speaks, for instance, with discrimination of paintings he had seen, both individual works of art and large murals done in fresco, and of statuary cast of molten metal or hammered out in relief or chiseled from stone.[30] He also observed closely the subject matter of certain paintings which he described: details of military life, men in arms and views of the recruiting of an army;[31] pictures of agricultural activity, harvesters reaping wheat in autumn or gathering grapes; scenes of hunting and fishing, men standing in boats casting their nets or, with spears poised in their hands and dogs at their sides, pursuing goats and deer. He mentions pictures of animals -- of fish and goats and swine -- and pictures of still life -- of sheaves of wheat and rivulets of unfermented wine.[32] Agobard was observant

of the colors used as well as variations in the shades of color. For example, he speaks of likenesses fashioned in charcoal black and those done in reddish hues, in paints made from cinnabar and from a kind of ochre found in Sinope.[33] In addition to secular themes, he knew of religious and devotional representations, for he writes of portraits of winged angels, of Apostles preaching the Gospel, and of martyrs undergoing torture.[34]

As Agobard looked upon the life surrounding him, he inevitably saw features that were ugly. He saw clerics who neglected their duties and gave themselves up to the accumulation of riches, to sports, to delicate living; or if not to worldliness, at least to mere concern for a livelihood.[35] He noted particularly the degradation of the priesthood in the system of private chaplains, who were crude, ignorant serfs, ordained for religious tasks, but who were also used at serving tables, mixing wines, caring for dogs and horses, and collecting rents.[36] Such a lamentable situation cried for a remedy.

Agobard was, therefore, by training and by sensitivity, intensely interested in the improvement of parish life, and he learned to stress two elements which seemed to him to be necessary for that aim. Above all, like his bishop, Leidrad, he believed in providing for well-trained clergymen, especially those who could preach sermons of instruction and edification, and he magnified the duty of preaching and the office of the preacher.[37] His one extant sermon illustrates his own effectiveness in that sphere of parish life. To maintain that primary office, Agobard was realistic enough to know that adequate funds were necessary. Hence he never lost an opportunity to deplore the waste of money on unworthy projects and to urge that it be turned to higher uses, to the support of preachers and others concerned with the service of religion, as well as to the charities of the church, the poor and the pilgrims.[38]

So Agobard's mind was nurtured both by his formal education and by his alert awareness of his environment. But what of his heart, his personality? Perhaps the most notable characteristic which he developed was that of clear-headed ration-

ality. For instance, when he heard superstitious persons talking about Weather-makers, he traced the report back to its origin and discovered that it was based on hearsay.[39] When told that pictures have spiritual values, he scornfully retorted "Pictures are pictures -- nothing more! They have no life, no feeling, no reason."[40] In opposition to a mechanical doctrine of Biblical inspiration, he replied that if such were true the most logical medium of inspiration would be Balaam's ass.[41] Concerning pilgrimages, he taught that since God is everywhere there is no need to go abroad to look for Him.[42] And against the increasing tendency to allegorize divine worship, Agobard expressed the view that since all liturgies are man-made products, differing from place to place, it is irrational to perceive enigmatic significance in their phraseology.[43]

But for all his rationalism, Agobard still believed with Hamlet that there were many phenomena which could not be explained. Reluctant, cautious, and moderate, he could not entirely divest himself of the popular beliefs and practices of his time. He allowed the possibility of demonism in connection with certain diseases; he partially accepted the hoary libel that Jews were the "vessels of the devil"; and once -- but only once -- he permitted himself the luxury of allegory.[44]

There was an opposite side to Agobard's personality as notable as his cool common sense, namely, a tendency to explosive bitterness. His harsh description of the beautiful Empress Judith, second wife of Louis the Pious, betrays his venomous hatred of her. To him, she was "that woman," the brazenly lascivious authoress of evils, a Jezebel, Athaliah, and Delilah all in one.[45] So severe indeed was he that Rabanus Maurus had to come to her defense. With like vituperation, Agobard characterized Amalarius as a presumptuous fool, full of fantastic allegories, who defamed the church, a madman and a heretic worse than Pelagius.[46] Closely related to this explosiveness was Agobard's resistance to criticism. At least two of his books reflect his reaction to whispering campaigns that were being directed against him.[47]

The strange combination of cool rationalism and passionate resentment could have made an extremely disagreeable per-

son, but there is evidence to show that Agobard also had a third quality, the saving grace of affection which begets affection. He was ardently devoted to his superior, Bishop Leidrad, both in life and in death. While the latter was still alive, Agobard looked upon him as the best priest he had ever known, the glory of the Frankish clergy.[48] And long after Leidrad had died, his memory lingered with Agobard, who recalled him in filial terms as his holy and orthodox father.[49]

The fraternal bond between Agobard and Bernard of Vienne is another indication of warmth of personality. Bernard, about nine years younger than Agobard, had first been a soldier, then a monk, and in 810 the bishop of near-by Vienne. The two men became and continued close friends, both ultimately going into temporary exile together. The clergy of Lyons were also loyally attached to Agobard. Even when he later fell into disfavor with the court, they remained obstinately faithful to him, and none more so than the young deacon, Florus. The latter, born about 800, grew up in the diocese of Lyons.[50] He became a hero-worshipper of Agobard and for that reason made life miserable for the "usurper" Amalarius, who was *locum tenens* or administrator of the see during Agobard's banishment.[51]

The enthusiastic filial piety of Florus, being infectious, inspired other young clerics, especially the warm-hearted Walafrid Strabo, who has left a poetic tribute to Agobard.[52] Walafrid was scarcely eighteen, Agobard fifty-seven, and Florus twenty-six, when they came to know each other. Immediately the two younger ones became friends, sharing their admiration for the older man, none wishing to be separated from the others. Walafrid was drawn to Agobard by warm gratitude and sincere esteem as a son to a loving and beloved father. To Florus, Walafrid was bound by a sentimental, emotional, almost feminine, attachment, no longer looked upon with approval in Western manners. But they were young, and it was May:[53] how were they to know that their day was not of springtime, but of "Indian summer"? With all three, it was a case of that same *amor* of which Alcuin had spoken so feelingly:

> Once we were three, with but one heart among us:
> Scarce are we two, now that the third is fled.[54]

In 804, Agobard reached the age of thirty-five. Feeling the need of assistance in his arduous burden of reconstruction, Bishop Leidrad had come to rely more and more upon the younger cleric. So it was that during the same year in which Dom Alcuin of Tours died and was succeeded by another Anglo-Saxon, Fredegisus, Leidrad caused Agobard, in the midway of his mortal life, to receive consecration as a country bishop (*chorepiscopus*),[55] a suffragan or vicar, competent in every way to perform episcopal functions, but in all matters subject to the consent of the ordinary. About a decade later, that action was to cause a repercussion. Well trained, personable, mature, Agobard now entered upon the second, the active, public phase of his life, a period of increasing responsibility undertaken with zeal and intense vigor.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RURAL BISHOP

Agobard's career as *chorepiscopus* of Lyons began quietly enough. The work was heavy and consumed most of his time, but not more so than before his consecration, because he was even then Leidrad's right-hand man. However, the responsibility was now greater, and as the years passed, it became evident that the elderly Leidrad, who spent more and more time in the Emperor's presence, was grooming Agobard to be his successor.

The first generation of Carolingian scholars was already leaving the center of the stage, and a new generation, which would bring the ninth-century renaissance to its fruition, was making its appearance. Within very few years after Agobard's consecration were born such men as the humanist, Servatus Lupus, the ill-starred Gottschalk, the weighty Hincmar, and the gentle Walafrid Strabo. Traffic between the Frankish court and the East -- the Sacred Palace of Byzantium and the Caliphate of Baghdad -- was almost continuous. And every summer, after Pentecost, the armies of the mighty Charles, with inexorable regularity, set forth to fight the Slavs or Saxons or Saracens.

Agobard's thirty-eighth year (807) was distinguished by events in the celestial, political, and religious spheres. Between September, 806, and September, 807, there occurred no less than three eclipses of the moon, one of the sun, the Northern Lights, and small black spots on the sun which

lasted a week -- all meticulously noted in the royal annals.[1] Such a display of heavenly pyrotechnics would attract attention even in the most blase era, but particularly so where the old folk-paganism and superstition were only thinly veneered by the chrism of Christian baptism. Three times in the short interval of a twelve-month -- on the nights of the eclipses of the moon -- Agobard had witnessed demonstrations of the power of the ancestral religion: he had seen and heard frightened, ignorant people, his own parishioners, blowing horns and beating on metal vessels, screaming and shouting, "Vince, luna!" in order to aid the moon in its struggle against the monster which threatened to destroy it.[2] The practice had been forbidden in the eighth century and was repeatedly condemned in the ninth and tenth centuries,[3] but it would continue among the nascent Western Europeans, as among such diverse races as the American Indians and the Chinese. Bishop Agobard was helpless to restrain it: he could only observe and exhort, partly in pity, partly in scorn.

The cordial understanding between the Emperor Charles and the Caliph Harun al Rashid was signalized by an interchange of gifts. The Abbasid astounded the West with his munificence conveyed to the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle by his ambassador, Abdullah, and a delegation of monks from Jerusalem. A number of large beautifully-colored awnings and canopies made of linen were brought from the East. There were also many silken garments and perfumes, ointments, and balms, as well as two finely-wrought brazen candelabra. But most marvelous of all was a mechanical water-clock made of brass of curious and delicate workmanship. Not only did it announce the hour by the ringing of a bell, but also out of one of the twelve windows of the structure there galloped forth the appropriate number of miniature horsemen! And it had many other unusual contrivances -- too many, in fact, for the chronicler to enumerate.[4] The story of this almost incredible instrument, ignored by the sophisticated Arab historians, was a sensation in the Carolingian realm.[5] Undoubtedly Agobard heard about it and marveled. Perhaps from Leidrad he received a lively first-hand account of it.

But of far more concern to him were certain other gifts. In token of friendship, the Caliph granted the Frankish legates the privilege of securing the relics of Saint Cyprian from Carthage and transporting them to Gaul. They were allowed to have not only the bones of the ancient bishop but also those of the Scillitan martyr, Speratus, and the skull of an unidentified Saint Pantaleon. These they brought to Arles, where they left them temporarily in order to hasten on to the Emperor with the joyful tidings. Charles commanded that the precious treasures be preserved at Arles until he could have a church erected where they could be venerated with fitting cult and adornment. However, causes soon arose which delayed the proposed construction. The venerable Leidrad seized the occasion and requested that the sacred remains be transferred to his see city of Lyons. The Emperor acquiesced, and soon the relics reposed behind the high altar of the cathedral church of Our Lady, Saint John Baptist, the Holy Cross, and Saint Stephen Protomartyr.[6]

The devotional fervor evoked by the event and the pomp which accompanied it left an unforgettable impression upon those who witnessed it, among them, the seven-year-old lad, Florus, who was destined to play a significant role in the life of Bishop Agobard. Much later he commemorated the reception of the relics in hexameters, calling them, "a rich treasure, purer than silver, more precious than tawny gold, and brighter than gleaming gems."[7] But of greater significance is the fact that the transfer of these holy relics inspired Agobard's first literary production, a poem of sixty-seven irregular hendecasyllabics.[8] He described the sorrow of the Frankish embassy at the sight of ruined Carthage and the neglected church where the bones of Saint Cyprian lay; the decision to remove them to Frankland; the hurried crossing to Arles; and Leidrad's urgent and successful petition to have them installed in the church at Lyons. The concluding verses are a prayer to the saints to intercede for the pastor (Leidrad) and flock of Lyons, more particularly for Agobard, who takes frequent occasion to extol their names and merits and who observes their *dies natales* with special devotion.

But not every year was as exciting for Lyons and Agobard as 807 had been. The great world moved on. About 808 or 809, Amalarius, the liturgical scholar and diplomat who was to become the object of the enmity of Agobard and Florus, was made bishop of Trêves. Bishop Claudius of Turin, in so many ways like Agobard, was beginning to publish his treatises. Bernard, an intimate friend of Agobard, was elected to the near-by diocese of Vienne. Charles himself was keeping a close supervision over the affairs of his empire. In November, 809, he convoked a council at Aix to discuss the procession of the Holy Ghost and also the status of the churches and the manner of life of those who "are said to serve God in them." The theological issue was submitted to the Apostolic Throne. Decision on the practical matter was deferred because of the magnitude of the problem.

Foreign affairs continued to plague the Emperor's latter days. Moorish corsairs were raiding Sardinia, Corsica, and the Italian littoral. The doges of Venice, incited by Constantinople, were troublesome. The Frisian coast was suffering from large-scale assaults by the Northmen. But Charles was able to stay the tide and even to make some additional gains, especially in Germany, Italy, and Spain. Probably his crowning diplomatic achievement, and one of significance to every subject of his empire, was the final recognition of his Imperial status by the court of Byzantium. It was in the year 812 that legates of Michael I acclaimed the great Frank with the *laudes regiae*, calling him *Imperator et Basileus*.

But even the iron Charles could not avert the mortality which was beginning to strike his beloved progeny. Within less than two years (810-811), two of his three legitimate sons and his eldest daughter, formerly betrothed to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VI, died. In spite of the stoutness of his heart, Charles gave vent to his grief in tears.[9] Another death duly reported by the chroniclers was that of the famous elephant, Abulabaz (Abu-Lubabah, "the father of intelligence"), which had been a part of the royal menage for eight years, ever since Harun had sent it to Charles back in 802.[10] Another fatality of the dismal year 810 was a murrain

that destroyed vast herds of cattle in apparently all the provinces of the Carolingian state. Relative to this disaster, a curious explanation gained currency among Agobard's parishioners and soon came to his ears. It was rumored that the duke of Beneventum, an enemy of the Emperor, had secretly sent emissaries throughout Gaul to scatter on every field, hillside, meadow, and spring a certain kind of dust which would poison the Frankish cattle. A search was instituted for these crafty spies, and many men fell into the hands of the suspicious and superstitious hunters. Some of the victims were slain immediately; others were arrested and given the semblance of a trial. Under questioning, torture, or the threat of death, many confessed that they did have dust in their possession and that they did scatter it. These were placarded with a statement of their crime, bound, and thrown into the Rhone or Saône, where they drowned -- a hideous variation of the ordeal by cold water.[11]

Agobard states that he actually saw much of that as it occurred, and heard of other instances. Promptly using his influence to put an end to it, he suggested that it was unreasonable for the dust to kill only cattle and not other animals. He intimated that there were not enough Beneventans, men, women, and children, with cartloads of dust, to accomplish such widespread mischief. As for the confessions, he expressed his belief that they were the work of the old Deceiver of the human race.[12]

The strange story raises several intriguing questions. How did so many people, obviously including the humbler folk, come to know about a relatively obscure struggle between Charles and the ruler of a small duchy in the southern part of the Italian peninsula? How quickly and how extensively was news disseminated in the first decade of the ninth century? Was the rumor of black magic a bit of official propaganda to rally public opinion to the support of governmental policy? How important was general public opinion at that time? Did Bishop Agobard, by opposing the malevolent superstition, incur royal disfavor? Who were the unfortunate wretches who suffered the persecution? Whatever the answers to these

questions arising about an event eleven hundred years ago, a significant note in the chronicles for 812 informs us of peace with the Beneventan duke, Grimoald II.

By 811, Charles, nearly seventy, felt that his own end was approaching. Not only had the shadow of death fallen upon his family, his household, and his dominions, but there were other ominous signs. Twice in the previous year, the sun and the moon had each been eclipsed[13] and the Emperor had requested the learned Irish recluse, Dungal, to explain the occurrences.[14] The latter replied encouragingly that during an eclipse the sun itself suffered nothing, that it was only our eyes that were deceived. There were, however, still other prodigies,[15] so that Charles decided to prepare his will. Among the magnates who witnessed the instrument were Bishop Leidrad, Agobard's superior, and Dom Fredegisus of Tours, with whom Agobard later engaged in controversy.[16]

Two years later (813), Charles, in declining health, took additional precautions to insure the stability of his empire and the continuity of his dynasty. At Aix, in September, before his assembled lay and clerical barons, and with their consent, he caused his remaining legitimate son, Louis, the king of Aquitaine, to assume the Imperial diadem as co-Emperor. His grandson, Bernard, son of the late Pippin, was confirmed in his title as king of Italy, and episcopal synods to discuss the status of ecclesiastical affairs were ordered to be convened in the major sees of the empire: Mainz, Rheims, Tours, Châlons, and Arles.[17] Only four months from that time, on 28 January, 814, the premonitions were realized and the soul of the incomparable Charles Augustus, crowned of God, departed from this vale of tears.

Mourning for the death of the Emperor was universal throughout the Frankish state and widespread throughout the rest of the Western world. One lament expressed it thus:

> From the day's beginning to the sunset west
> Let a sound of sorrow shake the deep's vast breast.
> Heu mihi misero!

Grief grown giant-like shadows land and darkens sea,
Woe unparalleled, sorrowful exceedingly.
Heu mihi misero!

Torrents of tears ceaselessly flow and fall --
The wide world weeps at Charles's burial.
Heu mihi misero![18]

As well indeed it might, for, as events clearly proved, a golden era had ended.

It was this tragic occasion which caused Agobard to produce his second literary effort, thirteen lines in hexameter, a kind of epitaph for the Emperor.[19] After giving the customary "vital statistics," he begs the reader to pray that the spirit of Charles may reach the starry heaven. In spite of Vergilian phrase and meter, the poem has such tell-tale medieval lines as --

Sceptra tenens regni, et regno rex regna rejungens,
Febru-- migravit quinto --arii ex orbe Kalendas....

Louis the Pious hastened from Aquitaine as soon as he heard of the death of his father. He entered Aix in late February, 814, and immediately took hold of the reins of empire. A new day -- that of the *Diadochi* -- had begun. Very soon one of the few surviving elder councillors, Bishop Leidrad of Lyons, decided to lay aside the dignities and honors of statecraft and spend the remainder of his life in monastic retirement at Saint Médard in Soissons.[20] Not only had his friend and patron gone, but his brother and his nephew had also recently died. The odor of mortality was heavy about him, but he was resigned. "To whom life is sweet," he laments, "death cannot but be bitter.... But who does not die...? What cannot be avoided should not be greatly feared.... Let us, therefore, by thought, word, and deed, study how we may please Him Who can condemn the wicked and glorify the righteous...."[21]

Behind the scenes Agobard's friend, Bernard, the bishop of Vienne, was apparently at work. Louis, too involved with his new task and unaware of all the undercover negotiations,

acquiesced in Leidrad's withdrawal and Agobard's accession. The assent of a number of the neighboring bishops was forthcoming and for a moment it appeared that the forty-five-year-old *chorepiscopus* might be elevated to the rule of the diocese of Lyons. However, when the matter came to the attention of the rest of the prelates of Gaul, a storm of indignation arose, mainly against the real protagonist of the piece, Bernard of Vienne. Canon law was invoked which clearly stated that while a bishop was living his successor might not be chosen. Hence it was decreed that Agobard continue as *chorepiscopus* and that Leidrad remain as the nominal ordinary of the see.[22] In actual practice, the situation in Lyons was not altered: Agobard was, as he had been for several years, the virtual ruler of the diocese.

One day, while making the rounds of his district, Agobard came by chance upon a group (*conventu*) of men about to stone four people bound in fetters, three men and a woman. In response to his inquiry, a fantastic story was related to him. There was a far-away land called Magonia, from which came cloud-borne ships navigated by aerial sailors who were in collusion with certain mortals having the mysterious power of controlling the weather. The former paid the latter to raise hail storms and tempests to beat the fruit from the trees and the grain from the stalks. The crew then loaded the ships with the crops thus harvested and sailed back to Magonia. The men and the woman in chains were supposed to have fallen from one of these sky-ships a few days before. After much reasoning, Agobard reported, he was able to allay the threat of mob-violence and to confound those who had caught the wretched prisoners.[23] One cannot but wish that the inquisitive bishop had told what the real story was.

Upon further investigation, Agobard discovered that throughout the entire countryside the belief was widespread that there actually existed men who were Weather-makers. The credulous were not merely peasants and rustics, but also noblemen and burghers. Weather-magic had been condemned in numerous church councils ever since the seventh century as a species of paganism. Bishop Agobard had only run upon the lingering relics of the folk-paganism.

Nor was it simple dereliction from the Christian faith: it carried with it attendant evils. Above all, the delusion itself seemed to be a glamor of diabolical origin. Moreover, when so many people were afflicted by the devilish deceit and seized by irrational terror, they were often tempted to resort to mob-action against those suspected of the magic. The bishop had just rescued four victims from an intended lynching. On the other hand, the people might, and frequently did, pay fixed tribute to the "weather-makers" as bribery to guarantee fair weather. Agobard grieved that whereas it required constant pressure to secure the Scriptural tithe to maintain the charities of the church the deluded populace eagerly paid the required amount to the *Tempestarii.*

To extirpate this superstition, which he characterized as not a phase but the very fulness of unbelief, Agobard launched a campaign, of which the battle-cry was his treatise, *Against the Foolish Opinion of the Mob on Hail and Thunder.*[24] It was a telling criticism of the popular belief. Apt passages of the Bible were marshaled to show that God alone controlled the weather. But the argument was not ended by a mere pleading of authority: appeals to reason were not neglected. The bishop pointed to the regularity of the weather: these so-called Weather-makers were unable to reverse its orderly procedure. "No one has ever seen hail without rain." Showers were appropriate to summer and snows to winter: the *Tempestarii* could not change that. Quite properly Agobard asked why anyone should ever have any difficulty with either planting or harvesting if the Weather-makers were really effective. He himself had observed seasons of drouth around Lyons when, in spite of bribes to the wizards, no planting could be done.

He took a personal interest in ferreting out the source of the superstition. Whenever he heard of one who claimed to have seen the wonders accomplished by the *Tempestarii*, he made an effort to visit and talk with him. The person often persisted in his claim, but, under minute and piercing questioning, always confessed that he was not actually present on the occasion. Agobard then compared this delusion with the similar one that was prevalent back in 810, when the incidence of cattle-mortality was attributed to black magic. If

God's faithful servant Job could not enter into "the treasures of the snow" or see "the treasures of the hail," how, concluded the bishop, could "little men (*homunculos*) devoid of holiness, righteousness, and wisdom, barren of faith and truth, and hateful to their neighbors," govern the weather with their incantations?

By the end of the year 815, the last canonical barrier to Agobard's accession to the rule of the diocese had ceased to exist: his aged benefactor and superior, Leidrad, quietly died at his monastic retreat on 28 December, 815.[25] Imperial and diocesan approval had been secured earlier, and Agobard was already in episcopal orders -- all that remained was official investiture. But it was not until August that that event took place, for Agobard himself says, "In that year (816), in the eighth month, the throne was secured by me."[26]

Meanwhile in Rome, Pope Leo III had died on 25 May. Stephen V was immediately elected and consecrated, and for the purpose of strengthening the tie between the Papacy and the Frankish monarchy, he hastened to Gaul to confer with Louis. Toward the end of July or early in August, the two men met in Rheims, where with due pomp the Pope anointed and recrowned Louis and placed the golden diadem upon the head of the Empress Irmingard.[27] Since the Pope remained in Gaul until the autumn, it is not improbable that in the cathedral church of Lyons Bishop Agobard, aged forty-seven years, was solemnly invested with the ring and pallium by the Holy Father himself.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COMMON TOUCH

Agobard was now a prince of the church, having taken rank with the noblest lay magnates of Gaul. Henceforth he would move in high circles, but his sympathy for "the man in the street" was not to be lost. For Agobard himself came of humble origin. Left an orphan at an early age, he had appeared in southern Gaul in a band of serfs and freedmen who were fleeing from Moorish Spain. For ten years, he had lived in Septimania among Visigothic people who, like himself, were "displaced persons," refugees, trying to make their way in a new land. Even after coming to Lyons and moving up the scale of learning, clerical orders, and social status, he never lost the common touch. He looked upon himself as a "rustic" and referred to his manner of writing as a "rustic style."[1] In spite of his courageous assertiveness about what he considered rights — the rights of the church, the rights of baptized slaves, the rights of Christian brotherhood, the right of justice in the courts — he always felt uneasy in the presence of palace officials and seldom failed to communicate with them in modest language.

Moreover, his duties as a *chorepiscopus* of Lyons had kept him in intimate contact with the rural population. He could not have forgotten the common folk, even if he had wished to do so, for his sympathy and interest were boundless. A particularly vivid picture of the laboring class appears in his treatise *On Images*, in which he speaks of farmers sowing in the

springtime and reaping in the autumn, fishermen standing in their boats casting their nets for the haul, huntsmen following their baying hounds in pursuit of prey, and workers in the vineyard treading the wine-press.[2]

The poor were a special concern of Agobard. The church of Lyons was constantly administering alms to vast multitudes of needy persons: widows, orphans, and other indigents,[3] for which reason the drain on ecclesiastical revenues was so great that over and over again Agobard pleaded that charitable funds be replenished. He begged the superstitious to cease wasting their money on either black or white magic, but to place it in the alms basin.[4] He pressed the lay nobles to restore the sequestered lands because in depriving the church of a source of maintenance they were in reality depriving the church's poor of sustenance.[5] And he bitterly criticized great clerical nobles for spending ecclesiastical moneys for actors, mimes, and jongleurs while the poor starved.[6] Agobard's care for runaway slaves was also well known, and many of them, with their tales of woe, flocked to his protection.[7]

He knew the continual round of burdensome labor performed by the masses of the people to eke out a livelihood at serving the table, mixing the wines, caring for the master's dogs, giving particular attention to the great lady's horses, and collecting the rents and dues of fellow men who lived on the estate.[8] He knew that the common folk were the most serious sufferers in that day of constant warfare[9] and that they were the ones who, unable to pay professional champions or secure adequate weapons, most frequently fell in the judicial duel.[10] That is one of the reasons why he pleaded for unity in the legal administration of Frankland.[11] He charged that the great lords often freed their serfs or slaves and then cruelly forced them back into servitude, or unjustly reached out and seized a man whose freedom had been purchased by the meager savings of his parents, or sacrilegiously reduced to their service those who had been freed and assigned to the service of the church.[12]

As Agobard knew the sufferings of the poverty-stricken masses, he was also conversant with their pitiful efforts to

escape from the monotonous grind. There were many ways in which they made these attempts. Some, utilizing their native wit and shrewdness, resorted to the practice of magic and became mysterious "little men" (*homunculi*), preying evilly on the minds of their more stupid fellows -- a very lucrative business.[13] Others, taking advantage of the confusion of laws, turned brazenly to crime, which they were able to commit with impunity.[14] Still others entered the shameless and despised profession of public entertainment.[15] Agobard knew of some who in one way or another secured ordination to the clerical life merely in order to have daily food and shelter.[16] And since by canon law the church could redeem a baptized slave, many slaves were seeking the sacrament chiefly as a means of evading their dismal lot.[17] Moreover, because the church charitably aided pilgrims, throngs of the humbler people of Frankland were seizing the opportunity and were tramping over Western Europe from shrine to shrine, seeking a more lively and interesting mode of life.[18]

The common folk whom Agobard knew were unlearned and quickly swayed. They could be easy-going and indifferent in their simplicity and, at the same time, equally excitable and intolerant. Oddly enough, they followed the attitude of the palace and lived on quite genial terms with the Jews in their midst. Agobard says that he found many in his diocese who were intimate with the Jews of the community, eating and associating with them[19] and showing deference to them, gullibly swallowing the Jewish claims to a superior ancestry.[20] The simple people were also duped by the earnestness of certain well-known heretics: the fulminations of the church did not affect the common admiration for some of these men.[21] Although Lyons was a kind of melting-pot of empire, among the masses no particular tension existed between Burgundian and Alaman, between Aquitanian and Lombard.[22] Even slaves who did not speak the local Germanic tongue, lived among the Lyonnaise people without suffering harm.[23]

Yet there were times when the people could be whipped up into expressions of mob-action. It was especially possible to arouse the typical illiterate suspicion against "outlanders."

Twice, at least, Agobard witnessed such manifestations. At one time, some wretched people were captured and accused of being vicious causes of a current plague, of being Beneventan enemies of Frankland.[24] Many were beaten, tortured, and drowned before wiser counsel could prevail. At another time, other "foreigners" were seized and charged with malignant witchcraft, in which instance the bishop was able to prevent a lynching.[25]

Although class distinctions existed in Agobard's day, many attitudes were held in common by both the upper and the lower rungs of society. Superstition, for instance, was shared by all. In regard to weather-magic, Agobard says that in the region about Lyons everyone, "noble and ignoble, urban and rustic, young and old," believed that hail and thunder were caused by *Tempestarii*.[26] And, in connection with epileptic seizures in the southern part of France, all, without regard to caste, believed that the devil was actively at work. All were engaged in making propitiatory offerings, the rich bringing gold and silver, the poor bringing farm animals and farm products, to appease the demons.[27]

The latter fact suggests also how very lightly the cloak of Christianity rested upon all but the most sincere of whatever class, whether in palace or hovel. It was so easy to revert to the old heathenism in moments of major or minor crisis. Furthermore, even if the externals of Christianity were maintained, Agobard knew that many had simply changed one set of idols for another, the representations of the pagan gods for the representations of Christian saints and martyrs.[28] It was for that reason that the bishop of Lyons steadfastly refused to call any image *holy*.[29] But the threat of heathenism was not greater than the threat of apostasy to Judaism, both among the magnates and among the lower classes. The change of the market-day from Saturday to Sunday as a favor to the Jews caused no ripple of criticism from anyone but churchmen. Formerly, the humble folk had come to town on Saturday and sold their produce, and then had stayed overnight for Vespers, Matins, and Mass at the great churches. Now they came to town on Saturday, attended the synagogues, and stayed over-

night for the Sunday market, instead of Mass.[30] It seems that they were not upset at all by the change, and that many even went to the extreme of making a complete change of religion.[31]

Another attitude shared by high and low alike was cupidity. Agobard was depressed by the contentious litigation that was so common. The rich brought in cases affecting their lands and horses, and the poor, cases affecting their pigs, but all alike demonstrated their absorption in the material side of life.[32] Agobard therefore despaired of raising either group to a spiritual outlook. "If he who loves father or mother more than God is not worthy of Him, how much more unworthy, if he love land or a hog more than God!"[33]

The church itself was opposed to the artificial barriers of class and condition. Agobard himself laid great stress upon the unity of all God's people without regard to status. All Christians were brothers, whether slave or master, poor or rich, unlettered or learned, weak or strong, humble laborer or the lofty Emperor. "No one scorns another, no one considers himself below another, no one exalts himself above another."[34] In Christ is neither Aquitanian nor Lombard, neither Burgundian nor Alaman, but in Him all are one.[35] Even the slave, who owed the service of his hands to a master, owed his inner life, his heart and mind, to no man.[36] Agobard put his ideals into practice where he could by redeeming baptized slaves from their owners.[37] The refusal of Jewish masters to transact this business with him was the cause of his campaign against the spread of Jewish influence in the Carolingian state.

On a larger scale, the ideal of the church became an actuality in that the church itself offered a chance for a humble person to rise in society. Many, even of servile stock, were grasping the opportunity, some in all sincerity, others merely for an excuse to go up the social ladder. Agobard disapproved of the practice but admitted that the ministry was a means to temporal honors and riches.[38] There was no other medium through which they could be achieved so quickly.

It may be asked, Was the common man of any concern to

those who, apart from clergymen, directed the high policy of the Frankish empire? Perhaps not directly, but Agobard's writings reveal that there was some awareness of the value of public opinion. The people, as described by Agobard, were not completely depressed or oppressed. There was still a basic shrewdness that could not be destroyed. For example, the bishop himself was able to appeal to reason and common sense, as well as to authority and Scripture, in persuading a popular gathering from killing the so-called Weather-makers,[39] and in ultimately halting the murder of the Beneventan spies.[40] In fact, in most of his writings, Agobard resorted first to rational arguments before appealing to authority. His Biblical citations were frequently introduced as examples of reason rather than as blunt authority.

It may therefore be inferred that among the masses was sufficient native wit to make an appeal to their opinion a matter of importance for court policy, which fact seems to be apparent in the case of the popular reaction to the appearance of spies.[41] Public opinion also seems to have been able to prevent open crime, provided there were no legal loopholes of which a criminal could make use.[42] Known heretics were able by their smooth words and actions, to gain the favor of public opinion even against great bishops and magnates.[43] Agobard himself knew that the people could be moved by stern language and, despairing of aid from the palace, resorted to a verbal campaign to dissuade the populace from associating with Jews.[44] Very sensitive of public opinion relating to the clergy, which had been provoked by the common knowledge the people had of clerical corruption, Agobard strove to rectify the condition and regain popular approval.[45] And much later, he justified the movement to purge the palace of vice by calling attention to the fact that public opinion, either jeering at the gossip or grieving at it, was being forced toward revolutionary action.[46]

CHAPTER FOUR

LATE FLOWERING

In 816, the two men, Louis and Agobard, the Emperor and the prelate, were clothed with undoubted plentitude of authority, each in his own sphere. Louis was the God-anointed heir of the Caesars, of Augustus, Constantine, and Justinian, and of his own father, Charlemagne, who was already becoming a legendary figure with the publication about that very time of Einhard's fine biography of him. On the other hand, Agobard, now an ecclesiastical prince invested with the fulness of the priesthood, was the lawful successor of the court-favorite, Leidrad, and a metropolitan of Gaul with virtual primatial dignity. For a short interval, the relation between the two was neutral, neither cordial nor strained, for both, though well trained for their respective tasks, were preoccupied with the weight of their new responsibilities.

But, because of the character of Louis and that of Agobard, it was obvious that their destinies were bound to different stars. It was inevitable that in time a coolness would arise between them and that an open break might result. We have already noted Agobard's personality. Louis, eight years younger, was married to Irmingard, who had borne him three sons, Lothair, Pippin, and Louis. In stature and learning, he resembled his father, but in other respects very little. The latter had remained a hearty Teuton in spite of all his adaptation to Christian-classical culture; he loved the old native heroic songs, preserved the thick Frankish tongue, and called

the months by their crude but picturesque Germanic names.[1] Louis scorned such uncouth interests and refused to allow these old songs to be read, sung, or taught. He was excessively religious, well deserving his appellation of "the Pious," slow, cautious, sober, and endowed with the "gift of tears." His father had been a cheerful, jovial person, one who loved good food, good company, and lively conversation. Louis, who knew the spiritual, moral, and analogical meanings of Scripture, is said never to have enjoyed a hearty laugh -- a strange temperament for a man who was more Aquitanian than French; but perhaps in the late eighth and early ninth centuries life in southern Gaul was quite earnest because of the constant threat of renewed Saracenic raids.[2]

It is difficult to untangle the various threads which made up the skein of Louis's policy, but it is clear enough that he disapproved that of his father. Hence, in the early years of his reign he tried to clean house drastically, especially of his illegitimate brothers and nephews. Not only did he wantonly destroy the collection of heroic sagas preserved by Charlemagne, but he also dismissed from court his predecessor's councillors and installed his own favorites, particularly those who were zealous for such reform as was envisioned by Abbot Benedict of Aniane. Changes were indeed necessary, but Louis's ardor and vigor aroused apprehension in the minds of many.

During the night of 7 February, 817, there was an eclipse of the moon, no doubt accompanied by the usual superstitious rites. And adding to the terror, a portentous comet appeared in the sign of Sagittarius. About two months later, on Maundy Thursday, the Emperor suffered an accident. As he was leaving church, the wooden porch collapsed under him, but fortunately, beyond minor scratches and bruises, he suffered no harm, although a number of other victims were seriously injured.[3] The Emperor was only forty years old, but these events reminded him of the transiency of mortal life. Consequently, one of the first incidents of business at the council of Aix in May was the significant step he took to insure the Imperial succession. After a *triduum* of prayer and fasting,

the Carolingian state was, in accordance with the usual Frankish custom, partitioned among Louis's three heirs, his youngest son and namesake receiving the kingdom of Bavaria; the second, Pippin, the kingdom of Aquitaine; and the first-born, Lothair, the remainder, including the kingdom of Italy. But in order to preserve the unity of the empire, a new principle had to be invoked: the eldest son alone was designated as the heir of the title and office of Emperor. To secure the arrangement, Louis the Pious revived the practice of his father and caused Lothair to be crowned immediately as his colleague. The magnates, secular and ecclesiastical, readily consented and took the oath of allegiance. Emissaries were dispatched to ask for Papal approval, which was soon forthcoming. For a number of years thereafter, the names of the co-Emperors, Louis the Pious and Lothair, were associated in official documents.

Another urgent problem, which had been awaiting solution since the days of Charlemagne and an earlier time, was the reformation of the clerical life. The matter received extended consideration at Aix. In response to Imperial pressure, the decisions, embodied in a book on the establishment of the canonical life and inspired by the practice of Saint Chrodegang, were promulgated and made obligatory on all the clergy, diocesan and religious alike.[4] The Rule of Saint Benedict was to be the standard. To aid in carrying out this phase of his program, Louis summoned Dom Benedict from Aniane to northern France, where he soon founded for him the Abbey of Inda near Aix. In order that ecclesiastical work might be maintained on an adequate level, it was decreed that each church be endowed with land sufficient at least to sustain a peasant family (*mansus*), together with no less than one serf and his wife to cultivate it.

It was also decreed that churchmen lay aside their fine apparel, their spurs, their golden baldrics, and the jewelled daggers, "for it was deemed monstrous for a representative of the household of God to aspire to wear the ornaments of worldly ambition." Here, however, the Imperial will met with a stubborn resistance from all ranks of the Frankish hierarchy,

attributed by the anonymous Astronomer, a biographer of Louis, to diabolic inspiration. It is noteworthy that the book issued by the council of Aix also directed that no person of servile condition was to be elevated to Holy Orders until he had been manumitted by his master, whether lay or clerical. Significantly enough, the prohibition was not extended to persons of servile origin. Only the year before (816), such a man, Ebbo, had been raised to the rank of bishop of Rheims on the eve of the Imperial coronation. The proud Thegan, another of Louis's biographers, expressed bitter resentment at the failure to restrict the hierarchy to those of noble, or at least free, families, and accused the upstart clergy of all manner of evils. They were vexatious troublemakers, obstinate backbiters, who sought fear and praise by threats and promises. They used their positions to enrich and ennoble their lowborn relatives by suitable marriages. Their families were shamelessly overthrowing the social order by their vulgarity and vices -- the age-old complaint of the born aristocrat against the parvenu. No one could live peaceably with them unless he came over to their side; otherwise he spent the rest of his days in sorrow and mourning.[5] Thegan's tirade, however, was highly colored by his partisanship for the Emperor.

Another matter, one of immediate concern to Bishop Agobard of Lyons, was accomplished at Aix: confirmation of the use of the ordeal by the cross (although deprecated by the Emperor). It will appear later that Agobard was affected by almost every action of the council, but this last-mentioned decision was presumably the first to evoke an articulate response by him, in a plea to Louis the Pious for the unity of law within the Carolingian realm, commonly entitled *Against the Law of Gundobad.*[6] Lyons belonged to that part of Gaul which formerly had been the kingdom of the Burgundians. There late in the fifth and early in the sixth century, the Arian Gundobad had been king, under whom the Burgundian rule had reached its greatest extent. He had codified the customary law of his people, which henceforth bore his name, It was not an unusual law; in most respects it was similar to

that of the other Germanic tribes. In a minor way, it allowed, as the others did, the use of judicial ordeals, but the chief objection to it, as to barbarian codes generally, was its principle of the personality of law.[7] Lyons was a kind of crossroads of the empire; here dwelled Aquitanians and Lombards, Burgundians and Alamans, Visigoths and Franks, as well as remnants of the old Gallo-Roman population.[8] Confusion in legal affairs was inevitably rife, even though in Agobard's day only a few people still came under the Burgundian code.[9]

Agobard claimed that diversity of law often invaded not only particular regions and cities, but also single dwellings. "It often happens," he says in one of his best known passages, "that five men may be walking or sitting together and no one of them be subject in secular matters to the same law." Hence it came to pass that a man might commit a crime in the very market-place, before a number of people, and yet not be brought to justice because no witness could be found who was subject to the same law. Resort to judicial duels was appallingly frequent, and especially tragic in that even the feeble and the aged were involved. It was therefore imperative to Bishop Agobard, or so he thought, to appeal for some relief from that unfortunate practice. In the ninth century, he stood almost alone in his point of view regarding ordeals, but objections to some features of the law of Gundobad had been raised even in the day of its codification.[10]

The book, *Against the Law of Gundobad,* is couched in language of the most profound humility, indicating that Agobard had not yet taken the measure of the Emperor. It begins with a protracted explication of the theme that in Christ all are one. "O heavenly brotherhood, O everlasting concord, O indivisible unity, flowing from one Author, destined to return to the ultimate oneness of all things...." Yet this unity was hindered by the diversity of laws in the land. There was indeed a vital cleavage in the human race, Agobard admitted, but it was between the city of God and the city of the devil; it should not exist between Christian and Christian.

Agobard expresses a doubt that such a proposal as he was suggesting was possible, but says that a beginning could be

made by abolishing the Burgundian law and extending the law of the Salian Franks to take its place. That action might not be difficult because the former law bore the stigma of the name of a heretic. Frankish law was of special interest to Agobard because his beloved predecessor, Leidrad, had once compiled a set of Frankish decrees for use in Lyons.[11] It was true that this law also allowed the ordeal, but, Agobard reasoned, if more people were brought under the same law, the use of proof by the testimony of witnesses might be advanced and the use of ordeals might fall into desuetude.

The chief pastor of Lyons then presented his argument against the ordeal. He specifically mentioned four kinds, hot water, hot iron, the cross, and combat, but devoted most of his disapproval to the last. It was essentially un-Christian — a point which he demonstrated by appeals to Scripture, history, and the liturgy. Biblical quotations were made to show that strife was contrary to the will of God and that God's judgment was a secret to be revealed only in the future, not in the present. History was cited -- the fall of Jerusalem to the Saracens and Rome to the Goths -- which suggested that it was usually the slain who were right, not the slayers. And the liturgy was mentioned -- at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, priests often prayed that the Lord would cause the people to spurn worldly success and not to shun adversity.

It is not that Agobard despised courts, judgments, and cases at law. They were, he thought, quite necessary, as the Bible indicated, but their real value lay in investigation, discussion, and decisions based on testimony. It was entirely within the competence of the learned and saintly bishops of Gaul to frame laws more suitable than that of the heretic Gundobad. "Would that it might please Almighty God for all the people to be subject to one law, under one most pious king, the same law under which he and those nearest him live.... But because it is an undertaking of such magnitude, and perhaps humanly impossible, nevertheless let the law of Gundobad be uprooted as something not only useless, but positively harmful."

To accompany this treatise, which is in style and language the best literary product of Agobard's pen, the bishop of Lyons compiled a catena of Scriptural passages followed by brief annotations and introduced by a short preface (usually called *Against the Judgment of God*).[12] This is merely the documentation of *Against the Law of Gundobad*, and adds nothing new. The Biblical texts are well chosen, being those which enjoin peace, good will, meekness, neighborliness, childlike simplicity, and patient endurance.

Meanwhile, by the autumn of 817, the empire was in a state of turmoil. A number of magnates, discontented by the *divisio imperii* of a date earlier in that year, persuaded the youthful king of Italy, Bernard, Louis's nineteen-year-old nephew, that he was being dispossessed. Under pressure from these malcontents, Bernard rose in revolt against his Imperial uncle. But quick action on the part of the latter was successful in quelling the disturbance during the winter of 817-818, and Bernard surrendered at Châlons. Among the conspirators who were captured were such great lay nobles as Eggideo, considered by Louis as one of his most intimate friends, Reginhardus, his chamberlain, and Reginharius, a former count of the Imperial palace. Even princes of the church were involved and arrested -- Anselm of Milan, Wulfold of Cremona, and Theodulf of Orleans. At Aix, after Easter (818), these men and others were tried and convicted of lèse-majesté and condemned to death, but most of the sentences were commuted. The bishops were deposed, tonsured, and banished to monastic prisons; the lay magnates were exiled or forced to become monks, among the latter, Louis's illegitimate half-brothers, Drogo, Hugo, and Theodoric. Bernard and Reginharius were ordered to be blinded.

Three days later, on 17 April, the unfortunate young Bernard died in agony as a result of the brutality supervised by Agobard's local peer, Bertmund, count of Lyons. The Emperor, with his combination of morose piety, somber superstition, and emotional weeping spells, was stricken with fearful remorse. Others, too, were shocked -- or pretended horror. The recalcitrant magnates now had a useful weapon to hold over

Louis's conscience. Never again did Louis the Pious have any real peace until he gained it in death twenty-two years later. Even then the chroniclers would not let his spirit rest blameless of the murder of Bernard. Three hundred years later, Otto of Freising mentioned it as still being a subject of rumor and gossip.[13] Heaven itself seemed to frown upon the miserable conscience-smitten Emperor. On 8 July, 818, the sun underwent an eclipse, and in early autumn, the gracious Empress Irmingard fell ill, and after becoming weaker and weaker beyond hope, she died on 3 October.[14]

Despite these events in the palace circles of the Carolingian state, Agobard's interests, for the moment quite local, were directed toward his prisoner, the once-famous heresiarch, Felix of Urgel, who, after nearly twenty years of detention, died in 818.[15] For some time before his death, his actions had seemed suspicious to his jailer. The confinement had not been strict, and Felix had been allowed to move about the city freely. In fact, he had given every evidence of being a model prisoner. His life had been seemingly exemplary, and before Agobard was aware, having been distracted by other matters, the heretic had gained a coterie of admirers among the Lyonnaise clergy. By the time Agobard's attention had been drawn to what was happening, Felix had begun to insinuate Adoptionist doctrines into his conversations with his adherents. The bishop, therefore, suddenly and without warning, appeared one day at one of these salons and challenged Felix before the group. The latter immediately assumed an abashed and submissive attitude, but his admirers began to whisper against the spiritual superior that his zeal was not due to his faith but to his envy.

The death of Felix might have ended the affair, but when the officials of the diocese were going through his possessions, they discovered that the late prisoner had secretly written a catechetical document defending the old heresy which he had previously abjured. As soon as the information leaked out, the renewed gossip reached such proportions that Agobard felt impelled to answer it. This he did in his book, *Against the Teaching of Felix of Urgel,*[16] published probably in 819.

The treatise indicates that there was still no feeling other than respect and loyalty between Louis the Pious and the bishop of Lyon, now in his fiftieth year. It is addressed modestly to the Emperor, who was requested to peruse the work and grant it his approval or disapproval. If the latter, it was to be emended; but if the former, it was to be distributed to all the prelates of Gaul. The discovery of the manuscript of Felix gave the advantage to Agobard rather than to his critics, for now it was demonstrable that the heretic's good mode of life was only apparent, that in reality he was an unprincipled hypocrite and a liar, motivated by overweening pride. A telling allusion to Tertullian's *On the Prescription of Heretics* summarized Agobard's disposal of Felix: "A man's faith is not to be measured by his manner of life, but rather his life should be weighed in terms of his faith."

The bulk of the book is unimaginative and uninspired. In scholastic fashion, Agobard extracts passages from the newly-discovered document to show that Felix's belief was essentially Nestorian and hence under the condemnation of the Third Ecumenical Council. Heavy reliance was placed upon quotations from the rebuttal of the fifth-century heresiarch by the Patriarch Cyril. The Patristic learning of both Felix and Agobard appears clearly in this treatise.

Meanwhile the gloom that enveloped the court was becoming heavier and heavier. Louis's conscience could not be lightened even by extensive gifts to the church, and it was feared by his household that he was preparing to abdicate. His closest councillors therefore urged him to marry again.[17] Louis was persuaded, and many of the eligible daughters of his noblemen were brought to Aix and paraded before him. The choice fell upon the very beautiful and talented Judith, daughter of the powerful Count Welf of Bavaria and his wife Eigilwi, a member of an eminent Saxon family.[18] In February, 819, less than half a year after Irmingard's death, Louis had another wife, who was to bring to the dour palace of the forty-three-year-old Carolingian a late flowering which would delight her favorites and astound those who mistrusted her.

The Emperor's interest in life was revived, and his personality underwent a subtle change. The anonymous Astronomer

remarks that when Louis was informed later in the year of the suppression of a revolt in which the enemy suffered a loss of three thousand soldiers, "he heard all these details with pleasure...and then went hunting in the Ardennes forest."[19] Being no longer supinely under the influence of the clergy, but having succumbed to the charms of the royal beauty, the Emperor was becoming "the Debonair" rather than "the Pious." The prelates of Gaul were aghast. They had been caught off guard, but as soon as they could consolidate their forces, a battle began for the soul of Louis which was to rage throughout the third decade of the ninth century and into a part of the fourth. But for the moment the shrewd young queen sought to beguile the court by her grace, charm, beauty, and obvious devotion to her husband, as was admitted even by Agobard, who later became her sworn enemy.[20]

The Emperor soon felt secure enough to throw off the shroud of mourning and penance in which he had wrapped himself. The constitution of 817 was solemnly reaffirmed as an act of good faith.[21] In an outburst of good will, amid the festivities of the betrothal and the marriage of his son Lothair in 821, Louis granted amnesty to those who had participated in the conspiracy of Bernard four years earlier. Adalard and Wala, who had been banished still earlier in Louis's removal of his illegitimate kinsmen, were also allowed to return to court. The legend about the release of Theodulf, although improbable, illustrates the change in the Imperial mood. On Palm Sunday, as Louis and his retainers were passing through the streets of Angers, they heard the voice of Theodulf in his cell singing the composition attributed to him, the glorious hymn for the procession of palms, which still excites the hearts of worshippers at the beginning of Holy Week:

All glory, laud, and honor
To Thee, Redeemer, King,
To Whom the lips of children
Made sweet hosannas ring!

Louis, too, was thrilled and immediately ordered the imprisoned bishop to be set free.

The conclusion of the story, however, is ominous, for according to some chroniclers, before the year 821 was over, Theodulf met his death at the hand of a secret poisoner. It may be that Theodulf foresaw the approach of evil days for the Carolingian state. But like Cassandra of old, his words were not heeded. "All the sweetness has gone from this aging world," he grieved, "and there is nothing of its former sturdiness left. Only savage passion remains; filth, lies, lust, gnawing malice, hypocrisy, quarrels, brawling, and deceit flourish."[22]

A major tragedy of the year 821, which tempered its glowing warmth, was the passing of the abbot of Inda and Aniane, Dom Benedict. His death presaged the end of the new period of good will and the beginning of the fierce tug-of-war for Louis's spirit. He alone could have softened and moderated the impending struggle as he had for the past three or four years. By the end of 821, the first blow had been struck, quietly and without warning: early in the year 822, Agobard happened to appear in the Imperial presence and reported that without waiting for *congé d'élire* he and Bishop Nibridius of Narbonne had supervised the immediate election of a new abbot of Aniane.[23] Now it was Louis's turn to stand aghast.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE BEGINNING OF CONTROVERSIES

In itself, Bishop Agobard's announcement was perfectly innocuous. *Congé d'élire* had been neglected rather generally since the accession of Louis. Moreover, there was nothing to indicate that Agobard's attitude had changed from the courtly respect reflected in the treatises, *Against the Law of Gundobad* and *Against the Teaching of Felix of Urgel.* But by the year 822, there was an undercurrent of resentment against the palace coterie which might rise to the surface at any time. The clerical party, having at last closed its ranks, was awaiting an opportune moment, and the casual report of the bishop of Lyons galvanized it into action.

The prelate himself was probably unaware of the part he was playing. Amid the turmoil and confusion of the ensuing decade, Agobard was able to maintain a wary freedom from mere partisan politics. Whatever motives other magnates, clerical and lay, may have had, and regardless of other issues involved, Bishop Agobard had only one goal in view, a concept, basically ideological, namely, the independence of the church. This purpose had many facets, such as unrestricted ecclesiastical elections, restoration of the sequestered lands of the church, moral reform of the clergy, and unhindered baptism of Jewish slaves, but the bishop of Lyons stood by his principle. Generally such adherence to an ideal made him appear to be opposed to the Imperial administration, but not always. In any case, however, he did not join the anti-Louis party as such until the early 830's.

Already in 822, some of these issues were troubling him. The government refused, or was unable, to restore to the church the ecclesiastical lands which had been distributed to lay nobles to defray the expense of the army.[1] Since wars on the frontiers of the empire were virtually continuous and armies were in constant demand, it was probably impossible to satisfy the demands of the bishops for restitution. The Jews were actively engaged in hampering Christian missions,[2] and the degradation of the priesthood cried for remedial action,[3] for which reasons, Agobard joined the practically solid phalanx of the clerical party at the diet of Attigny in August, 822.

The nominal leader seems to have been the aged and saintly Adalard, abbot of Corbie. At the insistence of his ghostly councillors, Louis the Pious was reconciled to his half-brothers, one of whom, Drogo, was destined for almost immediate advancement to the great see of Metz. Then the Emperor was persuaded to humiliate himself and do public penance to atone for the severity he had exhibited in 817-818 in quelling the revolt of Bernard and in punishing the conspirators.[4] It was an edifying spectacle for the prelatic witnesses, and some compared it with the fourth-century experience of the Emperor Theodosius. For Louis, however, it was bitter medicine, a desperate act of appeasement, in which he cooperated probably without sincerity.[5]

Thereafter, Louis and the diet turned to the reformation of the church. Some effort was made by the Emperor to restore the ecclesiastical lands.[6] Diocesan schools were ordered to be set up, at least one in each see city, two or more in the larger centers.[7] Attention was given to the better training of clerics and to the removal of the more glaring evils of simony and priestly negligence.[8] The court even authorized this statement to the assembled magnates: "Decree confidently whatever your wisdom may judge useful for suppressing vice, avoiding danger, increasing piety, spreading Christian doctrine, strengthening faith, and contributing to zeal for holiness; and do not doubt that the Lord Emperor will assuredly accomplish it. He is solicitous that good may prevail and

evil be crushed, that he and you together in the presence of our Lord may in prosperity rule the kingdom committed to him by the favor of God."[9]

The venerable Adalard was so profoundly impressed that he said he had not seen the matters of public progress handled on such a lofty and glorious plane since the days of King Pippin, Louis's grandfather, who died the year before Agobard was born.[10] Those who admired the old man agreed with him that at last "a new order of Franks was reborn, and the dawn of justice was appearing over the horizon."[11] Whether Louis and the palace party knew it or not, a rift had been made in the clerical party. There were those, like Adalard, who felt that the Emperor had made adequate atonement, that sufficient action had been taken. On the other hand, there were those, for whom Agobard was the unwitting spokesman, who felt that Attigny was only the first step, that much more was yet to be done.

For Agobard soon found that it was one thing for a capitulary to be issued embodying the decisions of Attigny, but that it was another to translate them into action. The lay possessors of church lands in his area pleaded two excuses for not releasing these properties. Some intimated that the original necessity still existed,[12] as indeed it did, and some suggested that they were not bound by simple Gaulish decisions unless they were sanctioned by the Papacy.[13] The bishop of Lyons therefore returned to court in the latter part of 822 for a conference with Abbot Adalard of Corbie and the Imperial chancellor, Abbot Helisachar of Saint Riquier. They heard him and promised to relay the information to Louis the Pious, but Agobard distrusted them and suspected that they never reported to the Emperor.[14] However, it was not long before the news of Agobard's zeal reached the ears of Louis. Throughout Septimania and Provence, Agobard was pressing the lay lords to fulfil the requirements of the diet of Attigny. The latter in turn began a campaign of complaint against the bishop as a notorious trouble-maker.[15]

In the meantime, another difficulty was confronting Agobard, namely, the resistance the Jews were making to his attempt

to baptize their slaves, some of whom may have been motivated merely by the desire for freedom. Under Louis the Pious, the condition of Jewry was quite favorable, and the Jews were spreading throughout the Carolingian realm. The Emperor made them the peculiar objects of his solicitude, granting them charters exempting them from trial by ordeal and allowing them to live according to their own law. An official called the "master of the Jews" was appointed to guarantee their privileges.[16] A number of individual Jews were accorded special protection. In many cases, Jews were not to be taxed or to have feudal services required of them. They were allowed to hire Christian workmen and to hold Christian slaves, provided they made no attempt to convert them to Judaism. Occasionally they were employed to collect the taxes of the empire.[17] In lawsuits Louis granted the Jewish complainant or defendant the privilege of a change of venue from a local to the Imperial court.[18] In Lyons there was a particularly strong and active community of Jewish merchants engaging in commercial relations with Moslem Spain, especially in luxury goods, wine, and slaves. There is no reason for wonder that Louis's reign has been characterized as "a golden era for the Jews..., such as they had never enjoyed, and were destined never again to enjoy in Europe."[19]

Many of these concessions -- attributable to the Empress Judith? -- were contrary to canon law and therefore repugnant to sincere Christians. Naturally and inevitably the Jews took advantage of the opportunities. Presuming upon their favor at court, they were provoking sensitive Christians by their apparent insolence, and by a legalistic interpretation of their privileges. Agobard became aware of all this when the issue was joined on the right of a clergyman to baptize a slave of a Jewish household, for which baptism the Jews claimed that their consent was necessary. Agobard, considering the attitude a threat to Christian liberty, went in the spring of 823 once more to the Imperial palace.

Still hoping that in some way Louis the Pious would listen to his complaint and yet fearing disfavor at court (*mussi-*

tantem potius quam loquentem), he sought an interview with the Emperor. Adalard, Helisachar, and Wala listened to his plea and were apparently impressed. At their urgent insistence, Louis finally admitted the bishop of Lyons to the audience-chamber. Agobard was not prepared for the reception he met: no sooner had he entered the room than he was ordered to leave. He was astounded and embarrassed, and he suspected that the Imperial councillors had not represented him to the Emperor in a favorable light. Mystified, disappointed, weary, he hastened back to Lyons without speaking again to Adalard, Helisachar, and Wala.[20]

Shortly after this unsuccessful visit to the palace, Agobard wrote a brief letter, *A Consideration and Entreaty Regarding the Baptism of Jewish Slaves*,[21] to the three officials recalling his conversation with them and now asking for their advice. In defense of his wish to admit Gentile slaves of Jewish families to the sacrament of baptism, the bishop asserted that God had a rightful portion in every man although the person who had purchased him for twenty or thirty *solidi* might enjoy the service of his body. Everyone owed the religion of his mind to the Creator alone, although he might owe the labor of his hands to an earthly master.

The Emperor did not hesitate to compel conquered pagans to become Christians; why, asked Agobard, did he ignore one of his own subjects who sought to be baptized? It could not be said that the Jews lost money in the transaction, for the clergy offered them the price fixed by statute. But they refused to negotiate, thinking that they were favored by the palace. There would have been no discord on the matter if the "master of the Jews" had been reasonable. Agobard pleaded with the courtiers to give the letter their attention, and not to be angry at his importunity; he begged them to remember that the issue was the cause of the church, a matter of faith, and the work of God.

The year 823 stamped itself indelibly upon Louis's mind. The palace at Aix was shaken by an earth-tremor accompanied by fearful rumbling noises at night. At Commercy on the Meuse, a young girl was reported to have fasted for ten

months. (It was said that she took no sustenance other than the Sacred Species of the Eucharist until 825.[22]) A Saxon village was burned by lightning which fell from the clear sky. And unusually heavy hailstorms destroyed so many crops that pestilence stalked the domain of France. The Emperor was convinced that all these prodigies portended a great disaster which was about to strike. He therefore ordered a series of fasts accompanied by almsgiving and a continuous succession of prayers and votive masses to placate the wrath of God.[23] If Agobard was affected by all this, it was with mingled feelings of scorn for the superstitious and of pity for the sufferers.

As the final outcome proved, the most significant event of the year was the birth of a child. The beautiful young Judith had already borne Louis a daughter, but on 13 June, 823, she presented him with a son, to be known in history as Charles the Bald. The apparently firm, secure, oath-bound, and irrevocable constitution of 817, reaffirmed in 819 and again in 821, was shaken to its very foundation by the appearance of a fourth son. The quickly-spreading news of the birth was a tocsin for the gathering of the forces opposed to the palace entourage. Archbishop Ebbo of Rheims, Louis's foster-brother and former fellow-student, hastened back from far-away Denmark, where he had been conducting a successful mission. Lothair, who had just received on Easter Sunday (5 April) the Papal anointing as Emperor and heir of his father, hurriedly moved northward over the Alps. Up to this point, the three sons of Irmingard had not taken a significant part in the opposition to their father, but now their heritage was endangered. Louis the Pious was aware of the turn of events and in order to prevent an immediate uprising sought the neutrality of Lothair by having him stand as godfather at the baptism of the tiny Charles.[24] But as time passed, the opposition to Louis began to crystallize about the person of Lothair.

To Agobard, however, the really important issue of the moment was still the matter of the restitution of the lands of the church -- Lyons had lost vast holdings and he wanted

them returned. That was again a major discussion on the agenda of the council which convened at Compiègne in November, 823. The bishop of Lyons was apparently not present, but he had his informants who kept him posted. The controversy waxed openly bitter, so that the Emperor was even fearful of civil war and struggled to restrain the dissension. Nothing satisfactory to either party was accomplished, and Agobard, despairing of human justice, appealed to the divine judgment which he hoped would in time prevail.[25]

After mulling over the problem for a while, Agobard finally decided to commit his thoughts on the subject to writing, and therefore, late in 824 or early in 825, he issued his tract, *On the Management of Ecclesiastical Properties*,[26] which is one of the chief sources for the proceedings at both Attigny and Compiègne. The bishop's continued assertion of his prerogative over the church's holdings had aroused the resentment of many nobles in southern Gaul. An unidentified prelate high in the favor of the Emperor (was this perhaps Wala?) reported to Agobard the ugly rumor that he was a trouble-maker. This treatise, addressed to that unknown prince of the church, is a reply to the charge.

It was well known, Agobard argued, that the Emperor at Attigny commended to all priests purity of doctrine and abolition of negligence. When the leaders undertook to fulfil this requirement, the aged Abbot Adalard of Corbie said that he had not seen such glorious activity since the days of King Pippin. The Emperor himself requested advice and sought to make needed corrections wherever he could. The prelate therefore was urged by Agobard to suggest to Louis the perils of lay possession of ecclesiastical properties. Such practice was contrary to the canons, to God, and to the church. There was now no necessity which could excuse a violater of this law, although men pretended so. The Emperor, of course, was not at fault, the bishop of Lyons conceded, but his predecessors were.[27] Louis could not in a moment amend the usurpations of his forebears, but he should know the danger so that he might do whatever he could.

Worthy of still more condemnation, continued Agobard, were those who enslaved again not only men who had earned their freedom or whose freedom was in some way achieved by their parents, but also those who had been set free by others and delegated to protect and defend the church. God's name was stained by such actior and His house plundered and dishonored. Times were worse now, mused the bishop, than in pagan days, for then people honored their so-called gods. But in Agobard's day they not only abused the servants of the ecclesiastical household, but also oppressed its freedmen with wretched servitude. Ecclesiastical possessions and even churches were being put up for sale. Yet Scripture taught that to love God's house was religious; to neglect it, irreligious; to destroy it, sacrilegious. No layman should possess or in any way control church properties, fields, vineyards, and serfs, insisted Agobard.

Frankish church law explicitly forbade such lay usurpation, but violaters claimed that local synods could not legislate unless legates of Rome or of the Emperor were present. However, Agobard maintained, whenever the rulers of the church have assembled in the Lord's name to discuss ecclesiastical affairs, their decrees, if based on the Bible, were to be received with reverence and duly obeyed. Frankish synods were therefore competent to deal with the matter.

The church must not be defrauded, said the bishop in substance, because it had to feed its preachers (*praedicatores*), choirs, throngs of poor, and pilgrims. Rich layfolk should not covet anything that had been devoted to the church, whether house, field, serf, or maid-servant, or divert it or them to the service of their dogs and horses, their pleasure, their retinue, or their shameful pastimes. Agobard cautioned whoever might read his treatise to understand that the criticism was leveled not only against the laity, but also against bishops, abbots, and other clerics who themselves were misusing ecclesiastical funds to support actors, mimes, and jongleurs. They should beware, for they were depriving the church's poor of food.

By the time this book was known, Agobard was a person thoroughly unacceptable to the court party. Apparently therefore to strike a blow at him, Louis took occasion some time in 825 to grant a charter to the Jewish community in Lyons, making it mandatory for clerics to secure the consent and agreement of the owner before baptizing any slave in a Jewish household.[28]

CHAPTER SIX

EXPANDING INTERESTS

Whatever else may be said of the bishop of Lyons, he cannot be charged with narrowness of interests. The year 825 brought a new subject to his attention, the old issue of the proper devotion to be paid to the holy icons. In 787, the Seventh Ecumenical Council had approved veneration of the cross, Gospel book, pictures and images of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, angels, and saints, and other holy objects, short of the solemn *latreia* which is offered to God alone. The decrees of the council were duly reported to Pope Hadrian I, who in turn transmitted a barbarous Latin translation of them to Charlemagne. The latter peremptorily repudiated the actions, attacking both the iconoclasts and the orthodox iconodules. The Pontiff replied with a moderate defense of the council. Charlemagne, however, summoned a synod at Frankfort in 794, which obediently declared the proceedings of the Seventh Ecumenical Council to be null and void. The debate thereupon lapsed in the West for a quarter of a century.

In the East, it continued intermittently. In 824, the Byzantine emperor, Michael II, the Stammerer, sent envoys to the West to seek advice on the subject of images from the Holy Father and Louis the Pious. The result was an assembly of Frankish bishops in Paris in November, 825, attended by such notables as Freculph of Lisieux, Jeremy of Sens, Jonas of Orleans, Amalarius of Metz, and Halitgar of Cambrai, men who were to play significant roles in the life of Agobard. The

latter may also have been present. The decision was a reaffirmation of the position previously taken by Charlemagne: pictures were useful memorials, but should not be adored in a manner the same as that in which the Holy Cross was adored. So ended the Carolingian attempt to deal with a peculiarly Constantinopolitan problem. It has been truthfully remarked that the West was too much concerned about relics to show any interest in icons.

The bishop of Lyons, however, took occasion early in 826 to prepare a statement of his general agreement with the synod of Paris, his volume *Against the Superstition of Those Who Think that Worship Ought to be Offered to Pictures and Images of the Saints* (briefly, *On Images*).[1] The thought is similar to that advanced by Claudius of Turin and stalwartly opposed by Jonas of Orleans and the Irish monk Dungal. The larger portion of the treatise -- not particularly noteworthy, and indeed somewhat academic -- is a compilation of lengthy texts from Patristic authors (chiefly from Saint Augustine) defining *cultus*, *religio*, *pietas*, and *servitus*, and which belabor the point that there is no other mediator between God and man than the God-Man Jesus Christ, Who alone is worthy of religious honors.

In ancient times pictures of the Apostles and of the Lord Himself were prepared, but they were made for the sake of love and remembrance rather than for religious veneration after the manner of the heathen. But Agobard feared that even those representations might have been dangerous. "If they who have abandoned the worship of devils be permitted to venerate the likenesses of saints, they would, I think, have not so much abandoned their idols as merely to have exchanged one image for another." Agobard's only concession was made to representations of the bare cross. "O what sincere religion," he exclaims, "whenever the banner of the cross, not the likeness of the human face, is depicted!"

Since even the principle of approaching the spiritual through the world of nature was to be deemed unworthy, how much more unworthy, Agobard inquired, was it to try to approach the spiritual through the medium of material painting

and statuary, the products of human presumption. No one should expect help from the pictures he saw, whether of winged angels, preaching Apostles, or suffering martyrs, for they could do nothing either good or bad. This is the same unimaginative common sense which characterized Agobard's devasting indictment of those who believed there were men and women who controlled the weather, the same rationalism which appeared in his treatment of trial by judicial ordeal. Agobard would have completely secularized art. To him it was a legitimate independent discipline, but in no sense a "handmaiden" of theology. He shared neither the medieval belief that the arts were the Bible of the layfolk nor the modern doctrine of "audio-visual aids" in evangelism and missions.

Although his type of thought had occasional advocates for the next half-century in France,[2] it was ultimately overwhelmed, not to be revived until the eve of the great Italian Renaissance. It is difficult to surmise the effect if it had prevailed. It is possible that the emancipation of art as in the later epoch would have developed earlier. But it is more likely that art would not have developed to its heights of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, if it had not remained subservient to the technical guidance that it did receive during the four or five hundred years after Agobard. It is strange that the bishop was not troubled by the Western cult of relics; he shared that interest with his fellows.

In the year 826, Agobard reached the age of fifty-seven, when most men would have been thinking of retirement or at least of a slackening of activity. But not the chief pastor of Lyons, who was entering upon the busiest days of his life. The year had begun with his taking a definite stand upon a burning issue of the moment. There would be many such occasions, especially in the next few years. The lines were being drawn more and more closely in the Frankish empire, and the pressure toward some kind of clear answer to the issue was growing stronger.

Evidence of the tightening lines was the publication of two books, one favorable to the Emperor, the other, critical of

him. The latter was the life of Abbot Adalard of Corbie by Paschasius Radbertus.[3] The abbot had died on 2 January, 826, and was succeeded in office by his brother, Wala. The other book was a long elegiac poem, a quasi-epic, on the deeds of Louis the Pious by Ermoldus Nigellus.[4] This is of particular interest in its description of the church at Ingelheim, where in June the Danish king and queen were baptized in the presence of the Frankish court. One wonders what Agobard thought of the scenes depicted so elaborately on the walls of that church.

This was also the year in which Walafrid Strabo met Bishop Agobard and Deacon Florus and was charmed especially by the latter. His expression of admiration shows how strong the personality of the bishop was, because Walafrid and his preceptor, Rabanus Maurus, were in the camp of the Emperor's partisans. His poem also suggests the vigorous and ceaseless activity of Agobard because it mentions letters by him which have since been lost.

Perhaps it was also in 826 that Agobard wrote his letter, *On Hope and Fear*,[5] to Ebbo of Rheims, the foster-brother of the Emperor, who had returned from the mission to Denmark. Only a fragment of it remains. It begins by praising the assiduous devotion and scholarship of Ebbo, who is described as so intent on the study of Scripture that he carried a copy of it in his hands as he rode horseback through his diocese. Agobard had earlier suggested that his fellow-prelate prepare a handbook *(enchiridion)* of Biblical selections which, because of their difficulty, might serve to discourage men from overweening presumption. Ebbo had replied that Agobard himself might make a preliminary choice of passages.

Among the eternal words of Scripture containing rules of morality, discipline, virtue, work, and faith, Agobard began, there were two which were most suitable for moderating human minds, namely, hope and fear. The mill was an apt illustration; the lower stone was fear; the upper, hope. If either were lacking, flour could not be made. Both were necessary: fear tempered hope: hope tempered fear. Fear without hope caused despair; hope without fear caused pre-

sumption. The heavenly Physician wanted His creatures to use each as an antidote for the other. As the initial citation, therefore, Agobard suggested Psalm 7:3-5, which, according to the Benedictine Rule, was one of the Psalms proper to the Divine Office of Prime on Wednesdays. At this point, however, the fragmentary letter ends.

The Scriptural severity of Ebbo and Agobard seems strange when one observes the festive character of the reception of the Danish king, a gala baptismal ceremony, followed by a hunting party. The light-hearted attitude of the court also appears in the commissioning of a Venetian priest named George to construct a hydraulic organ, "after the manner of the Greeks."[6] The Emperor sent him to Aix, accompanied by Tanculf of the Imperial exchequer, so that necessary funds for the instrument might be readily available.

But there were indeed very serious matters to occupy the attention of the bishop of Lyons. The Jewish problem had again reared its head. Agobard's first move had been scornfully ignored by the palace, which had then more or less vengefully granted further privileges to the Lyonnaise Jewish community. It was not long, however, before an occasion arose to serve as a test in the conflict of canon and civil laws. A certain Jewish girl, a slave in a Jewish family in Lyons, became a convert to Christianity.[7] Her owners began to persecute her. When Agobard tried to protect the girl, they boastfully flaunted in his face the recent Imperial instrument which required their permission for baptisms. Since this was apparently the first information the bishop had about the charter, he was shocked. He did not believe -- or feigned not to believe -- that the "most Christian and most pious" Emperor Louis had authorized such a flagrant nullification of ecclesiastical law.

Securing a deposition from the girl herself about her sufferings, Agobard wrote a brief letter, *Against the Impious Command Regarding the Baptism of Jewish Slaves,* to the court officials, Archchaplain Hilduin and Abbot Wala of Corbie.[8] The latter was frequently at the palace; the other, always there.[9] The bishop reminded the functionaries that Christ's command

to baptize did not distinguish between classes of society. The Apostles had even baptized those of Nero's household without permission. But the Emperor's recent legislation aided and abetted the perfidy[10] of those who not only prevented converts from coming to Christ, but also engaged in blaspheming Christians. Although, because of sin and God's secret judgment, some people were masters and others were slaves, all men had a common origin, and the inner man was subject only to God. Why then, Agobard asked, did a cleric have to wait for the master's permission to baptize a slave?

The clergy were caught between two perils, Agobard argued: if they obeyed the Emperor's command, they offended God; if they did not, they offended the Emperor. That was especially true since the "master of the Jews" threatened to have *missi* sent to discipline the Lyonnaise clergymen. Agobard therefore begged the officials to intercede with the Emperor that he would remove the impediment, lest the souls for whom the church publicly prayed during Holy Week remain in the toils of the devil. The canons allowed a bishop, if he wished, to redeem a slave who desired baptism. The clergy would most gladly do that, concluded Agobard.

This letter shows that Agobard was aware of the crystallization of two parties in the empire; it would not be long before the schism would be brought into the open. He was also beginning to feel the weight of the Imperial disfavor, which seemed to be directed at him in a very personal way. The communication, however, caused no perceptible change in the policy of the court. In fact the situation became worse. First, there came a letter from the palace to the viscount of Lyons ordering him in the name of the Imperial Majesty to aid the Jews against Agobard.[11] Then, Evrard, the "master of the Jews," once more warned the bishop that Louis was greatly incensed because of his attitude.[12] Last, as threatened by Evrard, came two *missi*, Gerricus, the Imperial falconer, and Fredericus, who showed themselves "terrible to the Christians and mild to the Jews."[13]

Knowing that discretion was the better part of valor, Agobard avoided a meeting with the *missi*. As soon as he heard

of their approach, he left the city of Lyons for some of the outlying regions of the diocese, where he engaged in a canonical visitation of the monasteries under his care. Before he left, he sent some of his emissaries to the Imperial legates bearing a letter (now lost) stating politely that he was willing to obey anything they commanded or reported as an order of the palace.[14] He gave as a reason for not being present in the city to greet them the excuse, true enough in itself, that he was out in the countryside trying to settle a controversy which had arisen among some of his monks at the convent of Saint Peter and Saint Paul at Nantua.[15]

In the course of the canonical visitation, he came upon a number of instances of clerical negligence and corruption. He tried discreetly to correct the evils and succeeded at least externally. But there was a good deal of grumbling, complaint, and murmuring. Therefore, before he could give attention to the pressing Jewish affair, he composed a pastoral encyclical to his monks and clergy, *On the Manner of Ecclesiastical Government.*[16] He felt impelled to make known his views on church government in order to scotch any rumors that were arising. The two emphases which he stressed were the unity of the church and the importance of a worthy ministry.

The first subject he adverted to briefly by means of a mystical interpretation (*mystico sermone*) of passages from the Apocalypse, Canticles, and elsewhere on the love of Christ and the church. The lengthier portion of the treatise argued for the necessity of clerical worthiness and devotion. Whoever, having undertaken the duty of preaching and a place of authority in the church, neglected them and turned to the accumulation of riches and jewelry, to hunting and fishing, to gluttony and delicate music, was no longer a co-worker with God, but a destroyer of God's work and a co-worker with Antichrist. Although he might have seemed to be a priest in the eyes of men, he was not one in the eyes of God, said Agobard.

He who had entered the ministry of the Word not for saving people and building up the church, but to satisfy his own

will, was likened by the bishop to an adulterer who sought not children but the gratification of his own lust. It was not heretics alone who spoiled the Word of God, but also those who by means of the Sacred Ministry sought to secure worldly honors and riches, or at least daily food and shelter.

The faithful sheep sought a good shepherd, but in this mortal world, one was to be found with difficulty. It therefore behooved the sheep to tolerate the hireling sitting in Moses's seat, until the circumstance could be rectified. It was not proper for one bishop to interfere in another's diocese, but in Lyons the abbots, provosts, and priests were required by their superior faithfully to observe the precepts given in I Peter 5:1-4.

Shortly after this encyclical, still in 826 or early in 827, and still before Agobard could devote further attention to the Jewish patter, he had occasion to be talking to his fellow-prelate, Bishop Bernard of Vienne. They were deploring the contempt in which clergymen were held in their day.[17] The low degree to which many priests had fallen was well known; Agobard himself had mentioned some of the conditions in his recent admonition to his own subordinates, as well as in his book, *On the Management of Ecclesiastical Properties*, of a year or two earlier. In order to remedy the evil and to raise the esteem of the people toward their spiritual leaders, Bernard urged his friend to compile some Biblical and Patristic statements which might serve as a basis for considering the prevailing low conditions.[18] Agobard undertook to fulfil the request in a letter to Bernard, *On the Privilege and Rights of the Priesthood.*[19]

First, he showed that priesthood as such belonged to all the faithful -- an idea that was to receive extensive development in the sixteenth century -- and that whatever impediment prevented a person from being a priest would also in principle exclude him from the church. Hence the prophetic statement was true that priests could not be expected to be much better than the people.[20] It followed that the unworthiness of the priest did not cause God to reject the sacrifice offered by him for the people, although He did refuse the sacrifice offered by the priest in his own behalf.

According to the Bible, as the bishop of Lyons interpreted it, the personal character of the priest had no effect upon the validity of his sacerdotal offices. As a good priest's work might be rendered worthless by the people for whom he acted, so an evil priest's work might be blessed because of the people for whom he did it. The people were therefore exhorted not to ascribe blame to their priests but to themselves. A priest was indeed obligated to teach only what the Lord commanded, but even if he did not do so, Agobard maintained that a layman had no right to repudiate or usurp the ministerial function.

These cautious expressions seem to be a warning to the magnates that reformation of the church, although needed, was not their prerogative, as also a subtle charge that they were, at least in part, the cause of clerical corruption. The ugliness of the time, to be deplored with a flood of tears, continued Agobard, appeared in the fact that everyone who had attained temporal honor and glory felt that he must have his own domestic chaplain. In such a case the layman did not obey the priest but exacted from him unlawful as well as lawful obedience, not only in religious affairs but also in human matters. Many priests of that kind served the table, mixed the wines, cared for the dogs and horses, and collected the rents. It behooved the bishops to exercise extraordinary care in the imposition of hands, especially when a layman brought an ignorant, or even criminal, serf or vassal to be ordained as his private priest.

In these lamentable days, said Agobard, as the world grew old and as the mind of the church decayed, it was neither safe nor possible to criticize the vices of the time. (Agobard was feeling both his age and the hostility of the court.) A synod should be convened in which a diligent and faithful discussion of these matters might be undertaken. For doubtless, Agobard hoped against hope, there were still left some strong and robust fighters for God. (The description fitted the bishop of Lyons himself.) Meanwhile, the faithful layman should be reminded to venerate the sacraments zealously regardless of the character of the priests, because the sacra-

ments came from God, not from the human agent.

There were four types of priests described by Agobard: those to be loved, those to be tolerated, those to be despised, and those to be cursed. The first were those who both lived and taught uprightly; the second, those who either taught well but lived evil lives, or who lived righteously but were too ignorant to teach; the third were those who lived unrighteously but were too ignorant to teach; and the fourth, those who, whether living good or evil lives, taught heresy. In conclusion, Agobard prayed that God might so rule the rulers and govern the governors that the hierarchy might feed the flock with discipline, not with the instrumentality of an unskilled pastor.

In contrast with his usual balanced use of the Bible, Agobard in this treatise resorted to strained and meaningless allegory -- his only lapse into that luxury, probably because of the severe strain he had been under the past year. The allegory, itself innocuous enough, and derived perhaps from Origen, was probably a traditional one by the time Agobard used it. He considered it "a marvelous, an exceedingly astounding thing" that Moses and Aaron in numbering the tribe of Levi found exactly twenty-two thousand males, "just as there are twenty-two letters in the Hebrew alphabet and twenty-two inspired books in the Old Testament." In a few sentences further along, the bishop was still more amazed that in the census of all the firstborn children of Israel there were twenty-two thousand, two hundred seventy-three. For that, in addition to the symbolic number twenty-two was "a double centenary, a seven-fold denary, and single ternary, numbers most sacred in Holy Writ."

CHAPTER SEVEN

AGAINST THE JEWS

The year 827 moved along three apparently disparate but ultimately converging lines. To a certain degree, it was a year that belonged to Einhard, the "Bezaleel" in the academy of Charlemagne and his biographer, whose name has become linked to the *Annals* that are such a prime source for our knowledge of Carolingian days. Born in 770, he was only a year younger than our bishop of Lyons. A devotee of the cult of relics, he had sent his clerk to Rome to secure the bones of Saint Marcellinus and Saint Peter, which had been brought in triumph over the Alps to Mühlheim (later Seligenstadt). His account of the transfer of the relics provides many interesting and curious little sidelights on the Carolingian state in the late 820's.[1] The name of one of his servants, Roland, gives us a start -- it is the same as one of those who fell at Roncevalles. One wonders whether the lad was named for the ill-fated Margrave of Brittany. If so, to what extent had the Roland-legend progressed by 827?

Then the author tells of the unusual weather of 17 January, 827. The distorted body of a poor youth was on that day healed by the proximity of the holy relics. "And the light of that day was so great and so bright that it equalled the splendor of the summer sun; and the stillness of the air itself was so balmy and pleasant that it surpassed the season of spring with soft sunshine." There were other times of that year when the night-sky was aflame with a dazzling and frightening display of the Northern Lights, presaging war.[2]

Einhard also presents a delightful glimpse of the life of the court at Aix-la-Chapelle in 827. The archchaplain had piously stolen for the monastery of Saint Médard fragments of the relics. Einhard had not known it until, "according to the custom of Imperial officials," he came to the palace early in the morning one day in the spring. There he found Hilduin seated outside the door of the royal bedchamber awaiting Louis's rising. Having greeted him as prescribed by courtly etiquette, Einhard engaged him in conversation as they leaned against a window from which the lower part of the palace could be seen. It was then that he learned about the pious theft.

Not long afterward, a little book was miraculously inspired by the saints to whose relics Einhard was devoted. It contained matters of interest to the Emperor, recommendations that he do certain things and leave others undone. The Emperor took it and read it, but did little to accomplish the advice. The content of the little book Einhard passes over, saying that it should be set forth in another place than here -- an ominous note in so charming a story.

The suggestion of omen in Einhard's account of miracle and relics was appropriate, for Louis encountered in this year the beginning of a great lay revolt. The Saracens were being unusually vexatious: northern Spain was being devastated by them and southern France was in peril. Pippin of Aquitaine was ordered by his father to protect his boundaries. The nobles, lacking interest, dallied. In particular, two powerful magnates, Count Hugo of Tours, father-in-law of Lothair, and Count Matfred of Orleans, who had been sent to aid Pippin, proved so wilfully slothful that Barcelona, where Bernard, a favorite of the palace, was the ruler, was laid waste by the Moors. Louis was so displeased with Hugo and Matfred that in the following year he dispossessed them of their titles.[3] A similar occurrence happened in 828, when Lothair and Pippin, ordered southward to subjugate the Saracens, met, significantly enough, in Agobard's see city of Lyons, and decided not to take the threat seriously.[4] Meanwhile, the Fisherman's Throne had a new occupant, Gregory

IV, who was to play into the hands of those in disfavor with the palace. Agobard undoubtedly knew about these undercurrents, but the year 827 was marked for him almost entirely by another problem, the Jewish issue. But as matters stood, it could not be long before all those who opposed the court party for different reasons would forget their own diversities and join forces.

In the first few months of 827, Agobard finally had time to resume his consideration of the Jewish matters. The special favors, particularly the most recent one, shown by the palace to the Jews of Lyons caused Jewish pride to swell. The Jews began to boast openly that they had free access to the court, that many of the Frankish nobles besought the prayers and blessings of rabbis in preference to those of Christian priests, that in spite of Agobard's protests they were making very great profit from the sale of contaminated wine to Gentiles.[5] They took keen and insolent delight in displaying their women dressed in garments that were gifts from the Emperor's kinswomen or from the wives of some of the more important courtiers. The arrogance of the Jews mounted to such proportions that the Jews even began to threaten Christians with violence and publicly to mock the Christian faith and blaspheme the Holy Name of Jesus. Many Lyonnaise Christians became so frightened that they fled or hid themselves, or even considered the abandonment of their religion.[6]

Agobard felt that extraordinary measures were necessary to combat this outburst, that he was no longer able to deal with it alone. Accordingly, a conference was held with neighboring prelates. The result was a document, *On Jewish Superstitions,* addressed to Louis the Pious and prepared by the bishop of Lyons, his friend Bernard of Vienne, and Faof of Châlons-sur-Saône.[7] To accompany that treatise, Agobard sent a personal letter to the Emperor, *On the Insolence of the Jews.*[8]

In his own statement, Agobard reviewed the events which had taken place since his communication, *Against the Impious Command.* He defended himself by saying that the only charge which could be leveled at him was that he had merely

urged Christians not to sell Christian slaves to Jews, nor permit the Jews themselves to send Christians to Spain for sale, nor allow Jews to hire Christian domestic servants -- all in order that Christian serving-women might not be hampered in their religious duty by having to work on Sundays, eat meat during Lent, and participate in Jewish ceremonies. He had indeed urged the strictest observance of segregation, but at no time anything more than that. He had even stated in a public address or sermon: "Because the Jews live among us, we ought not to be unkind to them, nor in any way inimical to their life, health, or accumulation of wealth."

Suspecting that the Emperor might not know how harmful the Jews were to Christianity, Agobard mentioned some examples of their practice. It was their custom, he said, to sell the Christians the meat they considered unclean, meat which they even called "Christian flesh." Similarly, he said, they sold wine that had been contaminated with filth, and that, contrary to law, they were erecting new synagogues (which, incidentally, indicated their flourishing economic condition). Simple Christians, he continued, were being deceived into thinking that the rabbis preached better sermons than the Christian presbyters. The market-day, said Agobard, had even been changed from Saturday to Sunday out of regard for the Jewish sabbath.

Just as this letter was being completed, Agobard added in a postscript, a runaway slave from Cordova reported that as a lad he had been stolen by a Jew of Lyons twenty-four years before (803) and sold to Spanish Moslems.[9] He also reported that he had escaped only the current year (827) in company with another man who had been stolen in Arles six years before (821). Upon inquiry, said Agobard, it was found that others had suffered similar experiences, that, indeed, such an incident had occurred during the year 827, and that it had also been discovered that many Christians had been sold by other Christians to the Jews for unmentionable purposes too shameful to be recorded.

The letter of the three prelates, *On Jewish Superstitions*, begins with a series of quotations from the Fathers and councils of the church, inculcating the doctrine that it was of grave peril for Christians to associate with Jews, who, being "the vessels of the devil," were to be abhorred far more than infidels, unbelievers, and heretics. After the Patristic citations comes an analysis of many of the Jewish teachings. In this, Agobard and his fellow-bishops indicated their knowledge of "works like the *Otiot* of Rabbi Akiba and the *Hekalot...*," as well as acquaintance "with the material in the *Sefer Yezirah...*, or *Book of Creation*, one of the classics of Cabalistic literature, and the *Shi'ur Komah....*" The information may have been drawn directly from the Hebrew books or indirectly from the heretical works which echo these writings.[10] Or the prelates may simply have heard of the strange doctrines from Jewish leaders, for, they asserted, "We have heard these erroneous mysteries from their own lips in our almost daily conversations with them."

For instance, the bishops said that the Jews believed that God was corporeal and that the human body had been made quite literally in the divine likeness, except for one detail: the fingers of men were flexible, whereas the fingers of God were rigid and could not be bent. The letters of the alphabet, they said, had existed from eternity, and the law of Moses had been written many eons before the foundation of the world. The Jews professed, continued the bishops, to believe that there were many earths, many hells, and many heavens, that of the last-named, one was called *Racha* and another *Araboth*, and that God had seven trumpets, one of which measured a thousand cubits. There was no page of the Old Testament, the bishops insisted, which had not been garbled by the Jews.

Moreover, the bishops continued, the Jews said that Jesus was only an honorable youth reared by John the Baptist and followed by a number of disciples, to one of whom He gave the name of Cephas because of the density of his intellect; that on a certain feast day the boys of His school, out of

respect for their Teacher, had sung to Him, "Hosanna to the Son of David!"; that at last, accused of many lies, He had been imprisoned by Tiberius because Tiberius's daughter had given birth to a stone although Jesus had promised that she would without male intervention produce a son; that Jesus had been condemned as a wretched magician and hanged on a cross (*furca*), where He had been killed by a stone thrown at His head; that His body had been buried near an aqueduct; that a Jew had been set to guard the grave; that on the first night the body had been washed away by a sudden freshet; that in an effort to recover the body, Pilate had commanded to be made a search which after a year-long duration had completely failed; that Pilate, therefore, had proclaimed that Jesus, according to promise, had risen from the dead and that Pilate had ordered that divine honors be offered to Him; that the Jews, furthermore, were teaching that Peter had not been delivered from prison by an angel, but by the clemency of Herod; that Christians worshipped idols and that those things which seemed to have been obtained by the intercession of the saints had come in reality from the devil.

Agobard and his associates cited a number of passages from Scripture. Those from the Old Testament were such as commanded the chosen people to refrain from eating or associating with polluted persons. These were interpreted as being applicable to Christians. The selections from the New Testament were those which show Christ and His followers as turning from Israel to the Gentiles. The dramatic curses at Ebal were considered as referring to the Jews in all possible circumstances. The bishops concluded that all the errors of Antichrist were evidently at hand and they prayed that the most religious Emperor would command some of his officials to restrain those things which were known by the church to be the works of Antichrist.

The attitude of Louis was not affected by these two letters, if indeed they ever reached him, and he remained well disposed toward the Jews. Agobard, in his first two letters regarding the baptism of Jewish slaves, had pleaded his case before court officials on strictly legal grounds. On the failure

of this method of argumentation, he had appealed in two letters directly to the Emperor, basing his position on the perilous situation of the Christians in the face of intolerable Jewish arrogance and the increasing blasphemy of Jewish doctrines. When this, too, proved of no avail and there seemed to be no hope of Imperial assistance, he made one last effort to remedy the condition; he addressed an appeal to a fellow-bishop, Nibridius of Narbonne, in his *Exhortatory Epistle on Avoiding Eating and Associating with Jews.*[11]

In the brief note, Agobard stated that he was writing only because distance and the unsettled conditions of the time prevented his coming to Narbonne for a personal conference, as he would have preferred to do. He reported that he had been making a pastoral visitation of his diocese, urging the Christians to observe the canonical statutes forbidding association with infidels, heathen, and Jews. He had discovered that many Christians were observing the sabbath with the Jews and were working on Sunday, and that Christian servant girls were being corrupted by their Jewish masters. After hearing the Jews insolently boasting of their ancestry, the rustic Christians were being misled into thinking of them as the only people of God.

Although Agobard had tried diligently to correct the evil, certain *missi* and Evrard, the "master of the Jews," had overthrown his work by deadly commands. Wherefore he bade Nibridius to stand firmly upon the rock of ecclesiastical observance. "Hold whom you can," he says, "frighten whom you can." Agobard pleaded that Nibridius transmit the letter to neighboring bishops and other clerics in order that the whole church might labor together to remove the evil, for the entire effort could stand or fall with the bishop of Narbonne.

Unfortunately, Nibridius died shortly after the writing of this letter, and thus ended Agobard's active campaign against the Jews of his day. It is clear that he was not actuated simply by intolerance. There were at least three elements in the ninth-century picture which seemed to him to be a serious threat to Christianity. First, the Imperial attempt to supersede canon law by secular law was a challenge to the Christian

conscience which demands that "we must obey God rather than man." Secondly, the ability of non-Christians to prevent the administration of baptism was a challenge to the universality of Christianity. Thirdly, for a slave to be denied Christian privileges was a challenge to the doctrine of brotherhood. Whether the ninth-century Jews were as arrogant and hateful as the bishop portrays them cannot be determined, but, even when one takes into account Agobard's warm zeal for his religion, there seems to be no reason to doubt his statements.

Agobard's anti-Jewish propaganda well illustrates the futility of calling the ninth century an "age of faith." The Jews were militant proselytizers and many Christians became apostates from their own religion. His other treatises also show the prevalence of the old folk-religion. Even in Carolingian days, it required constant and vigilant effort to be a loyal Christian.

It is possible that Agobard's letter, *Deploring Injustices,* [12] addressed to Count Matfred of Orleans, late in 827 or very early in 828, may have reference to the Jewish situation, although it is not directly mentioned. The bishop began by flattering Matfred and by telling him that he was destined before the foundation of the world for the high place of honor and power he now held in the Frankish realm. For that reason, Agobard wished him to be aware that many people, especially in the area around Lyons, no longer feared the Emperor or the laws. They boasted that if a case concerning them should by chance reach the palace, it could be disposed of by bribery. All that Saint Cyprian, whose remains rested in Lyons, said of pagan days was true in the wretched age of Agobard, so the bishop thought: judges could be bought, sentences remitted, innocent ones made to suffer.

Many even looked upon Matfred himself as a "wall" between them and punishment. Agobard admitted that he made such a statement with timidity, but he urged the official rather to be a wall for the protection of the innocent and for the punishment of the wicked. In Lyons justice and equity were diligently administered by Count Bertmund, but there

were other functionaries who should be corrected. Agobard declined to mention them by name, but begged Matfred to use his influence with the Emperor as a great spiritual talent in behalf of justice.

The letter is extremely vague. Agobard was probably trying to arouse the suspicion of the palace against the civil officers of the Lyons district. If that was the purpose, the communication was of no avail, for Matfred was soon afterward dismissed from the court circle.

CHAPTER EIGHT

COURT GOSSIP

The dismissal of Hugo and Matfred from their places of high influence at the palace made them the nucleus of the wave of opposition to Louis that was about to break over the empire. A few months later, the Emperor's sons, Lothair and Pippin, had also ignored their father's order to defend the southern boundaries of the Carolingian state. It may be significant that their decision came while they were visiting in Lyons, where Agobard had just ended his acrimonious contention with the Emperor about the Jews and where the resentment over the control of church property was bitterest.

During the Lenten season of 829, a severe earth-tremor had shaken and damaged the Imperial residence at Aix-la-Chapelle, portending fearful days for the Frankish state.[1] At the diet of Worms that summer, Louis the Pious made a fateful and provocative decision. Although he had already provided for the succession in 817 and had allotted the empire into three portions to his sons, Lothair, Louis the German, and Pippin of Aquitaine, he now upset that constitution, by taking some of the lands assigned to Lothair and Louis and declaring it to be the heritage of his child by Judith, the six-year-old Charles. Two of the older sons, who were present at Worms when that was done, were immediately aroused by the action. In indignation, their brother Pippin promptly joined their side and the schism of the empire was in the open.

Also present at the council was Count Bernard of Barcelona, a refugee from the Saracen terror, a noble of royal stock, great-grandson of Charles Martel, godson of Louis the Pious, and nephew of the courtier Wala. It was he whose lands Matfred, Hugo, Lothair, and Pippin had refused to defend. Shortly after the diet, the Emperor committed his second mistake of the year by appointing Bernard as his Imperial chamberlain, the second official of the realm after the Emperor, and by giving him the custody of the young Prince Charles.[2] This he did partly to erect a barrier against the net of intrigue which Louis knew was closing about him.[3] The count began to fill the palace with new men, the brothers of the Empress Judith and his own relatives. The older functionaries, such as Archchaplain Hilduin and Chancellor Helisachar, though not replaced, were quietly superseded in influence by the vigorous personality of Bernard, and they, therefore, soon found themselves in the camp of the anti-court partisans. The only personal friend Bernard had among the older group was his uncle, Wala, but even he was shocked by the new turn of events.

It was not long before the realm was reeking with the stench of what was happening at court. Paschasius Radbertus relays the gossip over eleven hundred years: "The palace has become a brothel where adultery is mistress and an adulterer is king. Unnameable things are done, and sorcery, such as I believed no longer existed, is practiced. It is said by everyone that no manner of evil is left undone."[4] Even biographers favorable to Louis the Pious admitted the Imperial error. "The introduction of Bernard into the palace household," says the anonymous Astronomer, "did not destroy the hotbed of discord, but rather augmented it."[5] And Nithard adds, "While Bernard, throwing caution to the winds, was taking advantage of the government which he should have strengthened, he was surreptitiously subverting it."[6] The beautiful Judith was the woman in this affair, and her next child, born in 830 or 831, was suspected of being the child of the dashing and daring count of Barcelona.[7]

No doubt the bishop of Lyons was as shocked as others at

these rumors, but it is surprising that for four years he said nothing about them. When he did speak, it was with characteristic vehemence. But why, we may ask, was he silent in the year 829? One answer may be, "Discretion": since he had just completed two rancorous controversies with the court on the question of the Jews and on the control of ecclesiastical properties, he may have felt that it would be wiser and more advantageous to keep quiet for a while. However, there actually were other matters which for the moment ostensibly demanded his attention.

During the octave of Pentecost, 829, Agobard, now at the venerable age of sixty, had to preside over a provincial assembly of bishops and their suffragans, including Bernard of Vienne, Andreas of Tarentaise, Benedict of Aix, and Agericus of Embrun. Three other such synods were held at the same time in Mainz, Paris, and Toulouse. The purpose was to take action for the reform of the church. The records of the meeting at Lyons are lost, but the discussions at all four of the synods are probably incorporated in the two works by Jonas of Orleans, *On the Lay Constitution* and *On the Royal Constitution,* published respectively in 830 and 834.

Meanwhile, some strange things were happening to the south and southwest of Lyons, particularly at Uzès, where the relics of Saint Firminus, a sixth-century bishop, were venerated. Great numbers of people were suffering from seizures after the manner of epilepsy. Other symptoms also appeared: marks similar to sulphur burns were erupting on the bodies of the victims. No one was dying with the affliction, but neither was any one being cured. Popular opinion attributed the unknown ailment to demonic possession. As a consequence, men and women of all ages, stricken with an irrational terror, were flocking to certain shrines, making propitiatory offerings of gold, silver, cattle, and farm products.

Bishop Elefantus of Uzès, knowing Agobard's interest in such manifestations of folk-paganism, reported the occurrences to him. The demonstrations spread and soon came to the attention of Bartholomew, the new bishop of Narbonne,

successor to Nibridius. Deeply concerned over the outbreak of the old religion, he also communicated with the bishop of Lyons, confirming the account given by Elefantus and elaborating on it. It was therefore urgent that Agobard make some sort of reply.

He immediately consulted his most brilliant cleric, the learned young deacon, Florus, now in his late twenties, and a priest named Hildegisus. The three composed a letter, *On the Illusion of Certain Signs,* and transmitted it to Bishop Bartholomew.[8] It was true, they intimated cautiously, that such exhibitions were permitted by God, for according to many passages in Scripture, He had often used means like these to compel men to be converted. The devil might indeed have been a secondary cause of the occurrences, but in such a case he was merely the servant of God. Nevertheless, the Evil One was to be resisted at all times, and hearts should be lifted up to the fear of God alone. In regard to these particular manifestations, the prelate and clerics of Lyons believed that the people had lost their wits and were deceived by their terror. They would do far better if they gave their offerings to the poor and the pilgrims, and came for healing to the presbyters to be anointed with holy oil.

There was one other matter to distract Agobard's attention from the ugly gossip about the court. In late 829, he became the object of an odious theological attack by the abbot of Tours, the Anglo-Saxon Fredegisus, Alcuin's beloved "Nathanael" and successor. As supervisor of the *scriptorium* used by the Imperial chancery, the abbot ranked as a palace official and would in fact succeed Chancellor Helisachar later. It is therefore not too rash to suppose that the theological attack on the hitherto most articulate clerical critic of court policy was in reality a smoke-screen to cover up the notorious doings at Aix.

By a microscopic inspection of Agobard's publications, Fredegisus claimed to have discovered four points on which he considered the bishop of Lyons to be mistaken. He therefore compiled and issued a pamphlet charging him with serious error in deeming a man to be a sinner if he expressed humility,

in identifying God with truth, in calling the Old Testament patriarchs Christians, and in interpreting Scripture rather freely. The book by the abbot of Tours is not extant, indeed only one fragment remains from his pen, a vague, early letter to the nobles of Charlemagne's household, *On Nothing and Darkness.* But in his quite respectful and deferential answer to the criticism, Agobard quotes copiously from Fredegisus's remarks.

About the beginning of 830, Agobard issued the reply he felt bound to make, *Against the Objections of Abbot Fredegisus.*[9] The first charge was answered briefly by intimating that it had a Pelagian flavor. Perhaps the bishop of Lyons was humorously reminding the Anglo-Saxon of his fellow-islander, the famous British heretic. Of the second, Agobard was convinced that the abbot was merely making a joke *(jocando et ridendo).* To the third objection, Agobard offered the challenge that to say there were no Christians before Christ was equivalent to saying that there was a time when Christ was not -- the heresy of Paul of Samosata. All have been justified by faith in Christ; the patriarchs looked to future events, and the Franks to past; they were anointed with an invisible spiritual chrism, and the latter with the visible water of baptism.

The most interesting section of the volume is the part provoked by Fredegisus's charge that he had to protect Holy Scripture from the bishop's unskilled handling and misrepresentation. According to Agobard, a defense had been prepared where none was needed. There are errors of grammar in the Bible, not because of ignorance, but for the sake of accomodation. Number and gender, for instance, cannot be exactly translated. As an example, Agobard reminded Fredegisus that the word *sin* was masculine in Hebrew, feminine in Greek, and neuter in Latin. It was the sense, not the words, that should be of concern.

Fredegisus, so Agobard said, did far greater injustice to Scripture when he equated translators and commentators with Apostles and evangelists, and when he implied that words were formed in the mouth of the prophets in the same way as

that in which articulate words were formed in the mouth of Balaam's ass. The importance of Scripture lay neither in the beauty of the language nor in the grandeur of its philosophy, but in the divine mysteries and doctrines. If the Holy Spirit had given all the authors of the Bible equally an outwardly beautiful style, why, asked Agobard, was Saint Paul more eloquent in his epistle to the Hebrews than elsewhere?[10]

Agobard's time was also occupied by attention to the pastoral duty of preaching. Only one of his sermons is extant, and it probably belongs to the year 829 or 830.[11] It is general, not related to any specific day of the Christian calendar, heavily laden with Scriptural quotations, and highly discursive. Reminding his flock of the constant nearness of Christ in terms reminiscent of Saint Patrick's *Lorica*, Agobard pleads, "It is not necessary for you to go on pilgrimages from one place to another, from our land to another country, to look for the Lord." In that subtle censure of an increasingly common practice of the Middle Ages, we hear the usual common sense of the bishop of Lyons.

Three major doctrines of the church are presented in the sermon: first, the Trinity, which Agobard expounds in phrases not only from Scripture but also from the liturgy, from the Athanasian and Nicene creeds, and from the Preface; secondly, the Incarnation, with quotations of *Agnus Dei* and *Gloria Patri*, and a phrase which possibly anticipates the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, in which he mentions the Blessed Virgin as specially prepared and protected for the birth of Christ[12]; thirdly, the Universal Unity of the Elect as members Christ's Mystical Body, in which there are no diversities of race, sex, or condition, and in which both angels and men participate. "This," says the bishop, "is the faith of the Catholic church." The last doctrine was certainly the basis of his political faith in the unity of the Frankish empire.

But over against this Blessed Oneness, there was another, a hostile body, the unity of demons and the damned under their head, Antichrist. (We may wonder whether Agobard was thinking of the troubles of the Carolingian state.) The ultimate doom of this body was, according to the bishop, "death

without death, end without end, and cessation without cessation, for that death is ever alive, that end is ever beginning, that cessation knows not how to cease" — a passage from the *Moralia* of Pope Gregory the Great.

In this world, there was war between these two bodies, continued Agobard. Those who have been marked with the sign of salvation were indeed to fight, but not with carnal weapons. Persecution, however bitter, was to be met with with patient endurance; attacks on the faith were to be answered by the authority of the Bible and reason; and temptations were to be defeated by hard work, abstinence, continence, and vigils. In conclusion, the preacher exhorted his hearers to be courageous; to trust in God; and, above all, to pray earnestly and constantly for themselves, for the Christian community, and for all men. Thus they would pass through fire and water and come to a place of refreshment, where there were no torments of enmity and harm, but only eternal rest and quiet.

CHAPTER NINE

THE FIRST REVOLT

The effect of the action at the diet of Worms, 829, was almost instantaneous. A closely-knit web of conspiracy was quickly woven, involving both clerical and lay magnates, the most notable and powerful in the realm, Archchaplain Hilduin, Bishop Jesse of Amiens, Count Hugo of Tours, Count Matfred of Orleans, Abbot Helisachar, Gotefrid, Wala, and many others. An opportunity to act arose in April, 830, while Louis the Pious was trying to organize an expedition against the Bretons. Wala intimated to King Pippin of Aquitaine that the movement was in reality against him. Pippin therefore joined the other malcontents at Verberie.

There the great lords drew up a statement of their complaint against the government. It was a formidable list of charges: the violation of the constitution of 817, the insolence of Bernard of Barcelona, the setting aside of the older councillors, the incestuous and adulterous relations of Judith and Bernard, and sorcery. Louis the Pious hastened back to Aix, having already warned Bernard, who fled for safety to Barcelona. Judith was left at Aix, while the Emperor went to face the insurgents at Compiègne. Judith, however, fearing to remain at Aix, moved to Laon, where she was made a prisoner by some of the more impetuous magnates.

The diet at Compiègne was held in May. Lothair arrived in order to protect his interests. Judith was forced to take the veil and was committed to the convent of Saint Radegund at

Poitiers. Her brothers, Conrad and Rudolf, were tonsured and sent for safe-keeping to monasteries in Aquitaine. Bernard had already escaped, but his brother, Heribert, was captured, blinded, and sent under guard to an Italian prison. Lothair caused monks to be assigned to try to persuade Louis to abandon the crown and enter a monastery.

The shrewd old Emperor, however, soon persuaded one of the monks to undertake a dangerous mission for him by dangling the position of Imperial chamberlain before him. Under the pretext of religious interests, therefore, Guntbald, Louis's agent, secretly approached Lothair's brothers, Pippin and Louis the German, with a promise that their holdings would be enlarged if they would aid the old Emperor to escape and join him against their brother Lothair. The intrigue was successful, especially among the followers of Louis the German, who had remained aloof from the transactions at Compiegne.

By the autumn diet at Nimwegen, Louis the Pious was back in power. Lothair hurriedly submitted and swore never again to commit seditious acts. Judith and her brothers were released from monastic confinement and returned to the court. Wala was placed under guard, and Hilduin was banished. Bishop Jesse of Amiens was deposed. Punitive action was continued at the diet of Aix in February, 831. The conspirators were condemned to death, but the Emperor commuted the sentences. Hilduin was deprived of his three abbacies, Saint Médard, Saint Denis, and Saint Germain; Wala was imprisoned; Matfred and Helisachar were exiled. Lothair was reduced to the status of being merely king of Italy. And finally the Empress Judith was cleared by compurgation of the charges against her.[1]

Agobard's part in this entire affair is shrouded in obscurity. Undoubtedly sympathetic with the party opposed to Louis the Pious, he was able to dissemble. In any case his name does not appear in the cabal. Evidence of his wariness appears in the fact that he was not only not punished, but also rewarded; he was appointed to succeed Hilduin, at least in a titular capacity, as abbot of Saint Médard, a monas-

tery in which his interest was strong because it was there that his beloved predecessor, Leidrad, had spent his last days. Agobard retained that office until 834. Louis the Pious may have considered him as less dangerous than other leaders of the realm.

It is strangely unaccountable that the turmoil of the empire seems to have passed over Agobard. Perhaps Agobard felt that he had already been troublesome enough to the court. Or he may simply have been too busy with other affairs. We do have one glimpse of him in November, 830, in the city of Langres, where he subscribed to a charter in favor of the monastery of Bèze.[2] Yet it was not to be long before he would again be articulate.

By May, 831, Louis the Pious was generously — even weakly — granting many pardons. Hilduin was restored to one of his former abbacies, that of Saint Denis. In August, Bernard of Barcelona swore his innocence, but Louis wisely and discreetly did not return him to high place in the Imperial government. Louis's sagacity, however, was not long-lasting. In the latter part of 831, he dropped from use in official documents the name of Lothair as co-Emperor, which had appeared with his ever since 817, and mutterings of revolt were heard once more in the land.

Agobard, although now sixty-two years old, retained an acute sense of observation. Aware of the undercurrent of discontent, he decided to risk an outspoken utterance. Therefore, very late in 831, he addressed a *Tearful Letter on the Division of the Empire of the Franks Among the Sons of the Emperor Louis,*[3] "to the most glorious Lord Emperor Louis," calling himself "Agobard, a humble servant," and saying that each believer owed sincere loyalty to every other believer, but expecially to kings, and that it was particularly important that a faithful prelate inform the ruler of imminent danger.

His Majesty should be aware, said the bishop, that many of his subjects were murmuring against him, and that, in spite of oaths, were sorrowfully withdrawing their allegiance. He asked the Emperor whether he recalled that time in 817

when he made public the arrangement for the succession which he had planned with his advisers, and reminded him that he had said then that it was necessary for the stability of the realm on account of the frailty of human life. He also reminded the Emperor that he had asked the magnates for their consent, since what affected the government should be the concern of all, and also mentioned the fact that the Emperor, after a solemn *triduum* of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving, had apportioned the empire among his three sons, but that he might preserve its unity he had made only one a colleague in the Imperial title. Louis had even secured Papal approval; and all his vassals had willingly taken the oath to preserve the constitution, and thereafter all official letters and communications had borne the names of both co-Emperors, the bishop told him.

At this time, fourteen years later, Agobard continued, the Emperor had without reason or advice omitted the name of Lothair. He recalled His Majesty's attention to the fact that what he had originally accomplished with God's aid, he was at this time repudiating without God's consent. Agobard begged his liege not to tempt God, but to face Him in penitence. He prayed that God would remove from the Emperor's heart his rejection of the inspiration of God, and urged him, above all, to beware of certain men who were following only their own proud spirits. A struggle between the Emperor and his sons, the bishop told him, was again at hand, and no one, he said, could number the evils which would accompany such a strife. He appealed to the judgment of the Emperor by telling him that if he desired, he could live a quiet and peaceful life with his sons, as his father and grandfather had lived with their sons. He begged Louis to heed and weigh his lowly advice.

The tone of the *Tearful Letter* is cautious and yet ominous. There is in it an intimation that the Emperor might again have to do penance, as he did once before at Attigny. That subtle reminder must have stung Louis the Pious; it did seem ungrateful, for in the revolt of 830, Agobard, having not openly taken sides, had been rewarded for his neutrality.

Now, however, it seems that he was seeking still greater power by forewarning the Emperor of impending danger or by preparing to take a positive stand with the future revolutionaries who might be victorious. Apparently, the bishop was beginning to feel that public opinion would be with him, as, so it seems, it had not been during his controversies with the Jews and in the question affecting the control of ecclesiastical properties.

The events of 832 proved that Agobard had correctly evaluated the state of affairs or impending circumstances, for even though a brief but unsuccessful revolt by Louis the German was settled without actual warfare, more serious was a full-scale revolt in Aquitaine inspired by Pippin, who was still smarting from earlier injuries. In response to the latter event, Louis took a peculiarly provocative step by depriving Pippin of the kingship of Aquitaine and assigning it to the nine-year-old Charles, and then, precipitately, both Louis the Pious and Pippin summoned their armies and prepared to launch an open war, which was delayed until the next spring only on account of the unusually severe winter, the heavy rains and the freezing cold, all of which rendered impossible effective movement of cavalries and baggage-trains.[4]

CHAPTER TEN

THE SECOND REVOLT

As the spring of 833 drew near, Lothair and Louis the German, fearing treatment relative to their lands similar to that which Pippin had received, cast their lot with their brother and raised their armies to join him in revolt against their father. The Emperor, being thus faced with the largest threat yet offered to him, girded for the onslaught. Most of the magnates, both lay and clerical, threw their strength into the camp of the three brothers. But apparently a significant number of the bishops of Gaul remained loyal to Louis the Pious.

Lothair, who had not yet left Italy, therefore appealed to Pope Gregory IV to use his influence against the old Emperor. It required a great deal of persuasion, but Gregory finally yielded on the ground that he might be able to prevent the war and cause a peaceful settlement.[1] Together with Lothair, he moved northward over the Alps as soon as the weather permitted. During the Paschal season, between Easter (13 April) and Pentecost (1 June), the Pontiff issued a pastoral letter urging all Christians to fast and pray for peace and concord.[2] Another letter was dispatched to those Frankish churchmen who stood by the Emperor; it was a vigorous protestation of the unity of the church under the Papacy and the supremacy of the Papal over Imperial authority.[3]

Louis the Pious promptly challenged the right of Gregory IV even to enter Frankland without an Imperial invitation.[4] He

feared not only the spiritual influence of the Pope, but also the possibility that the Holy Father might provide more physical and material evidence of hostility. When Agobard, who may have been momentarily hesitant, observed the impressive show of popular, spiritual, and military might, he decided to take an overt stand against the Emperor, whom he now no longer feared. The declaration of his position came boldly enough in a dramatic defense of the Pope's right to appear in Gaul without Imperial approval or permission.

Shortly after the Papal letter to the Gaulish bishops, and still in the Paschal season, Agobard addressed to the "most clement, most Christian, and most praiseworthy Louis" the treatise, *A Comparison of Ecclesiastical and Political Government and Wherein the Dignity of the Church Outshines the Majesty of Empires.*[5] The Emperor had ordered both the military and ecclesiastical powers to unite in the suppression of the rising commotions, the former to use force, the latter, persuasion. As justice should be the purpose of arms, the bishop stated, so should truth be the object of words. Hence, in obedience to the Imperial command, Agobard asserted that he must humbly point to the Emperor himself as the real root of the trouble.

By a series of Patristic citations, the prelate showed the necessity of compliance with the ordinances of the Holy See. The Pope was in the Carolingian commonwealth at that time, Agobard observed, not to fight but to labor for the peace and quiet of the people and the Emperor. His presence was both reasonable and opportune, because he came to restore the constitution of 817, which was originally accomplished by the will of the Emperor with the consent of the magnates and with the confirmation of the Apostolic Throne. To change what had received such universal approval could not be done without grave peril and without guilt of soul, the bishop pleaded. Agobard was aware of a difference among the high clergy of the Frankish state, and so he urged his most pious lord not to divide the church itself, as he had divided the empire, by causing a schism among the churchmen. He may even have been suggesting that Louis abdicate and enter a

monastery, when he begged the Emperor to show the world that he loved the heavenly and permanent kingdom more than he loved the earthly and transitory kingdom.

The appeal to the superior authority of the Holy See was insufficient to prevent the steady movement toward warfare. After Pentecost, according to Carolingian custom, the armies began to advance in the direction of Colmar. The bishop of Lyons, now definitely on the side of the sons and probably accompanying their troops, issued a formal "Manifesto," an impassioned defense of Lothair, Pippin, and Louis the German against their father, together with a plea that the empire sustain them.[6] In a sense, it is Agobard's own paean of anticipated victory. He had struggled in vain against Louis the Pious during the previous decade in regard to the Jews and the control of church property. He had met with rebuff after rebuff at the hands of the court and the court party. He had then been forced to hide his true convictions under the mask of neutrality and even aquiescence during the first revolt. But he was to be a free man once more. The palace opposition to him was now confronted by a mighty army. No longer did he have to conceal his true feelings. As a consequence, his "Manifesto" is a defiant and devastating indictment of the old Emperor and his second wife, the beautiful but brazen Judith.

It is addressed not to one person or a group, but to the whole world, "Hear this, all ye nations; let the earth and its fulness hear, from the rising of the sun to its going down, from the land of the north wind to the Mediterranean! Know that the sons of the Lord Emperor Louis have been and are justly indignant! Know that they are determined to purge their father's palace of sordid filth and evil factions and the realm of most bitter and tumultuous unrest!"

There was a time, Agobard continued, when Louis remained quietly at home, cherishing his young wife and performing his marital duties toward her. But as the days passed and his powers became less vigorous and finally cold, that woman turned to lasciviousness, at first secretly, but soon shamelessly. At the beginning only a few knew about this, then

many, and finally everyone in the palace, in the kingdom, and in the whole world. Youths laughed; old men grieved; the magnates judged it to be intolerable. So the sons of the Emperor were inflamed with a reasonable zeal, seeing the stain on their father's bed, the sordid filth of the court, the confusion of the realm, and the name of the Franks, hitherto so bright, now darkened throughout the earth. With one accord they rose up. Some of the objectionable ones were taken prisoner; others fled; the authoress of the evils was driven from the palace and shut up in a convent. Thus they restored their father to quiet and to some portion of honor. But by blandishments and flattery that woman regained admission to the court, and under her baleful influence, Louis's heart was hardened against his sons.

Confusion became the order of the day, continued Agobard. Originally allegiance was pledged to the old Emperor, and then at his bidding, to the younger co-Emperor Lothair. Some were bound by an additional oath to Louis the German. Finally almost all were compelled to swear fealty to a child. What an abyss of foolishness! Instead of sending armies against foreigners, the Frankish government was now distraught with internal strife. In the Mass of the Presanctified, Agobard reminded his readers, prayer was offered that barbarians might be subject to the Most Christian Emperor, not that his subjects be disturbed and barbarized by him.

It was said, the bishop intimated, that some clergymen approved the actions of the mistress of the older Emperor. Some of them insisted that she was not a quarrelsome woman, but sweet and courteous. But, asked Agobard, was that not a quarrelsome woman who aroused good sons against a good father and who because of her beauty was illicitly loved by another man? All those who feared God, the king, and the kingdom were therefore exhorted by Agobard to make every effort to expunge the infamy, if possible without the shedding of blood.

By Summer Saint John's Day, 833, the armies of the Emperor and of his sons faced each other in Alsace at Rotfeld near Colmar. But, as Agobard had pleaded, no fighting was done.

Lured by bribery or persuaded by Papal eloquence, most of Louis's troops deserted to the opposing side and six days later the old Emperor was compelled to surrender. In commemoration of the treachery there, the place was for a long time thereafter called by the ignominious name of the Field of Lies.[7] Lothair resumed the reins of government, confirmed the original division of the empire, and summoned a diet to meet at Compiègne in October. Louis the Pious was detained under strict guard at the monastery of Saint Médard, where Agobard was titular abbot. The Empress Judith was carried prisoner to Tortona in Italy, and the young Charles was kept at Prüm. Pope Gregory IV returned to Rome, grieving at what was in part his own triumph, while the Emperor Lothair, with gay abandon, spent the remainder of the summer hunting.[8]

At the appointed time the diet assembled. The prelates, under the presidency of Ebbo of Rheims, who had been suckled at the same breast with Louis the Pious, sought daily to induce the old Emperor to become a penitent and renounce the crown. The latter was reminded of all his faults and misdeeds, especially the brutal maltreatment which he had inflicted upon his nephew, Bernard, seventeen years before, and for which he had already done penance in 822. Finally, however, conscience-stricken, he was persuaded; before the high altar of Agobard's Abbey of Saint Médard, he declared himself no longer worthy of the Imperial dignity. He was thereupon stripped of his regalia, compelled to put on the sackcloth of a penitent, and taken into custody. It was a doubly significant day in Western history; not only was an anointed ruler kneeling abjectly before the same prince of the church who had once witnessed the anointing in his own cathedral, but also an aristocrat of the noblest blood of Gaul was cringing before a priest who came of the humblest servile stock of the empire.

The assembled bishops, in the name of the council of Compiègne, published a narrative concerning the disposal of Louis.[9] Near the end of the document, it was noted that each bishop had also individually prepared a statement for the Emperor Lothair, affirming the action of the council. Ago-

bard's certificate is extant.[10] In this brief but important summary of the proceedings, Agobard characterized the diet as composed of "most reverend bishops, most eminent magnates, together with a number of abbots and counts and people of all ages and dignity, presided over by the most serene and glorious Lothair, Emperor and devotee of Christ the Lord." The purpose of the assembly was to take counsel for the present and future estate of the empire, which had been suffering from Louis's negligence and cowardice. Agobard said that the assembly first looked to the stability and solidarity of the realm; then it turned to Louis's soul. After solicitous and prolonged exhortation, Louis ultimately confessed his unworthiness, begged for pardon, and did public penance.

After the close of the assembly, about mid-November, Agobard wrote *An Apology for the Sons of Louis the Pious Against Their Father.*[11] It is a defense of the action at Compiègne and an expression of gratitude for the new constitution. Repeating much that he had said earlier in the "Manifesto," especially about the disgraceful Judith, the bishop hoped that the settlement of the commotion at that time would be an occasion of thanksgiving to Almighty God. As Samson, because of penitence, was allowed to finish an ignominious life gloriously, so should the erstwhile Emperor, who, deceived also by a woman, had lost an earthly and temporal kingdom, take care not to lose the heavenly and eternal kingdom. But the former ruler should not be compared with unfaithful kings, even if he did permit himself to be led astray by an evil woman. God was indeed already blessing him, Agobard concluded, in that he had been succeeded not by a hostile invader, but by a devoted son.

For a brief moment, it seemed that the Frankish commonwealth might have peace, but the second rebellion of the three sons was no more lasting in its results than the first had been. During the winter of 833-834, sentiment began to turn in favor of Louis the Pious. The writings of Rabanus Maurus in particular may have helped to arouse a change of spirit in Germany, as well as the fact that the younger Louis had

only four years earlier married the sister of Judith. And from Germany, Louis's illegitimate half-brother, the faithful Archbishop Drogo of Metz, went to Pippin in Aquitaine and incited him against Lothair.

The winter passed, and an early and beautiful spring came.[12] The brothers, Louis the German and Pippin, joined by other nobles, set out to release their father. The deed was quickly done. Lothair hurriedly retreated toward Burgundy, where, as a Parthian shot against the elder court party, he caused a nun, Gerberga, the sister of Count Bernard of Barcelona, to be drowned in the Saône as a witch.[13] On 1 March, 834, an assembly of bishops restored to Louis the Pious his insignia of office. The anonymous Astronomer says that even the weather seemed brighter after Louis's restoration.[14] He and his two sons then took the field against Lothair, and by the end of the summer, the latter was forced to make his submission.

Fearing reprisals, Agobard deserted his church in Lyons in haste and took refuge with Lothair in Italy. Other ecclesiastics also fled. Their fear was well founded, for at Thionville early in 835, Ebbo of Rheims was disgraced and degraded. Agobard and Bernard of Vienne had been summoned three times to appear before the council, but had discreetly declined to be present. They were accordingly deprived of the revenues of their dioceses, although not deposed.[15] Many magnates were banished; many bishops and other clerics suffered imprisonment or exile; and certain nobles of both sexes were compelled to take the monastic habit.[16]

In the summer of 835, Louis held a small assembly at Crémieux near Lyons, at which the disposition of the sees of Lyons and Vienne was discussed, but because of the refusal of Agobard and Bernard to appear in person, the issue remained unsettled.[17] Meanwhile, on the northwestern frontiers of the Carolingian empire rolled in the mist that was to envelop it — the fury of the Northmen.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CAREER'S END

When Louis the Pious had been restored in 834 and Agobard had fled from his diocese, the supervision of the church of Lyons, it seems, devolved upon a suffragan bishop, Modoin of Autun, a friend of Deacon Florus and a product of the school and church of Lyons.[1] But the actual administration of the see was entrusted to the zealous courtier Amalarius, who had been a pupil of Alcuin of York. From about 809 to 813, he had served as bishop of Trêves, but had resigned when Charlemagne made him an ambassador to the Byzantine *Basileus*. Thereafter he remained one of the chief advisers in the palace circle, standing high in the favor of the Emperor Louis. For a while he was named as a country bishop (*chorepiscopus*) in the diocese of Metz, and in 834, he was sent to Lyons, obviously in an attempt to undo the work of Agobard and reduce the see from virtual independence to submission to the Imperial administration.[2]

Shortly after his arrival in Lyons, Amalarius set about to introduce a number of liturgical reforms similar to the practice of Metz. These changes -- largely in the antiphons sung during the Divine Office -- were attempts to restore the service to a more purely Roman norm, but they also included some Gallican elements and even some compositions by Amalarius himself.[3] He had failed, however, to anticipate the stubborn resistance he now encountered, particularly that of Deacon Florus, who remained intensely loyal to the absent

Agobard. As early as the council of Thionville in February, 835, the deacon had filed a protest against Amalarius.[4]

Believing that he could yet persuade the church of Lyons to his way of thinking, Amalarius diplomatically held a conference of the clergy and over a period of three days carefully explained his views.[5] Not only did he present a detailed exposition of his antiphonary, but he also gave them an account of another work, his four books, *On the Ecclesiastical Offices.*[6] The latter treatise was an intricate and imaginative allegorical interpretation of the liturgy. It was a peculiarly unfortunate choice with which to try to impress the obstinate clergy of Lyons, since at points the language seemed to be heretical.[7] Agobard's common sense had had its effect on his subordinates, who were unwilling to be dazzled by brilliant flights of imagination. The deacon, Florus, immediately seized upon the errors and began a rancorous campaign to discredit Amalarius. It took him four years to accomplish his objective.

Somewhere in Italy, Bishop Agobard heard the reverberations of the strife which was shaking his erstwhile diocese. Although he was a political exile, in his late sixties, he entered the thick of the struggle by publishing three liturgical treatises. The first, *On Divine Psalmody,*[8] is merely a brief introduction to the second, *On the Correction of the Antiphonary.*[9] He says that it was necessary for him to speak, because "a presumptuous fool...is continuing to defame our holy church of Lyons in word and letters by causing the divine service to be sung without regard for the usage and custom of our pious and orthodox predecessor [Leidrad]."[10] Councils and Fathers had forbidden the use of popular songs or light verses in church, the exile pleaded, but the vilifier Amalarius was ignoring such teaching and was moreover trying to explain Scripture by fantastic and ridiculous allegories. In God's temple and before His altar only Psalms, hymns, and canticles of Scripture should be used, Agobard asserted in an almost Puritanical vein.

The aged prelate was embittered by his tribulations. An exile, far from his beloved Lyons, he could not but use

abusive language of one whom he must have looked upon as a usurper. And his mind was going back to earlier and happier days -- twenty-five or thirty years before -- when he was about the age of the ardent Deacon Florus and when his beloved father-in-God, Leidrad, was ruler of the diocese, and when a wiser, stronger man was Emperor of Frankland. He was remembering the solemnity of Holy Mass and the Divine Office, sung in the traditional manner; the festival of Saint Blandina and the Forty-eight Martyrs (2 June), when citizens from miles around gathered for the colorful procession to the Saône,[11] and the feast of Saint Justus (2 September), lasting through a sultry night into the following dawn when the fresh air of morning warned one of the approach of autumn.[12]

The book, *On the Correction of the Antiphonary*, is addressed by the exile to his "well-beloved brethren in Christ, especially the singers of the church of Lyons," urging them to reject all human compositions, and sound forth the divine praise in the words of the Holy Spirit. For this reason, Agobard said, he had in large measure corrected the antiphonary, deleting everything that was superfluous, light, false, or blasphemous. He was speaking with the same unimaginative common sense with which he had spoken against the use of images and pictures ten years earlier.

Agobard cites and refutes several passages from Amalarius's antiphonary, showing that the statements are confused, contrary to the Bible, and even heretical. He continued by quoting several councils and Fathers to the effect that the Divine Office should not be sung in a theatrical manner, but that in all cases the words should be deemed more important than the music or the rhythm. Amalarius, with rather fine insight, had viewed the liturgy and the circling round of the Christian year as a ceaseless drama of the Christian story of redemption; it was indeed the same insight which a century later would provide the seed of modern drama in the Office of the Sepulcher and the Office of the Star. But Agobard would have none of such mummery: as in the creed, he says in substance, we profess our faith with the words of the Apostles[13]; as we pray in the Lord's Prayer with the words

of the Saviour Himself; so let us sing the praise of God not with human words, but with divinely inspired Psalms, hymns, and canticles.

What is probably the last major work written by Agobard, *Against the Four Books of Abbot Amalarius*,[14] is an answer to Amalarius's long treatise, *On the Ecclesiastical Offices*. Agobard's method is the simple and unfair one of quoting twelve brief sections from *On the Ecclesiastical Offices* and refuting them, sometimes by citing passages from the Fathers and Scripture, sometimes by indicating faulty logic, sometimes by ridicule, and sometimes by the mere affirmation of the opposite. Against allegory, Agobard expressed the rational view that since all liturgies were man-made products, differing from place to place, it was insane to seek for mystical and enigmatic significance in them. This treatise is singularly uninspired and unoriginal, a kind of devastating book-review. One has the impression that Agobard had merely skimmed rapidly through Amalarius's book and had chosen a passage here and there for the sole purpose of controverting it.[15]

Meanwhile, back in Lyons, the deacon, Florus, was pursuing his campaign against Amalarius. In September, 838, the Emperor Louis the Pious summoned a council at Kiersy,[16] at which the young Charles, now fifteen years old, was declared to be of age and was invested with the baldric of knighthood. But among the many details of business, there was a consideration of the teachings of Amalarius. A catena of suspected extracts from *On the Ecclesiastical Offices* was read to the author. He was asked whether these were really his doctrine, and if so, whence came the teaching. His murmured reply was, "From my spirit." The assembled bishops thereupon informed him that it was a spirit of error, and his doctrine was declared to be heretical or foreign to the true faith.[17]

Shortly after the decision at Kiersy, Agobard returned to his diocese. As when he left there had been no formal deposition; so when he returned there was no need for the formality of restoration. His resumption of the see was so

quiet and unobtrusive that one cannot establish the definite date. About three months later, in December, 838, Pippin of Aquitaine died. Louis was now able to confer that land upon Charles, and thus time, not strife, had solved the problem of an inheritance for the son of the beautiful Judith. This settlement, however, ignored the young heir, Pippin II, who with his followers harrassed the Carolingian state with ineffective guerrilla tactics.

In 839, Agobard was seventy years of age. He did not again take an outstanding part in the affairs of the empire or in anything else. Yet that very year brought ironic justification to his old struggle against the Jews, when the royal chaplain, Bodo, shocked the Western world by abandoning Christianity for Judaism. Agobard could have said with truthfulness and sincerity, "I told you so."

The following year Agobard received a token of final reconciliation from the Emperor; he was summoned to go to Aquitaine and use his influence in pacifying the followers of Pippin II and in securing their acquiescence to the allotment of their land to Charles. But on the eve of the Ascension (7 May, 840), there occurred an eclipse of the sun, which presaged ill for the Carolingian world. In the heavy preternatural darkness, the crescent moon and the stars appeared.[18] The nightfall of an era was at hand. The day of the *Diadochi* was ending, and that of the *Epigoni* was dawning.

The journey was too arduous for the aged bishop; on Sunday, 6 June, he died in Saintonge.[19] Two weeks later, Lord Louis himself lay dead in the arms of his half-brother, Drogo, faithful to the end.[20] His last words were a muttered "Avaunt! Avaunt!" as though he had seen a malignant spirit -- perhaps Agobard had been right, too, about witchcraft at the court.

In the diocese of Lyons, the prelate is venerated as a saint with approved cult, although his name is not in the Roman Martyrology. The story of his life may be closed with the sentiment expressed by the saint himself in acrostic verses, "To Agobard be peace."[21]

EPILOGUE AND CONCLUSION

The world which Agobard sought to stabilize and improve was crumbling about him as he passed from the scene. He and his writings may have influenced many people in his day, but he failed to establish a school of thought. His essentially moderate attitude toward the Jews would be carried on to fanatical anti-Semitism by Amulo, his successor in the see of Lyons.[1] His common-sense view of the Bible did not last long before the vagaries of allegorical interpretation on the one hand and crass literalism on the other. His theory of worship judged by the norm of the "pure Word of God" would be accepted by only one writing disciple, the loyal deacon, Florus, and even he was to exhibit some indication of divergence toward liturgical mysticism. There was at least one other attack on Amalarius before his type of liturgical thought overwhelmed the church.[2] And about the middle of the tenth century, Ratherius of Verona repeated some of Agobard's statements against superstition, particularly those against weather-magic.[3] However, beyond the two men, Amulo and Florus, the Agobardian tradition was very short-lived. Even Agobard's desire for the peace and unity of the empire was to be disappointed in the civil strife of Louis's sons and in the treaty of Verdun. But out of the ruins of the old, a new world, the world of Europe, was to emerge, with the incredible, naive freshness of dew on a

spring morning, in Notker's sequences, the Cambridge songs, Ekkhard's epic, and Hrotsvitha's comedies.

Agobard was a man of his day, not a brilliant exception like John Scotus Erigena, nor a towering figure like Hincmar of Rheims, nor a person of high tragedy like the hapless Gottschalk. Largely indebted to Saint Augustine for his theology and to the exigencies of circumstance for much of his political outlook, he left an impress of thought which can for the most part be paralleled in the writings of his contemporaries, although there are occasional gleams of independence. Yet it is to men like him, of strong character and of a high sense of personal responsibility, rather than to the unusual genius that an age looks for whatever stability it may possess.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The works of Agobard himself are of fundamental importance for a study of his life. Fortunately, they are accessible in Migne's *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina* (hereinafter abbreviated thus: *PL*) and in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (abbreviated *MGH*), as indicated below. I have carefully compared these editions with photographic reproductions of the Latin manuscript, No. 2853, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which contains all the prose writings of Agobard except *Contra Libros Quatuor Amalarii.*

The manuscript BN Lat 2853, was found quite by chance by Papirius Masson in Lyons in 1605 (see *PL*, CIV, 9; *MGH, Scriptores,* XV, p. 274; *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, p. 150). W. M. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915), p. 472, says that it was "written c. 840 by more than one scribe...." E. Dummler (in *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, p. 150) states that the first 212 folios were written in the ninth century, the remaining eighteen in the tenth century. A letter from the Bibliothèque Nationale suggests that the marginal notes, punctuation, and annotations are from the hand of Florus. On the verso of folio 212 occur the following lines by a scribe testing his pen:

Scribere qui nescit nullum putat esse laborem
Tres digiti
Tres digiti scribunt corpus totumque laborat
Tres digiti scribunt corpus totumque laborat.

Compare with Florus, *Opuscula Adversus Amalarium*, III, *ad med.*: "tres prius digitos scribimus...." For the few other manuscripts which contain portions of Agobard's works, see Bressolles, *Saint Agobard Évêque de Lyon*, pp. 32-34.

Masson's happy discovery has made possible an intimate knowledge of Agobard's life and a clear insight into his personality. In the bishop's works alone we are made aware of his learning, the process and range of his thought, his mastery of language, vigor of style, deeply religious spirit, intense Frankish patriotism, and talent for polemics. The writings also afford additional information about his activities, such as his presence at Louis's Attigny penance, his personal contacts with the Jews, his intimacy with high court officials, and his knowledge of the leaders of his day.

Unfortunately, most of Agobard's works bear no precise evidence concerning the dates of writing. A few have approximate indications, but the others must be fitted into a chronology according to circumstance. I herewith list each work, giving the customary title and, where applicable, a brief title, the manuscript title (if any), the addressee, the probable date, the edition or editions I have used, and a statement in justification of my time-scheme:

Agobard's Works

De Translatione Reliquiarum Sanctorum Martyrum Cypriani, Sperati, et Pantaleonis ad Urbem Lugdunensem. Ca. 807 or 808. In *MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, II, pp. 544f. (among the works of Florus); *PL.* CIV, 349-352.

The transfer of the relics to Lyons took place in 807, according to Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon.* Leidrad is referred to as still living (he died on 28 December, 815):

> Ledradus specimen decusque cleri,
> Orat, postulat, impetratque raptim....
> Hanc et pro populo et patrono nostro
> Semper quaesumus audiat rogantem;
> Pastorem foveat, gregem propaget....

The poem was therefore composed between 807 and 815, probably nearer the earlier date when the excitement was greatest.

I think it is improper to deprive Agobard of the authorship. In the first place, the reference to Leidrad sounds like that of a protegee, such as Agobard was. Florus was born about 800 and could not have known Leidrad intimately enough, especially since the older bishop was away much of the time while Florus was growing up. Moreover, it is probably not likely that he wrote *two* poems about the relics -- see his *Carmina Varia*, V (*PL*, CXIX, 259; *MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, II, p. 546). In the second place, the pious prayer to preserve Agobard who celebrates the name, merits, and feast of Saint Cyprian has a self-conscious ring.

Epitaphium Caroli Magni Imperatoris. Ca. 814. In *MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, I, pp. 407f.; *PL*, CIV, 349.

Charlemagne died on 28 January, 814, as this poem itself states. It was therefore presumably written shortly after the event it laments, as a number of other similar poems were.

There is no compelling reason to ascribe the *Epitaphium* to Agobard, but, on the other hand, none to take it from him.

Contra Insulam Vulgi Opinionem de Grandine et Tonitruis (briefly, *De Grandine et Tonitruis*). Title given in MS. Unaddressed. *Ca.* 815. In *PL*, CIV, 147-158.

In chapter 16, Agobard refers to an incident of cattle-mortality supposedly caused by Beneventan enemies of Charlemagne in 810 -- see *Annales Eginhardi* for the year 810 (*PL*, CIV, 474). Peace between the Emperor and Grimoald, the duke of Beneventum, was concluded in 812 (*Annales Eginhardi, anno* 812). It seems likely therefore that *De Grandine et Tonitruis* was composed after the peace and, still more likely, after the death of Charlemagne, yet sufficiently early so that Agobard can say that the cattle-incident took place "a few years ago" ("ante hos paucos annos" -- *De Grandine et Tonitruis*, 16).

The opening words, "In his regionibus pene omnes homines, nobiles et ignobiles, urbani et rustici, senes et juvenes,

putant...," seem to imply that Agobard was still a *chorepiscopus*, not a prince of the church. If that is true, the book must have been written before his accession to the see.

Adversus Legem Gundobadi et Impia Certamina Quae per Eam Geruntur (briefly, *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*). No title in MS. To Louis the Pious. *Ca.* 817. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 158-164; *PL,* CIV, 115-126.

De Divinis Sententiis Digestus cum Brevissimis Adnotationibus Contra Damnabilem Opinionem Putantium Divini Judicii Veritatem Igne vel Aquis vel Conflictu Armorum Patefieri (briefly, *Contra Judicium Dei*). Title given in MS. Unaddressed. *Ca.* 817. In *PL,* CIV, 249-286.

Both *Adversus Legem Gundobadi* and *Contra Judicium Dei* were probably written immediately after the 817 council of Aix-la-Chapelle, which defended the use of the ordeal by the cross. See C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles,* translated by H. Leclercq from the 2nd German edition (Paris: Letouzey et Ané , 1911), IV, Part I, p. 29. The act of the council is given in *MGH, Leges,* I, p. 206.

Adversum Dogma Felicis Urgellensis. No title in MS. To Louis the Pious. *Ca.* 819. In *PL,* CIV, 29-70; *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, p. 153 (*prooemium* only).

Twice in this book, Agobard refers to the death of Felix of Urgel (chapters 1, 6), which occurred in 818. The discovery of Felix's manuscript gave rise immediately to gossip, which had to be put down equally immediately. In any case, this treatment was probably written not later than 820, because more important problems than theology and local gossip concerned Agobard in the third decade of the ninth century. *Per contra,* see Jud, "Agobards von Lyon theologische Stellung," p. 129; Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters,* I, p. 381; Foss, "Leben und Schriften Agobards," p. 111.

Consultatio et Supplicatio de Baptismo Judaicorum Mancipiorum (briefly, *Consultatio et Supplicatio*). No title in MS. To Adalard, Wala, and Helisachar. *Ca.* 823. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 164-166; *PL,* CIV, 99-106.

The dating of this and the other four anti-Jewish tracts has been admirably done by Simson, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen,* I, Exkurs VII, pp. 393-396. I make only slight adjustments in Simson's dates.

Adalard's return from exile in late 821 gives the *terminus a quo* for this book, and his retirement from the court in late 823, the *terminus ad quem.* Simson gives 822-825.

De Dispensatione Ecclesiasticarum Rerum (briefly, *De Dispensatione*). No title in MS. To Wala (?). *Ca.* early 825. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 166-179; *PL,* CIV, 227-250.

Both the council at Attigny, August, 822, and the one at Compiègne, November, 823, are mentioned in this treatise. The language in chapter 5 ("Sequenti autem anno, cum adessent jussi in Compiendio palatio....") implies the year 825 for the writing, for if it had been composed in 824, Agobard would surely have said, "Ultimo (or, Novissimo) autem anno...."

Contra Eorum Superstitionem Qui Picturis et Imaginibus Sanctorum Adorationis Obsequium Deferendum Putant (briefly, *De Imaginibus*). No title in MS, but at the end of the book appears the statement, "Finit de picturis Agobardus episcopus." Unaddressed. *Ca.* 825. In *PL,* CIV, 199-228.

Probably written in connection with the synod of Paris, November, 825, which was concerned with the question of the icons.

De Spe et Timore. No title in MS. To Ebbo. *Ca.* 826 (?). In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 222f.; *PL,* CIV, 323-326.

Ebbo's return in 823 from the Danish mission gives the *terminus a quo,* and his disgrace in 834, the *terminus ad quem.* It can probably be dated no more closely than that, but I suggest 826, because the later years were too full for a little interlude like this, and because it is in the same mood as other treatises which Agobard wrote in 826.

Contra Praeceptum Impium de Baptismo Judaicorum Mancipiorum (briefly, *Contra Praeceptum Impium*). Title given in MS. To Hilduin and Wala. *Ca.* 826. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 179-182; *PL,* CIV, 173-178.

Simson says 826-827. I think the earlier year, because of the charter given to the Jewish community of Lyons in 825. It would probably not be two years before an incident would happen to provoke this letter.

De Modo Regiminis Ecclesiastici. Title given in MS. To the monks and clergy of Lyons (?). *Ca.* 826. In *PL,* CIV, 189-200.

It would seem that this tract was written about the same time as *Contra Praeceptum Impium* (see *De Insolentia Judaeorum,* 3). *Per contra,* see Jud, "Agobards von Lyon theologische Stellung," p. 130, who places it after 834, while Agobard was in exile; and Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters,* I, p. 381, who says it was written before 817. Bressolles, *Saint Agobard Évêque de Lyon,* p. 124, n. 1, considers it as Agobard's inaugural address as bishop in 816.

De Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii. Title given in MS. To Bernard of Vienne. *Ca.* 826 or early 827. In *PL,* CIV, 127-

148; *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 203-206 (chapters 11-20 only).

I associate the general thought of this book with that of *De Dispensatione* and of *De Spe et Timore,* and therefore place them within the same approximate period.

De Insolentia Judaeorum. Title given in MS. To Louis the Pious. *Ca.* 827. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 182-185; *PL,* CIV, 69-76.

Simson says 826-827. It was written after *Contra Praeceptum Impium,* as indicated internally. In chapter 3, it probably mentions the pastoral visitation which induced Agobard to write *De Modo Regiminis Ecclesiastici.*

De Judaicis Superstitionibus. Title given in MS. To Louis the Pious. *Ca.* 827. A joint letter by Agobard, Bernard, and Eaof. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 185-199; *PL,* CIV, 77-100.

Simson says 826-827. But it was obviously accompanied by *De Insolentia Judaeorum.*

De Cavendo Convictu et Societate Judaica (briefly, *De Cavendo Convictu*). No title given in MS. To Nibridius of Narbonne. *Ca.* 827. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 199-201; *PL,* CIV, 107-114.

Simson says 828, but it was perhaps no later than 827, possibly as early as 826, because in 828, Bartholomew had already succeeded Nibridius in the diocese of Narbonne.

Deploratoria de Injustitiis (or, *De Injustitiis*). Title given in MS. To Matfred, count of Orleans. *Ca.* late 827 or early 828. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 201-203; *PL,* CIV, 185-190.

It seems to be related to the letters on the Jewish problem,

but not later than 828, because in that year Matfred was dismissed from the court.

De Quorumdam Inlusione Signorum (briefly, *De Inlusione*). Title given in MS. To Bartholomew of Narbonne. *Ca.* 829. A joint letter by Agobard, Hildegisus, and Florus. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 206-210; *PL,* CIV, 179-186.

Bartholomew was in possession of the see of Narbonne in 828. From 830 onward, more important issues faced Agobard. The latter may have heard about these "signs" at a council over which he presided in Lyons in the spring of 829.

Contra Objectiones Fredigisi Abbatis. No title in MS. To Fredegisus. *Ca.* 830. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 210-221; *PL,* CIV, 159-174.

See Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters,* I, p. 389.

Sermo Exhortatorius ad Plebem de Fidei Veritatem et Totius Boni Institutione (briefly, *Sermo*). MS simply entitles it, "Agobardi Sermo." *Ca.* 829 or 830 (?). In *PL,* CIV, 267-288.

Actually undatable, but I have mentioned slight internal indications which might suggest 829 or 830.

Flebilis Epistola de Divisione Imperii Francorum Inter Filios Ludovici Imperatoris (briefly, *Flebilis Epistola)* No title in MS. To Louis the Pious. *Ca.* late 831. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 223-226;*PL,* CIV, 287-292.

In the latter part of 831, Louis ceased using the name of Lothair as colleague. Agobard mentions that fact in chapter 4.

De Comparatione Regiminis Ecclesiastici et Politici et in

Quibus Ecclesiae Dignitas Praefulgeat Imperiorum Majestati (briefly, *De Comparatiane*). No title in MS. To Louis the Pious. Between Easter (13 April) and Pentecost (1 June), 833. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, III, pp. 226-228; *PL*, CIV, 291-298.

Dated by the opening words of chapter 5: "In his sacratissimis diebus Paschalibus...." The Paschal season is the fifty-day interval from Easter to Pentecost. The year is evident from the reference to Pope Gregory IV in Gaul, namely, 833, as is known from other sources.

"Manifesto." No title given in MS. Between Pentecost (1 June) and Summer Saint John's Day (24 June), 833. In *MGH, Scriptores*, XV, pp. 274f.; *PL*, CIV, 307-315.

This is the first six chapters of what is usually referred to as *Liber Apologeticus* (see *xxv* below). That *Liber Apologeticus* is in reality two treatises is recognized by most commentators -- see Bressolles, *Saint Agobard Évêque de Lyon*, p. 41, for a good analysis. But it is also obvious from the MS itself.

Chartula Porrecta Lothario Augusto in Synodo Compendiensi (briefly, *Chartula*). No title in MS. For Lothair. November, 833. In *MGH, Leges*, I, p. 369; *PL*, CIV, 319-324.

Written at the close of the diet.

Liber Apologeticus pro Filiis Ludovici Pii Imperatoris Adversus Patrem (briefly, *Liber Apologeticus*). No title in MS. Unaddressed. Mid-November, 833. In *MGH, Scriptores*, XV, pp. 276-279; *PL*, CIV, 315-320.

This title is here reserved for chapters 7-13 only (see *xxiii* above). References to the settlement of the commotion (chapter 8) and to "our erstwhile Emperor" who had lost his kingdom (chapter 12) indicate composition during the autumn of 833, after the council of Compiègne.

De Divina Psalmodia. No title in MS. Unaddressed. 835-838. In *PL,* CIV, 325-330.

De Correctione Antiphonarii. No title in MS. To Agobard's "brethren in Christ, especially to the singers of the church of Lyons" (that is, to the *schola cantorum*). 835-838. In *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi,* III, pp. 232-238; *PL,* CIV, 329-340.

Contra Libros Quatuor Amalarii. Not in MS, BN Lat 2853. Unaddressed. 835-838. In *PL,* CIV, 339-350.

Agobard's authorship of *De Correctione Antiphonarii* is unquestioned, but doubt has been raised about *De Divina Psalmodia* and *Contra Libros Quatuor Amalarii. Foss,* "Leben und Schriften Agobards," p. 140, rejects *De Divina Psalmodia,* but accepts *Contra Libros Quatuor Amalarii.* Eichner, "Agobard Erzbischof von Lyon," p. 566, rejects both. However, Klap, "Agobard van Lyon," p. 57, n. 2, and Simson, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen,* II, pp. 836f., accept both.

The chief argument advanced against the authenticity of *De Divina Psalmodia* and *Contra Libros Quatuor...* is the violence of their tone as compared with the known works of Agobard. The critics think it is the tone of Florus, not of Agobard. But *De Correctione Antiphonarii* is just as sharp, yet no one denies it to Agobard. And one can account for the style by a bitterness engendered by exile.

That the three books were written while Agobard was in exile is clear from internal references; for example, the first line of *De Divina Psalmodia;* chapters 3 and 4 of *De Correctione Antiphonarii* (which show that the antiphonary he is discussing is not already purged, but that he is looking forward to its correction in the future); and the failure in *Contra Libros Quatuor...* to mention Amalarius's established heresy -- if written after September, 838, Agobard would not have had so carefully to point out Amalarius's heterodoxy.

"Agobardo pax sit." In *MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, II, pp. 118f.; L. Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1888), pp. 152-155.

Acrostic verses. Undatable, but the sentiment seems to be that of a very old person. On the other hand, Traube considers it to have been written before Leidrad's death.

A comment should be made about the *Annales Lugdunenses*. These are a series of marginal notations, in a Visigothic hand, on a manuscript of one of Bede's chronological works. They have been edited by G. H. Pertz in *MGH, Scriptores*, I, p. 110. See also Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, p. 387; Bressolles, *Saint Agobard Évêque de Lyon*, pp. 35-39; and S. Tafel, "The Lyons Scriptorium," in W. M. Lindsay (ed.), *Palaeographia Latina*, Part IV (St. Andrew's University Publication, XX) (Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 40-70.

Some of the notations are apparently from Agobard's own hand, others probably belong to Florus. They give us certain important dates in the life of Agobard: his birth -- 769; his coming from Spain to Gallia Narbonensis -- 782; his coming to Lyons from Septimania -- 792; his consecration as *chorepiscopus* (if that is the meaning of the phrase, "Benedictionem indignus suscepi") -- 804; his canonical possession of the see of Lyons -- August, 836; and his death -- 6 June, 840.

Contemporary Sources Other than Agobard's works

Apart from Agobard's own works, I have made extensive use of sources basic to a study of the days of the Emperor Louis the Pious. Through all the maze, I have been led by those incomparable guides: Bernhard Simson, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, 2 volumes (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1874-1876), and Max Manitius,

Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Volume I (Munich: Beck, 1911).

Annales Eginhardi. In *PL*, CIV, 367-508 (collated with the *Annales Laurissenses*); *Annales Regni Francorum*, edited by G. Pertz, revised by F. Kurze, (Hannover: Hahn, 1895). On the value and relationships of the various *Annales* of this period, see L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris: Alcan, 1921), and a critical review by W. Levison in *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XLV (1924), pp. 390-394.

I am indebted to Dr. William L. Kennon, Professor of Physics and Astronomy, University of Mississippi, for directing my attention to the monumental work by T. von Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse* (Vienna: Imperial and Royal Court- and State-Press, 1887), which has been of inestimable value in checking the Carolingian annalists by means of the eclipses of the sun and moon.

The anonymous Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita.* In *PL*, CIV, 927-978; *MGH*, *Scriptores*, II, pp. 604-648.

Thegan, *Vita Ludovici Imperatoris.* In *PL*, CVI, 405-428; *MGH*, *Scriptores*, II, pp. 585ff.

Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Sancti Adalhardi.* In *PL*, CXX, 1507-1552.

And his *Epitaphium Arsenii seu Vita Venerabilis Walae.* In *PL*, CXX, 1559-1650.

Nithard, *De Dissensionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii.* In *PL*, CXVI, 45-76; *MGH*, *Scriptores*, II, pp. 649-672; Nithard, *Histoire des Fils de Louis le Pieux*, edited by P. Lauer (Paris: Champion, 1926).

Ado of Vienne, *Chronicon in Aetates Sex Divisum.* In *PL,* CXXIII, 23-138; *MGH, Scriptores,* II.
And his *Martyrologium.* In *PL,* CXXIII, 201-420.

Einhard, *Vita et Conversatio Gloriosissimi Imperatoris Caroli Regis Magni.* In *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum,* edited by G. Waitz, 5th edition (Hannover and Leipzig, 1905); Eginhard, *Vie de Charlemagne,* edited by L. Halphen (Paris: Champion, 1923); *Early Lives of Charlemagne by Einhard and the Monk of St. Gall,* translated and edited by A. J. Grant (London: Chatto and Windus, 1926).
And his *Historia Translationis Beatorum Christi Martyrum Marcellini et Petri.* In *PL,* CIV, 537-594; *MGH, Scriptores,* XV, Part I; *The History of the Translation of the Blessed Martyrs of Christ Marcellinus and Peter,* English version by Barrett Wendell (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926).

Poeta Saxo, *De Gestis Beati Caroli Magni.* In *PL,* XCIX, 685-736; *MGH, Scriptores,* I, pp. 227-279.

Louis the Pious, *Epistolae.* In *PL,* CIV, 1309-1332.
And his *Diplomata Ecclesiastica.* In *PL,* CIV, 979-1310.

Ermoldus Nigellus, *De Rebus Gestis Ludovici Pii.* In *PL,* CV, 569-640; *MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini,* II, pp. 5-79.

Florus of Lyons, *Opuscula Adversus Amalarium.* In *PL,* CXIX, 71-96.
And his *Carmina Varia.* In *PL,* CXIX, 249-278.

Ebbo of Rheims, *Confessio.* In *PL,* CXVI, 9-12; *MGH, Leges,* I, p. 370.
And his *Apologeticum.* In *PL,* CXVI, 11-16.

Leidrad, *Epistolae,* In *PL,* XCIX, 871-886. There is a critical edition of the first letter in Alfred Coville, *Recherches sur l'Histoire de Lyon du Vme Siècle au IXme Siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1928), pp. 283-287.

Modern Works on Agobard

Finally, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to previous expositors of the life and works of Agobard.

C. B. Hundeshagen, *De Agobardi Archiepiscopi Lugdunensis Vita et Scriptis* (Giessen: Lichtenberg, 1831). Only Part I, *Vita,* was ever published.

L. Macé, *Vie d'Agobard* (Paris: Joubert, 1846).

Samosz, *Des heiligen Agobard Abhandlungen wider die Juden* (Leipzig: Dissertation, 1852).

B. Blügel, *De Vita et Scriptis Agobardi* (Halle: Dissertation, 1865). Only Part I, *Vita,* was ever published.

O. Leist, *Bischof Agobard von Lyon* (Stendal: Dissertation, 1867).

P. Chevallard, *Saint Agobard Archévêque de Lyons* (Lyons: Josserand, 1869).

T. Förster, *Drei Erzbischöfe von tausend Jahren: Ein Spiegelbild* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1873).

M. Nicolas, "Agobard et l'Église franke au IXe Siècle," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, III (1881), pp. 54-71.

J. F. Marcks, "Die politisch-kirchliche Wirksamkeit des Erzbischofs Agobard von Lyon mit besonderer Rucksicht auf seine schriftstellerische Thätigkeit," *Jahres-Bericht über des Real-Gymnasium der Stadt Viersen*, XII, (1888), pp. 3-43.

R. Enge, *De Agobardi Archiepiscopi Lugdunensis cum Judaeis Contentiane* (Freiberg: Gerlach, 1888).

L. Rozier, *Agobard de Lyons* (Montauban: Dissertation, 1891).

P. A. Klap, "Agobard van Lyon," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, XXIX (1895), pp. 15-48, 121-151, 385-407; XXX (1896), pp. 39-58, 379-401, 469-488.

R. Foss, "Leben und Schriften Agobards Erzbischofs von Lyon," *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, III (1897), pp. 103-144.

K. Eichner, "Agobard Erzbischof von Lyon," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLI (1898), pp. 526-588.

F. Wiegand, "Agobard von Lyon und die Judenfrage," *Festschrift Luitpold von Bayern* (Erlangen: Deichert, 1901), pp. 3-32.

T. Reinach, "Agobard et les Juifs," *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XLIX (1905), pp. 81-111.

R. Jud, "Agobards von Lyon theologische Stellung," *Festgabe Alois Knöpfler* (Munich: Lentner, 1907), pp. 126-144.

J. Leonardi, *Agobard von Lyon und seine politische Publizistik* (Vienne: Lichtner, 1927).

Mgr. Bressolles, *Saint Agobard Évêque de Lyon,* has only recently been published (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1949); written in 1933, it was distributed as a manuscript to a few French libraries in 1935.

For the sake of completeness, I mention my unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, "Agobard of Lyons: A Ninth-Century Ecclesiastic and Critic," done at the University of Chicago in 1939. The last chapter, "Agobard's Thought," was lithographed in 1941 for private distribution by the University of Chicago Libraries. See also my paper, "Agobard of Lyons," *Speculum,* XXVI, No. 1 (January, 1951), pp. 50-76.

CHAPTER NOTES

General Note

In the interest of simplicity, non-Agobardian references have been reduced to a minimum. Moreover, since Agobard's writings are accessible, few direct quotations are specifically documented. In the main, citations of secondary works have been omitted.

For fuller information concerning the works cited, see the Bibliographical Note above. Works not mentioned there are sufficiently described as reference is made to them in the pertinent Chapter Note below.

Prologue

1. *Annales Lugdunenses.*
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. J. Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti* (6 vols; Paris, 1703-39), II, Book XXV, p. 251. See Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters,* I, p. 387.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Annales Lugdunenses.*

Chapter One

1. Ado, *Chronicon* (*PL*, CXXIII, 129).
2. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, trans. by M. L. McClure, 5th ed. reprinted (London, 1949), p. 90 and n. 1.
3. Ado, *Chronicon* (*PL*, CXXIII, 122).
4. Theodulf, *Carmina*, Book I: *Paraenesis ad Judices* (*PL*, CV, 283-300).
5. Alcuin, *Epistola* 241. Alcuin's letters have been edited by E. Dümmler in *MGH*, *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, IV, 1-481.
6. Alcuin, *Epistola* 139.
7. Alcuin, *Epistolae* 207, 208. See also Ado, *Chronicon* (*MGH*, *Scriptores*, II, p. 320).
8. Agobard, *Adversum Dogma Felicis Urgellensis*, 5: "Accessi ad eum [Felicem] coram ipsis quibus ista suadebat, et interrogavi eum utrum ita prorsus sentiret."
9. Alcuin, *Epistola* 207. Although Charles was crowned Emperor on Christmas Day of the year 800, according to Carolingian computation, the year was 799 by our current usage.
10. Leidrad, *Epistola Prima* (*PL*, XCIX, 871-873).
11. Consult S. Tafel, "The Lyons Scriptorium," in W. M. Lindsay (ed.), *Palaeographia Latina*, Part IV, (St. Andrew's University Publications, XX) (Oxford University Press, 1925), pp. 40-70; M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe A. D. 500 to 900* (London: Methuen and Co., 1931), pp. 182, 184.
12. *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 10, 11; *De Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii*, 11; and elsewhere.
13. *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 3: "ubi non est gentilis et Judaeus, circumcisio et Praeputium, Barbarus et Scytha, *Aquitanus et Langobardus, Burgundio et Alamannus*,

servus et liber; sed omnis et in omnibus Christus." Emphasis added.

14. As the following passages indicate. *De Modo Regiminis Ecclesiastici,* 3; "Antiquior autem translatio...sic ait"; *De Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii,* 2: "secundum antiquam translationem"; *De Quorumdam Inlusione Signorum,* 2: "sicut alia translatio dicit"; *Sermo,* 5: "sicut alia translatio dicit"; 26: "Sed hos propheticos versus alia translatio sic inchoat"; *Contra Quatuor Libros Amalarii Abbatis,* 9: "vel sicut alia translatio habet."

15. I dare say no more than that Agobard probably knew Greek and possibly knew Hebrew. The facts are as follows:

Greek. (1) A few Greek words are used by Agobard. In *De Imaginibus,* 2, he quotes Saint Augustine, *City of God,* X, 1, a passage which contains the words *threskeia, eusebeia, theosebeia,* and *latreia.* In *Sermo,* 3, he uses *homoousion* in a paraphrase of the Nicene Creed. In *Contra Libros Quatuor Amalarii,* 14, he says, "quod enim Latine dicitur universale, hoc Graece catholicum." Of course, all these Greek words are given in Latin letters.

(2) He refers to Greek authors. In *Adversum Dogma Felicis Urgellensis,* Agobard quotes extensively from the writings of the Patriarch Cyril against Nestorius, as well as a few passages from Nestorius. The long citations seem to be his own translation, but that cannot be certain. He also cites Athanasius in *ibid.,* 3. He mentions Greek or Eastern heresies with familiarity in *ibid.,* 6 (Eutychianism), 14 (Paulianism, Photianism), and in *Contra Objectiones Fredigisi Abbatis,* 16 (the heresy of Paul of Samosata). On the other hand, he makes reference to orthodox Greek creeds and councils in *Adversus Legem Gundobadi,* 12 (Nicene, Chalcedonian, and "other general councils"), and in *Sermo,* 3 (the Nicene and Athanasian creeds). He mentions not only the Septuagint version (*Contra Objectiones Fredi-*

gisi Abbatis, 9), but also other Greek translations of the Old Testament (*ibid.* -- the versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus).

(3) Occasionally Agobard indicates some knowledge of etymology and grammar without recording the source. In *De Imaginibus*, 11, he states, "Unde Christi nomen a chrismate est." In *Contra Objectiones Fredigisi Abbatis*, 8, he argues that the gender and number of some Greek and Hebrew nouns cannot be rendered identically in Latin. As examples, he notes that *spiritus* is masculine in Latin, while the corresponding word in Hebrew is feminine, and that while *peccatum* is a Latin neuter, the corresponding word in Hebrew is masculine, and in Greek, feminine. In *ibid.*, 13, he states that Saint Paul is more eloquent in Hebrew than in Greek, as may be seen by comparing the Epistle to the Hebrews with other Pauline letters. However, for that remark, he does give credit to Saint Jerome.

Hebrew. (1) Only two Hebrew words (other than the liturgical *Amen, Alleluia*, and *Osanna*) appear in Agobard's works, namely, *Racha (Rakiah)* and *Araboth* (see *De Judaicis Superstitionibus*, 10) -- both in Latin letters.

(2) But he does refer to the Hebrew Old Testament. In *De Modo Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, 3, he quotes Psalm 45:12 (in Latin), and follows it by the remark, "Haec juxta Hebraicum." In *ibid.*, 8, a similar statement occurs, "De hac et Psalmista, cum beatum diceret eum qui non respexit in vanitatem et insanias falsas, *vel sicut in Hebraico legitur*, ad superbias pompasque mendacii...." (emphasis added). See *Greek* (3) above for references to the gender of Hebrew words.

(3) In *De Judaicis Superstitionibus*, 9, 10, Agobard seems to show some knowledge of Jewish books, such as the *Otiot* of Rabbi Akiba, the *Hekalot*, the *Sefer Yezirah*, and the *Shi'ur Komah*, in which case he must have known the language [see Solomon Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and*

Gaul (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1937), p. 66]. However, that knowledge may have been derived from conversations with Jews (*De Judaicis Superstitionibus*, 9).

16. *Consultatio et Supplicatio, ad init.:* "inter nos discunt linguam nostram."

17. *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 6.

18. Agobard possessed a manuscript of Tertullian which he later presented to the cathedral church of Lyons. See Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, p. 386.

19. *De Divina Psalmodia; De Correctione Antiphonarii;* and *Contra Libros Quatuor Amalarii.*

20. *Sermo*, 1, 3, 7; *De Quorumdam Inlusione Signorum*, 11.

21. *Contra Praeceptum Impium, ad med.:* "pertinacissima perfidia"; *De Imaginibus*, 35: "flectamus genu"; *De Comparatione*, 5: "In his sacratissimis diebus Paschalibus"; *De Spe et Timore, ad fin.:* "illa sententia septimi psalmi, *quam cantamus*" (emphasis added); *De Grandine et Tonitruis*, 5: "Et cui *cantavimus*" (emphasis added), followed by part of Psalm 147.

22. *Contra Objectiones Fredigisi Abbatis*, 7; *Contra Libros Quatuor Amalarii*, 2.

23. *Adversum Dogma Felicis Urgellensis*, 2, 6, 44; *De Divina Psalmodia, ad med.; De Correctione Antiphonarii*, 12; *De Cavendo Convictu, ad fin.; Contra Objectiones Fredigisi Abbatis*, 21; *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 2, 4, 8; *De Dispensatione*, 17; *De Privilegio et Iure Sacerdotii*, 6; *De Imaginibus*, 11, 19; *Consultatio et Supplicatio, ad med.;* "Manifesto," 1, 2; *De Grandine*, 13; *Contra Judicium Dei*, 1, 2; *Sermo*, 2.

24. *De Quorumdam Inlusione Signorum*, 7, "multos...cognovimus a daemonibus, lapidibus et fustibus caesos." *De Grandine et Tonitruis, passim.*

25. *De Grandine et Tonitruis*, 7: "Nemo enim grandinem

sine pluvia unquam vidit"; 13: "nostris quoque temporibus videmus aliquando, collectis messibus et vindemiis, propter siccitatem agricolas seminare non posse."

26. *De Judaicis Superstitionibus,* 9: "qui quotidie pene cum eis [Judaeis] loquentes, mysteria erroris ipsorum audimus"; 10.

27. *De Injustitiis, ad init.:* "quia donum absconditum extinguet iras"; *De Spe et Timore, ad init.:* "Scripturis ...in quibus non solum in equum ascendens, sed etiam de equo descendens."

28. *De Insolentia Judaeorum,* 5: "dum ostendûnt vestes muliebres"; *Contra Judicium Dei, sententiae:* "plus amaverit terram vel porcum [quam Deum]."

29. *De Dispensatione,* 28: "turpesque jocos"; 30: "histriones, mimos, turpissimosque et vanissimos joculares."

30. *De Imaginibus, 30:* "in pariete depictos"; *28, 31.*

31. Or does Agobard mean a warlike picture designed as a means of recruiting?

32. *De Imaginibus,* 33.

33. *Ibid.,* 34: "de carbonibus, minioque, vel sinopide." See David M. Robinson, *Ancient Sinope* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1906), pp. 141-143.

34. *De Imaginibus,* 33.

35. *De Modo Regiminis Ecclesiastici,* 9, 11: "et victum aut tegumentum quotidianum ex sacro ministerio adipisci cupiunt."

36. *De Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii,* 11.

37. *Ibid.,* 5, 11, 18, 19; *De Modo Regiminis Ecclesiastici,* 9; *Contra Judicium Dei,* 6.

38. *De Grandine et Tonitruis,* 15; *De Dispensatione,* 24.

39. *De Grandine et Tonitruis,* 7: "sed tamen confessus est se eodem tempore non fuisse."

40. *De Imaginibus*, 31.

41. *Contra Objectiones Fredigisi Abbatis*, 12: "in ore asinae."

42. *Sermo*, 2.

43. *Contra Libros Quatuor Amalarii*, 9.

44. *De Quorumdam Inlusione Signorum*, 9; *De Judaicis Superstitionibus*, 1: "per vasa diaboli, mentes videlicet Judaeorum"; *De Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii*, 6, 7.

45. *Liber Apologeticus, passim*, especially 11.

46. *De Divina Psalmodia, ad init., ad med.; De Correctione Antiphonarii*, 9; *Contra Libros Quatuor Amalarii*, 9, 12.

47. *Adversum Dogma Felicis Urgellensis*, 1; *De Dispensatione*, 1.

48. *De Translatione Reliquiarum*, line 32: "optimus sacerdos"; line 36: "Ledradus specimen decusque cleri."

49. *De Divina Psalmodia, ad init.*

50. Florus wrote three *Opuscula Adversus Amalarium* (*PL*, CXIX, 71-96). Near the end of the third one, he speaks of the church of Lyons, "cujus uberibus ad infantia alitus sum."

51. See Florus, *Opuscula*, I, 2: "per prelatum ejus [Lugdunensis Ecclesiae] Amalarium"; III, *ad init.*: "praelatus [Amalarius] ecclesiae Lugdunensis."

52. Walafrid Strabo, *Ad Agobardum (MGH, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, II, pp. 356f.).

53. A guess based on the flowers mentioned in Walafrid's poem!

54. Helen Waddell's translation in her delightful *Mediaeval Latin Lyrics*, 4th edition, revised and reprinted (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942), p. 81. Used with the author's permission.

55. *Annales Lugdunenses.* In defense of the title *chorepiscopus* instead of *coepiscopus*, I call attention to the following arguments:

(1) Agobard uses the term *coepiscopus* untechnically to mean "fellow-bishop," not a subordinate. See, for example, *De Privilegio et Iure Sacerdotii, ad init.:* "Venerabili in Christo fratri et coepiscopo Bernardo...."

(2) The opening words of his *De Grandine et Tonitruis,* "In his regionibus pene omnes homines, nobiles ignobiles, urbani et rustici, senes et juvenes, putant...," suggest very strongly that the writer was literally a *chorepiscopus.*

(3) The presence of *chorepiscopi* at Lyons seems to be clear enough. See Florus, *Opuscula,* I, 4: "praesentibus chorepiscopis et archdiaconibus"; III, *ad med.:* "quos etiam chorepiscopo Ecclesiae nostrae"; and the reference to Agobard's *suffragans* at Lyons in the documents relating to the monastery of Bèze (*PL,* CIV, 13, 1186).

Chapter Two

1. *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 807; *Annales Laurissenses, anno* 807; Ado, *Chronicon, anno* 806.
2. Consult J. T. McNeill and H. M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 420 n. 17, and references there cited.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 330.
4. *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 807.
5. Ado, *Chronicon, anno* 804; Poeta Saxo, *De Gestis Beati Caroli Magni, anno* 807.
6. Ado, *Chronicon, anno* 807, and *Martyrologium* for 14 September.

7. Florus, *Carmina Varia*, V.
8. Agobard, *De Translatione Reliquiarum.*
9. Einhard, *Vita Caroli*, ch. 19.
10. *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 810.
11. Agobard, *De Grandine et Tonitruis*, 16.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 810.
14. Dungal, *De Duplici Solis Eclipsi (PL*, CV, 447-458).
15. Einhard, *Vita Caroli*, ch. 32.
16. *Ibid.*, ch. 33.
17. Ado *Chronicon, anno* 813; Poeta Saxo, *De Gestis B. Caroli Magni*, IV, *anno* 813; Thegan, *Vita Ludovici Imperatoris*, 6.
18. Translation by Howard Mumford Jones, in P. S. Allen, *The Romanesque Lyric* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928), pp. 224f. Used with publisher's permission.
19. Agobard, *Epitaphium Caroli Magni.*
20. Ado, *Chronicon, anno* 814.
21. Leidrad, *Epistolae*, III.
22. Ado, *Chronicon, anno* 816; see also the breviary of the church of Grenoble, cited by Marcks, "Die politisch-kirchliche Wirksamkeit des Erzbischofs Agobard," p. 11, and by Klap, "Agobard van Lyon," p. 22.
23. Agobard, *De Grandine et Tonitruis*, 2.
24. *Contra Insulsam Vulgi Opinionem de Grandine et Tonitruis.*
25. See P. B. Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae*, revised edition (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1931), p. 570. It was the year 816 by ninth-century reckoning.
26. *Annales Lugdunenses.* I use the term *bishop* because

that is the word by which Agobard describes himself. However, that he was an *archbishop* is intimated by the following considerations:

(1) Agobard's predecessor is mentioned as a *metropolitan* in Charlemagne's will (given in Einhard, *Vita Caroli*, ch. 33). A metropolitan was and is customarily an archbishop.

(2) Agobard's friend, Bishop Bernard of Vienne, is called an archbishop in a letter written to him by Pope Eugenius II (*PL*, CV, 643). The rank of Agobard and Bernard was the same and the rank of their sees was the same.

(3) Agobard himself is called an archbishop by the anonymous Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici, anno* 835 (*PL*, CIV, 968), and archbishop and metropolitan in the documents relating to the monastery of Bèze (*PL*, CIV, 13, 1186).

27. Thegan, *Vita Ludovici Imperatoris*, 16f.; the anonymous Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici, anno* 816.

Chapter Three

1. For example, *Adversum Dogma Felicis Urgellensis*, 2: "hoc opus rustica simplicitate compositum."
2. *De Imaginibus*, 33.
3. *De Grandine et Tonitruis*, 15; *De Dispensatione*, 24.
4. *De Grandine et Tonitruis*, 15: *De Quorumdam Inlusione Signorum*, 12.
5. *De Dispensatione*, 24.
6. *Ibid.*, 30: "satiat praeterea et inebriat histriones, mimosque, turpissimosque et vanissimos joculares, cum pauperes Ecclesiae fame discruciati intereant."
7. *De Insolentia Judaeorum*, 6.
8. *De Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii*, 11.

9. *Flebilis Epistola*, 3.
10. *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 7.
11. *Ibid.*, 4.
12. *De Dispensatione*, 14.
13. *De Grandine et Tonitruis*, 14f.
14. *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 6.
15. *De Dispensatione*, 30 (see Note 6 above).
16. *De Modo Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, 11: "et victum aut tegumentum quotidianum ex sacro ministerio adipisci cupiunt."
17. *Contra Praeceptum Impium, ad fin.*
18. *Sermo*, 2.
19. *De Cavendo Convictu, ad init.*
20. *De Insolentia Iudaeorum*, 5.
21. *Adversum Dogma Felicis Urgellensis*, 1.
22. *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 3.
23. *Consultatio et Supplicatio, ad init.*: "inter nos discunt linguam nostram."
24. *De Grandine et Tonitruis*, 16.
25. *Ibid.*, 2.
26. *Ibid.*, 1.
27. *De Quorumdam Inlusione Signorum*, 1.
28. *De Imaginibus*, 19: "Si enim sanctorum imagines hi, qui daemonum cultum reliquerat venerari juberentur, puto quod videretur eis non tam idola reliquisse, quam simulacra mutasse."
29. *Ibid.*, 16.
30. *De Insolentia Iudaeorum*, 5; *De Cavendo Convictu, ad med.*
31. *Ibid.*, and add *De Insolentia Iudaeorum*, 2.

32. *Contra Judicium Dei*, 2.
33. *Ibid., sententiae:* "si plus amaverit terram vel porcum."
34. *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 3.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Contra Praeceptum Impium, ad med.:* "ut interiorem hominem ad imaginem suam conditum, nulli hominum."
37. *Ibid., ad fin.*
38. *De Modo Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, 11.
39. *De Grandine et Tonitruis*, 7.
40. *Ibid.*, 16.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 6.
43. *Adversum Dogma Felicis Urgellensis*, 1.
44. *De Cavendo Convictu, ad fin.:* "tene quos potes, terre quos potes."
45. *De Dispensatione*, 30; *De Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii*, 11, 18.
46. "Manifesto," 2.

Chapter Four

1. Einhard, *Vita Caroli*, ch. 29.
2. *Ibid.*, ch. 15; Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, annis* 790, 796, 800, 803, 804, 806; Thegan, *Vita Ludovici Imperatoris*, 34.
3. Astronomer, *op. cit., anno* 817; *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 817.
4. Summarized in Astronomer, *op. cit., anno* 817.
5. Thegan, *op. cit.*, 20.
6. *Adversus Legem Gundobadi et Impia Certamina Quae per Eam Geruntur.*

7. See Katherine Fischer, *The Burgundian Code* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), pp. 1-14, and *passim*.
8. Agobard, *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 3.
9. *Ibid.*, 6.
10. Especially by Bishop Avitus of Vienne, a contemporary of King Gundobad. Avitus is quoted by Agobard in *Adversus Legem Gundobadi*, 13, and in *Contra Iudicium Dei*, 6.
11. Leidrad, *Epistolae*, I.
12. *De Divinis Sententiis Digestus cum Brevissimis Adnotationibus Contra Damnabilem Opinionem Putantium Divini Iudicii Veritatem Igne vel Aquis vel Conflictu Armorum Patefieri.*
13. Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities: A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A. D.*, translated by Charles Christopher Mierow (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), p. 356.
14. The two paragraphs are based on *Annales Eginhardi, annis* 817, 818; Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, annis* 817, 818; Thegan, *Vita Ludovici Imperatoris*, 22-24; Nithard, *De Dissensionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii*, I.
15. Ado, *Chronicon, anno* 792; Agobard, *Adversum Dogma Felicis Urgellensis*, 1, 6.
16. *Adversum Dogma Felicis Urgellensis.*
17. Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 819.
18. Thegan, *Vita Ludovici Imperatoris*, 26.
19. Astronomer, *op. cit., anno* 819.
20. Agobard, "Manifesto," 2, 5.
21. *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 821; Astronomer, *op. cit., anno* 821.
22. Theodulf, *Carmina*, VI, 14 (*PL*, CV, 367).
23. Cited in *PL*, CIV, 13.

Chapter Five

1. Agobard, *De Dispensatione*, 4, 20.
2. Agobard, *Consultatio et Supplicatio, passim.*
3. *De Dispensatione*, 29, 30.
4. *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 822; Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 822; Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Sancti Adalhardi*, 51f.; *De Dispensatione*, 2f.
5. Although the Astronomer says, "poenitentiam spontaneam suscepit."
6. *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 822; Astronomer, *op. cit., anno* 822; *De Dispensatione*, 2.
7. Simson, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, I, pp. 180f.
8. *De Dispensatione*, 2.
9. *Ibid.*, 3.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Sancti Adalhardi*, 52.
12. *De Dispensatione*, 4.
13. *Ibid.*, 20.
14. *Ibid.*, 4.
15. *Ibid.*, 1.
16. H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, English translation reprinted (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1946), III, p. 161.
17. See Amulo's complaint in *PL*, CXVI, 171.
18. Given in *MGH, Formulae*, pp. 310, 315.
19. Graetz, *op. cit.*, III, p. 163.
20. *Consultatio et Supplicatio, ad init.*
21. *Consultatio et Supplicatio de Baptismo Iudaicorum Mancipiorum.*

22. *Annales Eginhardi, annis* 823, 825.

23. *Ibid., anno* 823; Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 823.

24. *Ibid.*, and add Nithard, *De Dissensionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii*, II, *ad init.*

25. *De Dispensatione*, 5f.

26. *De Dispensatione Ecclesiasticarum Rerum.*

27. It is well known that Louis's great-grandfather, Charles Martel, appropriated church lands and distributed them to his military men to support the army.

28. Given in *MGH, Formulae*, p. 310.

Chapter Six

1. *Contra Eorum Superstitionem Qui Picturis et Imaginibus Sanctorum Adorationis Obsequium Deferendum Putant.*

2. R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning*, 2nd edition, revised (London: Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, 1920). p. 32 and n. 22.

3. Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita Sancti Adalhardi.*

4. Ermoldus Nigellus, *De Rebus Gestis Ludovici Pii.*

5. *De Spe et Timore.*

6. Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 726; *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 826; Einhard, *Historia Translationis Beatorum Christi Martyrum Marcellini et Petri*, VII, 75.

7. *Contra Praeceptum Impium de Baptismo Judaicorum Manicipiorum.* It is interesting to note how Graetz, *History of the Jews*, III, p. 164, improves the account of an incident which he calls "insignificant." He says: "The female slave of a *respected* Jew of Lyons *ran away* from her master, and *to regain her freedom* she *allowed* herself to be baptized...." But there is no documentary basis for the ideas expressed in the words

which I have emphasized. For some reason, A. L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935), p. 350, n. 5, does not think the woman was a Jewess. I cannot see any other normal reading of the text: "quadam feminam ex Judaismo ad Christianismum gratia Christi translatam...." Solomon Katz, *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1937), pp. 27, 63, sustains my translation. The passage from Graetz is "reprinted from *A History of the Jews* by Heinrich Graetz with the permission of the copyright owner, The Jewish Publication Society of America."

8. See beginning of Note 7.
9. *Contra Praeceptum Impium, ad init.*
10. This recalls the Good Friday collect *pro perfidis Judaeis.*
11. *De Insolentia Judaeorum,* 2.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.,* 3.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *De Modo Regiminis Ecclesiastici.*
17. *De Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii,* 1.
18. *Ibid.*
19. See Note 17 above.
20. Hosea 4:9, "like people, like priest."

Chapter Seven

1. *Historia Translationis Beatorum Christi Martyrum Marcellini et Petri.*
2. Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 827; *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 827.

3. *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 828; Astronomer, *op. cit., anno* 828.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Agobard, *De Insolentia Judaeorum,* 5.
6. *Ibid.,* 2.
7. *De Judaicis Superstionibus.*
8. *De Insolentia Judaeorum.*
9. Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), p. 128, refers to these as "several apparently authentic cases of the theft of children in France by Jewish slave traders for sale to the Moors of Spain...." Quoted with publisher's permission.
10. Solomon Katz, *The Jews in the Visigoth and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1937), p. 66. Used with publisher's permission.
11. *Epistola Exhortatoria de Cavendo Convictu et Societate Judaica.*
12. *Deploratoria de Injustitiis.*

Chapter Eight

1. *Annales Eginhardi, anno* 829; Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 829.
2. *Ibid.;* Nithard, *De Dissensionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii,* I, *ad init.;* Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii seu Vita Venerabilis Walae,* II, 9.
3. Astronomer, op. *cit., anno* 829.
4. Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii,* II, 8f.
5. Astronomer, *op. cit., anno* 829.
6. Nithard, *op. cit.,* I, *ad init.*

7. Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, II, 12.
8. *De Quorumdum Inlusione Signorum.*
9. *Contra Objectiones Fredigisi Abbatis.* A. J. Macdonald, *Authority and Reason in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 59, thinks that both Agobard and Fredegisus were concerned with the question of the confessional. There is, however, no documentary warrant for that inference.
10. Note that he ascribes the epistle to Saint Paul.
11. *Sermo Exhortatorius ad Plebem de Fidei Veritate et Totius Boni Institutione.*
12. *Ibid.*, 6: "ex sancta Virgine ad hoc praeparata et custodita."

Chapter Nine

1. These paragraphs are based on the pertinent accounts of Thegan, *Vita Ludovici Imperatoris;* Nithard, *De Dissensionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii;* and Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita.*
2. Louis the Pious, *Diplomata Ecclesiastica,* 102. On Agobard as abbot of Saint Médard, see *Gallia Christiana,* IX (Paris: Palmé, 1876), p. 416, which lists Agobard as the sixteenth abbot of that monastery; J. Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti,* II, (Paris: Montalant, 1704), p. 536, questions the authenticity of the tradition. Consult also M. Bouquet (ed.), *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France,* VI (Paris: Palmé, 1870), p. 216, note *a;* Marcks, "Die politisch-kirchliche Wirksamkeit des Erzbischofs Agobard von Lyon," p. 26, n. 1.
3. *Flebilis Epistola de Divisione Imperii Francorum Inter Filios Ludovici Imperatoris.*

4. Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 832; Nithard, *op. cit.*, I, *ad med.;* Thegan, *op. cit.*, 40f.

Chapter Ten

1. Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, II, 14-18; Nithard, *De Dissensionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii*, I, *ad med.*
2. *De Comparatione*, 5.
3. The letter of the Pope is found in *PL*, CIV, 297-308, and in *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, III, pp. 228-232.
4. Paschasius Radbertus, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, II, 16.
5. *De Comparatione Regiminis Ecclesiastici et Politici et in Quibus Ecclesiae Dignitati Praefulget Imperiorum Majestati.*
6. The "Manifesto" comprises the first six chapters of the book usually entitled *Liber Apologeticus....* The division is here recognized; the name "Manifesto" is given to the first, while *Liber Apologeticus* is reserved for the second.
7. Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 833.
8. *Ibid.*
9. C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, translated by H. Leclercq from the 2nd German edition (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1911), IV, Part I, p. 87.
10. *Chartula Porrecta Lotharia Augusto in Synodo Compendiensi..*
11. *Liber Apologeticus Pro Filiis Ludovici Pii Imperatoris Adversus Patrem*, 7-13. See Note 6 above.
12. Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 834: "Hieme autem exacta, et vere jam roseam faciem praetendente...."
13. Thegan, *Vita Ludovici Imperatoris*, 52; Nithard, *De Dissensionibus Filiorum Ludovici Pii*, I, *ad med.*

14. Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 834.
15. *Ibid., anno* 835. It is evident from the way this council dealt with Ebbo that to depose a bishop the bishop normally had to be present and declare himself unworthy of the episcopal office. Ebbo's resignation is given in *MGH, Leges*, I, p. 370.
16. Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 835.
17. *Ibid., anno* 836 (the council occurred in 835; see Simson, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, II, p. 139f.).

Chapter Eleven

1. Florus, *Carmina Varia*, II.
2. Florus, *Opuscula Adversus Amalarium*, III.
3. Amalarius, *De Ordine Antiphonarii, prologus* (*PL*, CV, 1244). There is an excellent recent edition of most of Amalarius's works: J. M. Hanssens, *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia* (*Studi e Testi*, Nos. 138-140), 3 vols. (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948).
4. Florus, *Opuscula Adversus Amalarium*, III.
5. *Ibid.*, I, 2; II, 80f.
6. Amalarius, *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* (*PL*, CV, 985-1242. Hanssens justifies for this work the title *Liber Officialis*.
7. *Ibid.*, III, 35.
8. *De Divina Psalmodia.*
9. *De Correctione Antiphonarii.*
10. It seems to me that this indicates Agobardian authorship.
11. Ado, *Martyrologium*, for 2 June.
12. Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistolae*, V, 17.
13. Note that he ascribes the creed to the Apostles.

14. *Contra Libros Quatuor Amalarii.*

15. The location of the sections in Amalarius's book, controverted by Agobard, bears out this statement: in general the quotations from the first book of *De Ecclesiasticis Officiis* are taken from the end, there are no citations from the second book, the passages from the third book occur in the middle of it, and those from the fourth are near the end.

16. Astronomer, *Ludovici Pii Vita, anno* 838.

17. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, IV, Part I, pp. 102f.

18. Astronomer, *op. cit., anno* 840.

19. Ado, *Chronicon, anno* 840.

20. Astronomer, *op. cit., anno* 840.

21. Agobard, "Agobardo pax sit."

Epilogue and Conclusion

1. Amulo, *Epistola seu Liber Contra Judaeos* (*PL*, CXVI, 141-184).

2. See an unsigned article about an anonymous treatise, "Un document 'antiamalarien,' " *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, XLI (1927), pp. 237-244.

3. See, for example, Ratherius, *Praeloquiorum Libris Sex*, I, 10 (*PL*, CXXXVI, 157f.) and *Sermones*, VIII, 3 (*PL*, CXXXVI, 738f.).

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES