The Heirs of Alcuin: Education and Clerical Advancement in Ninth-Century Carolingian Europe

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

During the Carolingian renewal, Alcuin of York (c. 740–804) played a major role in promoting education for children who would later join the clergy, and encouraging advanced learning among mature clerics. This study argues that Alcuin was also instrumental in forging a connection between education and clerical advancement as a developmental process, which scholarship has neglected due to its tendency to separate the topics of ninth-century education and the Carolingian Church. Clerical education was framed and shaped by hierarchical concepts. Alcuin recognized a hierarchy of teachers and teaching authority, ranking the biblical and theological expertise of the *doctor* over the more basic instruction of the *magister*. At the same time, Alcuin's life as a *magister* served to emphasize the importance of this role as the foundation for clerical education. The term *schola* retained its classical and patristic connotations in the ninth century; it might refer to the entire Church as instructed by the clergy, or to any group of students learning a skill or discipline at a particular level. Alcuin associated the traditional life stages (*gradus aetatis*) with educational development, and these, along with the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, were the structures of advancement that Alcuin and his intellectual heirs viewed as a framework for clerical education. Educational curriculum could be based on clerical skills to be learned, life stages, or on various authors who demonstrated superior skill in composition, especially in the writing of histories. The transition from reading to composition was a crucial point in the careers of many young clerics, often involving the writing of prose and verse *vitae*. Many young clerics wrote these *vitae* at or near the time of their promotions to the higher orders, which is crucial for understanding the early careers of Alcuin's pupils and of his ninth-century intellectual heirs.

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Abbreviations

Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court	*Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court: Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference Held at the University of Groningen, May 1995*, ed. by L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald, Mediaevalia Groningana, 22 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998)
Alkuin von York und die Geistige Grundlegung Europas	*Alkuin von York und die Geistige Grundlegung Europas: Akten der Tagung vom 30. September bis zum 2. Oktober 2004 in der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, ed. by Ernst Tremp and Karl Schmuki, Monasterium Sancti Galli, 5 (St Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof, 2010)
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken	*Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken: 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997–98), I: *Wissen und Weltbild*, ed. by P. Butzer, M. Kerner, and W. Oberschelp (1997)
Mansi	*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by Giovanni Domenico Mansi, completed by Louis Petit and Jean-Baptiste Martin, 54 vols in 59 (Florence and Venice: Zatta, 1759–98; repr. Paris: Welter, 1901–27; Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlagsanstalt, 1960–61)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Auct. ant.	Auctores antiquissimi
Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum, Legum sectio 2, ed. by Alfred Boretius and Viktor Krause, 2 vols (Hanover: Hahn, 1883–97)
Capit. episc.	Capitula episcoporum, vol. 1, ed. by Peter Brommer (Hanover: Hann, 1984); vol. 2, ed. by Rudolf Pokorny and Martina Stratmann (Hanover: Hann, 1995); vol. 3, ed. by Rudolf Pokorny (Hanover: Hann, 1995)

Capit. N.S.	Capitularia regum Francorum, Nova series
Conc.	Concilia, Legum sectio 3, Concilia, 2, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, ed. by Albert Werminghoff, 2 parts (Hanover: Hahn, 1906–08); 3, *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche, 843–859*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann (Hanover: Hahn, 1984); 4, *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche, 860–874*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann (Hanover: Hahn, 1998)
Epp.	Epistolae (in quart), 3, *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, I, ed. by Ernst Dümmler and others (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892); 4, *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, II, ed. by Ernst Dümmler and others (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895); 5, *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, III, ed. by Ernst Dümmler and others (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899); 6, *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, IV, ed. by Ernst Dümmler and others (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925)
Fontes iuris	Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi
Poetae	Poetae Latini medii aevi, 1, 2, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, I, II, ed. by Ernst Dümmler (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881, 1884); 3, *Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, III, ed. by Ludwig Traube (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896)
SS	Scriptores (in folio)
SS rer. Germ.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
SS rer. Germ. N.S.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series
SS rer. Merov.	Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–65)
Religious Franks	*Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honour of Mayke de Jong*, ed. by Rob Meens and others (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016)

Introduction

In his contribution to the 1995 volume *The Gentle Voices of Teachers*, David Ganz supplied a historiographical survey intended to be both descriptive and prescriptive with regard to past, present, and future studies on Carolingian education.[1] From his discussion, it is clear that historians of Carolingian education have focused nearly all their attention on Charlemagne as an educational reformer. To mark a transition, Ganz noted a few scholars who have attempted to synthesize Carolingian culture and education in more holistic terms.[2] Chief among them was Pierre Riché, whose two major monographs, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare: VIe–VIIIe siècles*, first published in 1962, and *Écoles et enseignement dans le haut moyen âge*, in 1979, represent the most ambitious study of early medieval education in terms of chronological scope, covering from the late fifth century to the middle of the eleventh.[3] As for the Carolingian era, in *Écoles et enseignement* Riché provided a general survey based on the most logical topics: royal policies, influences of various regions, principal centres of study, and subjects of study.

Riché had little to say in these monographs about the relationship between education and clerical advancement.[4] Nevertheless, in the Carolingian era this relationship would become essential, since this was the decisive moment when administration, law, and education would become the province of the clergy.[5] For the first time, schooling would be considered a regular and official function of the Church, as is shown by key examples of legislation from the period. This means that the Church did not provide personnel and resources for education simply to promote an abstract social good called 'renewal', or merely to produce the final products of that education in the form of educated clergymen. This certainly did happen, especially for those who had access to the best education, but in their case the connection between Church and education was more thorough. The organizational structures of the Church, specifically, the hierarchies and networks of Carolingian churches, monasteries, and clergymen shaped the entire educational process, integrated the incentives and rewards of advancement with clerical learning, and determined the character of ninth-century education.

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[1] David Ganz, 'Conclusion: Visions of Carolingian Education, Past, Present, and Future', in *'The Gentle Voices of Teachers': Aspects of Learning in the Carolingian Age*, ed. by Richard E. Sullivan (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1995), pp. 261–83.

[2] Ganz, 'Conclusion: Visions of Carolingian Education, Past, Present, and Future', p. 268.

[3] The translated edition of the first monograph is *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West, Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, trans. by John J. Contreni (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1976); *Écoles et enseignement dans le haut moyen âge: Fin du V^e^ siècle – milieu du XI^e^ siècle*, 3rd edn (Paris: Picard, 1999).

[4] As far as I can tell, Riché's comments on this matter are limited to the following passages: *Education and Culture*, pp. 172–73, 280, 283, 286–87, 470–71; *Écoles et enseignement*, pp. 72, 197.

The institutional nature of medieval education was treated by Émile Lesne in his volume *Les Écoles de la fin du VIIIe Siècle à la fin du XIIIe*.[6] After him, Riché focused primarily on literary culture,[7] and the rich fund of evidence for this aspect of the Carolingian renewal has supported a great deal of scholarship since. Studies on Carolingian education have followed this emphasis on literary culture.[8] Most of these are specialized according to the topics that Riché outlined, focusing on the policies of rulers,[9] influences of various regions,[10] principal centres of study,[11] and subjects of study, some dealing with the liberal arts in general,[12] some treating grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic separately or together,[13] and others discussing computus and the sciences.[14] The ostensible goal of these studies has been to present each of these

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[5] For the rise of clerical activity in these areas and cooperation with secular elites, see Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson, eds, *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[6] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, 6 vols (Lille: Facultés catholiques, 1910–43), V: *Les Écoles de la fin du VIIIe Siècle à la fin du XIIIe* (1940).

[7] This had also been the primary focus of Max Roger, *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin: introduction à l'histoire des écoles carolingiennes* (Paris: Picard, 1905).

[8] A prime example being Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2 vols, vol. 1 in two parts (Munich: Fink, 1975–92).

[9] Franz Brunhölzl, 'Der Bildungsauftrag der Hofschule', in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels, 2nd edn, 5 vols (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1965–68), II: *Das Geistige Leben*, ed. by Bernhard Bischoff (1965), pp. 28–41; Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Bildungsreform Karls des Grossen als Verwirklichung der norma rectitudinis* (Bigge-Ruhr: Josefs-Druckerei, 1953).

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[10] For example, Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I: *Von Cassiodor bis zum Ausklang der karolingischen Erneuerung* (1975), pp. 25–240; Jacques Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 3 vols (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1959–83); Mary Garrison, 'The English and the Irish at the Court of Charlemagne', in *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken*, I, pp. 97–123.

[11] Édouard Jeauneau, 'Les Écoles de Laon et d'Auxerre au IXe siècle', in *La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 19, 2 vols (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1972), II, 495–522; John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 29 (Munich: Arbeo–Gesellschaft, 1978); Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Palace School of Charles the Bald', part 6 in *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995), pp. 326–39; David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte der Francia, 20 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1990); Dominique Iogna-Prat, Colette Jeudy, and Guy Lobrichon, eds, *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre, de Murethach à Remi, 830–908: Entretiens d'Auxerre 1989* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1991); Anna A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[12] Josef Koch, ed., *Artes Liberales: Von der antiken Bildung zur Wissenschaft des Mittelalters*, Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1959); Johannes Fried, 'Karl der Große, die *Artes liberales* und die karolingische Renaissance', in *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken*, I, pp. 25–43; Andrew Hicks, 'Martianus Capella and the Liberal Arts', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, ed. by Ralph J. Hexter and David Townsend (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 307–34; Anneli Luhtala, 'On Early Medieval Divisions of Knowledge', in *Carolingian Scholarship and Martianus Capella: Ninth-Century Commentary Traditions on "De nuptiis" in Context*, ed. by Mariken Teeuwen and Sinéad O'Sullivan, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 75–98; Anneli Luhtala, '"Unity" of the Liberal Arts in the Early Middle Ages', in *Flores Grammaticæ: Essays in Memory of Vivien Law*, ed. by Nicola McLelland and Andrew R. Linn, Henry Sweet Society Studies in the History of Linguistics, 10 (Münster: Nodus, 2005), pp. 55–65.

[13] See articles by Louis Holtz, some of which will be considered below. See Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter, eds, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Michael A. Covington, '*Scientia Sermocinalis*: Grammar in Medieval Classifications of the Sciences', in *Flores Grammaticæ: Essays in Memory of Vivien Law*, ed. by McLelland and Linn, pp. 49–54; Vivien Law, 'The Study of Grammar', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 88–110; Pierre Swiggers, 'Alcuin et les doctrines grammaticales', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest*, 111.3 (2004), 147–61; Gabriele Knappe, 'The Rhetorical Aspect of Grammar Teaching in Anglo-Saxon England', *Rhetorica*, 17 (1999), 1–34; Anneli Luhtala, 'Grammar and Dialectic: A Topical Issue in the Ninth Century', in *Iohannes Scottus Eriugena: The Bible and Hermeneutics: Proceedings of the Ninth International Colloquium of the Society for the Promotion of Eriugenian Studies Held at Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve, June 7–10, 1995*, ed. by Gerd Van Riel, Carlos Steel, and James McEvoy, Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, 1st ser., 20 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), pp. 279–301; Susan Rankin, 'The Juxtaposition of Music and Grammar: Some Case Studies', in *Fruits of Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Rolf H. Bremmer Jr and Kees Dekker, Mediaevalia Groningana, n.s., 21 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), pp. 15–33. Studies on rhetoric often treat political or theological application rather than learning; for example Mayke de Jong, *Epitaph for an Era: Politics and Rhetoric in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019). A recent exception dealing with instruction is John O. Ward, *Classical Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: The Medieval Rhetors and Their Art 400–1300, with Manuscript Survey to 1500 CE*, International Studies in the History of Rhetoric, 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

[14] Immo Warntjes and Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, eds, *Computus and Its Cultural Context in the Latin West, AD 300–1200: Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Science of Computus in Ireland and Europe, Galway, 14–16 July, 2006*, Studia Traditionis Theologiae: Explorations in Early and Medieval

different aspects in light of the 'Carolingian cultural achievement whole and in context', and 'to reconstruct a picture of Carolingian cultural life at particular moments during the eighth and ninth centuries'.[15] The value of a holistic approach has often been acknowledged, if not always followed.

In 1995, the second volume of *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, covering the eighth and ninth centuries, was published. These essays were meant to capture and contextualize 'particular moments' whole and entire, just as Ganz had described the historian's new mission, and yet the overall structure of the volume betrays a subtle methodological problem. It is divided into four parts, where the third and fourth parts, 'Church and Society' and 'Culture and Intellectual Developments', are presented as self-contained units.[16] Accordingly, the chapter by John Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', and the one by Roger Reynolds, 'The Organisation, Law and Liturgy of the Western Church', are treated as belonging to two separate camps.[17] This same division appears in the 1997 volume *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken: 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa*. The two separate parts, 'Scholarly Activity during Carolingian Times' and 'Monastic and Ecclesiastical Developments', give each other a wide berth both theoretically and

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Theology, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010); Faith Wallis, '"Number Mystique" in Early Medieval Computus Texts', in *Mathematics and the Divine: A Historical Study*, ed. by T. Koetsier and L. Bergmans (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005), pp. 179–99; Kerstin Springsfeld, *Alkuins Einfluß auf die Komputistik zur Zeit Karls des Großen*, Sudhoffs Archiv, 48 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002); Paul L. Butzer and Karl W. Butzer, 'Mathematics at Charlemagne's Court and Its Transmission', in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Catherine Cubitt, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 77–89; Paul Leo Butzer and Dietrich Lohrmann, eds, *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1993); Bruce S. Eastwood, *Ordering the Heavens: Roman Astronomy and Cosmology in the Carolingian Renaissance*, History of Science and Medicine Library, 4, Medieval and Early Modern Science, 8, ed. by J. M. M. H. Thijssen and C. H. Lüthy (Leiden: Brill, 2007). See also works by Wesley M. Stevens, for example the articles in *Cycles of Time and Scientific Learning in Medieval Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS482 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995).

[15] Ganz, 'Conclusion: Visions of Carolingian Education, Past, Present, and Future', p. 268.

[16] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995–2005), II: *c. 700–c. 900*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (1995).

[17] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, pp. 709–57 and 587–621.

physically, separated by over one hundred and fifty pages.[18] The separation is not absolute, however, and even here scholars use terminology that treats these categories as related, where a *Reform der Kirche* and a *Bildungsreform* can be discussed without observing a strict line of demarcation.[19] Still, the conceptual sundering of the topics of Carolingian education and the Church as an institution has endured, as another volume, *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, published in 2005, demonstrates. Here again, chapters on 'Charlemagne's Church' and 'The Carolingian Renaissance of Culture and Learning' share few if any common or interrelated interests.[20]

The early divide between these branches of interest can be detected in the work of Émile Lesne. Part of the problem lay in his criteria for determining which institutions and personnel could be properly associated with education. In his major work on ecclesiastical property in France, Lesne devoted an entire volume to discussing evidence for those persons who may be classified as regular or appointed teachers, and for institutions that may be properly called 'schools'. With regard to much of the eighth century, he considered the search for 'un maître attitré' and for 'une école proprement dite' to be in vain.[21] Even to the late eighth and ninth centuries he applied these terms only with the greatest caution and never without qualification. For Lesne, the title of 'teacher' applied only with varied degrees of appropriateness to a spectrum of individuals, from parish priests to cathedral clerics, and from austere abbots to the most cultivated masters at the royal court. A 'school', properly speaking, and in keeping with Lesne's project of cataloguing separate aspects of *propriété ecclésiastique*, was ideally a distinct physical structure alongside the novitiate, infirmary, guest quarters, etc., but in abstract terms, he added, schools were the property of churches in terms of their right to exercise a monopoly over the subject matter of education.[22] For this reason, his criteria for identifying a school 'proprement dite' included, first, the determination of whether a cathedral or monastic school granted admission to those outside of its own community, and second, whether a school provided an education that went beyond the basic training needed for celebrating the divine office.[23] In this way, Lesne sought to identify permanent institutions with formally attached personnel rather than informal and temporary teaching relationships, which will be taken into account in this study.

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[18] P. Butzer, M. Kerner, and W. Oberschelp, eds, *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken*, I: *Wissen und Weltbild*.

[19] Ulrich Nonn, 'Zur Vorgeschichte der Bildungsreform Karls der Großen', in *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken*, I, pp. 63–77.

[20] *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. by Joanna Story (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005). These are the chapters by Mayke de Jong and Rosamond McKitterick, pp. 103–35 and 151–66.

[21] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, V, pp. 1–14 (pp. 6–7).

Perhaps the most provocative of Lesne's conclusions was that he did not consider the palace school of Charlemagne a school 'proprement dite'.[24] He based this primarily on the age and status of the students at the palace, since they do not appear to constitute a group of children under one teacher, but rather 'a troop of servants, of officers, among which appear a large number of young and old clerics'.[25] Of course, the education offered at the royal court, both to young aristocrats and to clerics, would have been different and less stable than the education offered at well-established cathedral or monastic schools.[26] Still, Lesne did not accept the historicity of the report that Charlemagne entrusted a number of boys (*pueri*) from every social class to a certain Clement to be educated, and that he later convened an assembly where he judged the efforts of these boys and promised the rule of churches and monasteries to the studious ones.[27] Lesne also noted that while the term *schola* is occasionally used in connection with the palace, no contemporary apart from Alcuin ever used the expression *schola palatii*.[28]

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[22] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, V, p. vii.

[23] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, V, pp. 15–32.

[24] Lesne was not alone in this view, which is more recently held by Herbert Schutz, *The Carolingians in Central Europe, Their History, Arts and Architecture: A Cultural History of Central Europe, 750–900*, Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions, 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 174.

[25] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, V, pp. 33–43 (p. 42). 'Une troupe de serviteurs, d'officiers, parmi lesquels figurent un grand nombre de clercs jeunes et vieux.'

[26] See Matthew Innes, '"A Place of Discipline": Carolingian Courts and Aristocratic Youth', in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Catherine Cubitt, pp. 59–76 (pp. 61–62); Janet L. Nelson, *King and Emperor: A New Life of Charlemagne* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), pp. 340, 444–48.

The challenge for Lesne in defining various institutions and personnel was very real, but the identification of a school with a troop of young and old clerics should not be considered a barrier to understanding early medieval education. The integration of education and ecclesiastical institutions and personnel should not be viewed as a knot to be untangled; rather, it is a cord that guides the researcher to a better understanding of all aspects involved: church, school, clerics, students, and teachers. Indeed, the integration of all these aspects has occasionally been assumed by scholars, even if not studied in detail. Some examples of this are the recent studies on priests' examinations, where education is included, along with moral probity and theological accuracy, in determining fitness for clerical ordinations.[29] Other examples include the introduction and conclusion to the 1994 volume *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*. In his introduction, Giles Brown notes that the concern for educational reform and the establishment of ecclesiastical and social hierarchy went hand in hand.[30] Rosamond McKitterick complements this in her concluding remarks. Summarizing the impact of the volume's chapters, she states that Carolingian innovation was based to a great extent on institutional connections, or 'the interaction of royal courts, monasteries, cathedrals and their schools'.[31] In his own contribution to *The Gentle Voices of Teachers*, John

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[27] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, V, p. 41; Notker, *Gesta Karoli Magni*, I. 3, ed. by Hans F. Haefele, MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S., 12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959), pp. 4–5.

[28] Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, V, p. 41.

[29] Sarah Hamilton, 'Educating the Local Clergy, c. 900–c. 1150', *Studies in Church History*, 55 (2019), 83–113; Carine van Rhijn, '"Et hoc considerat episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae": Carolingian Local *Correctio* and an Unknown Priest's Exam from the Early Ninth Century', in *Religious Franks*, pp. 162–80.

[30] Giles Brown, 'Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by McKitterick, pp. 1–51 (pp. 6, 12–13, 16, 24–25).

[31] Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Legacy of the Carolingians', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by McKitterick, pp. 317–23 (p. 317).

Contreni observed that, beginning with the call for the establishment of schools in Charlemagne’s *Admonitio generalis* of 789 (discussed below), ‘Carolingian legislation and episcopal statutes throughout the ninth century elaborated a system of what might be called clerical quality control’.[32] This unassuming statement has gone sadly unnoticed, for it implies an integrated view of schooling and ecclesiastical administration in the ninth century. Mary Garrison also noted the connection between literary culture and clerical advancement. She observed that within two generations, beginning with Alcuin, a new emphasis on textual accuracy would transform ‘both the nature of written documents and the routes to curial and ecclesiastical advancement’, and she added that while literate royal servants, notaries, and chaplains had sometimes been laymen up to this time, ‘henceforward they would be drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the clergy’.[33] Perhaps it is no coincidence that this statement was made by an expert on Alcuin, even if most studies on Alcuin have adhered to the same parameters that have characterized the more general studies on Carolingian education already mentioned.

Most studies on Alcuin have focused on his connection with Charlemagne, limiting their discussions to the events of Alcuin’s own lifetime rather than seeking to establish a ninth-century legacy for him. This certainly characterizes the monographs published on Alcuin over the first half of the twentieth century.[34] A great number of articles have followed since. In 1995, the University of Groningen held a conference and later published its proceedings in the volume *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*.[35] The paper by Albrecht Diem is noteworthy, arguing that Alcuin exported a long-established insular fusion of monastic and intellectual values to the continent, and that his 'double role' as teacher and as draftsman of Carolingian policy was key to the emergence of monastic schools in the ninth century.[36] Donald Bullough sought to determine the nature of Alcuin's literary legacy by tracking the use of manuscripts containing his works, but this covered a very broad period, between c. 800–1500.[37] Mayke de Jong dealt more directly with the enduring connection between education and institutions after Alcuin, noting the influx of children into monastic and canonical communities, how much this resulted from the prospects of formal education, and how this affected the institutional relationship and function of monasteries and churches.[38] In another volume, *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, which appeared in 2003, Bullough challenged previous assumptions about the duration of Alcuin's time with the itinerant court and at Aachen, significantly reducing this, and thus also the degree of his influence on the court.[39]

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[32] John J. Contreni, ‘The Pursuit of Knowledge in Carolingian Europe’, in *The Gentle Voices of Teachers*, ed. by Sullivan, pp. 106–41 (p. 130).

[33] Mary Garrison, ‘Alcuin, *Carmen IX* and Hrabanus, *Ad Bonosum*: A Teacher and his Pupil Write Consolation’, in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke*, ed. by John Marenbon, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 29 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 63–87 (p. 65).

[34] These include C. J. B. Gaskoin, *Alcuin: His Life and His Work* (London: Clay, 1904); Wilbur Samuel Howell, ed. and trans., *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*: *The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941; New York: Russell and Russell, 1965); Arthur Kleinclausz, *Alcuin*, Annales de l’Université de Lyon, 3rd ser., fasc. 15 (Paris: Société d’édition les belles lettres, 1948); Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne: His World and his Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1951); Luitpold Wallach, *Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History and Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1959).

The twelve-hundredth anniversary of Alcuin's death, in 2004, was marked by a large number of studies on Alcuin. Chief among these was Donald Bullough's important book, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, and several points that Bullough makes in this work will be considered in the first chapter of this study.[40] Two conferences were also held, one at Tours, *Alcuin de York à Tours: Écriture, pouvoir et réseaux dans l'Europe du haut Moyen Âge*, the proceedings of which appeared in the same year, and another at St Gall, *Alkuin von York und die Geistige Grundlegung Europas*, with articles published in 2010.[41] The first of these emphasized the regional significance of Tours and the abbey of St Martin, where Alcuin became abbot, Alcuin's travels and correspondence, and, of course, Alcuin's literary endeavours. The second dealt primarily with manuscripts of Alcuin's works, his poetry and theology, and here again, Alcuin's connection with Charlemagne, both as his teacher and advisor in legislation, takes precedence over Alcuin's role as a teacher of young pupils. In 2011, Sita Steckel published her monograph, *Kulturen des Lehrens im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*. The approach that formed the foundation of this work was perhaps more secure than any approach used in previous studies on early medieval education, for Steckel wisely bases her discussion on the teacher-student relationship, as opposed to the identification of formally established educational personnel and institutions, and she uses Alcuin as a major focal point for understanding this relationship.[42]

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[35] L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald, eds, *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court: Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference Held at the University of Groningen, May 1995*, Mediaevalia Groningana, 22 (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1998).

[36] Diem, 'The Emergence of Monastic Schools: The Role of Alcuin', in *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, pp. 27–44 (p. 34).

[37] Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence: The Evidence of the Manuscripts', in *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, pp. 1–26.

[38] De Jong, 'From *Scolastici* to *Scioli*: Alcuin and the Formation of an Intellectual Élite', in *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, pp. 45–57.

[39] Donald Bullough, 'Unsettled at Aachen: Alcuin Between Frankfurt and Tours', in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Catherine Cubitt, pp. 17–38. In the same volume, Matthew Innes addressed the topic of young men seeking training and education at the court, but his discussion included the career paths of young lay aristocrats and focused more on moral discipline than education: 'A Place of Discipline', pp. 59–76.

Using Alcuin as its basis and starting point, this study will discuss the nature of the connection between education and clerical advancement in the ninth century. Alcuin of York (c. 740–804) lived to see the dawning of the ninth century, which would continue to feel the effects of the Carolingian renewal, and specifically the effects of the life and work of Alcuin himself.[43] Alcuin has been regarded as the most famous architect of the renewal, besides Charlemagne himself, largely due to his involvement in royal legislation promoting clerical schools and literacy. He was rewarded with influence, both at court and in the Church, as well as position, as when Charlemagne made him abbot of St Martin’s at Tours in 796. Still, a discussion of Alcuin’s legacy cannot be limited to his connection to Charlemagne and to royal policy; it must consider his entire career, including his status as a teacher in relation to other teachers, and as a cleric in relation to other clerics of lesser and greater rank. It must take into account Alcuin’s concept of the ideal education, his view of human growth and development, and his understanding of the Church as a hierarchical structure. Finally, it must apply these ideas to the further consideration of the careers of his pupils, and those his pupils would go on to teach and influence. Therefore, this study will consider Alcuin, not simply as a prime figure of the ninth-century renewal of literary culture who also happened to be a cleric, but as one who merged the conceptual and practical courses of educational and clerical advancement. It is important to note that this study does not argue that a specifically Alcuinian model for education and advancement became a dominant feature of the Carolingian renewal in the eighth century, nor that any such model was perpetuated and sustained into the ninth century. Rather, this study begins with Alcuin because he articulated and emphasized the integrated concepts of education and advancement, and he embodied these in such a way as to be an example to those who came under his direct or indirect influence. These concepts, and indeed their interrelation and integration at least in some degree, predate Alcuin, and Alcuin’s subsequent influence should be viewed as streams flowing within channels of relative size and importance, rather than as a main tributary that shaped the Carolingian era.

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[40] Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation: Being Part of the Ford Lectures Delivered in Oxford in Hilary Term 1980*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2004). Future references to this volume will appear as *Alcuin*.

[41] Proceedings for the first conference, *Alcuin de York à Tours*, were published in *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest*, 111.3 (2004). Those for the second conference are in Ernst Tremp and Karl Schmuki, eds, *Alkuin von York und die Geistige Grundlegung Europas: Akten der Tagung vom 30. September bis zum 2. Oktober 2004 in der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, Monasterium Sancti Galli, 5 (St Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof, 2010).

[42] Sita Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens im Früh- und Hochmittelalter: Autorität, Wissenskonzepte und Netzwerke von Gelehrten*, Norm und Struktur: Studien zum sozialen Wandel in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, 39 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011), pp. 148–95.

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[43] For a key to Alcuin’s works, see Marie-Hélène Jullien and others, eds, *Clavis scriptorum latinorum medii aevi: Auctores Galliae, 735–987*, CCCM (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994–), II: *Alcuin*, ed. by Marie-Hélène Jullien and Françoise Perelman (1999).

The consideration of the broader idea of ‘advancement’, as used in the title, as opposed to ecclesiastical promotion specifically, is meant to convey the inclusion of a wider range of matters related to clerical progression such as age, educational subject matter, and status of teachers, as well as promotion. A consideration of advancement would seem to invite the inclusion of examples from lay education and lay careers as well, at least for the sake of comparison with clerical education. Nevertheless, this study applies the broader consideration of advancement to clerical education only. Setting a limit of this kind is necessary in order to make the value of the broader approach stand out in shaprer relief; there are sufficient examples within clerical education to effectively demonstrate both consistency and variation, and since Carolingian education was provided almost exclusively by the clergy, a consideration of lay education may not provide the kind of useful comparisons with clerical education that would yield valuable results. In addition, it must be acknowledged that advancement and promotion were often determined by politics rather than education, and clerics might win or be denied advancement based solely on the vicissitudes of political events or affiliations. That politics played a major role in clerical advancement and promotion is undeniable, and perhaps obvious, but again, in order to limit the scope of this study, it will focus on the role that education played in advancement.

The early chapters of the thesis focus on educational terminology, treating the terms *magister*, *doctor*, and *schola* at length to provide historical contextualization for these terms. The first chapter considers Alcuin’s life and identity as a teacher, or *magister*, and argues that Alcuin viewed *magister* and *doctor* as two ranks in a hierarchy of teaching. Though he considered the rank of *magister* as inferior to that of *doctor*, Alcuin sought to endow it with significance as the foundation for clerical education, even to the point of redefining the role of *magister* in Carolingian church and society. In the second chapter, ninth-century usage of the term *schola* is examined in order to differentiate general and specific usage, since *schola* may refer to a number of different things: the Church as a whole (the *schola Christi*), a setting in which clerics gained the minimum of education required to perform liturgy and their clerical duties, or a place of advanced education for privileged or gifted students. The fact that *scholae* may indicate groups who learn or practice distinct clerical skills or tasks is also considered. After this, chapters three and four discuss two major hierarchical structures of Carolingian society, the life stages (*gradus aetatis*), and the ecclesiastical hierarchy itself (*cursus honorum*). The third chapter examines the manner in which Alcuin differentiates the young life stages, how he relates them to incremental growth in education and morality, and what this means for clerical careers in the ninth century. Chapter four discusses scholarship and background on the ecclesiastical grades, then traces the concerns for education and the regulation of promotion in conciliar and capitular legislation. The fifth chapter deals with ninth-century school curriculum insofar as this relates to clerical advancement and to education as a progression. It also considers the role of studying history (*historia*) as the literary form that unites all the disciplines, as being the summation of an author's literary skill, and therefore as being pivotal for a transition from reading to composition among the more gifted or elite students. This becomes apparent in the composition of saints' lives during the ninth century, where young clerics compose *vitae* in prose and verse in order to demonstrate their learning, and often near the time of their ecclesiastical promotions. The role of composition is also a factor in the sixth chapter, which is a prosopographical study of the early careers of Alcuin's more famous pupils and intellectual heirs.

Chapter I

The Life of Alcuin: Redefining the Role and Status of the *magister*

Throughout his adult life, Alcuin enjoyed elevated status due to his role as a teacher, or *magister*. This chapter offers a brief re-evaluation of Alcuin’s life, aiming to show that Alcuin not only viewed teaching as his primary occupation, but that he also sought to enhance the status of the role of *magister* itself. It was as a *magister* that Alcuin intended to play a strategic role in the success of his pupils, and also in shaping the contemporary attitude toward the role of education in clerical advancement. This chapter will demonstrate Alcuin’s view of clerical development, namely, that the moral, spiritual, and educational growth of young clerics ought to proceed according to parallel increments. In addition, it will be shown that Alcuin did not use *magister* and *doctor* as interchangeable terms to refer to one kind of teacher, but rather to signify a hierarchy of teachers with different levels of authority. The chapter will consider Alcuin’s early life, his role as *magister* at York, and his time at Charlemagne’s court as both *magister* and royal advisor among the *doctores* of the Church, along with the underlying political tension this may have involved. From Alcuin’s life and writings, it will become evident that he viewed the knowledge imparted by the *magister* as the foundation for those who would rise to become abbots, bishops, and *doctores* of the Church. Of course, the position of *magister* is not among the official ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and *magister* would not become an official title until the twelfth century;[1] nonetheless, it is a good starting point for understanding Alcuin’s view of promotion in the Church. Alcuin’s hierarchical view of the *magister* and the *doctor* is consistent with the way he integrated the concepts underlying clerical education and advancement, not only in how he articulated them, but also in how he embodied them in his personal experience and in his relationships with his own teachers, fellow teachers, pupils, and clerics of various ranks.

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[1] See Jan M. Ziolkowski, ‘Mastering Authors and Authorizing Masters in the Long Twelfth Century’, in *Latinitas Perennis: Volume I, The Continuity of Latin Literature*, ed. by Wim Verbaal, Yanick Maes, and Jan Papy, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History, 144 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 93–118 (pp. 105–06).

I.1 Alcuin's Early Life at York

Donald Bullough, in his book *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation*, devoted nearly twice the number of pages to discussing Alcuin's earlier years, or the 'Northumbrian Alcuin', as he did to discussing Alcuin's work on the continent. As he showed, nearly all that can be known or guessed in connection with Alcuin's early years comes indirectly. Bullough therefore concentrated more on the political and social setting of Northumbria, on men of secular rank, and on the character of York as a city and its connection to the wider world; York's cathedral community was less easy to define.[2]

With regard to Alcuin's schooling at York, Bullough resisted the temptation to transpose evidence from Alcuin's later years to his childhood. He cited a letter that Alcuin wrote to Eanbald II recommending the proper arrangement of the York school, that it should involve a teaching triad of reading, singing, and writing.[3] Bullough would not apply this to Alcuin's early life, since Alcuin's recommendation was more likely based on the current practice among Frankish churches at the time he was writing, in 796, than on the education he received as a boy at York.[4] Bullough thought it implausible to ascribe specialized teachers, one for each of the three subjects as Alcuin recommends in his letter, to the schooling Alcuin received.[5] However, Bullough did find a unique significance in the appointment of Ælberht, Alcuin's own teacher, as a designated *magister* at York. He concluded that this indicated the size and importance of the York school at the time of Alcuin's education: 'The organization of such a "school" is hardly possible until a cathedral community reaches a certain size, with a regular intake of boys of varying ages whose education can no longer be left entirely to the bishop'; the presence of *magistri* makes the York of Alcuin's boyhood 'exceptional and perhaps even unique in its day'.[6]

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[2] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 127–176.

[3] Alcuin, *ep*. 114, MGH Epp., 4, p. 169, lines 11–13.

[4] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 168–71.

[5] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 171–72.

Bullough also accepted that Alcuin's teaching triad of reading, singing, and writing would have been comparable to other early medieval triads, insofar as these were intended for early schooling. The best-known triad, *cantus*, *grammatica*, and *computus*, was intended for basic instruction, after which students began a thorough study of Scripture, 'loosely associated with their years of adolescence'.[7] For this reason, Bullough assigned an episode from Alcuin's *Vita*, where Alcuin reads the Gospel of John to his master and fellow pupils, to Alcuin's teens or early twenties,[8] just after Alcuin is said to be springing over the 'lubricos adolescentiae calles' ('hazardous paths of adolescence'), and just before Alcuin is consecrated deacon.[9]

It is here that Bullough turned his attention to the ecclesiastical grades. From contemporary evidence he showed how *clerici*, when not providing a contrast with

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[6] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 236–37. See also Bullough, 'Alcuin before Frankfort', in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794: Kristallisationspunkt Karolingischer Kultur, Akten zweier Symposien (vom 23. bis 27. Februar und vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 1994) anläßlich der 1200-Jahrfeier der Stadt Frankfurt am Main*, ed. by Rainer Berndt SJ, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte, 80, in 2 parts (Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1997), Part 2: *Kultur und Theologie*, pp. 571–85 (p. 574).

[7] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 224–25 and n. 286. Charles W. Jones referred to *cantus*, *grammatica*, and computus as 'vocational' subjects for clerics, since they were not disciplines of the liberal arts as such, but were rather distilled from the arts: *Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1947), pp. 5–6, 200–201, n. 11.

[8] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 173; *Vita Alcuini*, c. 7, ed. by Wilhelm Arndt, MGH SS, 15, 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1887), pp. 182–97 (pp. 188–89). The more recent edition is *Vita Alcuini*, ed. and trans. by Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, in *La vita beati Alcuini (IXe s.): Les inflexions d'un discours de sainteté: Introduction, édition et traduction annotée du texte d'après Reims, BM 1395 (K 784)*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série moyen âge et temps modernes, 54 (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2017).

[9] *Vita Alcuini*, cc. 6, 8, MGH SS, 15, 1, p. 188, line 34, p. 189, lines 27–28.

laicus or *monachus*, functioned as an inclusive term referring to all those in minor orders below the ranks of deacon, priest, and bishop.[10] He noted that Alcuin had attained the rank of deacon 'well on in his twenties', but also a lack of evidence for the lower orders that Alcuin and his contemporaries might have received in their years of adolescence, this being an obscure time of life for clerics in terms of hierarchical distinction.[11] As for the lower grades of acolyte, exorcist, lector, and doorkeeper, Bullough thought it likely that in Northumbria, these, perhaps with the exception of lector, 'never effectively existed', that Alcuin's first clerical grade might have been that of lector, and that Alcuin's later interest in the subdiaconate could mean that he had held this rank before being made deacon.[12]

With so little direct evidence for Alcuin's youth, Bullough resorted to the most basic framework available, the stages of the traditional life cycle, and included the terms *pueritia* and *adolescentia* in the title to his chapter on the Northumbrian Alcuin. Nevertheless, this structure derives in some measure from Alcuin himself, who distinguishes between his own *infantia* and *pueritia* in one letter to the monks of York, which Bullough dated to 794.[13] As it turns out, Alcuin refers to virtually every stage of his life in this letter, and each has its own brief descriptive comment:

> You supported the fragile years of my infancy [infantiae] with maternal affection, and sustained the wanton time of boyhood [puericiae] with tender patience, and with the disciplines of paternal correction you fully instructed me unto the perfect age [perfectam aetatem] of a man and strengthened me with the instruction of holy

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[10] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 173.
[11] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 174.
[12] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 174–75.
[13] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 127, 164–65.

> disciplines. […] And perhaps God will have compassion on me so that you will bury the old age [senectutem] of him whose infancy you nourished.[14]

The traditional life stages will be discussed in further detail below. For now it will suffice to observe that for his own early life, Alcuin distinguishes between his ‘fragile years’ of *infantia*, followed by the ‘wanton time’ of *pueritia*. Alcuin does not name the stage of *adolescentia*, though elsewhere he and others characterize this too as a *lasciva aetas* (wanton age) prone to vices.[15] After *pueritia* he describes the point at which he reached the *aetas perfecta*, a descriptive phrase most likely referring to the age of thirty, roughly the close of *adolescentia* and the arrival of *juventus*.

Alcuin views his youth as a progression, not involving promotions within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but rather an intensifying fusion of moral discipline and education that produces spiritual and mental development. It happens in stages; infancy receives tender patience, boyhood and adolescence require instruction by discipline and correction, and young manhood is strengthened with ‘holy disciplines’. The intertwining of these ideas, of age (or life stage), spirituality, and education is an important and recurrent theme for Alcuin, which has been relatively overlooked until now, although Bullough was certainly aware of it.

As Bullough noted, the precise meaning of *adolescentia*, a range from age fourteen to the late twenties, held a unique significance for Alcuin, ‘either because Alcuin was recalling that phase in his own life or because of his constant preoccupation with the educational and disciplinary needs of others at that stage’.[16] This ‘constant preoccupation’ with early life and education, which Alcuin demonstrates in his later writings, may actually be a substantial source of continuity between Alcuin’s career on the continent and his early years at York, and may in fact provide a more solid basis for understanding his early years than previously thought. Alcuin’s ‘York Poem’ has been thought to bridge this gap between the two major periods of his life, both because of its subject matter and because it is believed that Alcuin wrote it before his departure from England for the Frankish court, traditionally dated within 781–82.[17]

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[14] *Ep*. 42, MGH Epp., 4, p. 85, lines 21–23, p. 86, lines 10–11. ‘Vos fragiles infantiae meae annos materno fovistis affectu; et lascivum puericiae tempus pia sustinuistis patientia et paternae castigationis disciplinis ad perfectam viri edocuistis aetatem et sacrarum eruditione disciplinarum roborastis. […] Et forte miserebitur mei Deus, ut, cuius infantiam aluistis, eius senectutem sepelietis.’

[15] Alcuin, *ep*. 280, MGH Epp., 4, p. 437, line 32; Alcuin, *Ad pueros sancti Martini*, c. 2, ed. and trans. by Michael S. Driscoll, ‘“Ad pueros sancti Martini”: A Critical Edition, English Translation, and Study of the Manuscript Transmission’, *Traditio*, 53 (1998), 37–61 (p. 48). Alcuin would also have understood this connotation of *adolescentia* from Ecclesiastes 11. 10: *Ep*. 65, MGH Epp., 4, p. 108, line 20; *ep*. 66, MGH Epp., 4, p. 110, lines 10–11. See also *Concilium Aquisgranense 816*, c. 135, MGH Conc., 2, 1, pp. 307–464 (p. 413, lines 3–5).

As for Alcuin’s date of birth, this was traditionally set at around 735, which was the year of the Venerable Bede’s death, and was perhaps chosen in connection with this as if to mark the turning of an epoch. Gaskoin, followed by Arthur Kleinclausz, sought to determine at least whether his birthdate was before or after 735, and reasoned that since Alcuin complained of old age in a letter he wrote in 796 that he must have been over the age of sixty at the time, and so was born closer to 730.[18] Peter Godman later argued that the ‘York Poem’ provides an indirect hint for establishing Alcuin’s birthdate. At the end of the poem, Alcuin tells his muse, ‘mei pueri causam succinge parumper, | cui quoque praesentem testem me contigit esse’ (‘for a moment, furnish an occasion of my boyhood, for which it also befell that I was present as a witness’).[19] This was the death of a young man (*juvenis*) who provided Alcuin with guidance during what he calls his *puerilis tempora vitae* (times of boyhood life).[20] Alcuin blames this tragedy on a deadly disease (*pestis*),[21] which Godman identified with an entry from the continuation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. This reports that in the second year of king Æthelwald, whose succession is recorded for the year 759, a deadly disease visited Northumbria for almost two years, that is, from 760–61. Godman proposed that since Alcuin describes himself as a *puer*, that it was his *puerilis* time of life when he lost his friend, and assuming that he follows Isidore of Seville's definition of *pueritia* as lasting from age seven to fourteen, Alcuin's birthdate could be established relative to the epidemic of 760–61 as falling within the seven-year range of his *pueritia*.[22] This was to be reached by subtracting, first fourteen years, and then seven years from the dates between Æthelwald's succession and the end of the epidemic. Godman, however, made an arithmetical error in his calculation, which Bullough noticed and corrected to yield a date range of 745/7–752/4.[23] Bullough claimed that this range was difficult to reconcile with evidence provided by Alcuin and others (though Bullough did not cite this evidence), and he proposed a birthdate of a year or two either side of 740.[24] This approximate date, for reasons that will be shown below, seems the most likely.

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[16] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 105.

[17] See Mary Garrison, ‘The Library of Alcuin’s York’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999–), I: *c. 400–1100*, ed. by Richard Gameson (2012), pp. 633–64 (pp. 652–53). Peter Godman challenged the traditional view that Alcuin wrote it before leaving England: *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, ed. and trans. by Peter Godman (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982; repr. 1988), pp. xxxix–xlvii; see also Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 34. Franz Brunhölzl was convinced that Alcuin had composed it while still at York: *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I. 2: *Die Grundlegung Europas unter Karl dem Großem* (1975), pp. 268–69.

[18] Gaskoin, *Alcuin: His Life and His Work*, p. 41, n. 1; Kleinclausz, *Alcuin*, p. 18.

[19] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1600–01 (ed. Godman, p. 130).

[20] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1604 (ed. Godman, p. 130).

Any additional evidence for Alcuin's youth in the 'York poem' is a matter of speculation. Riché rejected Roger's attempt to reconstruct the schooling programme of Alcuin's youth.[25] For Bullough, the same caution was to be applied when considering some of the major figures Alcuin describes. Though he did not name the source, Bullough quoted a previous claim that where Alcuin gives a character sketch of his former teacher, Ælberht, he ‘was effectively sketching a portrait of himself in later years’.[26] If this were the case, Alcuin would have only intended to give a general impression of parity between himself and his master in their early lives. He might have claimed similarity in terms of their progress in years, marked by the traditional life stages, their progress in education, and their assumption of teaching duties. In terms of promotion within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, Alcuin would not have viewed his own career as comparable with Ælberht’s. Still, it seems beyond doubt that Alcuin viewed Ælberht as the model of an ideal career.

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[21] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1636 (ed. Godman, p. 132). Alcuin says the young man was struck down 'populantis peste doloris' ('by a disease of wasting affliction'), which does not necessarily refer to an epidemic.

[22] Godman, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, p. 133, comments on lines 1635–36.

[23] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 34 and n. 76. Bullough's own range should not have included the year of Æthelwald's succession in 759, but rather only those of the epidemic itself.

[24] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 34. Maximilian Diesenberger and Herwig Wolfram argue for a date closer to 730 based upon Alcuin's apparent seniority in age to Arn of Salzburg: 'Arn und Alkuin bis 804: zwei Freunde und ihre Schriften', in *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg*, ed. by Meta Niederkorn-Bruck and Anton Scharer, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 40 (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2004), pp. 81–106 (p. 82).

[25] Riché, *Education and Culture*, p. 383.

Alcuin describes Ælberht’s youth in terms of a steady progression of three key strands of development, one in which education, age (or life stage), and ecclesiastical rank all proceed according to parallel increments.

> He was born of sufficiently honourable parents
> by whose care he was soon given to wholesome studies,
> and placed into the monastery in his boyhood years,
> that his fragile time of life might grow in holy affections.
> Nor was such great hope of his parents concerning their son in vain.
> Soon the outstanding boy [puer] was growing up as much in body,
> as he was progressing in his inclination toward books.
> Thus growing in merits, years, and a keen mind,
> soon, in a grade most fitting,[27] he was made holy deacon.
> During which time the happy youth [adolescens] bore this honour well,
> the honourable young man [iuvenis] took up the duties of the priesthood,
> so that he advanced by ranks [gradibus], who had grown in beneficial merits.
> Then, a pious and skilled doctor and at the same time priest,
> he, joined as a companion, clung to the bishop Egbert,

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[26] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 237. Steckel has noted that in describing Ælberht, Alcuin is making a statement about his own teaching authority: *Kulturen des Lehrens im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, p. 197 (for Steckel’s treatment of Alcuin’s description of Ælberht, see pp. 162–64).

[27] For the interpretation of this phrase, see Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800–c. 1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 54 and n. 136.

> to whom he was near not only by blood, but now by right,
> by whom he was both pronounced defender for the entire clergy,
> and at the same time chosen as teacher [magister] in the city of York.[28]

It cannot be overemphasized that while Alcuin may not be sketching a portrait of himself, he is nonetheless sketching a carefully crafted image of his teacher. Alcuin treats Ælberht as *puer*, *adolescens*, and *juvenis*. He establishes a pattern where, as a *puer*, Ælberht grows as much (*quantum*) in body as (*tantum*) he progresses in book learning. His parallel growth in *merita*, *anni*, and *mens sagax* sets up a coordination of life stages and ecclesiastical ranks, where Ælberht is an *adolescens* as deacon, then a *juvenis* as priest.[29] In this way, he is said to have advanced by *gradus*, a term that clearly refers to the ecclesiastical ranks, but which is also directly applicable to the life stages as well as to education, since Isidore of Seville had referred to the life stages as the *gradus aetatis*, and Alcuin himself had compared the liberal arts to *gradus* (steps) leading to perfect knowledge.[30] These sets of *gradus* had their own distinct progressions, and yet for Alcuin the *gradus* of natural growth, education, and ecclesiastical rank fit together theoretically as a coherent whole. The overall progression moved one from childhood to adulthood, from the lower orders to the higher orders, and from student to teacher. Alcuin applies a number of titles to Ælberht, those pertaining directly to teaching being *magister* and *doctor*, and Alcuin's treatment of Ælberht in this regard is a good starting point for discussing these two terms.

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[28] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1415–31 (ed. Godman, pp. 110, 112).
'Hic fuit ergo satis claris genitoribus ortus:
ex quorum cura studiis mox traditur almis
atque monasterio puerilibus inditur annis,
sensibus ut fragilis sacris adolesceret aetas.
De puero nec cassa fuit spes tanta parentum.
Iam puer egregius crescebat corpore quantum,
ingenio tantum librorum proficiebat.
Sic meritis crescens annis et mente sagaci
iam levita sacer condigno est ordine factus.
Hunc bene dum felix adolescens gessit honorem,
iura sacerdotii iuvenis suscepit honestus,
cresceret ut gradibus, meritis qui creverat almis.
Tunc pius et prudens doctor simul atque sacerdos
pontificique comes Ecgberct coniunctus adhaesit,
cui quoque sanguineo fuerat iam iure propinquus;
a quo defensor clero decernitur omni
et simul Euborica praefertur in urbe magister.'

[29] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1422–26 (ed. Godman, p. 110).

[30] Isidore, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, XI. 2. 1, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911; repr. 1957); Alcuin, *Disputatio de vera philosophia*, PL 101, cols 849–54 (cols 853D–854A), in Alcuin, *Grammatica*, PL 101, cols 849–902.

I.2 Alcuin's Hierarchy of Teachers: The *magister* and the *doctor*

In her discussion of the term *doctor*, Mariken Teeuwen begins by noting its general equivalency with *magister*, that it refers simply to one who teaches. However, she also makes it clear that by the high and late Middle Ages, *doctor* was applied to those with higher knowledge of specialized disciplines such as theology, law, and medicine, and that even before this, 'in late Antiquity and throughout the Middle Ages, *doctor* has overtones of highly valued learning and erudition, which the term *magister* does not necessarily have'.[31] In other words, *doctor* applies to those who possess special knowledge, who may or may not teach, rather than those who simply impart basic knowledge to others. It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that a qualitative, measurable difference existed between the *magister* and the *doctor* in the ninth century, though neither the theoretical nor practical relationship between these terms has yet been explored with regard to Alcuin and ninth-century sources.

In his 'York Poem', Alcuin describes Ælberht as a *doctor* when Ælberht has reached full maturity as a *juvenis*, and Alcuin gives him the double distinction 'doctor simul atque sacerdos' ('doctor and at the same time priest').[32] Due to the presence of interrelated strands of ideas in this passage, it becomes necessary to ask: Is the convergence of *juvenis*, *sacerdos*, and *doctor* a coincidence based on Alcuin's choice of words to suit his verse, or does it suggest a correlation of necessarily related terms? If the latter, then *doctor* would appear to be the preferred designation for a fully mature teacher, and perhaps one associated with the priesthood, as opposed to *magister*, which would then apply to a teacher in the more common or rudimentary sense. Does this idea find expression in Alcuin's treatment of Ælberht, and if so, does it appear in other contemporary sources?

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[31] Mariken Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages*, CIVICIMA: Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du Moyen Âge, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 76–78 (p. 78).

The very next reference to Ælberht as teacher comes when Alcuin describes him as having reached a pinnacle of distinction: he is chosen to be *defensor* for 'the entire clergy' and *magister* in the city of York.[33] Coming after he has already become a *doctor*, it would seem that this use of *magister* would contradict any proposed seniority of the designation *doctor* over that of *magister*. That is, unless the point Alcuin wishes to make is that Ælberht had become the chief *magister* above other teachers, which could be implied by his mention of the 'entire clergy' and city of York. Bullough himself, commenting on the uniqueness of this position, which Alcuin would later inherit at York, said that Ælberht was 'almost certainly the first of its clerics to exercise that function and one of the earliest such magistri anywhere in the West'.[34]

Alcuin goes on to explain Ælberht's role as *magister* in terms of teaching the liberal arts, natural science, and *computus*, or the disciplines of elementary and basic instruction.[35] Along with these disciplines, and serving as a means of teaching them, Alcuin speaks of Ælberht's expertise in biblical interpretation, and it is here that he refers to Ælberht again as *doctor*.

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[32] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1427 (ed. Godman, p. 112). Alcuin repeats this linkage of terms with regard to Ælberht later at line 1482 (ed. Godman, p. 116).

[33] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1430–31 (ed. Godman, p. 112).

[34] Donald Bullough, '*Albuinus deliciosus Karoli regis*: Alcuin of York and the Shaping of the Early Carolingian Court', in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter, Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Lutz Fenske, Werner Rösener, and Thomas Zotz (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1984), pp. 73–92 (p. 80). See also Rosemary Cramp, who compared Ælberht's role to that of a 'headmaster': *Anglian and Viking York*, Borthwick Papers, 33 (York: St Anthony's, 1967), p. 7.

> And he determined the established feasts in the paschal recurrence,
> unfolding the greatest mysteries of Holy Scripture,
> for he opened the abyss of the rude and ancient law.
> Any young men of outstanding quality he saw,
> he joined them to himself, taught, nourished, and loved them,
> wherefore, by means of the holy volumes the doctor
> had many pupils apt in various arts.[36]

Ælberht's primary role is to open the mysteries of Scripture. Alcuin says that the result is that he has pupils who are apt 'diversis artibus' ('in various arts'), but it is interesting to note that he refers to Ælberht as *doctor* specifically with regard to how he uses the *sacra volumina* (holy volumes).

Concerning Ælberht, Alcuin provides yet another clue regarding the relationship between the terms *doctor* and *magister*. He describes Ælberht's return from a journey to Rome, his reception among great men on the continent and their wish to retain him for their service, and his return to York in spite of this:

> The most exalted doctor was received honourably by kings and tribunes everywhere, since the great kings wished to retain him […]. But the teacher

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[35] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1432–47 (ed. Godman, pp. 112, 114).

[36] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1448–53 (ed. Godman, p. 114).
'Paschalique dedit solemnia certa recursu,
maxima Scripturae pandens mysteria sacrae;
nam rudis et veteris legis patefecit abyssum.
Indolis egregiae iuvenes quoscumque videbat,
hos sibi coniunxit, docuit, nutrivit, amavit,
quapropter plures per sacra volumina doctor
discipulos habuit diversis artibus aptos.'

> [magister], hastening to the things foreordained for him, with God arranging, was returning to be a benefit to his homeland.[37]

Ælberht, as *summus doctor*, is received 'honorifice' by kings, which, when compared to the next few lines, appears to highlight a greater honorary significance of the term *doctor* as compared with a more practical significance of *magister*. As *doctor*, Ælberht turns down offers to join royal courts, and as *magister*, that is, with an eye toward his humble duties as a teacher, he returns to serve his own country.

Elsewhere in his 'York Poem', Alcuin uses a similar formula when he describes King Aldfrith and the bishop Bosa, but with an important contrast: Alcuin praises Aldfrith for his youthful study and eloquence, and declares him, 'idem rex simul atque magister' ('king and at the same time teacher'), whereas in the next three lines Bosa is *sacerdos*, full-grown *vir*, and *doctor*.[38] In describing Bede, Alcuin uses both *magister* and *doctor*, *magister* to signal his growth in maturity from student to teacher, where at first he learns, 'et sic proficiens est factus iure magister' ('and making such progress he was rightly made teacher'), and *doctor* to emphasize his expertise in composing works 'explanans obscura volumina sanctae Scripturae' ('explaining the obscure volumes of Holy Scripture'), the expounding of *sacra volumina* being precisely the activity for which Alcuin praises Ælberht as *doctor*.[39] When Alcuin then introduces Ælberht, he calls him *proprius magister* (my own teacher), most likely referring to

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[37] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1460–65 (ed. Godman, p. 116).
'A regibus atque tribunis
doctor honorifice summus susceptus ubique est,
utpote quem magni reges retinere volebant,
[…].
Ad sibi sed properans praefinita facta magister,
dispensante Deo, patriae prodesse redibat.'

[38] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 846–49 (ed. Godman, p. 70). Bede describes Aldfrith as *doctissimus*: see Barbara Yorke, *Rex doctissimus: Bede and King Aldfrith of Northumbria* (Jarrow Lecture, 2009).

[39] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1301–08 (1305, 1307–08) (ed. Godman, p. 102); for Ælberht, lines 1448, 1452 (ed. Godman, p. 114).

Ælberht's role in his early education, but then as 'catholicae fidei fautor' ('promoter of the catholic faith') and 'ecclesiae rector' ('leader of the Church'), he is also a *doctor*.[40]

In Alcuin's poetry and that of his contemporaries, *doctor* often conveyed the role of a preacher, whether this meant apostolic preachers like Peter (*doctor ecclesiae*) and Paul (*doctor mundi* or *doctor gentium*), or more recent ones like Remigius of Reims, the 'Francorum doctor'.[41] In inscriptions and elsewhere, it functioned as an honorary distinction alongside priestly titles like *sacerdos*, *presbyter*, *pastor*, *pater*, and *episcopus*.[42] References that associate *doctor* specifically with expertise in biblical knowledge or exegesis are less frequent, but the term's association with priestly titles again implies the function of preaching.[43]

In the church of St Vedast, Alcuin's inscription for the altar of saints Gregory and Jerome reads: 'Gregorius praesul doctorque Hieronimus almus | Aecclesiae ille pater, iste magister erat' ('Gregory the prelate and the propitious doctor Jerome | the former was father of the Church, the latter its teacher').[44] Alcuin's use of both *doctor* and *magister* to describe Jerome may well be simply the redundancy of panegyric: however, it is possible that in the first line Alcuin emphasizes *praesul* for Gregory and *doctor* for Jerome as honorary titles, while he uses *pater* and *magister* in the second line to emphasize their functions in the Church. If so, then *doctor* might signify the highest honour connected with knowledge, while *magister* would refer more directly to a profession.

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[40] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1395, 1399–1400 (ed. Godman, pp. 108, 110). In his epitaph for Ælberht, Alcuin mentions Ælberht's teaching of the liberal arts after calling him *doctor*, but here the term is more related to his honourable titles than to his teaching: *Epitaphium Aelberhti*, lines 3–5, MGH Poetae, 1, p. 206.

[41] Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1493–94 (ed. Godman, p. 118); a poem attributed to Paulinus of Aquileia, *carm.* V. 4, 6, MGH Poetae, 1, pp. 136, 137; Alcuin, *carm.* CIX, 6, 7, MGH Poetae, 1, p. 336; Aldhelm refers to Paul as both *magister* and *doctor* in his poem *De virginitate*, 501, ed. by Rudolf Ehwald, MGH Auct. ant., 15, pp. 325–471 (p. 374), as does Alcuin, *carm.* CIX, 17, MGH Poetae, 1, p. 339; for Remigius see Alcuin, *carm.* LXXXVIII, 6, MGH Poetae, 1, p. 310.

[42] Alcuin, *carm.* XC. 22, 25, *carm.* XCIX. 11. 9, *carm.* CX. 5, MGH Poetae, 1, pp. 316, 317, 325, 341; used with *praesul*: Alcuin, *Vita sancti Willibrordi*, II. 34. 23, MGH Poetae, 1, pp. 207–20 (p. 219); *Versus de Verona*, 15, MGH Poetae, 1, p. 121; Hraban, *carm.* II. 1. 3–4, MGH Poetae, 2, p. 163; *Carmina Salisburgensia*, XV. 4, MGH Poetae, 2, p. 647.

[43] One example may appear in a poem attributed to Paulinus of Aquileia, *carm.* X. 11, MGH Poetae, 1, p. 143.

[44] *Carm.* LXXXVIII [sic = LXXXIX]. 8, MGH Poetae, 1, p. 310.

In one of his poems, Alcuin describes the importance of learning while one is still young. He uses both *magister* and *doctor* and appears to associate these terms with different age groups, so that a *senior magister* (older teacher) teaches boys (*pueri*), who then grow to become *seniores* themselves, or young men (*juvenes*). The *doctor* is then described as the one who teaches young men (*juvenes*) rather than boys.

> Hic pueri discant senioris ab ore magistri,
> […] Auriat os tenerum lymphas devote salutis,
> Forsan in ecclesia ne sileat senior.
> Sunt anni iuvenum habiles addiscere quicquam:
> Usus in antiquis postulat ecclesiae,
> Instruat in studiis iuvenum bona tempora doctor,
> Nam fugiunt anni more fluentis aquae.
> […] Esto pius pueris studiosus esto magister […].
>
> Here let boys learn from the mouth of an older teacher,
> […] Let the tender mouth faithfully drink in the waters of salvation,
> So that perhaps, [when] older, it may not rest silent in the church.
> The years of young men are apt for learning anything:
> The practice in the ancient customs of the Church requires
> That the doctor instruct the good days of young men in studies,
> For the years flee away in the manner of flowing water.
> […] Be kind to the boys and be a devoted teacher […].[45]

The progression is that of alternating roles: the *pueri* learn from the mouth of the *senior magister*, the tender mouth grows until it too is *senior* and capable of doing the work of the *magister*, and finally the *doctor* instructs *juvenes*. This is no random alternation of terms; before concluding, Alcuin again associates the *magister* with *pueri*.

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[45] *Carm.* XCIII. 1–8, 15, MGH Poetae, 1, pp. 319–20.

From his reading of Isidore, it is unclear whether Alcuin would have understood *magister* and *doctor* as equivalent terms or as sharing a hierarchical relationship. In one example from his *Etymologies*, Isidore provides explanations for the various names assigned to Christ. He says that Christ is 'propheta, quia futura revelavit' ('a prophet, since he revealed future things'); he is 'sacerdos, quia pro nobis hostiam se obtulit' ('a priest, because he offered himself a sacrifice for us'); he is 'magister, quia ostensor' ('teacher, because [he was] an exhibitor').[46] Isidore's usual method for explaning terms is simple, often limited to one word or a synonym, as in the case of *magister*. It seems obvious that *doctor* might have served as a better synonym for *magister* than *ostensor*. If Isidore had provided Alcuin with an etymological basis for the equivalency of these terms, this would have been the place to expect it.

I.3 Alcuin the *magister* at York

It is now generally accepted that Alcuin inherited the role of *magister* at York when his own teacher, Ælberht, was elevated to archbishop in 767.[47] If Alcuin was born around 740, as Bullough maintained, he would have been over the age of twenty-five, the proper age to be ordained deacon, and Bullough treats his entry into this more visible period of life under the heading, 'Teacher and Perpetual Deacon'.[48] In this case,

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[46] Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri*, VII. 2. 36 (ed. Lindsay, vol. I).

[47] See for example D. M. Palliser, *Medieval York: 600–1540* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 40; George Hardin Brown, 'Alcuin', in *Key Figures in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Richard K. Emmerson and Sandra Clayton-Emmerson (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 18–20 (p. 18); Cramp, *Anglian and Viking York*, p. 7. For Bullough's discussion, see *Alcuin*, pp. 247–49.

[48] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 304–308 (p. 304).

Bullough might have applied ‘perpetual’ to more than just Alcuin’s ecclesiastical rank; he might have used ‘Perpetual *magister*’ as well, since, as far as I know, none of Alcuin’s contemporaries ever refered to him specifically as being a *doctor*.[49] Claiming a connection between the fact that Alcuin never advanced beyond the rank of deacon and that he was never called a *doctor* is, admittedly, an argument from silence regarding any hierarchical relationship between the *doctor* and the *magister*. There seems to be no evidence for a positive connection between the terms *diaconus* (or its synonym, *levita*) and *magister*, even if such a connection existed in practical terms, as there is for a connection between the terms *sacerdos*, *presbyter*, and *doctor*, as has been shown above and will be further demonstrated in this chapter. As for the latter connection, it can now be argued that *doctor* signified a spiritual teaching authority that *magister* did not necessarily convey. As will be discussed below, Alcuin’s rising influence in theological matters placed him in a unique and perhaps ambiguous position with regard to the designations *magister* and *doctor*. Still, the title of *magister* itself would convey Alcuin’s status in a manner not unlike a rank might have, as can be observed in the context of the *Vita Liudgeri*.

The *Vita Liudgeri*, written in the mid ninth century by Altfrid, one of Liudger’s successors as bishop of Münster, is considered a reliable witness to Alcuin’s earliest years as *magister* at York.[50] The story of Liudger’s contact with Alcuin is one in which the breadth of the higher ecclesiastical orders features prominently. As Altfrid reports, Aluberht journeyed from England to the monastery of St Martin, Utrecht, where he asks leave of the abbot there, Gregory, to set out once again for York to be ordained *chorepiscopus* by Ælberht. Gregory himself could not perform the ordination: 'non enim fuerat idem Gregorius ad gradum episcopalem ordinatus, sed presbiterii perseveravit in gradu' ('for indeed Gregory had not been ordained to the episcopal rank, but continued in the rank of priest').[51]

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[49] The only instance I have found is a letter by Hincmar of Reims, dated between 849 and 850, where Hincmar recalls that Hraban Maur was brought up ‘ab ortodoxo et magno doctore domno Alchuino’ (‘by the orthodox and great lord doctor Alcuin’): *ep*. 37 of Hincmar’s *Epistolae*, vol. VI of *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, ed. by Ernst Perels, MGH Epistolae, 8, 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1939), p. 14, line 28. It is to be noted that Hincmar does not address this letter to a fellow bishop or to any member of the clergy, but rather to the ‘simple folk’ (*simplices*) of his diocese, and that he is using lofty language to build up an image of Alcuin in support of Hraban’s doctrinal authority.

[50] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 305; Bullough, ‘*Albuinus deliciosus Karoli regis*’, pp. 78–80. For Liudger’s life in context see Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), pp. 100–17.

What follows, leading up to Altfrid's mention of Alcuin, is the filling of three major ecclesiastical ranks, each mentioned in descending order. Abbot Gregory sends Aluberht to York with two companions, including Liudger, who were to be ordained along with him, in fulfilment of his request:

> Which willingly granting, abbot Gregory sent him, and with him Liudger, and another brother more advanced in age with the name Sigibert, to the bishop of whom Aluberht had spoken. The man ordained the same Aluberht bishop, Sigibert priest, Liudger deacon, and they remained there one year. And Alcuin was then teacher [magister] in that place, who afterwards in the days of the younger Charles oversaw teaching [magisterium] in Tours and in Francia.[52]

These ordinations took place in 767, the same year in which Ælberht became archbishop and Alcuin appears as *magister*. Of the three companions to be ordained, Aluberht is presumably the oldest, followed by Sigibert, whom Altfrid calls a 'fratrem fortiorem aetate' ('brother more advanced in age'), with Liudger being the youngest. Their new ranks are given respectively as *episcopus*, *presbyter*, and *diaconus*. Of course, the ranks of the three men being ordained are the main focus of this report.

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[51] Altfrid, *Vita sancti Liudgeri*, I. 10, in *Die vitae sancti Liudgeri*, ed. by Wilhelm Diekamp, Die Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster, 4 (Münster: Theissing'schen Buchhandlung, 1881), pp. 3–53 (p. 15).

[52] Altfrid, *Vita Liudgeri*, I. 10 (ed. Diekamp, p. 15). 'Quod abbas Gregorius libenter audiens direxit eum et cum eo Liudgerum aliumque fratrem fortiorem aetate Sigibodum nomine ad episcopum, de quo Alubertus dixerat. Qui eundem Alubertum ordinavit episcopum, Sigibodum presbyterum, Liudgerum diaconem, et manserunt illic anno uno. Alchuinus etiam illo in loco tunc magister erat, qui postea temporibus Caroli iunioris in Turonis et in Francia magisterium exercuit.'

However, Altfrid does make a point of describing abbot Gregory as continuing in the rank of priest. In other words, Altfrid assigns an ecclesiastical rank to each of those he mentions by the time he describes Alcuin as *magister*.[53]

Shortly after returning to his abbot, Gregory, Liudger gains permission to return to York in order to study with Alcuin, which he does for three years and six months. In this chapter, Altfrid again makes a point of calling Liudger 'levita' (an alternative for 'deacon'), and each of the three times he mentions Alcuin he calls him either *magister* or 'magister inlustris' ('illustrious teacher').[54] After this term of three and a half years, around the age of thirty and with his *adolescentia* behind him,[55] Liudger returns to his homeland 'bene instructus, habens secum copiam librorum, eratque patri Gregorio et ceteris tanto tunc dignior et acceptior, quanto fuit in monasticis eruditionibus inlustrior' ('well instructed, having with him an abundance of books, and he was then as much more worthy and acceptable to father Gregory and others as he was more illustrious in monastic instruction').[56] That Liudger is 'inlustrior' in the eyes of his abbot and others places him on some level of parity with Alcuin, the *magister inlustris*, but Altfrid does not end this chapter without again making specific reference to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Alcuin sends Liudger with the deacon Putul, whom Altfrid refers to as *diaconus* both times he mentions him, and he does not forget to add that this same Putul, after journeying to Rome and returning to York, would later come to Gaul with Alcuin 'in ordine presbyterii' ('in the order of the priesthood').[57]

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[53] It could be argued that when Altfrid mentions Alcuin's *magisterium* in Tours and in Francia, he is referring to Alcuin's later position as abbot over the monasteries of Tours and Ferrières. However, from the present context, where Alcuin is clearly described in a teaching role at York, it seems more likely that Altfrid is extending this idea to mean that Alcuin oversaw teaching in Tours and Francia.

[54] *Vita Liudgeri*, I. 11 (ed. Diekamp, p. 16).

[55] For Liudger's age see Arnold Angenendt, *Liudger: Missionar, Abt, Bischof im frühen Mittelalter* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2005), p. 88.

[56] Altfrid, *Vita Liudgeri*, I. 12 (ed. Diekamp, p. 17).

[57] *Vita Liudgeri*, I. 12 (ed. Diekamp, p. 17).

Altfrid’s emphasis upon ecclesiastical rank with regard to those who journey to and from York with Liudger, and his emphasis upon Alcuin as *magister*, appears to be making the point that as *magister*, Alcuin’s role in educating young clerics finds its ultimate fulfilment in their promotions. Though as deacon he himself cannot ordain them, nonetheless, in his role as *magister* he is effectively a priest-maker.

With regard to Liudger’s own promotion to the priesthood, Altfrid includes a fascinating detail. Altfrid describes how Alberic, the nephew of abbot Gregory and Gregory’s successor as abbot of St Martin’s, Utrecht, and Liudger both advanced in terms of their *gradus* or rank:

> But Alberic, when he had received the episcopal rank in the city of Cologne, also caused Liudger to take the rank of the priesthood [presbiterii gradum] with him, and he made him doctor of the church in the province of Ostergau.[58]

Once again, a connection between the role of the priest (*presbyter*) and the designation of *doctor* appears in this passage, but here the timing of Liudger’s promotion to this ecclesiastical *gradus* is clearly simultaneous with his attainment of the role or title of *doctor*.

The account of Liudger’s first arrival at York in 767, depicting Alcuin’s earliest years as *magister*, is perhaps the best piece of evidence for determining Alcuin’s date of birth. If the designation *magister* conveys not simply ‘a teacher’, but rather the unique position that Ælberht held before Alcuin, as Bullough described it, and if he could have taken up this position only after being ordained deacon at the age of twenty-five, this provides the best signpost for evaluating the ranges of dates suggested thus far. Eleanor Shipley Duckett followed the traditional dating of between 730 and 735, and, also noting the year 767 as the time when Alcuin assumed more control of the school of York, concluded that ‘it was at this time, it seems, when he was about thirty-five years old, that he was ordained deacon’.[59] Rosemary Cramp even said that Alcuin ‘progressed from student to teacher’ at this age.[60] This seems highly unlikely. The date range proposed by Godman, 745/7–752/4, is equally unlikely. For in 767, at the age of at most twenty-two according to this range, Alcuin would not yet have reached the canonical age for the diaconate, nor would he have been old enough to replace Ælberht as the primary *magister* at York. In addition, Liudger, if he were being ordained at the canonical age of twenty-five, would have been older than his teacher Alcuin. Thus, the death of the young man that Alcuin reports in his ‘York Poem’, if occurring at the time when Alcuin was a *puer* in the technical sense, was an isolated event that preceded the epidemic of 760–61.[61]

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[58] *Vita Liudgeri*, I. 17 (ed. Diekamp, p. 21). ‘Albricus autem cum in Colonia civitate gradum accepisset episcopalem, fecit et Liudgerum secum presbiterii percipere gradum et constituit eum doctorem aecclesiae in pago Ostrachae.’ Ostergau is a region of Frisia centred on Dokkum for which Liudger was responsible, in addition to sharing a rota with others by serving three months of each year at the mission base of Utrecht: Wood, *The Missionary Life*, p. 110.

If born in or around 740, by 767 Alcuin would not only have reached the canonical age to be ordained deacon, he would also have been on the verge of crossing from the traditional life stage of *adolescentia* to that of *juventus*, that is, the age of twenty-eight. He would have been a few years older than Liudger, and more likely to have inherited, not merely the duties of teaching as an assistant, but also the role of primary *magister* that Ælberht had occupied and was now vacating to become archbishop. It is in keeping with the overall sense of group promotion in this chapter of the *Vita Liudgeri* to include Alcuin in it as well, so that not only do Aluberht, Sigibert, and Liudger fill the roles of bishop, priest, and deacon, but the recent installation of Ælberht and (I would argue) of Alcuin himself in well-defined roles fills out the picture of a new beginning. This means that Altfrid's statement, 'Alchuinus etiam illo in loco tunc magister erat', can be read as describing more than a progressive state of affairs, that Alcuin was a teacher at York and had been one for some time. Rather, it signifies that Alcuin had attained the position of *magister*, as a recently acquired post, and that he then 'oversaw teaching' ('magisterium exercuit') at York as he would later do in Tours and Francia.

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[59] *Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne*, p. 26.
[60] *Anglian and Viking York*, p. 7.
[61] See above, pp. 20–21.

Bullough suggested the possibility that Alcuin remained a deacon by choice, and that by keeping a ministerial position directly connected with York, Alcuin could remain in close proximity to the archbishop and thus have a better chance of succeeding him. In addition to this, Bullough cited 'hints in contemporary evidence from the Continent that the diaconate, particularly in the person of a head- or arch-deacon, was the appropriate grade for a *magister*', referring to Peter of Pisa and Pacificus of Verona as examples.[62] Beyond these few instances, in the ninth century the title of *archidiaconus* is not used in connection with *magister*, and Alcuin nowhere appears as *archidiaconus*.[63] For this reason, it seems necessary to consider whether *magister* itself may have conveyed a connotation of ecclesiastical rank similar to or even more weighty than *archidiaconus*.

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[62] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 308. Kleinclausz had already remarked that although Alcuin held a modest position in terms of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, his role as director of the school of York, the capital of Northumbria, would have made him second only to the bishop: *Alcuin*, pp. 27–28. For the power and prestige of the diaconate at Rome, see John St H. Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum: A Study of the Origins and Evolution of Sequential Ordination*, Patristic Studies, 3 (New York: Lang, 2000), pp. 114–116, 232.

[63] The office of archdeacon was well established by the fourth century, his early role being to act as principle aide to the bishop, to govern the deacons of a diocese, and to train the lower clergy. The role underwent a shift by the ninth and tenth centuries, when the archdeacon no longer functioned merely as the head of the order of deacons or as the bishop's assistant, but rather as the bishop's magistrate or vicar bearing his administrative and jurisdictional authority: William T. Ditewig, 'From Function to Ontology: The Shifting Diaconate of the Middle Ages', in *A Companion to Priesthood and Holy Orders in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Greg Peters and C. Colt Anderson, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 346–72 (pp. 365–69). Ditewig sets the shift in the archdeacon's authority in the eighth century, but see Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 49, 334. See also John F. Romano, 'The Archdeacon, Power, and Liturgy before 1000', in *Chant, Liturgy, and the Inheritance of Rome: Essays in Honour of Joseph Dyer*, ed. by Daniel J. DiCenso and Rebecca Maloy, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia, 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017), pp. 47–80 (pp. 59–60); Adrien Gréa, 'Essai historique sur les archidiacres', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 12 (1851), 39–67.

Alcuin was directly influenced by Peter of Pisa. His earliest journeys to the continent accompanying Ælberht, as an impressionable youth or in his early twenties, included one encounter that may have sufficed to convince him to always remain a deacon and *magister*.[64] In a letter to Charlemagne, Alcuin recounts a debate taking place in Pavia, a debate that merited being recorded in writing, and he goes on to mention Angilbert of St Riquier, referring to him by the name of Homer, his nickname at the royal court:[65]

> When I was a youth I proceeded to Rome and was staying some days in Pavia, a royal city. A certain Jew by the name of Lullus [Iulius(?)] had a disputation with Peter, the teacher [magistro], and I heard that the same debate was written in the same city. It was the very same Peter who became famous in your palace teaching grammar. Perhaps your Homer has heard something since then by the aforementioned teacher.[66]

Bullough questioned whether Alcuin is claiming to have been present at this debate, or question-and-answer session, while in Pavia, since he seems to have forgotten the details.[67] Even if Alcuin implies that he was in attendance, it is possible that only ordained clergy and nobles were admitted to the debate, and if his visit took place in the early 760s, Alcuin, as an *adolescens*, might have been too young and not yet a deacon.

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[64] For Alcuin's travels, see Stéphane Lebecq, 'Alcuin sur la route', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest*, 111.3 (2004), 15–25.

[65] For Alcuin's use of nicknames, see Mary Garrison, 'The Social World of Alcuin: Nicknames at York and at the Carolingian Court', in *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court*, pp. 59–79.

[66] Alcuin, *ep*. 172, MGH Epp., 4, p. 285, lines 3–7. 'Dum ego adolescens Romam perrexi et aliquantos dies in Papia regali civitate demorarer, quidam Iudaeus, Lullus nomine, cum Petro magistro habuit disputationem; et scriptam esse eandem controversiam in eadem civitate audivi. Idem Petrus fuit, qui in palatio vestro grammaticam docens claruit. Forsan Omerus vester aliquid exinde audivit a magistro praedicto.' For the significance of Pavia in Alcuin's earlier years, see Bernard S. Bachrach, *Charlemagne's Early Campaigns (768–777): A Diplomatic and Military Analysis*, History of Warfare, 82 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), chapters 5–6.

[67] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 244. For this letter and the name Lullus, or Iulius, see Bullough, 'Reminiscence and Reality: Text, Translation and Testimony of an Alcuin Letter', *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 5 (1995), 174–201 (pp. 187–88).

Alcuin wrote this letter at a much later date, in the spring of 799, but his admiration for Peter as a *magister* is as pronounced here as it likely was during his stay in Pavia, since he uses this term each time he refers to Peter. In fact, Alcuin's description of that stay, and indeed the greater context of the letter, appear to answer the question of why he may have made an early determination to remain a deacon and *magister*. From his own journeys with Ælberht and his observation of others like Peter, Alcuin would understand that freedom from priestly responsibilities might mean greater freedom of mobility. From this account alone, Alcuin demonstrates that this would convey at least three benefits: first, the ability to frequent high-profile centres, or *regales civitates*, since he mentions Peter in connection with both Pavia and Charlemagne's palace, second, the chance to be present where exchanges of ideas were taking place, and third, more frequent journeys for the sake of borrowing and copying books. The latter of these might have been foremost in his mind from a young age. In his 'York Poem', Alcuin describes Ælberht's motivation for traveling to foreign lands as being the hope of finding new books and studies, and this may have been enhanced by deeper memories of the journeys of Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith to Rome, and their acquisition of books there for the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow a century earlier.[68]

Just before describing his stay at Pavia as an *adolescens*, Alcuin mentions a written account of another debate, this one between Felix of Urgel, whose Adoptionism Alcuin had countered in his *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum episcopum libri septem*, and a 'Saracen'. He tells Charlemagne that he could not find this account at Tours but that Leidrad of Lyon possessed a copy, and that he has sent a *missus* to obtain it with instructions to quickly forward it to Charlemagne.[69] He then remembers the debate between Peter and the Jew at Pavia, and that a written account of this was made on site. It is here that Alcuin mentions ‘Omerus vester’, this being Angilbert, who, Alcuin says, may know something more about the transcript of that debate.

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[68] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1454–57 (ed. Godman, p. 114); Alcuin, *ep*. 19, MGH Epp., 4, p. 55, lines 15–16, *ep*. 286, p. 445, lines 15–16; Marie-Hélène Jullien, 'Alcuin et l'Italie', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest*, 111.3 (2004), 393–406 (p. 393).

Angilbert, the pupil of Alcuin, statesman of Charlemagne, and lay abbot of St Riquier, is perhaps best known for the library of 256 codices amassed at that monastery in his day, most of which were his own contribution.[70] It is unclear what proportion of these were acquired by his direct copying, purchase, or commission, but as the *de facto* son-in-law of Charlemagne, Angilbert would make the abbey of St Riquier a prime recipient of royal patronage. As a royal legate, Angilbert was also well travelled.[71] With regard to collecting holy relics for St Riquier, Angilbert says that he acquired them ‘per […] adjutorium gloriosi domini mei magni imperatoris, de diversis partibus totius Christianitatis’ (‘through the help of my glorious lord, the great emperor, from various regions of the whole of Christendom’), that is, through a wide-ranging, royally-funded enterprise.[72] He says that the relics came chiefly from Rome, that some came from Constantinople and Jerusalem ‘per legatos’ sent by Charlemagne, and that others came from Italy, Germany, Aquitaine, Burgundy and Gaul, ‘a sanctissimis patribus, patriarchis videlicet, archiepiscopis, necnon episcopis atque abbatibus, nobis directas’ (‘sent to us by holy fathers, patriarchs, that is, archbishops and bishops and abbots’).[73]

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[69] Alcuin, *ep*. 172, MGH Epp., 4, p. 284, line 30 to p. 285, line 2. See also Irene van Renswoude, ‘The Art of Disputation: Dialogue, Dialectic and Debate around 800’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 25 (2017), 38–53 (pp. 43–44).

[70] Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 176–78; Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, trans. and ed. by Michael Gorman, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 63–64; Pierre Riché, *Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne*, trans. by Jo Ann McNamara (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), p. 226. The catalogue of the library was preserved in the twelfth-century *Chronicon Centulense* by Hariulf: *Hariulf, Chronique de l’abbaye de Saint-Riquier (Ve siècle–1104)*, ed. by Ferdinand Lot (Paris: Picard, 1894), pp. 69, 88–96.

[71] See Alcuin, *ep*. 92, MGH Epp., 4, pp. 135–36, *ep*. 93, p. 137, lines 16–18.

[72] Hariulf, *Chronicon Centulense*, II. 9 (ed. Lot, p. 61).

[73] Hariulf, *Chronicon Centulense*, II. 9 (ed. Lot, pp. 61–62).

In none of these instances does Angilbert say that he personally acquired relics, but rather that they were sent to him by bishops and abbots.

It is unclear what proportion of books Angilbert was able to acquire by his own travels as opposed to the movement of others. Still, it is evident that Angilbert was a full-fledged member of a vast network of exchange, and this network's efficiency in the circulation of books and ideas has been cited as one of the major accomplishments of Charlemagne's reform programme.[74] Angilbert was indeed personally involved in acquisition and transport, and his activity was not lost on Alcuin, who turned to Angilbert both as a source and courier in the acquisition of relics.[75] The same held true for books, and even later in life Alcuin wrote to Angilbert requesting loans, as in 801, when he asked him for Jordanes's *De origine actibusque Getarum*.[76] Before this, sometime within 796–799, Alcuin, by this time at Tours, wrote to Angilbert in response to a request of Charlemagne that he explain the origin and forms of some Latin words. Before getting on with the task, Alcuin marvels that Charlemagne should ask him for the answers, 'dum saecularis litteraturae libri et ecclesiasticae soliditatis sapientia, sicut iustum est, apud vos inveniuntur, in quibus ad omnia, quae quaeruntur, verae inveniri possunt responsiones' ('while the books of secular learning and the wisdom of ecclesiastical solidity, as is right, are found among you, in which may be found the right answers for all that is sought').[77] It is probably no accident that Alcuin locates such a quantity of *libri* as being *apud vos* in a letter addressed directly to Angilbert. It would seem to indicate that Alcuin views this preponderance of books at the fingertips of Charlemagne and his court as owing in some degree to Angilbert himself.

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[74] Garrison, 'The English and the Irish at the Court', pp. 107–08. In her discussion of Einhard's use of relics, Julia M. H. Smith notes the connection between spiritual *correctio* and written *emendatio*, which would also imply a relationship between the collection of relics and books: '"Emending Evil Ways and Praising God's Omnipotence": Einhard and the Uses of Roman Martyrs', in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing*, ed. by Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), pp. 189–223. For a comparative case of Hraban Maur's acquisition of relics, see Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c. 744–c. 900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 215–21.

[75] Alcuin, *ep*. 11, MGH Epp., 4, p. 37, *ep*. 75, pp. 117–18, *ep*. 97, pp. 141–42.

[76] Alcuin, *ep*. 221, MGH Epp., 4, p. 365, line 15.

[77] Alcuin, *ep*. 162, MGH Epp., 4, p. 260, lines 25–30 (lines 27–30).

In any case, there is evidence to support the notion that mobility played a role in Alcuin's apparent determination to remain a deacon, and to make a name for himself in the role of *magister*. In his 'York Poem', Alcuin describes the bequests that he and Eanbald received from Ælberht before his death as involving not only property, but also their respective lots in life.

> His divisit opes diversis sortibus: illi
> ecclesiae regimen, thesauros, rura, talenta;
> huic sophiae specimen, studium sedemque librosque,
> undique quos clarus collegerat ante magister.
>
> He divided his wealth by these different lots: to the one [Eanbald],
> the rule of the church, the treasures, lands, and money,
> to the other [Alcuin], the example of wisdom, study, and his chair and books,
> which the renowned teacher had previously collected from everywhere.[78]

Eanbald receives the *regimen*, that is, the official *cathedra* of the church, whereas Alcuin claims the inheritance of Ælberht's *sedes*, his actual teacher's chair, along with his books. In this, Alcuin is celebrating the dignity particular to the *sedes* of a *magister* as distinct from the *regimen* of a church, even when these had been held by the same man, and he may also be celebrating the portability of what he has inherited.[79]

Late in life, Alcuin wrote to the monks of Murbach, where he fondly recalls a meeting with them earlier, when 'olim magistri mei vestigia secutus' ('once I followed the steps of my teacher').[80] How involved the young Alcuin was in copying books for his teacher while on these journeys is a matter of speculation. By the time Alcuin became a young deacon and teacher, he could already observe Liudger's joy in acquiring books. We saw above that Liudger spent nearly his entire term of five years as deacon studying with Alcuin, and that after two extended stays at York, he returned to Utrecht with 'copiam librorum' just before his ordination as priest.[81] Thus, in addition to Alcuin's early life experience, in his first years as *magister*, he continued to witness the freedom of his pupils, those who were deacons and not yet priests. The *Vita Liudgeri*, after describing the promotions of the three men who came to York, reports that Alcuin was *magister* 'illo in loco' ('in that place') and that he later oversaw *magisterium* in Tours and Francia. *Magisterium*, a term that will be treated in further detail below, often conveyed the authority of a bishop or abbot, but sometimes meant 'teaching' in the educational sense. Alcuin embodied a new kind of *magisterium* that more fully blended the office of school teaching with the authority to prepare young clerics for promotion, and this teaching authority represents a clear link between education and clerical advancement.

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[78] *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1531–34 (ed. Godman, p. 120).

[79] See Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, pp. 163–65, 224–25. Steckel notes that Alcuin appears to inhereit the role of *magister* from Ælberht just as Eanbald inherits the position of bishop. By being the heir to his teaching role, Alcuin becomes a partner (*Teilhaber*) of Ælberht's episcopal authority, and in fact inherits an essential aspect of that authority even though this does not involve a promotion in rank.

I.4 *Magister* and Advisor at the Royal Court

In 781, Alcuin was sent to Rome to receive the pallium for Eanbald, and on his homeward journey, at Parma, he met Charlemagne, who asked Alcuin to return to Francia once he had completed his mission.[82] Bullough rejected the common belief that Alcuin heeded this summons soon afterwards, arguing instead that he remained in

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[80] Alcuin, *ep*. 271, MGH Epp., 4, p. 429, line 27.
[81] See above, p. 33.
[82] *Vita Alcuini*, c. 9, MGH SS, 15, 1, p. 190.

England until after the Papal legatine visitation there in 786, which consequently shortens Alcuin’s direct association with the Frankish Court by around five years, setting this within 786–796, as opposed to the assumption that he arrived there soon after the 781 interview.[83]

The period of five years between 781–786, in which Alcuin presumably remained in England before his return to Francia, raises interesting questions about how his role in Northumbria developed during this time, and how this might have defined the role that Charlemagne intended for him to play at his court. It seems clear that Charlemagne never intended Alcuin to serve merely as a private tutor to himself and his immediate circle.[84] His involvement in legislation, whether simply attending councils or drafting their *capitula*, his service as a royal counsellor, and his composition of official letters in the king’s name, have all been assumed if not proven at various levels.[85] Bullough noted that long before Alcuin was made abbot of St Martin’s, Tours, he was benefitting from grants of lands and revenues from religious communities, grants that had become ‘a standard way of rewarding and maintaining those who belonged to the circle of royal advisers and “officials”’.[86]

The earliest evidence for Alcuin giving advice to kings appears during the visit he paid to Northumbria between 790 and 793.[87] It is thought that he was sent there to play some role in settling a dispute between Charles and king Offa of Mercia, though Bullough found that the official resolution of the dispute was in fact not the work of

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[83] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 336–46, 435–37; Bullough, ‘Alcuin before Frankfort’, p. 578. Wilfried Hartmann expressed early acceptance of Bullough’s argument: ‘Alkuin und die Gesetzgebung Karls des Grossen’, in *Alkuin von York und die Geistige Grundlegung Europas*, pp. 33–48 (p. 33). For a recent summary of Alcuin’s time at the court, see Nelson, *King and Emperor*, pp. 315–16, 338.

[84] Rudolf Schieffer, ‘Alkuin und Karl der Grosse’, in *Alkuin von York und die Geistige Grundlegung Europas*, pp. 15–32 (p. 18).

[85] See Hartmann, ‘Alkuin und die Gesetzgebung Karls des Grossen’; Schieffer, ‘Alkuin und Karl der Grosse’, pp. 19–20; Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 435–36.

[86] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 340–41.

[87] Bullough summarizes this and later evidence for Alcuin’s role as royal counsellor: *Alcuin*, pp. 401–10.

Alcuin.[88] At the same time, Bullough noted that it was during this period that the regular copying and collecting of Alcuin's letters began, and two letters from this period, apparently written in 792, drew Bullough's particular attention.[89] In one of these, Alcuin advises king Offa on the proper procedure for consecrating a new archbishop of Canterbury.[90] The second, however, is of greater interest to our discussion. The letter itself has not survived, but its substance is reported in the 'Northumbrian Annals' transmitted by Byrhtferth in the late tenth/early eleventh century, which was later incorporated into the *Historia regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham.[91] This comes at the beginning of the entry for the year 792:

> Charles, king of the Franks, sent a synodal book to Britain, directed to him from Constantinople, in which book finding, alas for grief, many unsuitable things and things contrary to the true faith, especially because it was asserted by a unanimous declaration of nearly all of the eastern doctors, no fewer than three hundred bishops and more besides, that images ought to be adored, which the Church of God altogether abhors. Against this Alcuin wrote a letter, wonderfully supported by the authority of the divine Scriptures, and presented it with the same book and in the name of our bishops and nobles to the king of the Franks.[92]

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[88] Bullough, 'Alcuin before Frankfort', p. 580; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), p. 220 and n. 4.

[89] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 401–03; Bullough, 'Alcuin before Frankfort', pp. 580–81.

[90] This letter was published by Paul Lehmann in *Holländische Reisefrüchte I–III*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, 13 (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1921), pp. 29–34.

[91] Bullough, 'Alcuin before Frankfort', p. 581 and n. 41.

[92] Symeon of Durham, *Historia regum*, c. 55, in *Historia regum: Eadem historia ad quintum et vicesimum annum continuata, per Joannem Hagulstadensem, accedunt varia*, ed. by Thomas Arnold, Symeonis Monachi opera omnia, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1882–85), II (1885), 1–283 (pp. 53–54). 'Karolus rex Francorum misit synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum, in quo libro, heu, pro dolor! multa inconvenientia et verae fidei contraria reperientes, maxime quod paene omnium orientalium doctorum non minus quam trecentorum vel eo amplius episcoporum unanima assertione confirmatum, imagines adorare debere, quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex auctoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamque cum eodem libro, et persona episcoporum ac principum nostrorum, regi Francorum attulit.'

Bullough found no reason to doubt the authenticity of this report, and regarded it as conceivably inspired by Alcuin himself. It clearly identifies the eastern *doctores* as senior clergy, or the three hundred and more bishops. That Charlemagne trusts Alcuin to correct these men with regard to theological matters, and especially to do this on behalf of the bishops of his realm, is certainly noteworthy if the passage in fact borrows its terminology from Alcuin's letter.

Wilfried Hartmann did not hesitate to describe Alcuin's role in connection with Charlemagne's legislative activity as that of a *Ratgeber* (advisor/counsellor). However, he qualified this in terms of Alcuin's specific task to thoroughly ground Frankish legislation on the basis of the Bible and Church law, noting also that Charlemagne drew early inspiration for the theological foundation of law from a letter he had received in 775, this written by the Irish or Anglo-Saxon cleric named Cathwulf.[93] This admonitory letter, and others like it sent from the British Isles, displayed unique skill in using quotations from the Old Testament and applying these to current events, which Mary Garrison cited as one of the chief contributions of Irish scholars at Charlemagne's court.[94]

Among the elements of Cathwulf's letter are the following: Cathwulf draws a comparison between what he writes and the *canones* of the Church and the *Christianitatis lex*, and says that he has written this letter, which Charlemagne now holds in his hands ('in manibus tuis'), so that he may have an 'enchyridion, quod est librum manualem' ('an enchiridion, that is, a handbook') of the *lex Dei*; Charlemagne is reminded of his need to be instructed in both 'sapientia divina et secularibus litteris' ('divine wisdom and secular letters') just as David, Solomon, and others had been;

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[93] Wilfried Hartmann, 'Karl der Große und das Recht', in *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken*, I, pp. 173–92 (pp. 180–82).

[94] Garrison, 'The English and the Irish at the Court', pp. 102, 116. See also Garrison, 'The Bible and Alcuin's Interpretation of Current Events', *Peritia*, 16 (2002), 68–84.

Cathwulf stresses the importance of councils, coupling this with the imperative of Isaiah 16. 3: 'Sed bonum vero consilium cum sapientibus tuis, ini consilium, pone concilium' ('But indeed there is good counsel with your wise men, take counsel, appoint a council').[95] Finally, Cathwulf describes the 'eight columns' that the just king must uphold: truth, patience, generosity, persuasiveness in speech, the reproof and restraint of evil men, the elevation of good men, the easing of taxation, and equity of judgement between the rich and poor.[96] Of course, Alcuin himself would later use the image of columns in reference to the liberal arts as the supports of perfect knowledge.[97]

Coming some five years before he met Alcuin at Parma in 781, it is likely that Cathwulf's letter made a key impression on Charlemagne, and that it favourably disposed him toward Alcuin, the most famous of Anglo-Saxon scholars.[98] If Alcuin had indeed produced his 'York Poem' by this time, that is, within 780–82, which conveyed his view of kingship, and Charlemagne had become aware of it early on, this may well have intensified the earlier impression left by Cathwulf's letter, even to the point of disposing Charlemagne toward giving Alcuin an active role in drafting legislation.[99]

Perhaps a significant way to explain the versatility of Alcuin's role at court, going well beyond that of schoolteacher to that of royal adviser despite his humble rank, is to call attention to the versatile function and applicability of letter writing. Given the style of his letters, it is evident that Alcuin had 'ample practice' in epistolary writing during his youth, and that he developed his style and never lost sight of the utility of letter writing in schools; even toward the end of his life, he advised a bishop to arrange his boys' studies (*lectiones*) so that some of them would read 'epistolas et parvos libellos'.[100] With this in mind, it is interesting to consider the genre and timing of the three 'founding texts' of the Carolingian renewal: The *Karoli Epistola generalis*, the *Epistola de litteris colendis*, and the *Admonitio generalis*.[101]

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[95] MGH Epp., 4, pp. 501–05 (p. 503, lines 10–15, p. 504, lines 4–5).

[96] MGH Epp., 4, p. 503, lines 31–36.

[97] Alcuin, *Disputatio de vera philosophia* (*Grammatica*), PL 101, col. 853B–C.

[98] For the impact of this letter on Charlemagne, see Johannes Fried, *Charlemagne*, trans. by Peter Lewis (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), pp. 27–28; Mary Garrison, 'Letters to a King and Biblical exempla: The Examples of Cathuulf and Clemens Peregrinus', *Early Medieval Europe*, 7 (1998), 305–28; Joanna Story, 'Cathwulf, Kingship, and the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis', *Speculum*, 74 (1999), 1–21; for a modern translation, see Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, 'De Cathwulf à Charlemagne: Traduction d'une lettre d'admonition carolingienne', in *Amicorum societas: Mélanges offerts à François Dolbeau pour son 65e anniversaire*, ed. by Jacques Elfassi, Cécile Lanéry, and Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, Millennio Medievale, 96, Strumenti e Studi, 34 (Florence: SISMEL Edizioni del Gallazzo, 2013), pp. 887–94. For more on the Anglo-Saxon concern with just rulers, see Mary Clayton, '*De duodecim abusivis*, Lordship and Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Saints and Scholars: New Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Literature and Culture in Honour of Hugh Magennis*, ed. by Stuart McWilliams (Cambridge: Brewer, 2012), pp. 141–63.

[99] Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), pp. 41–42; Godman, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, pp. xxxix–xlvii.

The first of these texts, The *Karoli Epistola generalis*, dated at 787, was composed by Paul the Deacon and addressed from Charlemagne to all the *lectores* of his realm, relating his programme for correcting inaccurate copies of the Bible, as well as his commissioning of Paul the Deacon to produce an emended two-volume homiliary.[102] The second text, the *Epistola de litteris colendis*, dated between 787 and 23 March 789, was composed by Alcuin and was intended not only as a circular letter in itself, but it also expressed Charlemagne's concern regarding letters (*scripta*) that he had received from monasteries containing 'sermones incultos' ('uncultivated discourse').[103] The third text, the *Admonitio generalis* of 23 March 789, is a set of capitular decrees and therefore of a different character from the first two.[104]

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[100] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 293–300; Alcuin, *ep*. 161, MGH Epp., 4, p. 260, lines 13–14.

[101] See Marco Mostert, '"…But They Pray Badly Using Corrected Books": Errors in Early Carolingian Copies of the *Admonitio generalis*', in *Religious Franks*, pp. 112–27 (pp. 114, 116).

[102] MGH Capit., 1, pp. 80–81.

[103] MGH Capit., 1, pp. 78–79 (p. 79, lines 21–25). For the date see Mostert, 'But They Pray Badly', p. 116. For the debate on Alcuin's authorship, see the summary provided by Friedrich-Carl Scheibe, 'Alcuin und die *Admonitio generalis*', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 14 (1958), 221–29 (pp. 222–23). Rosamond McKitterick has suggested the earlier date of 784/5: *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 240. McKitterick translates *scripta* to mean 'letters' and the term following soon afterward, *conscriptiones*, to mean 'writings' (*Charlemagne*, p. 316); cf. Albrecht Diem's use of 'letters' to translate both terms: 'The Emergence of Monastic Schools', p. 39. While 'letters' is most likely the intended meaning, these terms could be implying other kinds of compositions (see also Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 385–86).

[104] *Die Admonitio generalis Karls des Großen*, ed. by Hubert Mordek, Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, and Michael Glatthaar, MGH Fontes iuris, 16 (Hanover: Hahn, 2012).

Alcuin was closely involved with the composition of the *Admonitio generalis*,[105] and the difference in genre between the *Epistola de litteris colendis*, an open letter, and the *Admonitio*, a royal legal document, may suggest a shift in Alcuin's status. In the *Admonitio generalis*, the biblically-based character of admonitory letters, the form of writing that scholars like Cathwulf and Alcuin had mastered, appears in capitular form. This, as Bullough noted, was unique for its time: 'the recourse to biblical precepts and direct quotation was not to be repeated in later royal/Imperial capitularies'.[106] It has also been argued that the publication of the *Admonitio* so soon after the *Epistola de litteris colendis* rendered a second version of the *Epistola* superfluous.[107] This may have been due to a perceived difference in the authority of the two documents, an authority that Alcuin shared by virtue of his involvement. In the *Epistola de litteris colendis*, Charlemagne says that he has considered 'cum fidelibus nostris' ('with our trusted men'), while in the *Admonitio* he says that he has considered 'una cum sacerdotibus et consiliariis nostris' ('together with our priests and counsellors').[108] In this way, the authority of two different literary forms, of biblical authority in the epistolary and legal authority in the capitular, resulting in a unique capitulary produced by Alcuin, might be viewed as the bridge by which Alcuin, the deacon and *magister*, was able to join the ranks of royal advisors. As mentioned above, it was soon after the publication of the *Admonitio* of 789 that collections of Alcuin's letters began to appear.[109]

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[105] See the introduction to *Admonitio generalis*, MGH Fontes iuris, 16, pp. 47–63; Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 379–86; Hartmann, 'Alkuin und die Gesetzgebung Karls des Grossen'.

[106] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 381. See also Hartmann, 'Alkuin und die Gesetzgebung Karls des Grossen', pp. 35–36; Hartmann, 'Karl der Große und das Recht', pp. 180–81; Wilfried Hartmann, 'Die karolingische Reform und die Bibel', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, 18 (1986), 58–74; Scheibe, 'Alcuin und die *Admonitio generalis*', p. 224.

[107] Mostert, 'But They Pray Badly', p. 116.

[108] MGH Capit., 1, p. 79, line 8; *Admonitio generalis*, MGH Fontes iuris, 16, p. 180, lines 6–7.

[109] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 101–02; Bullough, 'Alcuin before Frankfort', p. 580.

Einhard's mention of Alcuin in the *Vita Karoli* is limited to his teaching role, and this specifically with regard to Charlemagne's own education. Being the biography of the king, as opposed to Alcuin, this is to be expected. Still, this report regarding Alcuin and other teachers does suggest a context of wider policy, and the idea of political and ecclesiastical policy might be strengthened by the fact that Einhard lumps Alcuin prominently in with *doctores* of the liberal arts:

> He most zealously cultivated the liberal arts and, greatly revering their instructors [doctores], he bestowed great honours [on them]. In learning grammar he listened to Peter of Pisa, an aged deacon; in the other disciplines he had as his teacher Albinus, Alcuin by name, likewise a deacon, a man of Saxon race from Britain, the most learned man anywhere.[110]

In modern English translations, Einhard's use of *doctores* might be easily missed, since it is not rendered with an equivalent term or title, but rather as simply describing 'those who taught'.[111] As shown above, the term *doctor* was often directly associated with the rank of priest, but it also conveyed the idea of expertise in a particular field or discipline. It is rarely associated with the liberal arts unless referring to someone who is especially expert in one discipline. Einhard mentions *doctores* with regard to the arts, but then he describes Peter of Pisa, a deacon, specifically with regard to grammar.[112] He includes Alcuin's rank as deacon as well, but goes on to describe him as *doctissimus*, and then lists the specific disciplines that Alcuin taught Charlemagne: rhetoric, dialectic, astronomy, and computation.[113] It is important to note the absence of the title *magister* in Einhard's description of Alcuin. Instead, he calls him Charlemagne's *praeceptor*, which was perhaps a safer term with broader connotations rather than ecclesiastical associations. Could it be that Einhard avoided using *magister* here because it would have clashed with some higher dignity implied by his earlier use of *doctores*, among whom he had classed Alcuin?

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[110] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 25, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS rer. Germ., 25 (Hanover: Hahn, 1911), p. 30, lines 8–14. 'Artes liberales studiosissime coluit, earumque doctores plurimum veneratus magnis adficiebat honoribus. In discenda grammatica Petrum Pisanum diaconem senem audivit, in ceteris disciplinis Albinum cognomento Alcoinum, item diaconem, de Brittania Saxonici generis hominem, virum undecumque doctissimum, praeceptorem habuit.' For earlier uses of the phrase 'virum undecumque doctissimum', used by Terentianus Maurus and Augustine to describe Varro, see Mary Garrison, 'The English and the Irish at the Court', p. 99 and n. 6.

[111] David Ganz followed Lewis Thorpe in this more generalized translation of *doctores*: Einhard, *The Life of Charlemagne*, c. 25, in *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer: Two Lives of Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. by David Ganz (London: Penguin, 2008), pp. 17–44 (p. 36).

[112] For Peter of Pisa's grammar, see the recent edition by Anneli Luhtala and Anna Reinikka, eds, *Petri Pisani Ars grammatica*, CCCM 293 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019).

According to Einhard, Charlemagne bestowed 'great honours' upon the *doctores* specializing in the liberal arts, and these honours included grants of lands and revenues, which Alcuin certainly received. In fact, by his use of *doctores*, Einhard could be referring indirectly to an additional honour that Charlemagne conferred on Alcuin: a place of fellowship among the episcopal *doctores et ductores* of the church in council. This is made explicitly manifest in the Frankfurt synod of 794.

The final *capitulum* of the Frankfurt synod of 794 relates this recommendation of Charlemagne:

> He recommended also that the holy synod itself should deem it fitting to receive Alcuin into its fellowship and prayers, because he was a man learned in the ecclesiastical doctrines. Indeed the entire synod consented, according to the lord king's suggestion, and they received him into their fellowship and prayers.[114]

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[113] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 25, MGH SS rer. Germ., 25, p. 30, lines 14–18.

[114] *Concilium Francofurtense*, c. 56, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 171, lines 22–25. 'Commonuit etiam, ut Aliquinum ipsa sancta synodus in suo consortio sive in orationibus recipere dignaretur, eo quod esset vir in ecclesiasticis doctrinis eruditus. Omnis namque synodus secundum ammonitionem domni regis consensit et eum in eorum consortio sive in orationibus receperunt.'

Bullough twice called special attention to this report, commenting that it ‘singles out Alcuin in a way that seems entirely without parallel’.[115] His observations are worth quoting in full.

> *Consortium* is unfortunately an ambiguous term. The phrase it introduces here may simply mean that Alcuin, a foreign-born deacon, was to be admitted to the prayer-fellowships of Frankish cathedral-churches and monasteries. But the occasional examples of *consortium episcoporum* and similar ‘group’ or ‘community’ usages in Carolingian texts may indicate an intention on the king’s part that at future synods Alcuin should sit with the episcopal *doctores et ductores*.[116]

Bullough was cautious here about interpreting political implications into Alcuin’s inclusion in this *consortium*, but he had expressed more confidence when he described it fifteen years earlier.

> This unusual – unique? – episcopal honouring of a man who had not been advanced beyond deacon’s orders has attracted surprisingly little comment, perhaps because there has been a tendency to ante-date (and thereby to exaggerate) Alcuin’s influence on ‘matters of church and state’: compare the minor part allocated to Alcuin in the record of the English legatine councils in 786, MGH Epp. 4: 28. He was, however, clearly far more influential when he returned to Northumbria in 790. *Consortium*, which occurs in a number of different contexts in Carolingian capitularies and synodal decrees […] is here being used in its basic meaning of ‘fellowship’ in the fullest sense.[117]

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[115] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 430.
[116] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 430.
[117] Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 225, n. 91. See also Bullough, ‘Alcuin before Frankfort’, pp. 571–73.

In fact, long before this, Francis Monnier had made an even stronger statement with regard to Charlemagne's intention toward Alcuin: 'C'était lui donner, pour parler, le rang d'un évêque'.[118]

The Frankfurt synod's *capitula* begin with a mention of the congregation of *episcopi* and *sacerdotes*.[119] The actual reference to *doctores et ductores* does not appear in the *capitula* of the synod, but rather in an episcopal letter appended to the *capitula*, the *Epistola episcoporum Franciae*.[120] Due to its features of vocabulary, indeed the use of *doctores et ductores* serving as one prime example, Bullough identified Alcuin himself as the most likely author of the *Epistola*.[121] This use of *doctores et ductores* in the *Epistola*, compared with *episcopi* and *sacerdotes* in the *capitula*, could be related to how Alcuin perceived himself in terms of his rank and status, as well as how others perceived him. It could well be that Alcuin felt more comfortable writing in the form of a letter on behalf of the *doctores et ductores* of the Frankish church, among whom he could perhaps more reasonably rank himself due to his teaching and expertise.[122] The final chapter of the synod's *capitula* may then be viewed as revealing in terms of Alcuin's status. Alcuin's rank as deacon and the often used tag of *magister* are omitted here, and this silence may indeed be speaking loudly in the context of the synod. Because of his inclusion among the *doctores et ductores* of higher ecclesiastical rank, would it have been problematic to make mention of Alcuin’s rank or his role as *magister*?

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[118] Monnier, *Alcuin et Charlemagne: Avec des fragments d'un commentaire inédit d'Alcuin sur Saint Matthieu, et d'autres pièces publiées pour la première fois*, 2nd edn (Paris: Plon, 1863), p. 175. See also Kleinclausz, *Alcuin*, pp. 88–89.

[119] MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 165, line 20.

[120] MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 156, line 28 and p. 157, line 2.

[121] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 421–22; Bullough, 'Alcuin before Frankfort', pp. 582–83.

[122] Ambrose quoted Paul's description of duties in the Church, 'that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers' (Ephesians 4. 11), saying that he wished only to attain diligence in the Scriptures in order to fulfil the duty that Paul had ranked last, a claim of both humility and inclusion in official ministry that would have appealed to Alcuin if he had been familiar with Ambrose's *De officiis*. See Giorgia Vocino, 'Bishops in the Mirror: From Self-Representation to Episcopal Model. The Case of the Eloquent Bishops Ambrose of Milan and Gregory the Great', in *Religious Franks*, pp. 331–49 (pp. 333–35).

The Frankfurt synod of 794 and the years immediately following it roughly correspond to the time that Alcuin composed his pedagogical works, activities that seem relatively late in his teaching career. However, to infer from this that in the late 780s and early 790s Alcuin was not yet influential in Carolingian intellectual life, and that ‘Alcuin’s prominence at the Council of Frankfurt was not, then, that of an already established intellectual leader’,[123] can only be true in the narrow sense of his participation in theological debate; it cannot be true in the general sense, as his involvement in drafting the *Epistola de litteris colendis* and *Admonitio generalis* prove. In fact, any argument for Alcuin’s influence or lack of influence in one area, for instance teaching, as opposed to another, such as public policy, is difficult to maintain by the time Alcuin began exercising a discernible role. Bullough made an interesting statement regarding the character of Charlemagne’s court and Alcuin’s early teaching role there in the 780s, even despite the lack of evidence for it: ‘The inter-weaving of literary activity, pedagogy and public policy is one of Charles’s court’s most striking features; and if Alcuin’s part is hardly the familiar “headship of a palace school”, it is not less significant in its outcome’.[124] This ‘interwoven’ character of the court is equally applicable to Alcuin himself. By the time he reaches the court, it is no longer useful to speak of him as teacher, advisor, and writer of legislative and pedagogical works in terms of different phases of his career, or a series of roles; it is better to speak of him in terms of a continuity of duties making up his own unique role.[125]

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[123] John Marenbon, ‘Alcuin, the Council of Frankfort and the Beginnings of Medieval Philosophy’, in *Das Frankfurter Konzil von 794*, ed. by Berndt, Part 2: *Kultur und Theologie*, pp. 603–15 (p. 604). See Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, pp. 43–46, 55–56.

[124] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 372.

[125] This view does not necessarily contradict that of Louis Holtz when he describes Alcuin’s life in terms of three phases: a teacher at York, an advisor or administrator at the court, and once again a teacher (and

For this reason, Alcuin may not have viewed the enshrinement of his achievement and reputation as dependent on the attainment of high office, such as the episcopate, for even this involved a limited jurisdiction. Nor did he view it as dependent on the composition of theological or polemical works that might place him in comparison with *doctores* or pit him against *pseudo-doctores*. As Mary Garrison observed with regard to his letters, Alcuin was conscious of the increased value of knowledge at the court, and he knew how to filter this through his personal and royal connections into a 'pouvoir inarticulé'.[126] I would argue that this 'unarticulated power' was due not only to Alcuin's connections with royal and noble officials, and not only for the sake of immediate reward, but also due to the connections he developed with his pupils for the sake of passing on his value of knowledge, as well as his name, to future generations. In this way, Alcuin based his status more directly on his role as *magister*.

I.5 The Hierarchy of the *magister* and *doctor* in Alcuin's Works and Later Life

The period in which Alcuin wrote most of his pedagogical works has been set generally within the mid-790s, the *De orthographia* being the earliest, perhaps some years prior to this period. Bullough believed that Alcuin wrote his *Grammatica* and *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus* within 794–96, while at Aachen, and that he completed his *De dialectica* after his move to Tours, whereas Holtz has claimed that Alcuin did not compose even his *Grammatica* until after settling at Tours.[127]

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composer of pedagogical works) at Tours: 'Le dialogue de Franco et de Saxo', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest*, 111.3 (2004), 133–45 (p. 133).

[126] Mary Garrison, 'Les correspondants d'Alcuin', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest*, 111.3 (2004), 219–31 (pp. 325–26).

[127] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. xxiv, 271; Bullough, 'Alcuin's Cultural Influence: The Evidence of the Manuscripts', pp. 15–19; Louis Holtz, 'L'œuvre grammaticale d'Alcuin dans le contexte de son temps',

In his *De orthographia*, among words that come under the heading of the letter ‘m’, Alcuin uses an example that he apparently did not borrow from Bede: ‘*Magister*, major in statione; nam *isteron* Graece statio dicitur’ (‘*Magister*, greater in status, since *isteron* in Greek means “status”’).[128] If this derivation was one that Alcuin perceived early in life, it may not be an oversimplification to say that Alcuin viewed all hierarchical relationships in terms of two essential categories, namely, teachers and pupils.[129]

In three of Alcuin’s best-known works on the liberal arts, the *Grammatica*, *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, and the *De dialectica*, the term *magister* is used in the form of direct address, sometimes with ‘Albinus’.[130] In the short dialogue that introduces the *Grammatica*, the *Disputatio de vera philosophia*, the first time that a pupil addresses Alcuin he uses ‘o doctissime magister’, and as the *Grammatica* itself begins, Alcuin is addressed as ‘domine magister’, which, if it cannot be the self-reference of an author who wishes to portray humility, could reflect usage in the classroom.[131] It is unclear whether these additions marked Alcuin as an advanced teacher ranking above other *magistri*, but it seems clear that pupils were to address him as *magister*.

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in *Alkuin von York und die Geistige Grundlegung Europas*, pp. 129–49 (p. 131); Holtz, ‘Le dialogue de Franco et de Saxo’, p. 133. Pierre Swiggers maintains that Alcuin began his *Grammatica* while at the court and may have completed it at Tours: ‘Alcuin et les doctrines grammaticales’, p. 147.

[128] PL 101, col. 912A. The other edition is Heinrich Keil, ed., *Grammatici Latini*, 8 vols (Leipzig, 1857–80; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1961; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), VII: *Scriptores de orthographia* (1880), pp. 295–312.

[129] Mechthild Sandmann notes the use of *magister* and *discipuli* to characterize the relationship between an abbot and his monks in the Rule of Benedict: ‘Die Äbte von Fulda im Gedenken ihrer Mönchsgemeinschaft’, in Frühmittelalterliche Studien: Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster, 17, ed. by Karl Hauck (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1983), pp. 393–444 (p. 396). Rachel Stone uses Alcuin as an example of the medieval emphasis on the relationship between superiors and subordinates, and in Alcuin’s case, *juniores* and *seniores*: *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 213.

[130] *Grammatica*, PL 101, cols 849–902; *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*: *The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. by Wilbur Samuel Howell (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941; New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), and the PL edition: *Dialogus de rhetorica et virtutibus*, PL 101, cols 919–49; *De dialectica*, PL 101, cols 949–76.

[131] PL 101, cols 849C, 854C.

The notion of prior lessons and the need to continue these toward fuller educational development is apparent in the *Disputatio de vera philosophia*, *Grammatica*, and *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*. At the start of the *De vera philosophia*, Alcuin's pupils recall how 'audivimus […] saepius te dicentem quod philosophia esset omnium virtutum magistra' ('we have often heard […] you saying that philosophy was the mistress of all the virtues').[132] Alcuin instructs them to devote their *adolescentia* to the liberal arts, that through the arts the first *doctores et defensores* of the faith were made superior to all the heresiarchs in debate, and that they must study them until their *perfectior aetas*, when they too may become *defensores* of the faith.[133] The implication is that Alcuin intends his own students to join the ranks of these *doctores et defensores* when they reach their prime.

In Alcuin's *Grammatica*, the two main participants of the dialogue, the fourteen-year-old Franco and fifteen-year-old Saxo, are said to have 'very recently broken into the thickets of the density of grammar.'[134] It is not clear whether by the 'density' of grammar Alcuin means that they are now embarked on a more advanced form of the discipline, but it would be reasonable to assume that these pupils had been previously instructed in the elementary principles of grammar. Their undertaking of a dialogue, albeit with recourse to their master if anything more profound (*altius*) needs explanation, is itself evidence of prior learning. Early in the discussion, Saxo gives Franco the definition of the noun 'secundum grammaticos' ('according to the grammarians'), and though he goes on in other sections to cite Donatus and Priscian, in the present case he appeals to Alcuin to supply the more philosophical definition of the noun.[135] According to Louis Holtz, the relationship of the two pupils may be characterized by levels of grammatical learning, Franco standing at the first level represented by the elementary principles of Donatus, and Saxo being at the second level associated with the work of Priscian.[136] Thus, the picture that Alcuin sketches here is one not only of learning in process, but also of learners on a progression in their education, standing in relationship to each other and to their *magister*. The Frankish pupil has recourse to the Saxon, and the Saxon pupil, who has a greater command of grammar, must nevertheless depend on his teacher.

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[132] PL 101, col. 849C.
[133] PL 101, col. 854A.
[134] PL 101, col. 854B. 'Nuperrime spineta grammaticae densitatis irruperunt.'
[135] PL 101, col. 859A–B.

One way in which Alcuin signals this chain of dependence, between one pupil and another and between the pupils and their teacher, is by referring to prior comments or earlier discussions. In the *Grammatica*, Franco often calls to mind what Saxo has said earlier in their discourse on grammar.[137] In the *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, Alcuin uses the same method in his dialogue with Charlemagne to include him in this kind of interdependent relationship of instruction. In addition to referring back to prior comments throughout their present discussion, as Franco and Saxo do in the *Grammatica*, from the outset, Charlemagne remembers earlier discussions with Alcuin on the function of rhetoric, as well as prior discussions on other disciplines, specifically arithmetic and astronomy.[138] This more likely refers to the informal discussions of learned aristocracy than to anything resembling lessons given to school children.[139]

Still, the manner in which Charlemagne recalls Alcuin's prior comments in their discussion of rhetoric bears a school-like quality, and in this way it is similar to the discussion between Franco and Saxo. *Magister* functions as a key term that is frequently used, where the questioner, Charlemagne, remembers what was said earlier and reminds

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[136] Holtz, 'Le dialogue de Franco et de Saxo', p. 144.

[137] PL 101, cols 861B, 873C, 891D.

[138] *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, lines 10–22 (ed. Howell, p. 66).

[139] For this relationship in the *Disputatio de rhetorica*, see Nelson, *King and Emperor*, pp. 316–18.

Alcuin concerning the progress they have made in their discussion, which in some cases indicates the start of a new section.[140] This is not to say that Alcuin and Charlemagne's relationship was comparable to that of a schoolteacher and a young pupil, but Alcuin's characterization of this relationship, in question-and-answer dialogue form, is clearly consistent with what he considered to be a fundamental, school-based method of instruction.[141]

In the *De dialectica*, another dialogue between Alcuin and Charlemagne, Charlemagne again refers to Alcuin as *magister* while recalling a *prior disputatio* that made mention of *philosophia*.[142] This prior discussion is presumably the *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, specifically the final *De virtutibus* section, where Charlemagne refers to certain 'philosophicas definitiones' of the virtues.[143] This statement, the participants of the dialogue, and the well-noted manuscript tradition that links the two works together, show that Alcuin clearly intended the *De dialectica* and *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus* as separate units that nonetheless belonged to the same stage of education.

Alcuin goes on in the *De dialectica* to use *magister* and *doctor* in his explanation of the nature of *facere et pati*, to do and to suffer. After explaining this in terms of a thing which is hot and something which receives heat from it, Alcuin uses the following example: 'Et qui docet, cum docet doctor est, et discipulum facit' ('And he who teaches, when he teaches he is a doctor, and he produces a pupil').[144] This statement, that anyone able to teach (*docere*) is a *doctor*, would seem to contradict Alcuin's apparent differentiation of *magister* and *doctor*, but it was an inevitable choice of words based upon the alternative, *magistrare* (to rule, direct, or command), which has no necessary connection with school teaching. Nevertheless, Alcuin soon introduces *magister* into the discussion. When Charlemagne asks whether things of a similar kind (the doctor and the pupil both being human) admit of greater or lesser degrees, Alcuin responds: 'Etiam. Possumus enim dicere, magis vel minus docet magister; et magis vel minus doctus est discipulus' ('Indeed, for we can say the teacher teaches to a greater or lesser degree, and the student is taught to a greater or lesser degree').[145]

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[140] *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, lines 233–36, 466–67, 827–28, 971–73, 1088–91, 1187–90 (ed. Howell, pp. 80, 96, 120, 130, 138, 144).

[141] Holtz, 'Le dialogue de Franco et de Saxo', pp. 134–36. See also Law, 'The Study of Grammar', pp. 93–94, 95–96). If Alcuin and Charlemagne's dialogue is meant to follow the pattern of actual conversations on rhetoric, some of the passages that convey the idea of 'memini te dixisse, magister…' ('I remember that you said, teacher…') could represent breaks in the conversation or separate lessons. It should also be noted that later in the discussion, Alcuin expresses reluctance in pursuing the kind of questioning with Charlemagne that he would usually have undertaken with someone from the *schola palatii*: *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, lines 936–44 (ed. Howell, p. 128).

[142] PL 101, col. 951D.

[143] *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, lines 1215–16 (ed. Howell, p. 146).

In his commentaries and polemical works too, as elsewhere in his writings, Alcuin uses *magister* to suggest a teacher of lesser authority or even heterodoxy, which he opposes to the authority of the *doctor*. In his *Explanatio in epistolam Pauli ad Titum*, Alcuin quotes Jerome's commentary on Titus where he refers to Paul as both the *doctor* and *magister* of the gentiles.[146] He also quotes Jerome's words on the importance of moral probity in teachers, where Jerome uses *magister* in his analogy and lists the three highest ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which includes the deacon:

> For what kind of instruction of the pupil will it be if he understands that he is greater than the teacher? As a result, particularly bishops, priests, and deacons ought to take care that they surpass all the people over whom they watch in manner of living and speech.[147]

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[144] Alcuin, *De dialectica*, c. 7, PL 101, col. 961B.

[145] *De dialectica*, c. 7, PL 101, col. 961C–D.

[146] Alcuin, *Explanatio in epistolam Pauli ad Titum*, c. 1, PL 100, cols 1009–26 (col. 1011D); Jerome, *Hieronymi presbyteri commentariorum in epistulam Pauli apostoli ad Titum liber unus*, I. 1b–4, line 154, in *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli apostoli ad Titum et ad Philemonem*, ed. by Federica Bucchi, CCSL 77C (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 1–73 (p. 10).

[147] Alcuin, *Explanatio in epistolam Pauli ad Titum*, c. 2, PL 100, col. 1022D. 'Qualis enim aedificatio erit discipuli, si intelligat magistro se esse majorem? Unde magnopere episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi debent

Alcuin may have felt that Jerome's inclusion of deacons in his list of those with teaching authority would have necessitated his use of *magister*. Concerning those who subvert the teachings of the Church, Jerome pitted the *doctor* against those having lesser authority: 'Tales homines doctor Ecclesiae, cui animae populorum creditae sunt, Scripturarum debet ratione superare' ('The doctor of the Church, to whom the souls of the people have been entrusted, ought to overcome such men by the reasoning of the Scriptures'); he then compared these subversive men to *magistri* who are deceived in the process of accumulating pupils, since they do so only for money: 'Turpis lucri gratia volunt proprios facere discipulos, ut quasi magistri a sectatoribus suis fallantur' ('They wish to make their own disciples for the sake of filthy lucre, so that they are, as it were, teachers deceived by their own followers').[148]

In his commentary on the book of Hebrews, Alcuin noted the criticism levelled at those who, according to the writer of the epistle, should have already been teachers (*magistri*), but instead still needed to be taught the first principles of the faith:

> For although, according to circumstances, you ought to have been teachers, again you are in need that you be taught the things which are the first principles of the beginning of the word of God, and you have become those who need milk, not solid food.[149]

Alcuin immediately turns to a school analogy, saying that those who were not yet ready to be *magistri* were not only incapable of imparting the mysteries of God to others, but

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providere, ut cunctum populum cui praesident, conversatione et sermone praecedant.' Jerome, *Ad Titum*, II. 15b, lines 494–98, CCSL 77C, pp. 57–58.

[148] *Explanatio in epistolam Pauli ad Titum*, c. 1, PL 100, col. 1016C; Jerome, *Ad Titum*, I. 10–11, lines 593–95, CCSL 77C, p. 27.

[149] Hebrews 5. 12 as quoted in Alcuin, *Expositio in epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Hebraeos*, c. 5, PL 100, cols 1031–84 (col. 1055C). 'Etenim cum deberetis magistri esse propter tempus, rursum indigetis, ut vos doceamini quae sunt elementa exordii sermonum Dei: et facti estis, quibus lacte opus sit, non solido cibo.'

were themselves like children who needed to learn their letters: ‘Nunc autem tales facti sunt ut infantes, quibus prima elementa litterarum tradunter ad legendum’ (‘But now such men have become like children to whom the first principles of letters are taught in order to read’).[150] Though the biblical passage itself implies that *magistri* would have been able to impart the ‘altiora mysteriorum Dei secreta’ (‘higher secrets of the mysteries of God’),[151] it seems clear that Alcuin associates *magistri* with at least a mastery of the first principles (*prima elementa*). Later in the work, where Alcuin comments on the covenant of law in the Old Testament and the covenant of grace in the New Testament, he associates the letter of the law under the old covenant with *magistri*: ‘Quod vero in littera latebat et legebatur a populo per magistrorum traditiones, hoc Spiritus sanctus adveniens docebat apostolos’ (‘Indeed, what lay hidden in the letter and was read by the people through the traditions of the teachers, this the coming Holy Spirit taught the apostles’).[152] Again, *magistri* teach at the more fundamental level of *prima elementa* and *litterae*, whereas Alcuin would certainly have identified the apostles as *doctores*.

If *magister* conveyed a lower status than *doctor* in Alcuin’s mind, still, it would have been a particular source of pride for him that Scripture itself refers to Christ as *magister*. In his polemical work against Felix of Urgel, *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum episcopum libri septem*, Alcuin explains Jesus’s response to those who addressed him as ‘good teacher’ (‘magister bone’): ‘Nemo bonus, nisi solus Deus’ (‘No one is good except God alone’).[153] Alcuin’s aim is to counter the argument that Christ is renouncing a claim to divinity here, but his personal rebuke of Felix is also of interest: ‘Mirandum vero est, quomodo magister velis fieri fidei catholicae, dum verborum, per quae fides dicitur, rationem ignores' ('Indeed, it is amazing how you wish to become a teacher of the catholic faith, when you do not know the reasoning of the words by which the faith is expressed').[154] It is not to be overlooked that Alcuin introduces here the idea of basic school learning. Felix cannot become a *magister* of the faith, not because he cannot understand its mysteries, but because he does not even understand the *verba* used in describing it; it is an ignorance of *prima elementa* much like Alcuin describes in his commentary on the book of Hebrews.

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[150] *Expositio in epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Hebraeos*, c. 5, PL 100, col. 1055C.
[151] *Expositio in epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Hebraeos*, c. 5, PL 100, col. 1055C.
[152] *Expositio in epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Hebraeos*, c. 5, PL 100, col. 1070C.
[153] Luke 18. 18–19 as quoted in *Contra Felicem Urgellitanum episcopum libri septem*, PL 101, cols 119–230 (col. 198A).

Throughout the work, Alcuin cites the authority of apostolic and patristic *doctores*. He also applies the term with sarcasm to Felix and his adherents, accusing them of being the *doctores* of novel doctrines; at one point he says, 'non dico doctoribus, sed veritatis desertoribus' ('I speak not to doctors, but rather to deserters of the truth'), and goes on to call them *novi doctores*.[155] Alcuin then appeals to the regional pride of Felix, saying that if he will not listen to the *doctores* of other regions, he should at least listen to the wisest men of Spain, and Alcuin cites Juvencus in particular. It is interesting that Alcuin does not use *doctores* to describe these men of Spain, and that in describing Juvencus he includes his rank of *presbyter*, and yet choses a different term than *doctor*, *scholasticus*, to express his learning and teaching authority:

> But if it is not agreeable to you to believe the rest of the doctors of the world, at least believe your own most learned men. Juvencus, the priest and most learned scholar [scholasticus] of Spain, speaks this way in his evangelical poem […].[156]

It seems clear from Alcuin's use of these terms that he thinks it better to be classed a

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[154] PL 101, col. 198B.
[155] PL 101, cols 129C, 148C, and 152B respectively.
[156] PL 101, col. 152B. 'At si mundi doctoribus caeteris vobis non libet credere, vestris saltem doctissimis viris credite. Cecinit juvencus [sic] presbyter, et doctissimus Hispaniae scholasticus in carmine evangelico hoc modo […].'

magister or *scholasticus* of truth rather than a *doctor* of error. Indeed, this is precisely what Alcuin says, if he is in fact the author, in the *Epistola episcoporum Franciae* appended to the Frankfurt synod of 794:

> Et melius est discipulum esse veritatis quam doctorem existere falsitatis. Ille ad altiora semper provehitur, iste ad inferiora semper dilabitur et inde magister efficitur erroris, unde auditor contempsit esse veritatis.
>
> And it is better to be a student of truth than to be a doctor of falsehood. The one is always promoted to higher things, the other always slides away toward lower things and from there is made a teacher of error, whence he disdained to be a hearer of truth.[157]

As it turns out, there may be evidence that this kind of rebuke came back upon Alcuin himself. Toward the end of his life, Alcuin received a letter from Charlemagne in which the king rebuked him for not returning a fugitive cleric to bishop Theodulf of Orleans. In the opening address, Charlemagne refers to Alcuin as *magister*, and before concluding the letter, he makes a statement that could have been aimed at emphasizing Alcuin's authority in relation to Theodulf, suggesting that Charlemagne and those advising him understood a difference between a *magister* and a *doctor*. Charlemagne says that he appointed Alcuin as the *magister* and *rector* of the Tours community, and yet laments:

> But for grief, all things have been turned about otherwise, and the devil has found you as if his own ministers for sowing discord, among whom it is least of all

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[157] MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 158, lines 41–43.

> proper, certainly among the wise men and doctors of the church.[158]

Dümmler added a note to this passage to clarify that ‘sapientes et doctores’ refers specifically to Theodulf and Alcuin, and it is possible that both terms apply to both men. However, if Charlemagne’s implication was that Alcuin was to be classed among *sapientes*, but that Theodulf ranked among the *doctores ecclesiae*, this would have been a check against Alcuin’s obstinacy in the face of higher authority that Alcuin would have immediately understood.

Alcuin’s departure from the court and move to Tours came in the summer of 796. Bullough found reason to believe that he departed ‘apparently reluctantly’, partly due to being deprived of the most able students in the realm.[159] This change in Alcuin’s life has been characterized as one of difficult adjustment connected with his role as an influential teacher, observed in his sense of nostalgia for teaching at the court and a sense of being replaced by his own students.[160] By the time he reached Tours, it seems evident that Alcuin equated his own success and status with that of his pupils.

Even before this, Alcuin had expressed some doubt regarding the affection of a former pupil toward him, and this seemed to involve his status as a teacher. Writing to Ricbod, archbishop of Trier, sometime within 791–92, Alcuin asks, ‘Quid peccavit pater, ut a filio oblivisceretur? Quid magister, ut discipulus neglexerit eum? Forte exaltatio saeculi dedignata est nomen magistri in illo?’ (‘How has the father sinned, that he has been forgotten by the son? How the teacher, that the student has disregarded him? Perhaps worldly exaltation has disdained the name of “teacher” in him?’).[161] He draws attention to the ‘nomen’ of *magister*, *nomen* being a term which can convey not only a general appellation but also a title of honour. Alcuin could have meant it in this way, since his choice of another term like *titulus* might have implied too grand an honour for even the greatest *magister*.[162] It is interesting to consider that this apparent hint of insecurity, specifically related to his position as *magister*, comes before Alcuin was granted official participation in the Frankfurt synod deliberations of 794.

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[158] Alcuin, *ep*. 247, MGH Epp., 4, p. 400, lines 37–42 (lines 40–42). ‘Sed pro dolor aliorsum cuncta conversa sunt, et diabolus vos quasi ministros suos ad seminandam discordiam, inter quos minime decebat, invenit: scilicet inter sapientes et doctores ecclesiae.’

[159] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. xxiv, 469–70. Giles Brown does not see any reason to believe that Alcuin’s transfer implies any lessening of royal favor: ‘Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance’, p. 32.

[160] Garrison, ‘The English and the Irish at the Court’, pp. 109–10.

[161] Alcuin, *ep*. 13, MGH Epp., 4, p. 39, lines 6–8.

To the end of his life, Alcuin maintained the conviction that the legacy of a *magister* depended upon the success of his pupils. In 804, the year of his death, Alcuin wrote to the monks of Murbach with this counsel: ‘Erudite pueros et adolescentulos vestros […], ut digni habeantur vestrum post vos tenere locum’ (‘Teach your boys and young men […] so that they may be considered worthy to hold your place after you’).[163] Alcuin appears to have taken his own advice, and his wish to be succeeded and exceeded by his pupils seems to have been communicated clearly to posterity, as Notker the Stammerer made a point to recount that ‘of his pupils, none remained who did not become prominent as either a most holy abbot or most holy bishop’.[164]

Bullough seemed to accept the idea of a steady continuity in Alcuin’s life, that the ‘Northumbrian Alcuin’ of York remained fundamentally unchanged even into his last years at Tours. He saw no reason to challenge Alcuin’s summary statements about his own life, which Bullough paraphrased as follows:

> However much knowledge he acquired, whether of the secular world and its affairs or of books and ideas, the purpose to which it was consciously directed and the use made of it, even in the face of failure, remained constant.[165]

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[162] Giles Brown thought that Alcuin’s title of *magister* was honorific and not officially connected with his teaching duties at the court: ‘Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance’, p. 31.

[163] Alcuin, *ep*. 271, MGH Epp., 4, p. 430, lines 6–8.

[164] Notker, *Gesta Karoli Magni*, I. 8, MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S., 12, p. 11, lines 8–10. ‘De discipulis eius nullus remansit, qui non vel abba sanctissimus vel antistes sanctissimus extiterit.’

[165] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 470.

The present chapter has added emphasis and clarity to what Alcuin viewed as the overall purpose of his life. Bullough was aware that even from his early days at York, the role of *magister* was significant to Alcuin, and that it served to establish and enhance his own status.[166] This chapter has gone further to show that Alcuin viewed the role of *magister* as the foundation of a hierarchy of teaching. The hierarchy of the *magister* and the *doctor* was closely related to the sequence-based concepts of age, rank, and teaching content, since *magister* was often associated with first principles and the liberal arts, while *doctor* was normally associated with the priesthood, the episcopate, and higher biblical expertise. By differentiating the *magister* from the *doctor*, and by remaining a *magister* all his life, Alcuin demonstrated that the schoolteacher was indispensable in that he provided the foundation of instruction for all who might hope to advance in the ranks of the Church. More than this, by redefining the role of *magister*, Alcuin effectively realigned the clerical career as a *process* of learning and advancement, rather than simply the acquisition of ecclesiastical honours. A re-evaluation of Alcuin's life shows that he not only understood and articulated the concepts of education and advancement as integrated, but also that he embodied their integration as well.

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[166] See above, pp. 16–17, 25.

Chapter II

The Meaning of *Schola* in the Ninth Century

Lexicographers and historians have been aware of the varied meanings of the term *schola* in antiquity and the Middle Ages.[1] Still, even extended definitions can hardly account for the broader historical contexts of these meanings and how they intersect. Therefore, it is useful in a study on education and clerical advancement to consider this term at a broader and deeper level. A historical contextualization of the term *schola* reveals more about the convergence of educational and institutional aspects of clerical life in Alcuin's day and the ninth century. As will be shown, the Carolingians were able to incorporate the full range of meaning for the term *schola* as passed down from antiquity and the patristic era. The rise of Carolingian schools in the ninth century did not therefore cause a shift in the term's definition; rather, these schools were the result of an effort to realize the ideal *schola*, in the fullest traditional sense, in Carolingian churches and monasteries and in the wider society.

II.1 Background

Cicero used *schola* broadly to mean either an oral 'disputation' or a written 'dissertation', and again to mean 'school', or place of learning.[2] Suetonius, writing of famous grammarians and rhetoricians, used *schola* to mean 'school', where the identity of a school was associated more with a specific teacher than a location.[3] Tacitus, Petronius, and Quintilian (c. AD 35–c. 96) all contrasted the *schola*, a place of instruction and preparation for the young, with the *forum*, or the centre of politics and public discourse for adults.[4] Quintilian referred to grammar as a *schola minor* (lesser or lower school) in comparison to rhetoric,[5] meaning not only that some disciplines may be viewed as *scholae* in themselves, but also that the plural *scholae* may sometimes be taken to mean 'classes', and the phrase *in scholis* to mean simply 'in school'.[6] Of course, the term was not limited to educational contexts only. *Schola* also denoted a Roman military division or regiment, and as with schools, it did not stand for the entire military order; rather, a range of *scholae* were numbered and ranked according to particular duties and associations.[7] Ammianus Marcellinus, for example, mentions the *schola prima* and *schola secunda* of shield bearers, or *scutarii*.[8]

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[1] See the definition and works cited in Teeuwen, *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life*, pp. 128–30, 453–55. See also Diem, 'The Emergence of Monastic Schools', pp. 30–32; Contreni, 'The Pursuit of Knowledge', p. 111; Pierre Riché, 'Le vocabulaire des écoles carolingiennes', in *Vocabulaire des écoles et des méthodes d'enseignement au moyen âge: Actes du colloque, Rome 21–22 octobre 1989*, ed. by Olga Weijers, CIVICIMA: Études sur le vocabulaire intellectuel du moyen âge, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 33–41.

[2] For its meaning as 'disputation' and 'dissertation', see *In L. Calpurnium Pisonem oratio*, 25. 60, ed. by R. G. M. Nisbet (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), p. 32; *Tusculanarum disputationum*, I. 4. 7–8, in *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. by Johann Kaspar von Orelli, Johann Georg Baiter, and Karl

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Halm, 8 vols (Zurich: Orellii Füsslini et sociorum, 1833–61), IV (1861), pp. 207–368 (p. 210, lines 28 and 34); *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, II. 1, in *M. Tullii Ciceronis opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. by von Orelli, Baiter, and Halm, IV, pp. 75–206 (p. 96, line 3). For *schola* as 'school', see *De oratore*, I. 13. 56, ed. by Kazimierz F. Kumaniecki, M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae manserunt omnia, Fasc. 3 (Leipzig: Teubner, 1969; repr., 1995), p. 23, line 15.

[3] *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, 6. 2 and 17. 2, ed. and trans. by Robert A. Kaster (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), pp. 10 and 22.

[4] Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus*, 35. 5, ed. by Roland Mayer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 81; Petronius, *Satyricon reliquiae*, 4. 4, ed. by Konrad Müller, 4th edn (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1995), p. 3, lines 18–19; Quintilian, *Institutionis oratoriae libri XII*, IV. 1. 46, V. 12. 22, V. 13. 45, VII. 1. 37–38, ed. by Ludwig Radermacher, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1959), I, pp. 193, 286, 295, and II, p. 10.

[5] *Institutionis oratoriae libri*, II. 1. 3 (Radermacher, I, p. 71).

[6] In Quintilian there are examples where *scholae* means 'schools' as in separate institutions, and his use of *in scholis* can mean 'in school' in nearly the same passage: *Institutionis oratoriae libri*, I. 2. 8 (Radermacher, I, p. 15).

[7] For these *scholae* within the imperial hierarchy, see *Notitia dignitatum accedunt notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et laterculi provinciarum*, ed. by Otto Seeck (Berlin: Weidmann, 1876; repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 31–32, 144–45.

[8] *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, XXII. 11. 2, ed. by Wolfgang Seyfarth, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1978–1999), I (1978), p. 275. Non-Romans might be classed together, as Ammianus names one soldier who came from the *schola Gentilium* (division of foreigners), a regiment of the imperial horse guard: *Rerum gestarum libri*, XXVII. 10. 12 (ed. Seyfarth, II [1999], p. 53); see Elizabeth Key Fowden, *The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 18–19. Ammianus also mentions some foremost representatives of the *palatinae scholae* (palace divisions), as well as a leader of the *domesticorum scholae* (division of bodyguards): *Rerum gestarum libri*, XIV. 7. 12 and XXVI. 5. 3 (ed. Seyfarth, I, p. 20 and II, p. 10).

St Augustine was aware of school divisions of *scholae* according to age and subject matter, reporting that when he was older (*major*) he studied in the 'schola rhetoris' ('rhetor's school').[9] For him too, *scholae* were to be associated with particular teachers.[10] Augustine would essentially combine the ideas of practical education and the spiritual life of the Church. He broadened his application of *schola* to describe the entire Church in relationship to Christ, resulting in his concept of the *schola Christi*.[11] In a tractate on the Gospel of John, Augustine gives this description of the Church: 'for we all have one teacher, and we are fellow students in one school'.[12] Likewise, in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, he repeats the idea that his readers are *condiscipuli*, that they are under one *magister* in one *schola*.[13] He also refers to a special class, the *eruditi in schola Christi* (learned ones in the school of Christ), which appears to mean those who are versed not only in Scripture, but also in the works of the patristic writers.[14] Augustine's imagery of the *schola Christi* is quite vivid. In his *Sermo de disciplina Christiana*, he explains the teaching authority of the Apostle Paul in terms of his connection to Christ, the heavenly teacher, whose *schola* is the Church:

> For who is the teacher who teaches? Not just any kind of man, but an apostle. Clearly an apostle and yet not an apostle. 'Or do you want' he says, 'to receive his

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[9] Augustine, *Confessionum libri XIII*, III. 3. 6, ed. by Lucas Verheijen, CCSL 27, 2nd edn (Turnhout: Brepols, 1990), p. 29, line 16.

[10] *Confessionum libri*, V. 8. 14, CCSL 27, p. 64, lines 9–12.

[11] Detlef Illmer, *Erziehung und Wissensvermittlung im frühen Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Schule* (Kastellaun: Henn, 1979), p. 38.

[12] *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, 16. 3, lines 2–3, ed. by Radbod Willems, CCSL 36 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), p. 165. 'Magistrum enim unum omnes habemus, et in una schola condiscipuli sumus.'

[13] *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, In Ps. 34. s. 1. 1, lines 4–5, ed. by Eligius Dekkers and Johannes Fraipont, CCSL 38, 39, and 40, 2nd edn (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956; repr. 1990), CCSL 38, p. 299; In Ps. 126. 3, lines 48–49, CCSL 40, p. 1859.

[14] *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, In Ps. 79. 1, lines 1–6 (line 5), In Ps. 98. 1, lines 2–3, CCSL 39, pp. 1111, 1378.

> proof that it is Christ who is speaking in me?' It is Christ who teaches; he has his chair in heaven […]. His school is on the earth, and his school is his body.[15]

Augustine describes Christ as occupying a teacher's chair (*cathedra*) in heaven, but the *schola* itself is not otherworldly; it exists on earth and employs earthly co-teachers. For this reason, Augustine thought it necessary to soften his claim to the title of *magister*. He begins one sermon by telling his listeners that their teachers hold their office, 'non tanquam magistri, sed tanquam ministri; non discipulis, sed condiscipulis' ('not as teachers, but as servants, not unto students, but unto co-disciples'), and in the following line he reminds them that they have one teacher, whose *schola* is on earth and whose *cathedra* is in heaven.[16]

Cassiodorus would go on to adjust Augustine's metaphor for the entire Church, making it clear that the *schola Christi* referred specifically to formal Christian education. In his *Expositio Psalmorum*, he bids teachers of secular literature to understand that the principles of all the disciplines had issued forth from the Psalms long before they encountered these in their own schools ('scholas vestras').[17] Turning then to the *Institutiones*, Cassiodorus uses *schola Christi* in a context where he not only calls for quality teachers at Christian schools, but also holds out the Psalms as the textbook of choice for beginner students at these schools. He laments that the Scriptures lacked 'magistri publici' ('public teachers'), and encourages funding whereby 'professos doctores scholae potius acciperent Christianae' ('Christian schools rather might take on renowned teachers').[18] In these schools, the 'tyrones Christi' ('recruits of Christ') pursue an ordered series of reading (*lectionis ordo*) that begins with the Psalms.[19] With this first stage completed, these 'recruits' become 'milites Christi' ('soldiers of Christ') who are prepared to follow the series of sacred and secular readings outlined in the *Institutiones*, and with the help of Latin and Greek expositors, Cassiodorus is certain that negligence will be removed in the *schola Christi*.[20] Thus, with Cassiodorus the *schola Christi* takes on a distinctly academic character. Cassiodorus also merges the classical meanings of *schola* as a military unit and as a school. He uses *tirones*, *milites*, and *schola* as related terms to suggest military discipline among students.

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[15] *Sermo de disciplina Christiana*, 14. 15, lines 379–84, ed. by R. Vander Plaetse, CCSL 46 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), pp. 201–24 (p. 223). 'Quis est enim magister qui docet? Non qualiscumque homo, sed apostolus. Plane apostolus, et tamen non apostolus. *An vultis*, inquit, *experimentum eius accipere, qui in me loquitur Christus?* Christus est qui docet; cathedram in caelo habet […]. Schola ipsius in terra est, et schola ipsius corpus ipsius est.' In this work see also 9. 9, lines 243–44, CCSL 46, p. 217.

[16] Augustine, *Sermones, classis III: De sanctis*, 292. 1. 1, PL 38, col. 1320. The basis for Augustine's comment is likely Matthew 23. 8–10, where Jesus tells his disciples that they are not to be called teachers and masters, for they have one teacher and one master.

[17] Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, Exp. in Ps. 23. 10, lines 192–97 (line 196), ed. by M. Adriaen, CCSL 97, 98 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1958), CCSL 97, p. 219.

There are examples where *schola* is used in connection with church offices and ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Remigius of Reims, the contemporary of Cassiodorus, wrote to Falco of Liège complaining that Falco had usurped jurisdictional boundaries in appointing deacons, priests, and archdeacons, and to this Remigius adds: 'primicerium scholae dares militiaeque lectorum' ('you gave a leader to the school and to the soldiery of lectors').[21] Gregory the Great refers to the 'schola notariorum atque subdiaconorum', indicating in the same phrase that *schola* could apply to those in an office serving a particular function, as well as to those in a particular rank of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[22]

Isidore of Seville described the difference between dialectic and rhetoric in terms of their respective domains of application, one being the *schola* and the other the *forum*:

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[18] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I. pref. 1, ed. by R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937), p. 3, lines 5 and 11–12.

[19] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I. pref. 2 (ed. Mynors, p. 4, line 14).

[20] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I. pref. 3 (ed. Mynors, p. 5, lines 3–14 [lines 3–4 and 13]).

[21] *Epistolae Austrasicae* 4, MGH Epp., 3, p. 115, line 12.

[22] Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum*, VIII. 16, line 9, ed. by Dag Norberg, CCSL 140 and 140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), CCSL 140A, p. 535.

> If indeed dialectic is more acute for discussing matters, rhetoric is more eloquent for teaching the things for which it strives. The former comes in sometimes at schools, the latter goes on continually in the public forum.[23]

Thus, in the seventh century the classical distinction remains unchanged; the *schola* is separate from and preparatory to public life.

Turning to the Middle Ages, Bede offered a definition of *schola* in an unlikely context. In his exposition of the first epistle of Peter, Bede explains I Peter 2. 18: 'Servants, be submissive to your masters with all respect, not only to the kind and gentle but also to the overbearing'. The basis for his commentary is the term describing the latter type of masters, the overbearing, or *dyscoli*, which Bede says derives from Greek and conveys the same meaning as *indisciplinati* (undisciplined).[24] He then describes the root of *dyscoli*:

> Because in Greek a place in which young men give attention to literary studies is called a *schola*, and they are accustomed to be free to study under teachers, from which *schola* is understood to mean 'leisure'. Accordingly, in the psalm where we sing, 'be still and know that I am God' (Ps. 46), on this account we say 'be still': in Greek 'scholazete' is used. The *scholastici* in Greek are the learned, the *dyscoli* are the untaught and uncultivated.[25]

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[23] Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri*, II. 23. 2 (ed. Lindsay, vol. I). 'Dialectica siquidem ad disserendas res acutior: Rhetorica ad illa quae nititur docenda facundior. Illa ad scholas nonnumquam venit: ista iugiter procedit in forum.'

[24] *In primam epistolam Petri*, c. 2, in *Super epistolas catholicas expositio*, PL 93, cols 9–130 (cols 41–68C [col. 53D]).

[25] *In primam epistolam Petri*, c. 2, PL 93, col. 53D–54A. 'Quia Graece schola vocatur locus in quo adolescentes litteralibus studiis operam dare, et audiendis magistris vacare solent; unde schola *vacatio* interpretatur. Denique in psalmo ubi canimus: *Vacate, et videte quoniam ego sum Deus*, pro eo quod nos dicimus *vacate*, in Graeco habetur [scholazete]. Scholastici Graece sunt eruditi, dyscoli indocti et agrestes.' Hraban Maur would later cite this in one of his homilies: *Homiliae*, II. *hom*. 27, PL 110, cols 9–468 (col. 195C).

In Bede's understanding, which he attributes to Greek usage, a *schola* is a definite place (*locus*), where those of a specific age group (*adolescentes*) pursue learning under teachers (*litterales studia* under *magistri*).

Elsewhere, in his *De temporum ratione*, Bede appears to take for granted that many have learned about the constellations 'puerili in schola' ('in the boys' school').[26] The modification of *schola* with the adjective *puerilis*, as opposed to some other construction like 'in schola puerorum' or 'in schola pueris', may or may not have significance with regard to how Bede viewed the ranking of *scholae*. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, we learn that Sigeberht III, king of the East Angles from 630, wished to imitate the things he saw 'bene disposita' ('well arranged') in Gaul, and thus founded a *schola* in which 'pueri litteris erudirentur' ('boys might be instructed in letters'), and he provided these boys with 'pedagogos ac magistros' according to the custom of Canterbury.[27] The passage does not indicate how a *schola* might be 'well arranged' in terms of categories of students, since it mentions only one group of *pueri*. However, it does imply the involvement of a number of teachers, both *paedagogi* and *magistri*, the former being likely assigned to the general care and supervision of younger students, and perhaps to some teaching, and the latter being responsible for teaching students of all ages.

Chrodegang, bishop of Metz from 742, was a primary architect of the church reforms begun by Pippin and Carloman in the mid-eighth century, which included the implementation of a plan for bishops and priests to live according to a rule of common life. The Rule of Chrodegang, written around 755, served as a forerunner to the rule that would eventually become the standard for the canonical life of secular clergy in the Carolingian Church, the *Institutio Canonicorum*, or Rule of Aachen, following the council of Aachen in 816.[28] Traditionally, the credit for introducing a Roman-style *schola cantorum* into the heart of Carolingian Europe has gone to Chrodegang.[29] It is therefore ironic that in his *Regula canonicorum*, Chrodegang never uses the term *schola*, whether to describe a group of singers, or a group of students receiving instruction. Nonetheless, in an outline of the *Regula*, M. A. Claussen places its eighth chapter, prescribing daily Chapter attendance, under the heading of 'education'.[30] At Chapter, all the canons are to hear readings from Scripture, portions of Chrodegang's own rule, and the *Regula* goes on to add, 'tractatos et alias omelias vel quod edificet audientes ad Capitulum legant' ('at Chapter let them read treatises and other homilies or that which may edify listeners').[31] The bishop, archdeacon, or the one in charge is instructed, 'quod corrigere, corrigat' ('let him correct what there is to correct'),[32] and Claussen claims that this correction has more to do with education than moral discipline.[33] This is by no means clear from the passage, and one may debate whether Chrodegang means to equate the Chapter meeting with a *schola*. Still, it is interesting to consider the manner in which the *Regula* distinguishes the activities of reading and singing.

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[26] *De temporum ratione liber*, c. 38, line 42, ed. by C. W. Jones, CCSL 123B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), p. 400. This phrase has been translated to mean 'elementary schooling', which is indeed the connotation: *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, ed. and trans. by Faith Wallis, Translated Texts for Historians, 29 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. 107.

[27] *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, III. 18, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), p. 266 and 268.

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[28] Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 1–26.

[29] John J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II, pp. 709–57 (pp. 742–43).

[30] Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonicorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 59.

[31] *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, c. 8, ed. by Wilhelm Schmitz (Hanover: Hahn, 1889), p. 7, line 39 to p. 8, line 5 (line 5). The more recent edition is *Regula sancti Chrodegangi*, ed. and trans. by Jerome Bertram, in *The Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 27–51.

[32] Chrodegang, *Regula canonicorum*, c. 8 (ed. Schmitz, p. 8, lines 7–9).

[33] Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 71.

Just before chapter eight and its emphasis on reading, chapter seven bears the heading, 'De disciplina psallendi'.[34] It is simply an admonition toward humility; there is no mention of any teachers, students, or even singers (*cantores*). Before this, however, in chapter five, Chrodegang describes what the canons are to do in the interval between Nocturns and Matins. 'Et qui psalterium vel lectionem aliquid indigent, meditationem inserviantur; et meditent in ipso intervallo quod possint capere; et qui non possunt, in ecclesia omnes aut cantant aut legant' ('And whoever lacks some psalter or text, let them be devoted to practice, and in this interval let them study what they can understand, and those who cannot, let them all either sing or read in the church').[35] Ideally, the canons were to read from either a *psalterium* or a *lectio*. If they lacked these, they were to study whatever they could understand, and any who could not do this were to meet in the church and either sing or read. From this we may draw some reasonable conclusions. First, those who were less apt to carry out independent study, and would therefore have to meet in the church to sing or read, were most likely younger canons. Second, if they were unable to study independently away from the *ecclesia*, they would not have studied independently when they gathered there; they would have been supervised. They were to sing or read. This means that they either gathered as one group to either sing or read, or to do both in turn, or they gathered as two groups, one to sing and the other to read.

Throughout his rule, Chrodegang emphasizes the need to follow the church of Rome. For him this means maintaining an observable hierarchy of the clerical ranks:

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[34] Chrodegang, *Regula canonicorum*, c. 7 (ed. Schmitz, p. 7).

[35] Chrodegang, *Regula canonicorum*, c. 5 (ed. Schmitz, p. 7, lines 1–4). Jean Leclercq noted the pedagogical connotation of *meditari*, in that it suggested the memorization of the psalter: 'Pedagogie et formation spirituelle du VIe au IXe siècle', in *La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, I, 255–290 (p. 260).

> Let the canons preserve their ranks, in such a way that they are arranged in their grades according to the lawful and holy custom in the Roman church in absolutely all places, that is, in the church or wherever they assemble together.[36]

In the eighth chapter he describes the stational mass, which clerics outside the cloister are expected to attend on Sundays and certain feast days.[37] They are to come prepared, ‘cum planetis vel vestimenta officiales [sic], sicut habetur Ordo Romanus’ (‘with their chasubles and official vestments, just as the Roman order is performed’), and while there each has his own place and function: ‘unusquisque in officio suo stet donec missa peragatur’ (‘let each one stand in his official duty until the Mass is completed’).[38] Chrodegang refers here to an *ordo Romanus*, and indeed, when speaking of church ceremony he particularly has the *Ordines Romani* in mind.[39]

Among the various sections of the *Ordines Romani*, the twenty-seventh *ordo* is part of the Roman collection, or ‘collection A’, which appears in an early ninth-century manuscript originating from Tours (Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de médecine, MS 412), putting it within the orbit of Alcuin himself.[40] The twenty-seventh *ordo* includes instructions for the office of paschal vespers, and here the participants are described as ‘conveniente scola temperius cum episcopis et diaconis’ (‘the *schola* meeting at the appointed time with the bishops and deacons’).[41] They are not all members of the *schola*, which likely means ‘choir’ here, though it is difficult to translate it thus because *schola* and *chorus* are not necessarily synonymous terms. *Schola* has the double meaning of both ‘school’ and ‘choir’, but to choose one translation over the other would ignore either its liturgical or educational meaning. In any case, the *schola* is understood to be separate from bishops and even from deacons. One can observe this by their physical arrangement in the church: ‘et ascendentibus diaconibus in pogium episcopi et presbyteri statuantur in locis suis et scola ante altare’ (‘with the deacons ascending to the platform, the bishops and presbyters set in their places, and the *schola* before the altar’).[42] It is a single *schola* that is clearly devoted to the purpose of singing.

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[36] Chrodegang, *Regula canonicorum*, c. 2 (ed. Schmitz, p. 3, lines 32–35). ‘Ordine[s] suos canonici ita conservent, ut ordinati sunt in gradibus suis secundum legitimam vel sanctam institutionem romana ecclesia in omnibus omnino locis, id est in ecclesia vel ubicunque simul convenerint.’

[37] Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 71.

[38] Chrodegang, *Regula canonicorum*, c. 8 (ed. Schmitz, p. 8, lines 15–16, 21–22). Schmitz includes a note about the variant spellings for ‘vestimenta officiales’; these words occur again in c. 33 (ed. Schmitz, p. 23, line 29).

[39] Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 269–71, 278; Roger E. Reynolds, ‘Clerical Liturgical Vestments and Liturgical Colors in the Middle Ages’, part 6 in *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS669 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 1–16 (p. 5); Aimé Georges Martimort, ‘Structure and Laws of the Liturgical Celebration’, in *The Church at Prayer: An Introduction to the Liturgy*, ed. by Aimé Georges Martimort and others, trans. by Matthew J. O’Connell, 4 vols (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986–88), I: *Principles of the Liturgy* (1987), pp. 85–225 (pp. 190–91 and n. 64).

[40] *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, ed. by Michel Andrieu, 5 vols (Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1931–61), I: *Les manuscrits* (1931), pp. 211–13 (p. 212); Cyrille Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen (Washington, D. C.: The Pastoral Press, 1986), p. 145; Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), pp. 175–85 (p. 182).

Within this *schola* there appears to be some structure based on age, physical arrangement, and select singers. Its members were boys, who belonged to the three lowest ecclesiastical orders, and a number of subdeacons, who were adult members who have been identified as the *paraphonistae* mentioned in this passage describing paschal vespers.[43] The boys are young, since they are called *infantes* throughout the passage, as well as in an earlier passage of the *Ordines Romani*, where the boys and *paraphonistae* are described as divided into half-choirs arranged in two lines: ‘statuuntur per ordinem acies duae tantum iuxta ordinem, parafonistae quidem hinc inde a foris, infantes ab utroque latere infra per ordinem' ('they stand in order – two lines only according to rank, the *parafonistae* on either side on the outside, the children in order on both sides on the inside').[44] Each line has a proportionate number of boys and adult *paraphonistae*, and their arrangement 'according to rank' probably refers to this basic division of two age groups. There were also ranking adult members or 'officials' in this *schola*. In our passage from the twenty-seventh *ordo*, where the *schola* gathers with the bishops and deacons for paschal vespers, we find signals being given to the *primus scholae* and *secundus scholae*.[45]

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[41] *Ordines Romani*, XXVII. 67–79 (XXVII. 67) (ed. Andrieu, III: *Les textes* [1951], pp. 362–66 [p. 362]). See Joseph Dyer, ‘Boy Singers of the Roman *schola cantorum*’, in *Young Choristers, 650–1700*, ed. by Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 19–36 (pp. 19–22).

[42] *Ordines Romani*, XXVII. 68 (ed. Andrieu, III, p. 362).

[43] *Paraphonista*, a term with a Greek root, has been equated with the Latin *succentor* and denotes one who apparently provided support and discipline for the boy singers: Calvin M. Bower, ‘Paraphonista’, in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Joseph R. Strayer and others, 13 vols (New York: Scribner, 1982–89), IX (1987), 398–99. See also John F. Romano, *Liturgy and Society in Early Medieval Rome* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), p. 45; Roger E. Reynolds, ‘Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchies and Functions’, part 1 in *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 1–31 (pp. 7–8); E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, ed. and trans., *Ordo Romanus Primus*, Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers, 6 (London: Moring, 1905), pp. 40–41.

This portion of the twenty-seventh *ordo*, with its description of a *schola* of singers, would later be included in the Antiphonary of Compiègne, also known as the Antiphonary of Charles the Bald.[46] This is contained in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), MS latin 17436, a manuscript in two parts (antiphonary for the Mass, or Gradual, and antiphonary for the office). Dated between 860 and 880, its origin is not known with certainty, but it belonged to Saint-Corneille of Compiègne, the royal chapel at the main palace of Charles the Bald.[47] Compiègne was a likely location of his palace school, and it is believed that the Antiphonary was in use there by the time of the monarch's death in 877.[48]

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[44] *Ordines Romani*, I. 43 (ed. Andrieu, II: *Les textes* [1948], p. 81). The text and translation are those of Romano, *Liturgy and Society*, p. 236.

[45] *Ordines Romani*, XXVII. 69–71, 74, 76 (ed. Andrieu, III, pp. 363–65); Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, p. 41.

[46] *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 75C–E, ed. by René-Jean Hesbert, Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes, 7–12, 6 vols (Rome: Herder, 1963–79), I: *Manuscripti 'Cursus Romanus'* (1963), pp. 180, 182, 184.

[47] Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books*, pp. 72–73; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp. 359–60; *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, pref. (ed. Hesbert, I, pp. xvii–xix); Ritva Jacobsson, 'The Antiphoner of Compiègne: Paris, BNF lat. 17436', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 147–78 (p. 151–52). See also Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 247–48.

[48] McKitterick, 'The Palace School of Charles the Bald', pp. 330–33; McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald (823–877) and his library: The Patronage of Learning', part 5 in *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 28–47 (p. 38). Textual evidence in the Antiphonary, specifically in the sequences added to it, has linked it with the dedication of the royal chapel on May 5, 877: Gunilla Iversen, 'Charles le Chauve, son antiphonaire et la dédicace de Sainte-Marie de Compiègne', *Bulletin de la société*

Nothing in the Antiphonary suggests that the skills of reading and singing correspond to separate *scholae*. Nevertheless, in the Antiphonary, the concept that the *schola* of singers was particularly devoted to music, as opposed to some other skill or discipline, is clearly understood. The ornamented attribution to Gregory the Great on the first two folios ends with these words: 'et composuit hunc libellum musicae artis scolae cantorum' ('and he composed this book of the art of music for the school of singers').[49] It is entitled not simply a book of *cantus*, or chant; it is a book concerning the *ars musicae*, which is intended specifically for the *schola cantorum*. It is unclear whether *ars* refers specifically to music as one of the seven liberal arts, or if it carries the more general meaning of a skill. However, the association of a skill, or a branch of science, with a particular *schola* suggests a conceptual differentiation of *scholae* based on the learning of different skills. As we turn to consider Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis*, and the use of *schola* throughout the ninth century, more observations can be made regarding this differentiation.

II.2 The *Admonitio generalis*, Alcuin, and the *Scholae* of Readers and Singers

The underlying significance of *scholae* being the subject of royal mandates in formal Carolingian legislation can hardly be overestimated. For one thing, it would appear to show that the meaning of *schola* was generally understood, and if not, that the legislation itself would have been expected to clear up any confusion. In the *Admonitio generalis* of 789, *capitulum* 70 is addressed to *sacerdotes*, who are specifically

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historique de Compiègne, 39 (2005), 83–97; Marie-Noëlle Colette, 'Musique pour la dédicace de Sainte-Marie de Compiègne', *Bulletin de la société historique de Compiègne*, 39 (2005), 71–81.

[49] Paris, BnF, MS lat. 17436, fol. 2^r; *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, 00, ed. by René-Jean Hesbert (Brussels: Vromant, 1935), p. 3.

addressed less frequently than others to whom many of the *capitula* are directed.[50] The understanding of terminology in the *Admonitio* was doubtlessly common among *sacerdotes* and the other addressees such as *episcopi* and *clerici*, and so all would have understood the meaning of *schola* as it appears in *capitulum* 70. It instructs *sacerdotes* to ensure the following with regard to the orders of canonical observance and those from monastic congregations:

> We beseech that they live a good and commendable life, just as the Lord himself commands in the Gospel: 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify you Father who is in heaven,' so that by their good life they may draw many to the service of God. And that they may add and join to themselves not only children of servile condition, but also the sons of freeborn men. And that there be schools of boys who are reading. Amend correctly the Psalms, characters,[51] chant, computation, grammar throughout the individual monasteries and cathedrals and in the catholic books, because often while some wish to ask well of God, yet they ask wrongly on account of inaccurate books. And do not permit your boys to corrupt them either in reading or in writing. And if the task is to write a Gospel, a psalter, and a missal, let men of perfect age write them with all diligence.[52]

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[50] *Admonitio generalis*, c. 70, MGH Fontes iuris, 16, pp. 222–25.

[51] On the interpretation of 'notas', see Evina Steinova, '*Psalmos*, *notas*, *cantus*: On the Meanings of *nota* in the Carolingian Period', *Speculum*, 90 (2015), 424–57.

[52] *Admonitio generalis*, c. 70, lines 314–26, MGH Fontes iuris, 16, pp. 222 and 224; in the earlier edition the *capitulum* is numbered c. 72: MGH Capit., 1, p. 59, line 40 to p. 60, line 7. 'Obsecramus, ut bonam et probabilem habeant conversationem, sicut ipse dominus in evangelio praecepit: "Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant opera vestra bona et glorificent patrem vestrum, qui in celis est," ut eorum bona conversatione multi protrahantur ad servitium dei. Et non solum servilis conditionis infantes, sed etiam ingenuorum filios adgregant sibique sociant. Et ut scolae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate, quia sepe dum bene aliqui deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros male rogant. Et pueros vestros non sinite eos vel legendo vel scribendo corrumpere. Et si opus est evangelium, psalterium et missale scribere, perfectae aetatis homines scribant cum omni diligentia.'

It is clear that since *scholae* is modified by ‘legentium puerorum’, boys who are reading, the primary purpose of these schools is to promote literacy for the young.[53] However, in order to create the circumstances for these schools to exist at all, *capitulum* 70 prescribes two fundamental prerequisites. First, it enjoins good character among the priests and the ‘other orders’, whether canonical or monastic, which is intended to make the entire Church hierarchy an effective recruiting organization. This, it is promised, will draw many ‘to the service of God’, especially *infantes* of both lowborn and highborn social condition. Second, it gives the imperative to ‘amend correctly’ books related to specific subject matter, as well as ‘catholic books’ in general, which is to be done wholesale ‘throughout the individual monasteries and cathedrals’. If there had been any fundamental differences between cathedral and monastic *scholae* in the past, this was no longer meant to be the case.[54] The subjects and skills related to the books to be amended certainly corresponds to the elementary education generally prescribed throughout the Carolingian realm.[55] The subjects of *computus*, the reckoning of the Christian calendar, and grammar are named, but in broader terms, the *scholae* of *capitulum* 70 are meant to teach the three primary skills of reading, singing, and writing.

The decree does not prescribe the teaching of reading, singing, and writing to different groups of students based on age, but it does differentiate between three age groups. First, recruits from highborn and lowborn families are referred to as *infantes*. Second, the *scholae* consist of *pueri* (‘legentium puerorum’). Third, the writing or copying of specific books, namely, Gospels, psalters, and missals, is reserved for

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[53] See Diem, ‘The Emergence of Monastic Schools’, p. 36.

[54] Martin Heinzelmann observed that in Merovingian sources, *schola* was used in the more general sense in connection with a ‘discipline of life’ in the monastic context: ‘*Studia sanctorum*: Éducation, milieux d’instruction et valeurs éducatives dans l’hagiographie en Gaule jusqu’à la fin de l’époque mérovingienne’, in *Haut Moyen-Âge: Culture, éducation et société, études offertes à Pierre Riché*, ed. by Michel Sot (La Garenne-Colombes: Publidix, 1990), pp. 105–38 (p. 129). Robert Godding reiterates this in his work, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, Subsidia hagiographica, 82 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2001), p. 67.

[55] Contreni, ‘The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture’, pp. 726–47; Charles W. Jones refers to these as ‘vocational’ subjects: *Saints’ Lives and Chronicles*, pp. 5–6, 200–201, n. 11.

'perfectae aetatis homines', or full-grown men. Nevertheless, the skill of writing is certainly to be imparted to *pueri*, which is obvious from the command not to allow boys to corrupt books 'vel legendo vel scribendo' ('either in reading or in writing'). This would presumably involve the copying of many books, the only exceptions being the Psalms and the most foundational texts for worship, the Gospels and missals. The accuracy of these texts was more crucial, the Psalms being a formative text for elementary instruction.[56]

Capitulum 70 associates *scholae* with only one of the three primary skills involved, namely reading, calling for *scholae legentium puerorum*. It then becomes necessary to ask whether the skills of singing and writing were expected to form additional *scholae* of their own. In other words, behind the *Admonitio generalis*, is there a tacit implication of a need for *scholae cantantium puerorum* and *scholae scribentium puerorum*?[57] In 796, only seven years after the issuing of the *Admonitio generalis*, Alcuin wrote a letter to Eanbald II, the newly made archbishop of York, where he appears to call for what could only be described as *scholae* for each of the three skills. After some moral admonition, Alcuin advises Eanbald regarding the ordering of his clergy during the performance of the office, and then regarding the ordering of students in their schooling.

> Have also your subdeacons and the other grades of the Church in order, so that, in the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Church may shine in the sevenfold

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[56] See Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 171–72; Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', p. 729; Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*, p. 223.

[57] Riché, *Education and Culture*, pp. 407–08. The council of Chieti in 840 includes an intriguing description of one participant who witnessed its decisions: 'Giselpertus decanus et portarius, quem scholae cantorum et scribarum magistrum ordinavimus' ('Giselbert the dean and doorkeeper, whom we appointed teacher of the school of singers and scribes'): *Concilium Teatinum*, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 791, lines 3–4.

> distinction of the ecclesiastical grades. Let each grade have the place and vestment of its own dignity.[58]

I quote this passage in order to emphasize Alcuin's insistence on the formal distinction of the ecclesiastical grades, as well as his sense of the division of labour in the Church. The arrangement of clergy in observing the office is to reflect the seven gifts or tasks designated by the Holy Spirit as described in 1 Corinthians 12. 8–11, 28–31. Alcuin adds a brief word about singing, and that students are not to despise learning the *Romani ordines*,[59] and then immediately goes on to say the following about the teaching of reading, singing, and writing:

> May your holy ingenuity provide teachers for the boys. Let the boys be set apart from the clergy, separately by their practice, those who read books, those who are devoted to singing, those who are destined for the study of writing. And have for these individual classes their own teachers.[60]

The same three skills are mentioned in the *Admonitio generalis*, but here Alcuin makes a clear distinction between those who read, those who sing, and those who write. York was to have well-defined categories of students, 'set apart from the clergy, separately by their practice', and Eanbald was to provide 'singulis his ordinibus magistros suos' ('for these individual classes their own teachers'). When Alcuin uses *ordines*, he is not speaking of clerical orders; he is referring to groups of students learning the three skills, and therefore 'classes' seems a reasonable translation. To have this degree of specialization among teachers and students would have made York atypical of the schools prescribed by the *Admonitio generalis*. There is no definite sense of distinct *scholae*, or classes, being recommended in the *Admonitio generalis*, whereas this is clearly the case in Alcuin's letter. He apparently expected York to be more than a *schola legentium puerorum*, and those of its students who were to read ('qui libros legant') were only one group among others that were to have their own teachers. Here, it is worth remembering the most well-known use of *schola* by Alcuin. The beginning of his grammar reads: 'fuerunt in schola Albini magistri duo pueri' ('in the class of the teacher Albinus were two boys').[61] As was noted earlier, a *schola* describes a group of students around a particular teacher, and not necessarily an entire institution or school, so that 'class' is sometimes the better interpretation. This means that while the *Admonitio* called for *scholae* in the basic sense of 'schools', York was to have multiple groups of students with specialized teachers, that is, a number of *scholae*.

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[58] Alcuin, *ep*. 114, MGH Epp., 4, p. 168, lines 35–37. 'Habeas et subdiaconos ceterosque ordinatim gradus ecclesiae, quatinus septiformis in donis sancti Spiritus aecclesia septiformi aecclesiasticorum graduum distinctione fulgeat. Habeat unusquisque gradus dignitatis suae locum et vestimentum.'

[59] Alcuin, *ep*. 114, MGH Epp., 4, p. 169, lines 3–6.

[60] Alcuin, *ep*. 114, MGH Epp., 4, p. 169, lines 11–13. 'Praevideat sancta sollertia tua magistros pueris, clero segregentur separatim more illorum, qui libros legant, qui cantilene inserviant, qui scribendi studio deputentur. Habeas et singulis his ordinibus magistros suos.' On this passage see Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 170–71 and n. 123; Illmer noted that Alcuin emphasizes the same three activities for *pueri* at the palace in one of his poems: *Erziehung und Wissensvermittlung*, p. 185, n. 17.

Other schools were not so fortunate as Eanbald's, having the more limited character of the schools prescribed by the *Admonitio generalis*, as another letter by Alcuin may demonstrate. In the year 800, Alcuin wrote to the monk priest Calvinus, who was not a member of a large cathedral church, but rather the head of the humble cell of St Stephen. Although it is unproven, this cell could have been located near York, which would make a comparison between this letter and Alcuin's letter to Eanbald all the more interesting.[62] To Calvinus Alcuin gives this encouragement regarding the resources available to him at his monastic retreat:

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[61] Alcuin, *Grammatica*, PL 101, col. 854B.

[62] Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 324, 156; David Rollason, with Derek Gore and Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History to AD 1100*, The Archaeology of York, 1 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1998), p. 159.

> But as I have said, let your wisdom consider what advantage you have in possessing the things others have, if they are sufficient for you for the bestowing of alms upon the miserable, if you are able to have a school of readers [scolam legentium], if you can clothe the poor, receive strangers, live quietly, if you are able to have peace with those who are outside.[63]

The limited resources at the cell of St Stephen would have made it far less of an educational centre than the archiepiscopal school of York, but Alcuin assures Calvinus that it will be sufficient as long as he can at least maintain a *schola legentium*. He makes no mention of the teaching of singing and writing, which he clearly does in the case of the archiepiscopal school at York under Eanbald. As we have mentioned, in his letter to Eanbald where he addresses the topic of liturgical singing, Alcuin insists that students are not to despise learning the *Romani ordines*. That Alcuin should name the *Romani ordines* is significant in this regard, since one of these, as we have seen, uses *schola* to refer specifically to a group of singers.

Liturgical reform based on Roman practice brought with it the need for specialized schooling. According to the *Vita Alcuini*, the Anglo-Saxon boy Sigulf had been sent from England to Rome 'ecclesiasticum ordinem discendum' ('to learn the ecclesiastical order'), and also to Metz 'causa cantus' ('for the sake of chant').[64] From this it appears that Chrodegang may have established a distinct *schola* for *cantus*, though, as we have seen, he does not refer to it as such. By the late eighth century, however, the standard for establishing a true *schola* for singing was to be based on content as well as having a specialized teacher. The council of Reisbach of 798 makes this clear,[65] and in one of its decrees we find again a distinction between singing and readings, or *lectiones*. These are no doubt liturgical readings, but in this context they appear to be the object of the teacher's preparatory study, and thus the prerequisite for proper liturgical singing:

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[63] Alcuin, *ep*. 209, MGH Epp., 4, p. 347, lines 21–24. 'Tamen, ut dixi, sapientia tua consideret, quem habeas profectum in habendo res alienas, si sufficiant tibi ad elemosinarum in miseros largitionem; si scolam legentium habere possis; si pauperes vestire, si peregrinos recipere, si quiete vivere, si pacem cum eis, qui foris sunt, habere valeas.'

[64] *Vita Alcuini*, c. 8, MGH SS, 15, 1, p. 189, lines 45–46. See Jesse D. Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597–c. 1000* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2014), pp. 146–47 and n. 76. For the *Vita Alcuini* see Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, *La vita beati Alcuini (IXe s.): Les inflexions d'un discours de sainteté* (cited above, p. 17, n. 8).

> But let each bishop in his own city establish a school [scolam] and a wise teacher, who can instruct according to the tradition of the Romans and who can be free to devote himself to the readings [lectionibus], and from this to learn his duty that throughout the canonical hours of the *cursus* in the church, he must chant each hour in accordance with the proper time and set feasts, so that, in this way, that chant may adorn the Church of God.[66]

Arn of Salzburg presided over this council, which was held the same year that Charlemagne elevated him to archbishop and made Salzburg a new centre for Carolingian reform efforts in Bavaria. As a matter of fact, one might view the decrees of this council as a kind of *admonitio generalis* for the clergy of Bavaria, where the emphasis is upon the quality of teaching as much as it is on the founding of *scholae*.[67]

In the *Admonitio generalis*, Charlemagne had called for the establishment of *scholae* throughout the individual monasteries and cathedrals. Around thirty years later, in 817, Louis the Pious sought to draw a line between monastic and episcopal schools. He decreed, 'ut scola in monasterio non habeatur, nisi eorum qui oblati sunt' ('that a school not be held in the monastery, except of those who are oblates').[68] Monastic reform and economic circumstances have been cited as the driving motivations behind this decree.[69] However, the degree to which it succeeded is another matter, and scholars have offered examples (St Gall in particular) to demonstrate how rigidly or loosely it was enforced.[70]

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[65] For the date of this council, see Jennifer R. Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 243–44, n. 24.

[66] *Concilium Reispacense*, c. 8, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 199, lines 27–31. 'Episcopus autem unusquisque in civitate sua scolam constituat et sapientem doctorem, qui secundum traditionem Romanorum possit instruere et lectionibus vacare et inde debitum discere, ut per canonicas horas cursus in aecclesia debeat canere unicuique secundum congruum tempus vel dispositas festivitates, qualiter ille cantus adornet aecclesiam Dei.'

[67] Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, pp. 243–46.

[68] *Capitulare monasticum*, c. 45, MGH Capit., 1, p. 346, line 34.

II.3 A Letter by Leidrad of Lyon

Not long after this, the practical division of *scholae* for reading and singing becomes evident from just one letter by Leidrad of Lyon. This letter is of interest because it indicates that the kind of *scholae* Leidrad describes were being established not only in Lyon, but elsewhere in Charlemagne's realm as well. It serves as a witness to the differentiation of *scholae* not only by the time the Antiphonary of Compiègne was composed, in the later ninth century, but also in the early ninth century, when the twenty-seventh *ordo* appeared in the Tours manuscript mentioned above.[71]

In a letter dated between 809 and 812, Archbishop Leidrad reports to Charlemagne on his work to improve the church of Lyon. Leidrad remarks that Charlemagne had appointed him to amend matters that had been neglected, which included liturgical offices, buildings, and ecclesiastical ministries in general.[72] Royal authority had mandated and facilitated this work, and uniformity not only of liturgical practice but also of institutional structures was of primary concern. Both are inherent in Leidrad's report:

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[69] M. M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 63, 66–73.

[70] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 182–83; Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 239–42, 251–52; Hildebrandt, *The External School*, pp. 8–19; McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 220–21.

[71] See above, p. 76.

[72] Leidrad of Lyon, *ep*. 30, MGH Epp., 4, p. 542, lines 15–21.

Then afterward according to your command I took up the aforementioned church. I acted with all diligence in proportion to the strength of my littleness that it might be able to have clergy for the divine office,[73] just as presently, by God's favour, I now appear to have for the most part. And indeed therefore it seemed good to your piety's favour to grant me, at my request, one of the clerics from the church of Metz. Through whom, with God's help and the reward of your approval, the order of psalmody was so restored in the church of Lyon, that now in part, according to our abilities, whatever the order demands for fulfilling the divine office appears to be performed in accordance with the rite of the sacred palace. For I have schools of singers [scolas cantorum], from which many are so accomplished that they are even able to instruct others. In fact, in addition to these I have schools of readers [scolas lectorum], not only those who are employed in the readings of the offices, but also those who attain the fruit of spiritual understanding in the meditation of the divine books. Of these, many can now in part bring forth the spiritual meaning of the Gospels, others with the addition of the book of the apostles too. Many also have partly attained the book of the prophets according to its spiritual meaning, likewise the books of Solomon, the books of Psalms, and Job. In the same church, in as much as I could, I have laboured in the copying of books as well. I have likewise attended to the vestments and ministries of the priests.[74]

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[73] For the liturgical connotation of *clerici officiales*, see Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 55–56, n. 145.

[74] Leidrad of Lyon, *ep*. 30, MGH Epp., 4, p. 542, line 34 to p. 543, line 11. 'Denique postquam secundum iussionem vestram supra dictam ecclesiam suscepi, iuxta vires parvitatis meae omni industria egi, ut clericos officiales habere potuisset, sicut iam Deo favente ex magna parte nunc habere videor. Et ideo officio quidem vestrae pietatis placuit, ut ad petitionem meam mihi concederetis unum de Metensi ecclesia clericum, per quem Deo iuvante et mercede vestra annuente ita in Lugdunensi ecclesia restauratus est ordo psallendi, ut iuxta vires nostras secundum ritum sacri palatii nunc ex parte agi videatur quicquid ad divinum persolvendum officium ordo deposcit. Nam habeo scolas cantorum, ex quibus plerique ita sunt eruditi, ut etiam alios erudire possint. Praeter haec vero habeo scolas lectorum, non solum qui officiorum lectionibus exerceantur, sed etiam qui in divinorum librorum meditatione spiritalis intelligentiae fructus consequantur. Ex quibus nonnulli de libro evangeliorum sensum spiritalem iam ex parte proferre possunt, alii adiuncto libro etiam apostolorum, plerique vero librum prophetarum secundum spiritalem intelligentiam ex parte adepti sunt; similiter libros Salomonis vel libros psalmorum seu Iob. In libris quoque conscribendis in eadem ecclesia, in quantum potui laboravi. Similiter vestimenta sacerdotum vel ministeria procuravi.'

It has been said that this report conveys the nature of 'Charlemagne's church',[75] or evidence of uniformity based on central authority. This finds support in the connection between the influential 'rite of the sacred palace', and Lyon's apparent duty, with the aid of at least one cleric from Metz, to follow this. Thus, the views expressed here on learning and liturgy are not restricted to Lyon. Leidrad's report also bears some specific resemblance to the concerns of the *Admonitio generalis*, since the emphasis once more falls on the skills of reading, singing, and writing. The *Admonitio* had called only for *scholae legentium puerorum*, but here Leidrad mentions both *scholae cantorum* and *scholae lectorum*. They are distinct from each other, and both types of *scholae* even have tiers of students with different levels of skill. First, the *scholae cantorum* have accomplished members (*eruditi*) who can already teach. But Leidrad's description of his *scholae lectorum* is equally interesting, especially when considering the *scholae* prescribed by the *Admonitio generalis*. Leidrad names them second, saying that he has *scholae lectorum* in addition to *scholae cantorum*, or 'praeter haec' ('in addition to these'). This is the opposite order to what might have been expected based on the *Admonitio generalis*, that *scholae legentium puerorum* were the most basic schools. Why would he view these *scholae* as an addition? The solution to this apparent contradiction may lie in Leidrad's description of the dual purpose of his *scholae lectorum*. Of course he has classes of readers, but these are not limited to those who can perform readings for liturgical offices; he has others who can read beyond the literal sense of Scripture to arrive at the spiritual or allegorical meaning. Leidrad's description of his *scholae lectorum* as two groups, as being 'non solum qui […] sed etiam qui',[76] therefore appears to be a distinction between lower and higher studies. The first would be concerned with basic liturgical function, the second with higher exegesis. It is important to note that this part of Leidrad's report is a continuous description of *scholae* at the cathedral church of Lyon. Only after this does he speak of the other churches of the city, or 'de restauratione quoque ecclesiarum' ('concerning the restoration of the churches also').[77] The best reading, then, is that the cathedral church itself has multiple *scholae cantorum* and *scholae lectorum*, these *scholae* being classes divided into elementary and more advanced *cantores* and *lectores*.

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[75] See Mayke de Jong, 'Charlemagne's Church', in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. by Story, pp. 103–04.

[76] Leidrad of Lyon, *ep*. 30, MGH Epp., 4, p. 543, lines 4–5.

From the *Admonitio generalis* in 789 to Leidrad's letter to Charlemagne, around 809–812, we see a progression. The *Admonitio* had called for basic *scholae legentium puerorum* with an eye toward the skills of reading, singing, and writing. Alcuin's letter to Eanbald in 796 took this further, where he advised Eanbald to have teachers for separate groups of those who read, those who sing, and those who write. Finally, Leidrad reported that Lyon had a number of *scholae cantorum* and *scholae lectorum*. For Leidrad, *scholae* would retain the function of providing basic literacy for the purpose of liturgical service, and indeed the designations of *cantorum* and *lectorum* are liturgical in nature. At the same time, Leidrad did not want to leave Charlemagne with the impression that his *scholae* only served the purposes of basic literacy; his *scholae* could boast of those who had become sufficiently accomplished to instruct others, and of those who displayed superior interpretive skill.

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[77] Leidrad of Lyon, *ep*. 30, MGH Epp., 4, p. 543, beginning at line 12.

II.4 Amalarius of Metz

Amalarius of Metz, whose active years spanned the first half of the ninth century, used *schola* both in the liturgical context and in the analogical sense of the *schola Christi*.[78] In his *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, Amalarius refers to the liturgical gathering as a *schola* as did the *Ordines Romani*. The clear call of the *cantor* gives the signal 'ut excitentur christiani circunquaque, et concurrant ad scolam doctorum et pastorum ecclesiarum' ('that Christians all around may be called forth, and that they may assemble at the school of teachers and pastors of the churches').[79] It is evident that unlike the *Ordines Romani*, Amalarius does not refer to the *schola cantorum*, but rather to the *schola* of teachers and pastors.[80] Although *schola* is associated grammatically with the genitive *doctorum et pastorum*, it refers to the entire church gathering, since all the *Christiani* are being summoned to it. It is a *schola* of teachers and pastors, with the addition of the laity, who are there in the corresponding role of learners.

The purpose of this gathering is to perform the daily and nightly readings and responsories (*lectiones* and *responsoria*).[81] Just as he applied *schola* to the wider circle of *Christiani* by their summons to attend it, Amalarius conceives the duty of readings and responsories not only with respect to the clergy, but with respect to the laity as well. He compares the gathered Church's rigorous attention to readings and responsories as a transition from the ancient faith of Abraham, with its outward sign of circumcision, to the *schola disciplinae*: ‘Merito nostra ecclesia, post cultum Abrahae, transit ad scolam disciplinae’ (‘Our Church, after Abraham’s worship, has justly crossed over to the school of discipline’).[82] Thus, from the outset of the *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, Amalarius presents the *schola* not simply as a liturgical body of clergy on the one hand, a *schola cantorum*, nor as an abstract or spiritualized *schola Christi* on the other. He views it as a continuity of activity by the clergy and the laity.

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[78] Few details are known about Amalarius's career. For a brief outline see the introduction for Amalarius's *On the Liturgy*, ed. and trans. by Eric Knibbs, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), I, pp. vii–xxxvi (pp. vii–viii).

[79] Amalarius, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, 1. 2, in *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. by Jean-Michel Hanssens, Studi e testi, 138, 139, 140, 3 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948–50), III (1950), pp. 9–109 (p. 19).

[80] He does refer to the *schola cantorum* elsewhere: *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, 18. 10–11, 25. 1 (ed. Hanssens, III, pp. 56, 61).

[81] For an explanation of these see John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), pp. 81–83.

Amalarius develops this understanding of the Church as a *schola* with an extended analogy. First, he reiterates the purpose of liturgical readings and responsories, that their order serves as a reminder to hear and then act on the law of God: ‘Saepe inculcatum est responsorios sequi lectiones propter disciplinam ecclesiasticam, quae non vult auditores legis tantum habere in sua scola sed factores’ (‘It was often inculcated that responsories follow readings for the sake of ecclesiastical discipline, which does not wish to have only hearers of the law in its school, but doers’).[83] This simply restates the idea that the *schola* is a matter of participation by both the clergy and the laity. However, he then turns to describe participation at nightly readings and responsories in terms of a military watch. Amalarius refers to an admonition of St Ambrose that Christians should imitate the soldiers of this world, however, the actual comparison to a night watch appears to be his own.[84] He compares secular leaders in arms (*armiductores*) and camps (*castra*) to the army of Christians (*Christianorum militia*).[85] For the ninth century, this is a key instance of where the terms *schola*, *militia*, and *milites* appear in the same place. Still, whereas Cassiodorus used *tirones* and *milites* with *schola* to suggest military discipline among students in an actual school, Amalarius makes *Christianorum militia* refer to the clergy and the people. If any distinction between clergy and people is made in the analogy, it is possible that Amalarius would identify the *armiductores* (leaders in arms) with *doctores* and *pastores*, who preside over the *schola* in the earlier passage. However, it should also be noted that despite Amalarius's apparent departure from Cassiodorus's use of these terms, for Cassiodorus the chief activity of the *milites* was the *lectionis ordo*,[86] just as an ordered *lectio* is the primary activity of *milites* for Amalarius.

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[82] Amalarius, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, 1. 8 (ed. Hanssens, III, p. 20).

[83] Amalarius, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, 4. 1 (ed. Hanssens, III, p. 25).

[84] Amalarius likely refers to Ambrosiaster, *Ad Timotheum secunda*, 2. 3–5, in *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in epistulas Paulinas*, ed. by Heinrich Joseph Vogels, CSEL 81, 3 parts (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1966–69), part 3 (1969), pp. 295–320 (pp. 302–03). In his *De officiis*, Ambrose refers to the good watchman or *bonus speculator*, but this terminology does not match that of Amalarius, nor does Ambrose mention *vigiliae* here: *De officiis*, 1. 47. 229, ed. and trans. by Ivor J. Davidson, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), I, p. 250.

[85] Amalarius, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, 4. 2–3 (ed. Hanssens, III, pp. 25–26).

Amalarius does make reference to a school setting and to young students in the *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*. In fact, he associates them with *disciplina* in such a way that with regard to his earlier description, where he says the Church has crossed over from Abraham's worship to the *schola disciplina*, the idea of actual schooling could not have been far from his mind.

In this passage, Amalarius describes the responsories used for Nocturns during the celebration of Pentecost. One of these reads, 'Disciplinam et sapientiam docebat eos Dominus' ('The Lord was teaching them discipline and wisdom'),[87] and Amalarius seizes upon the fact that in this responsory, wisdom logically follows after discipline. Just as Augustine might have done, whom he cites in the discussion, Amalarius makes this responsory analogous to schooling, and even applicable to schooling in his own first-hand experience: 'Tenet enim iste ordo morem nostrae scolae, ut primo erudiantur nostri scolastici per disciplinam, et postea sapientes fiant per sapientiam' ('For that order holds the practice of our school, that first our students are taught by discipline, and afterwards they are made wise by wisdom').[88] That *nostra schola* here does not refer to the entire church, the clergy and the people, but only to actual students, seems plain from his use of *nostri scholastici*. He is demonstrating the truth of the responsory by applying it to an example from everyday life, that students require discipline if they are to learn and go on to acquire wisdom.

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[86] See above, pp. 70–71.

[87] Amalarius, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, 57. 9 (ed. Hanssens, III, p. 92).

[88] Amalarius, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, 57. 13 (ed. Hanssens, III, p. 92).

Amalarius uses *schola* in much the same way in his *Liber officialis*, but some differences are worth noting. First, there is a reference to the *militia Christiana* that is very similar to what has already been encountered. This appears in a section on Lent, where Amalarius compares Lent to a battle, and specifically in a prayer for the start of Lent that he takes from the *Liber sacramentorum*: 'Concede nobis, Domine, praesidia militiae Christianae sanctis inchoare ieiuniis' ('Grant us, Lord, defences for the Christian army to commence with the holy fasts').[89] He does not use *schola* with this military analogy, nor does he use the term until the end of this section, where he says this:

> If anyone has entered the school of Christian discipline on the fourth day, it is not good that he leave unless after victory. Since we entered when we celebrated the usual offices, it is good that we triumph with our leader on the day of his resurrection.[90]

Amalarius's mention of *victoria*, of triumphing with a leader, undoubtedly recalls the military language at the beginning of the section. However, it is unclear whether he uses *schola* to mean 'regiment' in the military sense.[91] For Amalarius, the phrase *schola disciplinae* refers specifically to the liturgical and educational functions of *lectiones* and

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[89] Amalarius, *On the Liturgy*, I. 7. 1 (ed. Knibbs, I, pp. 66, 68); Hanssens's edition, *Liber officialis*, I. 7. 1, *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, II (1948), p. 47; *Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des Liber sacramentorum anni circuli der römischen Kirche (Cod. Pad. D 47, Fol. 11r–100r)*, 32. 127, ed. by Kunibert Mohlberg, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 11/12 (Münster, Aschendorff, 1927; repr. 1967), p. 12.

[90] Amalarius, *On the Liturgy*, I. 7. 10 (ed. Knibbs, I, p. 74). 'Si quis intravit in scolam disciplinae Christianae quarta feria, non est bonum ut egrediatur, nisi post victoriam. Quia intravimus quando caelebravimus officia consueta, bonum est ut cum capite nostro in die resurrectionis triumphemus.'

[91] Knibbs's translation of *schola* to mean 'ranks' does fit the military analogy (*On the Liturgy*, I, p. 75), but it fails to convey Amalarius's particular use of the term.

responsoria. For this reason, *schola* conveys the idea of schooling just as much as it constitutes part of a military analogy. Amalarius views the readings and responsories, or ‘usual offices’ (*officia consueta*), as giving the church a role similar to that of a school.

In the third book of the *Liber officialis*, Amalarius includes a section on the office of the lector and the cantor. He gives this advice to the lector:

> The lector should deliver the law of the Lord to his listeners as if to those beginning to be trained in the Lord’s school. They were recently invited to the marriage feast through the office of the cantors; they are newcomers; they need to listen to a teacher. The teacher and the lector are one.[92]

He equates the *lector* with the *doctor*, telling the lector to treat his listeners as if (*quasi*) they are beginners in the ‘Lord’s school’, since they are ‘newcomers’ (*neoterici*). Before assuming that this is no more than a metaphor, consideration should be given to how this statement is flanked, both before and after, by two unique citations that Amalarius takes from Ambrosiaster.

To set up his first citation, Amalarius compares the office of the lector and the cantor to the ancient tradition in the synagogue of reading from the law and the prophets. In this case, the lector represents the law and the cantor the prophets. However, this analogy only serves to introduce a much more practical comparison. He goes on to cite Ambrosiaster regarding the seating arrangement in the synagogue during these readings, and how this has determined the practice of the church:

> As long as these two are celebrated, that is, the law and the prophets, we are accustomed to sit in the manner of the ancients. Whence Ambrose in his treatise

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[92] Amalarius, *On the Liturgy*, III. 11. 6 (ed. Knibbs, II, p. 72). ‘Lector legem Domini debet tradere auditoribus, quasi incipientibus in scola Domini exerceri. Nuper vocati sunt per officia cantorum ad nuptias; neuterici sunt; audiant doctorem necesse est. Doctor et lector unum sunt.’

> on the epistle to the Corinthians: 'This is the tradition of the synagogue that the Apostle wants us to follow — because indeed he is writing to Christians, but to those made from the gentiles, not from the Jews — that they should discuss while sitting, the seniors in rank upon chairs, those that come next upon benches, the youngest on the floor upon mats.'[93]

The seating arrangement per se is not the crucial point, although it is of interest. For one thing, we find mention of *cathedrae*, the chairs upon which the senior members are seated, but these members are not called *doctores* or *magistri* here, and so the idea is not necessarily one of schooling. The more interesting matter is the presence of the 'youngest' ('novissimi') in this setting, and how their presence influences the purpose of *lectiones* in the church for Amalarius. The category of *novissimi* is likely characterized by youth rather than recent conversion, as Amalarius's other citation from Ambrosiaster strongly suggests.

Just after Amalarius says that the lector should read as to those beginning in the Lord's school, and declares that the roles of the teacher and the lector are one and the same, he cites Ambrosiaster the second time. Again, the analogy concerns the ancient synagogue, and again, it serves to explain the role of the lector as *doctor* in practical terms:

> Concerning teachers, on the epistle to the Corinthians Ambrose says: 'He' — indeed Paul — 'calls those men teachers who instructed boys in the church in

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[93] Amalarius, *On the Liturgy*, III. 11. 3 (Knibbs, II, p. 70). 'Quamdiu haec duo celebrantur, id est lex et prophetia, solemus sedere more antiquorum. Unde Ambrosius in tractatu ad Corinthios: "Haec traditio synagogae est quam nos vult sectari Apostolus — quia Christianis quidem scribit, sed ex gentibus factis, non ex Iudaeis — ut sedentes disputent: seniores dignitate in cathedris; sequentes in subselliis; novissimi in pavimento super mattas".' Ambrosiaster, *Ad Corinthios prima*, 14. 31, in *Ambrosiastri qui dicitur commentarius in epistulas Paulinas*, CSEL 81, part 2: *In epistulas ad Corinthios* (1968), pp. 3–194 (pp. 159–60).

> letters and in the memorization of readings after the manner of the synagogue, since their tradition has passed over to us.'[94]

This passage and the one cited above are the only two where Ambrosiaster specifically mentions the tradition of the synagogue. Amalarius cites both of them, and it is for this reason that he very likely identified the *novissimi* of the first passage with the *pueri* of the second. These passages form the natural basis of authority for Amalarius's discussion about church readings. In summary it is this: that the seating arrangement should be according to the 'tradition of the synagogue', that the lector should read as to those beginning in the 'Lord's school', that the teacher and the lector are one, and that the tradition of the Church has been to teach boys letters and the memorization of *lectiones* in the 'manner of the synagogue'. This appears to indicate that for Amalarius, the *schola Domini* is more than a mere analogy for the Church, for the Church, like the synagogue, plays an educational role. The church should be seated in a way that shows consideration for the young. The lector is not only to think of himself as a teacher; he is to perform like one. *Lectiones* are meant not only for the spiritual edification of all ages; they are meant to provide literacy for boys.[95]

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[94] Amalarius, *On the Liturgy*, III. 11. 7 (ed. Knibbs, II, p. 74). 'De doctoribus dicit Ambrosius in epistola ad Corinthios: "Illos dicit doctores" — quin Paulus — "qui in ecclesia litteris et lectionibus retinendis pueros imbuebant more synagogae, quia traditio illorum ad nos transitum fecit".' The passage is Ambrosiaster, *Ad Corinthios prima*, 12. 28, CSEL 81, part 2, pp. 141–42.

[95] Further evidence for this is not lacking, since Amalarius continues the discussion by comparing readings from the Old Testament with the elementary principles of the liberal arts. His apparent intention is to place biblical knowledge on par with the arts as a science in its own right, a science that requires its own elementary stage: Amalarius, *On the Liturgy*, III. 11. 8–9 (ed. Knibbs, II, p. 74).

II.5 Capitularies and Episcopal Councils

As defined by François Louis Ganshof, capitularies are decrees issued in the form of separate articles, or *capitula*, which served as the conventional means by which Carolingian rulers made known the legislative and administrative measures they sought to implement.[96] They represent the agendas, deliberations, and decisions made at assemblies in the form of oral pronouncements, which were equally if not more important than the written *capitula* meant to preserve and communicate them.[97] Their purpose was to reiterate traditional regulations that had come to be neglected, to adapt these rules to current circumstances, and from this to develop new regulations.[98] They were a key instrument linking the central and local levels of government, where *missi* served as intermediaries who heard official pronouncements made *viva voce* at assemblies, discussed written pronouncements, and then took copies of the *capitula* they themselves or other assembly participants had produced, which were then read out once more at the local level, where 'faithful men', those loyal to the ruler, would voice their consent.[99]

In his famous open letter, the *Epistola de litteris colendis*, dated between 787 and 23 March 789, Charlemagne criticised the uncultivated speech that appeared in various writings addressed to him, specifically from monasteries.[100] The letter makes no mention of the term *schola*, but it nonetheless bears mentioning because it anticipates the language and ideas that Leidrad and Amalarius would later use.

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[96] François Louis Ganshof, *Was waren die Kapitularien?* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961), p. 13; François Louis Ganshof, *Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne*, trans. by Bryce and Mary Lyon (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1968), pp. 4–9; Hubert Mordek, 'Karolingische Kapitularien', in *Überlieferung und Geltung normativer Texte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters: Vier Vorträge, gehalten auf dem 35. Deutschen Historikertag 1984 in Berlin*, ed. by Raymund Kottje and Hubert Mordek, Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter, 4 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986), pp. 25–50. For the function of capitularies in Carolingian reforms see also Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), pp. 1–44.

[97] Janet Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government', in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 258–96 (pp. 266–68).

[98] François Louis Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish Monarchy: Studies in Carolingian History*, trans. by Janet Sondheimer (London: Longman, 1971), pp. 143–61 (p. 143).

[99] Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government', pp. 259, 280–85; Ganshof, *Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne*, pp. 23–26; McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 23–37.

First, it is interesting to note a point of contrast between the *Epistola de litteris colendis* and the *Admonitio generalis*. Whereas the *Admonitio* explicitly calls for *scholae legentium puerorum*, schools for boys that pertain to basic reading, the *Epistola de litteris colendis* emphasizes the need for improvement in 'recte loquendo' ('in speaking correctly').[101] If the *Epistola* ever comes close to prescribing *scholae*, it does so with reference to making monks 'scholasticos' (scholarly), or learned in speaking well: 'Optamus enim vos, sicut decet ecclesiae milites, et interius devotos et exterius doctos castosque bene vivendo et scholasticos bene loquendo' ('For we desire you to be, as is fitting for soldiers of the church, both inwardly devoted and outwardly learned, and to be holy in living well and scholarly in speaking well').[102] In this context, speaking well is not just a matter of talking. It necessarily involved writing too, since, after all, Charlemagne was concerned with the writings that had reached him. This letter is thus a reminder that medieval text production involved 'orality', where those who composed texts dictated to scribes, and scribes also vocalized what they wrote.[103]

The *Epistola de litteris colendis* opens with this statement about teaching and learning:

> We with our trusted men have considered it proper, that the cathedrals and monasteries entrusted to us to govern by the favour of Christ ought, in addition to [praeter] the order of regular life and the life of holy religion, to apply the zeal of teaching also toward the practice of letters for those who are able to learn, the

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[100] *Karoli epistola de litteris colendis*, MGH Capit., 1, pp. 78–79.
[101] *Epistola de litteris colendis*, MGH Capit., 1, p. 79, line 15.
[102] *Epistola de litteris colendis*, MGH Capit., 1, p. 79, lines 38–39.
[103] Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 18–19; Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 223–24.

> Lord granting, according to each one's capacity. In this way, just as the norms of the regular life do for the integrity of morals, so too the constancy of teaching and learning orders and adorns the course of words.[104]

In Leidrad's letter to Charlemagne, he said that he had *scholae cantorum* with those who were so accomplished that they 'etiam alios erudire possint' ('are even able to instruct others'), and that in addition to (*praeter*) these, he had *scholae lectorum* with not only those who perform readings for the offices, but also those who can attain the spiritual understanding of the divine books.[105] These tiers of learning, students who go from learning to teaching others, and from basic reading to more advanced exegesis, are represented very similarly in the *Epistola de litteris colendis*. The letter goes on to say this:

> For which cause we urge you not only not to neglect the studies of letters, but also to learn eagerly with the intention most humble and pleasing to God for this purpose, that you may be able to penetrate more easily and correctly the mysteries of the divine Scriptures. However, since figures of speech, tropes, and other things similar to these are found in the pages of Holy Scripture, there is no doubt that someone reading understands them more quickly the sooner he has been fully instructed in the teaching of letters. Indeed, let such men be chosen for this task, who have both the inclination and the ability to learn and the desire to instruct others.[106]

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[104] *Epistola de litteris colendis*, MGH Capit., 1, p. 79, lines 8–14. 'Nos una cum fidelibus nostris consideravimus utile esse, ut episcopia et monasteria nobis Christo propitio ad gubernandum commissa praeter regularis vitae ordinem atque sanctae religionis conversationem etiam in litterarum meditationibus eis qui donante Domino discere possunt secundum uniuscuiusque capacitatem docendi studium debeant impendere, qualiter, sicut regularis norma honestatem morum, ita quoque docendi et discendi instantia ordinet et ornet seriem verborum.'

[105] See above, pp. 87–88.

[106] *Epistola de litteris colendis*, MGH Capit., 1, p. 79, lines 30–37. 'Quamobrem hortamur vos litterarum studia non solum non negligere, verum etiam humillima et Deo placita intentione ad hoc certatim discere, ut facilius et rectius divinarum scripturarum mysteria valeatis penetrare. Cum autem in sacris paginis schemata, tropi et caetera his similia inserta inveniantur, nulli dubium est, quod ea unusquisque legens tanto citius spiritualiter intelligit, quanto prius in litterarum magisterio plenius instructus fuerit. Tales vero

The first idea, of students who advance from the fundamental understanding of letters (*litterae*) to being able to penetrate the mysteries of Scripture, is clearly stated. What may be less obvious is the second idea, where students become teachers. A cursory reading of the passage may conclude that Charlemagne calls for the selection of apt pupils and good teachers as two separate categories. However, the passage clearly intends one group of men (*viri*), who have both the ability to learn and the desire to instruct others ('alios instruendi'). These two ideas, the tiers of basic and advanced reading and the tiers of learning and then teaching others, are the same ideas found in Leidrad's letter to Charlemagne. They are the two primary indicators by which Leidrad evaluated the success of his *scholae*, and they are likely the ones intended by Charlemagne here in the *Epistola de litteris colendis*.

That *scholae* were to have basic tiers of students is evident in many capitularies. One of them, which has been classed among those that Charlemagne issued from Aachen in 809, appears to demonstrate this when referring to *scholarii*, which in this case may be translated as meaning 'students'. Priests are to have *scholarii* who are 'nutritos et insinuatos' ('brought up and thoroughly initiated'), so that if they themselves are not able to discharge the office at the appointed time, their students may do so.[107] All of these *scholarii* are to be brought up until fully initiated, but they would not be at the same stage in the process. There is an implied order in which students are first *nutriti*, a term that usually refers to the early upbringing of a young cleric or oblate, and then become *insinuati*.[108]

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ad hoc opus viri eligantur, qui et voluntatem et possibilitatem discendi et desiderium habeant alios instruendi.'

[107] *Capitula de presbyteris admonendis*, c. 5, MGH Capit., 1, p. 238, lines 10–13 (lines 10–11).

[108] On the possible meanings of *nutritus* see Carine van Rhijn, 'Priests and the Carolingian Reforms: The Bottlenecks of Local *correctio*', in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard

Between the years 823–825, Louis the Pious issued his own general admonition known as the *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*.[109] Its decree concerning *scholae* is of particular interest because of the surrounding terminology, and due to the fact that this decree refers directly, perhaps with some sense of urgency, to a council held in Attigny not long before in 822:

> Scolae sane ad filios et ministros ecclesiae instruendos vel edocendos, sicut nobis praeterito tempore ad Attiniacum promisistis et vobis iniunximus, in congruis locis, ubi necdum perfectum est, ad multorum utilitatem et profectum a vobis ordinari non neglegantur.
>
> Indeed, do not neglect to arrange schools for instructing and thoroughly teaching the sons and servants of the Church, just as we charged you and you promised us at a past time at Attigny, in suitable places where it has not yet been carried out, for the benefit and advance of many.[110]

This short decree contains no less than three interesting pairs of terms, one representing those for whom these *scholae* are meant, 'filios et ministros' ('sons and servants') of the Church, and two pairs stating the purpose of the *scholae*, that is, for 'instruendos vel edocendos' ('instructing and thoroughly teaching') those just named, as well as for the 'utilitatem et profectum' ('benefit and advance') of many. The first pair, 'filios et ministros', separates clerics into two categories of social and legal status, 'sons' referring to those who are freeborn, and 'servants' to those of servile or semi-free condition, a distinction consistent with the key passage on schools in the *Admonitio*

Corradini and others, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 12 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), pp. 219–37 (p. 227).

[109] For the political background and recording of this legislation, see Philippe Depreux, 'The Penance of Attigny (822) and the Leadership of the Bishops in Amending Carolingian Society', in *Religious Franks*, pp. 370–85; Ildar H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)*, Brill's Series on the Early Middle Ages, 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 295–303 (pp. 301–02).

[110] *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, c. 6, MGH Capit., 1, p. 304, lines 18–21.

generalis, where it refers to 'children of servile condition' and 'the sons of freeborn men'.[111] They are linked grammatically to the next pair of terms, the verbs 'instruendos vel edocendos'. It is interesting to consider the prefixes of the verbs *instruere* and *edocere*, *in* and *ex*, as possibly conveying a beginning and end of the educational process. The decree that precedes this one is made 'de sacerdotibus' ('concerning priests'), and commands the reader, 'cum magna cura edoceantur' ('let them be thoroughly taught with great care').[112] It would seem, then, that *edocere* describes the thorough completing of the educational process for those who are going to be ordained to the priesthood.

The last pair of terms also express the purpose of *scholae*; they exist for the 'utilitatem et profectum' ('benefit and advance') of many. These terms are often used in Carolingian capitularies and councils, and I shall discuss them in further detail below. Typically, the terms *utilitas* and *profectus* refer to the more general physical and spiritual benefit and advance of the Church or wider realm. However, the *utilitas* and *profectus* mentioned in the passage above are not said to be for the *ecclesia* or *regnum*, but rather for 'many' (*multi*). This may well mean the same as the *ecclesia* and *regnum*, but within the structure of the passage and its word pairs, *utilitas* and *profectus* might be referring back to *filii* and *ministri*. If so, then these *scholae* are described as existing for the 'advance' or promotion of the clergy.

Lothar received the kingdom of Italy from his father, Louis the Pious, in 822, and only a few years later, at his court at Olona near Pavia in 825, Lothar issued a general decree for the revival of education in his realm.[113] He complains about the neglect of certain overseers concerning *doctrina* (learning or education) in his realm. Lothar stipulates that teachers were to be assigned to specific locations, that they were to mark carefully the progress of students, and this is followed by a list of cities with some of their surrounding towns, most of which are concentrated in northern Italy, Pavia being named among them.[114] This formal decree regulating access to education along fairly strict municipal and regional boundaries may have been meant to stimulate competition. If certain cities had less reputable schools, they could no longer shirk their duties by referring children to the more prominent learning centres in the kingdom. They may not have been expected to measure up to the status of Pavia, but becoming officially designated *schola* cities would have put them on the map for scrutiny, and also on the proving ground of mutual rivalry.

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[111] See above, p. 80.
[112] *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, c. 5, MGH Capit., 1, p. 304, lines 6 and 8.
[113] For the political context of Lothar's educational reforms at Olona, see Steven A. Stofferahn, '*Renovatio* Abroad: The Politics of Education in Carolingian Italy', in *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni*, ed. by Cullen J. Chandler and Steven A. Stofferahn (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 2013), pp. 149–63.

Louis the Pious commanded a number of synods to be held between 828–829, and among the petitions recorded by the bishops to be delivered to Louis, making up the *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio*, was this:

> We also resolutely and humbly advise your Highness that, following the practice of your father, there be public schools [scolae publicae] established by your authority in at least the three most suitable locations of your realm.[115]

This passage, let alone the greater context of the *capitulum* from which it is drawn, brings up a number of questions. First, what exactly constituted the difference between a *schola* and a *schola publica*? Were they 'public' because they took in students who were not destined for the clergy?[116] Were they designated such because they could depend upon more direct royal funding and oversight, or the ‘authority’ mentioned in the passage? Or is this mention of *scholae publicae* simply an archaic reference to evoke classical learning, comparable to how *res publica* might be used in the political context? What seems clear is that these schools, strategically placed in key locations, were meant to continue the promotion of education as begun by Charlemagne, and perhaps to serve as exemplars for other schools.

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[114] *Capitulare Olonnense ecclesiasticum primum*, c. 6, MGH Capit., 1, p. 327.

[115] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio*, c. 24, MGH Capit., 2, p. 37, lines 25–27. '[E]tiam obnixe et suppliciter vestrae celsitudini suggerimus, ut morem paternum sequentes saltim in tribus congruentissimis imperii vestri locis scolae publicae ex vestra auctoritate fiant.'

Later in the same legislation, each bishop, presumably throughout the realm, is called upon to give greater attention to schooling. This broad command is followed by a very pointed instruction aimed at ensuring results, namely, that *scholastici* be made to appear at episcopal councils for evaluation:

> We have decreed by common consent that from now on, each of the bishops might apply greater diligence in managing schools [scolis habendis], and in preparing and educating the soldiers of Christ for the benefit of the Church. And in this matter we wish to test the diligence of each one, so that when he comes to the provincial council of bishops, each of the rectors may cause his scholars to be present at the same council, so that they may be noted also by the other churches, and that their skilful study with regard to divine worship may become manifest to all.[117]

The ultimate aim of preparing and educating the *milites Christi* (soldiers of Christ) is again the *utilitas* (benefit) of the Church, but the more immediate concern for each bishop would have been to prove the effectiveness of this preparation to his peers at a general council. The intention to test (*probare*) the efforts of each bishop appears to involve an examination of their *scholastici*, probably with respect to general erudition, but specifically with regard to the *divinus cultus* (divine worship). As Mayke de Jong has shown, *scholasticus* may be interpreted generally to mean ‘someone learned’, whether a teacher or pupil, and in the present case she identified these *scholastici* as pupils rather than schoolmasters.[118] I have translated the term using ‘scholars’ as a way of expressing the possibility that it is used inclusively here, meaning both teachers and star pupils.

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[116] Of course, the primary purpose of these *scholae* is the training of clerics, as noted by David L. Sheffler, *Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany: Regensburg, 1250–1500*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, 33 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 92.

[117] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio*, c. 39, MGH Capit., 2, p. 40, lines 28–33. ‘Inter nos pari consensu decrevimus, ut unusquisque episcoporum in scolis habendis et ad utilitatem aecclesiae militibus Christi praeparandis et educandis abhinc maius studium adhiberet, et in hoc uniuscuiusque studium volumus probare, ut, quando ad provinciale episcoporum concilium ventum fuerit, unusquisque rectorum scolasticos suos eidem concilio adesse faciat, quatinus et ceteris ecclesiis noti sint et sollers studium circa divinum cultum omnibus manifestum fiat.’ See Contreni, ‘The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture’, p. 714.

The military connotation of *schola* might be implied in a fascinating passage from a synodal letter written thirty years later, only this time in an ironic sense. In 858, Louis the German invaded the territory of Charles the Bald, and Hincmar of Reims responded by convening a synod at Quierzy.[119] The assembled bishops, represented by Hincmar, wrote a politically delicate admonition to Louis that he attend to his *domus domestica*, to his own house or kingdom, that it may serve as an example to his people. It is for this reason, says Hincmar and the bishops, that a king’s house is called a *schola*, because it houses *scholastici*, and because it should correct others in word and deed. From the political context, it might be inferred that Hincmar means to emphasize that the king’s palace is a *schola*, not because it is comprised of companions trained in arms, but because it houses those who exhibit educational and moral discipline.[120] In other words, Hincmar and his fellow bishops emphasize the educational connotation of *schola* over its military connotation in order to check Louis's recent aggression, and to recall him to his duty of supporting the Church.[121]

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[118] De Jong, ‘From *Scolastici* to *Scioli*’, pp. 48–49.

[119] For background, see Clémentine Bernard-Valette, ‘“We Are Between the Hammer and the Anvil”: Hincmar in the Crisis of 875’, in *Hincmar of Rheims: Life and Work*, ed. by Rachel Stone and Charles West (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 93–109 (pp. 94–95); Stone, *Morality and Masculinity*, p. 44; Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 257–58.

[120] *Epistola synodi Carisiacensis ad Hludowicum regem Germaniae directa*, c. 12, MGH Capit., 2, p. 436, lines 2–6. ‘Et ideo domus regis scola dicitur, id est disciplina; quia non tantum scolastici, id est disciplinati et bene correcti, sunt, sicut alii, sed potius ipsa scola, quae interpretatur disciplina, id est correctio, dicitur, quae alios habitu, incessu, verbo et actu atque totius bonitatis continentia corrigat.’

The Carolingian era witnessed a great number of official Church gatherings, and the locations and dates of many of these are known. Wilfried Hartmann has summarized their frequency by region, the variety of forms they could take, as well as the basic criteria for differentiating them. Small gatherings of bishops might convene on an ad hoc basis to ordain bishops or dedicate churches, metropolitans gathered their respective suffragan bishops at provincial synods, while larger councils of bishops and abbots might constitute general imperial synods, or *Reichsversammlungen*, where both ecclesiastical and lay officials might gather at the same time and place but conduct their business separately.[122] Council decrees, or canons, were preserved either in a bishop's own collection, or, if made at a general synod, reviewed and subscribed by council participants, often in the king's presence or, if not, presented to the king for his approval and revision, and then distributed throughout the realm as universally binding.[123] Thus, the documents preserving council decrees might be written at the royal court, or drawn up as the 'private' initiative of individual bishops and abbots.[124] They experienced varied degrees of success in terms of on-going transmission, implementation, and translation for lay readership, the case of Regino of Prüm being an exceptional but also perhaps representative example of the preservation and use of ninth-century council decrees.[125]

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[121] Hildemar had made the same distinction between the *schola dominici servitii* (school of the service of the Lord) and the *schola humani servitii* (school of the service of man) in his commentary on the Rule of Benedict: *Expositio regulae ab Hildemaro tradita et nunc primum typis mandata*, prologue, vol. III of *Vita et regula SS. P. Benedicti una cum expositione regulae*, ed. by Rupert Mittermüller, 3 vols (Regensburg: Pustet, 1880), p. 66; see Diem, 'The Emergence of Monastic Schools', p. 32.

[122] Wilfried Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankenreich und in Italien* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1989), pp. 1–5. For the distinction between royal capitularies and episcopal councils, see Mordek, 'Karolingische Kapitularien', pp. 26–29.

[123] Wilfried Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900: Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht*, MGH Schriften, 58 (Hanover: Hahn, 2008), pp. 78–83; Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit*, pp. 5–10; McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, pp. 1–44.

[124] Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit*, pp. 11–27 (pp. 11–12).

In 816, Louis the Pious convened a general council at Aachen that produced a large collection of reform legislation. One of its achievements, which Charlemagne had requested but had left for Louis to complete when he died in 814, were formal documents for all Frankish lands clarifying the roles of monks, nuns, and clerics, and the norms for the liturgy and lifestyle of clerics in particular found expression in the *Institutio canonicorum*, or Rule of Aachen.[126] Included within this are some instructions for the supervision and instruction of the *schola cantorum*, and these appear to enshrine the methods that Leidrad was applying at Lyon at the time. One decree stresses the obligation of learning and teaching between *seniores fratres* and younger clerics with regard to any and all disciplines in addition to singing.[127] Other decrees maintain a distinction between reading, singing, and other disciplines,[128] as well as punishments to be imposed on younger clerics for not learning the arts according to their age and capacity.[129]

As already mentioned, a decree from the *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, issued by Louis the Pious between 823–825, refers directly to the council of Attigny held in 822, which was indeed a general council for the entire realm.[130] The council of Attigny emphasizes that *scholae* are to be tailored to suit different age groups for the sake of clerical advancement. In its third resolution, the bishops admit to having exerted less care than they ought to have done in the arrangement of their *scholae*:

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[125] Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit*, pp. 28–34; Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht*, pp. 109–90 (pp. 149–60).

[126] See Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln in Deutschland*, Bonner Historische Forschungen, 43 (Bonn, Röhrscheid, 1976), pp. 232– 60; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 81–85 and sources cited there.

[127] *Concilium Aquisgranense 816*, c. 137, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 414 (lines 27–30).

[128] *Concilium Aquisgranense 816*, cc. 133, 134, MGH Conc., 2, 1, pp. 409, 411, lines 4–5.

[129] *Concilium Aquisgranense 816*, cc. 134, 145, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 410, line 7 to p. 411, line 5, p. 420, lines 37–40.

[130] See above, p. 102; MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 469, lines 4–7.

> Therefore, schools, concerning which we have been less assiduous than we ought to have been, by all means we desire to amend most eagerly. And in such a way that every man, whether of greater or lesser age, who is brought up for this reason that he may be promoted to some grade in the Church, may have a designated place and suitable teacher. […] But if there is need on account of the size of a parish, such that they cannot be gathered in one location, then for the sake of administration, which their overseers ought to provide for them, let it be in two or three locations, or just as necessity and reason dictates.[131]

It contains no mention of school subjects, nor of well-defined age groups and how these might relate to clerical promotion. Nevertheless, this passage is one of the clearest ninth-century witnesses to a direct link between education and promotion. More than this, it is highly suggestive of a direct connection, albeit in general terms, between *scholae*, age groups, and ecclesiastical ranks, or *gradus*. The council explains precisely how it intends to go about amending *scholae*. They will be set up in such a way that every student 'whether of greater or lesser age', the terms *major* and *minor* being generally inclusive, will be able to become an effective candidate for promotion 'in aliquo gradu' ('to some grade') in the Church. In order to prepare a student of any age for promotion to an ecclesiastical rank, this student is to have a 'designated place and suitable teacher' ('locum denominatum et magistrum congruum'). In other words, *scholae* are to fit a definite scheme that will properly align the student with a place (*locus*) and a teacher (*magister*) for the sake of achieving a particular rank (*gradus*).

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[131] *Concilium Attiniacense*, c. 3, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 471, lines 20–28. 'Scolas itaque, de quibus hactenus minus studiosi fuimus quam debueramus, omnino studiosissime emendare cupimus, qualiter omnis homo sive maioris sive minoris aetatis, qui ad hoc nutritur, ut in aliquo gradu in ecclesia promoveatur, locum denominatum et magistrum congruum habeat. […] Si vero necessitas fuerit propter amplitudinem parrochiae, eo quod in uno loco colligi non possunt, propter amministrationem, quam eis procuratores eorum providere debent, fiat locis duobus aut tribus vel prout necessitas et ratio dictaverit.'

The first half of the passage suggests that *scholae* had to accommodate levels of learning and provide an education sufficient for promotion. If one location will not suffice for the schooling needs of a parish, the overseers are to provide two or even three locations. It is not clear whether every school was meant to provide a comprehensive education for students of all ages, helping them to ascend through all the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, or whether the additional locations where intended to supplement each other by providing different levels of education, as well as to educate greater numbers in general.

The council of Paris in 829, in relation to schools and the display of student progress at synods, uses the same language as the earlier mentioned *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio*.[132] In one *capitulum*, the council stipulates the following regarding attendance at biannual synods:

> [T]hat the learned men [eruditi viri] of each of the bishops also be present, whom he prepares for the military service of Christ and the honour and benefit of his Church, so that they may be known to the other churches as well, and the zeal and forethought of the bishop may be made manifest for the example of others.[133]

This is repeated later in a *capitulum* that nearly mirrors the *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio*. It includes the following admonitions:

> That attention be held more carefully by all bishops with regard to managing schools for the ecclesiastical honour and benefit […], that the rectors of the churches might prepare and educate the vigorous soldiers of Christ entrusted to

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[132] See above, pp. 104–06.

[133] *Concilium Parisiense*, c. 26, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 629, lines 22–24. '[U]t adsint etiam uniuscuiusque episcopi eruditi viri, quos ad Christi militiam eiusque ecclesiae honorem utilitatemque praeparat, quatenus et ceteris ecclesiis noti sint et studium ac providentia episcopi ad aliorum exemplum manifesta fiant.'

> them, with whom God might be pleased […], and when he comes to the provincial council of bishops, as was mentioned in what precedes, let each of the rectors cause his scholars to be present at the same council, so that his skilful study with regard to divine worship may be manifest to all.[134]

Yet a third entry, which is the first that appears in an appended supplement to the decrees of the Paris council, exhorts that 'in scolis habendis et educandis militibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae operam daremus' ('we might give attention in managing schools and educating the soldiers of the Holy Church of God').[135]

The primary reason for the Paris council to command bishops and rectors to bring their learned men and scholars to future synods would certainly have been to check their compliance in managing schools, but the *capitula* quoted above reveal something more. It was noted above that Lothar designated *schola* cities in his decree at Olona near Pavia in 825, only a few years before the Paris council, and how this may have been intended to encourage competition between recognized schools.[136] In the Paris council of 829, the purpose of the biannual synod to stimulate competition and emulation among *scholae* is even more strongly indicated. The *eruditi viri* of one church are to become known to all other churches, so that their bishop may serve as an example to others. To prove their own devotion, church rectors are to bring their *scholastici*, or scholars, who may be identified as teachers and perhaps star pupils.

The council of Quierzy in 868 presents yet another rare use of *schola*. At this council, Hincmar of Reims presided over an examination of the priest Willebert before his promotion to bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne. One question and response from the examination reads: 'Item: "Ubi didicisti?" Item ipse: "In schola Turonica liberalibus disciplinis erudiendus traditus sum"' ('Likewise [he was asked] "Where did you learn?" Likewise, he said, "I was delivered over to the Tours school to be instructed in the liberal disciplines"').[137] Since it is a rare usage, it is of great interest that *schola* is modified by a city or region functioning as an attributive adjective. It is even more interesting that the particular *schola* modified in this manner happens to be that of Tours, the school of Alcuin. Of course, Alcuin had died over sixty years earlier, and thus Willebert could not have claimed that he was educated in the 'schola Albini', as those who had actually had Alcuin for their teacher could have claimed.[138]

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[134] *Concilium Parisiense*, c. 30, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 632, lines 13–26. 'Ut ab omnibus episcopis propter honorem et utilitatem ecclesiasticam sollicitior circa habendas scolas cura habeatur […], ut rectores ecclesiarum in ecclesiis sibi commissis strenuos milites Christi, quibus Deus placari posset, praepararent et educarent […], et quando ad provintiale episcoporum concilium ventum fuerit, unusquisque rectorum, sicut iam in praecedentibus memoratum est, scolasticos suos eidem concilio adesse faciat, ut suum sollers studium circa divinum cultum omnibus manifestum fiat.'

[135] *Concilium Parisiense*, c. (68) 1, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 669, line 1.

[136] See above, pp. 103–04.

II.6 Conclusion

The range of meaning for the term *schola* remained stable from the classical period to the early Middle Ages. The rise of Carolingian schools, whether at small parish churches or at large cathedral churches and monasteries, was an effort to realize the patristic ideal of the *schola Christi*, both spiritually and practically for the wider society in terms of pastoral care and basic Christian knowledge, and specifically for the clergy in terms of basic and more advanced education. The broader concept of the *schola Christi* is consistent with the universality of mutual example and accountability for education called for at biannual synods. Some limited evidence suggests that ninth-century schools were beginning to be associated with places (*loci*), and with cities or regions. This, however, did not shift the basic definitions of *schola* that the Carolingians inherited from previous centuries. From soldiers, students, and liturgical singers, and from seven-year-old children to aged teachers, a *schola* was a highly recognizable social unit that characterized the members of one *schola* in relation to another, and in relation to society. This was especially true in the setting of clerical education. In his exposition on the *Rule of St Benedict*, Hildemar (d. 850) comments on Benedict's intention that his monastery be established as a 'dominici scola servitii' ('school of the service of the Lord'),[139] and he gives a short definition that reads more like a catalogue of *scholae*, where the term applies to any subject that is studied:

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[137] Council of Quierzy, MGH Conc., 4, p. 321, lines 22–23.

[138] Alcuin, *Grammatica*, PL 101, col. 854B; see above, p. 84.

> In this passage he [St Benedict] names the monastic discipline a school, but there are also other schools. For there is an ecclesiastical discipline school, there is a school of the liberal arts, there is a school of any kind of art in which something is learned. Just as in those places something of the liberal arts is learned and done, so too in this school something is learned and done.[140]

Schola applies equally to the liberal arts as a group of disciplines, to each art or skill in particular, and to the monastic and ecclesiastical disciplines.[141] It is also clear that a *schola* is a place of preparation before advancement. Alcuin, in a letter to two former pupils who had gone to the court on official business on behalf of the church of St Martin, referred to the school at Tours as a safe place for the pursuit of spiritual wisdom, but also as a nest from which those who go on to win public honour take flight:

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[139] *Benedicti regula*, prologue, 45, ed. by Rudolf Hanslik, CSEL 75 (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1960), p. 8.

[140] Hildemar, *Expositio regulae*, prologue (ed. Mittermüller, III, p. 65). 'In hoc enim loco scholam nominat monasticam disciplinam; nam sunt et aliae scholae; est enim schola ecclesiastica disciplina, schola est liberalium artium, schola est etiam alicuius artis, in qua aliquid discitur. Sicut in illis locis liberalium artium aliquid discitur et agitur, ita et in hac schola aliquid discitur et agitur.' For the debate on whether the division of *scholae* in this passage suggests separate physical locations or groups of students, see Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 58–59 and n. 49.

[141] It has been pointed out that Benedict would not have used *schola* or *bibliotheca* in the educational sense in connection with monastic life: Michael Embach, 'Die Bibliothek des Mittelalters als Wissensraum', in *Karolingische Klöster: Wissenstransfer und kulturelle Innovation*, ed. by Julia Becker, Tino Licht, and Stefan Weinfurter, Materiale Textkulturen, 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), pp. 53–69 (p. 56). Still, it is clear that Hildemar associates all the various *scholae* with learning.

> True wisdom is that which leads to eternal life. Nor does it establish any ignoble precepts for us, but rather very noble ones and most worthy of every honour, in which we are able to merit eternal life and to have laudable honour among men. Indeed, concerning these precepts I often admonished you in the school of your instruction. But recently, led forth from the nest of fatherly education, you have flown to the public upper regions.[142]

As this chapter has shown, a fuller understanding of the term *schola* reveals more about the ways in which the educational and institutional aspects of clerical life converged.

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[142] Alcuin, *ep*. 245, MGH Epp., 4, p. 393, lines 19–24. 'Sapientia vera est, quae ad vitam ducit aeternam; nec nobis ignobilia quaedam statuit praecepta, sed valde nobilia et omni honore dignissima; in quibus vitam possumus promereri perpetuam et inter homines laudabilem habere honorem. De quibus siquidem praeceptis saepius vos ammonui in scola eruditionis vestrae. Sed nuper, de nido paternae edocationis educti, ad publicas evolastis auras.'

Chapter III

Structures of Advancement: The Life Stages (*gradus aetatis*)

The term *gradus* (steps or degrees), as was mentioned above, was used to refer to three key structures of advancement or progression: the traditional life stages, or *gradus aetatis*, the ecclesiastical ranks, known as the *cursus honorum*, and the liberal arts, or *gradus ad sapientiam*.[1] This chapter will consider the life stages in particular, and it will argue that Alcuin had a unique and definite sense of the importance of this structure. It does not argue that Alcuin reinvented the *gradus aetatis* for his own day, nor that the traditional definitions of the life stages shifted in the ninth century; rather, it is argued that Alcuin interpreted the life stages in a way that prompted their engagement with education and clerical advancement. The degree of precision with which Alcuin viewed and applied the life stages was consistent with his understanding of the other fundamental structures of advancement, namely, the stages of educational development and the *cursus honorum*. Following this, this chapter will demonstrate that from Alcuin's time and into the ninth century, the life stages shared a dynamic relationship with these other fundamental structures of advancement.

III.1 Modern Scholarship and the Early Life Stages

Historians have been cautious and even sceptical when interpreting the Latin vocabulary associated with the life stages (*gradus aetatis*). Though classical and late antique tradition had defined terms like *infantia*, *pueritia*, *adolescentia*, and *juventus* according to chronologically-based categories,[2] studies on early medieval education and childhood have characterized the usage of these terms as rarely adhering to this tradition.[3] Pierre Riché warned that the designations for the early life stages were often applied imprecisely, and that early medieval authors used them with some ambiguity.[4] But were these authors only capable of using such terms in a vague sense, or were there exceptions? Alcuin proves to be a unique case study for observing a more technical usage of this vocabulary. In his educational works and letters, Alcuin differentiates the early life stages with a discernible degree of precision, and he appears to associate them with particular stages of educational and moral development.[5]

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[1] See above, p. 23.

That medieval authors would have had a vague conception of the *gradus aetatis* should seem odd, seeing that Isidore of Seville had included the standard definitions for these terms in his *Etymologies*.[6] Here, *infantia* (early childhood) lasted from birth to age seven, and *pueritia* (boyhood) from the eighth year to age fourteen.

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[2] For this tradition see Franz Boll, 'Die Lebensalter: Ein Beitrag zur antiken Ethologie und zur Geschichte der Zahlen', in *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums*, ed. by Viktor Stegemann (Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1950), pp. 156–224; Emiel Eyben, 'Die Einteilung des menschlichen Lebens im Römischen Altertum', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, n.s., 116 (1973), 150–90; Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[3] See for example Leclercq, 'Pedagogie et formation spirituelle', p. 258; Detlef Illmer, *Erziehung und Wissensvermittlung*, pp. 39–41; Innes, 'A Place of Discipline', p. 64. In his study on old age, Paul Edward Dutton observed essentially the same problem: 'Beyond the Topos of Senescence: The Political Problems of Aged Carolingian Rulers', in *Aging and the Aged in Medieval Europe: Selected Papers from the Annual Conference of the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, held 25–26 February and 11–12 November 1983*, ed. by Michael M. Sheehan, Papers in Mediaeval Studies, 11 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), pp. 75–94 (p. 84).

[4] Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*, pp. 200–02; Riché, *Education and Culture*, pp. 447–48. Adolf Hofmeister had earlier made the observation that medieval usage of these terms could be more precise or figurative depending on literary and social context: '*Puer*, *iuvenis*, *senex*: Zum Verständnis der mittelalterlichen Altersbezeichnungen', in *Papsttum und Kaisertum: Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters: Paul Kehr zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht*, ed. by Albert Brackmann (Munich: Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1926), pp. 287–316 (pp. 305–06). For example, Hofmeister noted that the precise age ranges of the first three stages could remain understood under one heading, or a 'große *pueritia*' (p. 296).

[5] Edward James hypothesized that the early life stages, and specifically *adolescentia* and *juventus*, 'were not recognized in practical terms as specific stages' in the early Middle Ages, apart from the theoretical sources that defined the stages. Still, he was careful to admit that an investigation of further sources, specifically the works of Alcuin, might yield different results: 'Childhood and Youth in the Early Middle Ages', in *Youth in the Middle Ages*, ed. by P. J. P. Goldberg and Felicity Riddy (York: York Medieval Press, 2004), pp. 11–23 (pp. 15–16, 22). For the various divisions of the life cycle in early medieval England, predominately those found in Old English sources, see Thijs Porck, *Old Age in Early Medieval England: A Cultural History*, Anglo-Saxon Studies, 33 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), pp. 16–51.

[6] *Etymologiarum libri*, XI. 2. 1–8 (ed. Lindsay, vol. II).

Adolescentia was different; it comprehended a longer period from the fifteenth year to age twenty-eight. This gave way to *juventus*, lasting until age fifty, which Isidore called the *firmissima aetatum omnium* (strongest of all the ages). Isidore provided these same definitions in his *Liber differentiarum*, this time in terms of *hebdomades* (*hebdomas* meaning the number seven or a period usually of seven days), referring to periods of seven years. The stages of *infantia* and *pueritia* set a pattern, each consisting of seven years, or one *hebdomas*, but then Isidore notes that *adolescentia* consists of two *hebdomades*, or fourteen years, on account of development, or 'propter intellectum et rationem' ('because of intellect and reason').[7]

Perhaps to allow for inconsistencies of usage, Riché set an indefinite terminus age for *adolescentia*, concluding that it lasted 'jusqu'à 21 ans et au-delà' ('until the age of twenty-one and beyond').[8] Mayke de Jong heeded Riché's warning about taking medieval references to the early life stages at face value, but still, in discussing references to children in Hildemar's commentary on the Rule of St Benedict, she noted that Hildemar uses a definite system in distinguishing *infantes* and *pueri* from *adolescentes*.[9] Isabelle Cochelin goes further, explaining that the early medieval definition of *adolescentia*, a fourteen-year period with an upper-limit age of twenty-eight, remained relatively stable until the later Middle Ages.[10] For the sake of clarity and emphasis, in my translations I shall occasionally leave the terms *adolescentia*, *adolescens*, and *adolescentes* in their Latin forms.

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[7] Isidore of Seville, *Liber differentiarum II*, II. 18, lines 1–7 (line 7), ed. by María Adelaida Andrés Sanz, CCSL 111A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), p. 49.

[8] Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*, p. 200. In one article, Riché translated Alcuin's use of *adolescentia* in the most general sense possible, that of 'jeunesse' (youth): '*Divina pagina*, *ratio* et *auctoritas* dans la theologie carolingienne', in *Nascita dell'Europa ed Europa carolingia: Un'equazione da verificare*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 27, 2 vols (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1981), II, 719–58 (p. 729). Compare this with Fontaine, who had translated *adolescentia* with 'adolescence' and *juventus* with 'jeunesse', thus applying the more general term to a different stage than Riché would later apply it: *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, 3 vols (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1959–83), I (1959), 377.

[9] Mayke de Jong, 'Growing Up in a Carolingian Monastery: Magister Hildemar and his Oblates', *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), 99–128 (pp. 102–03).

[10] Isabelle Cochelin, 'Adolescence Uncloistered: Cluny, Early Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Life Cycles: Continuity and Change*, ed. by Isabelle Cochelin and Karen Smyth, International Medieval Research, 18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 147–82 (pp. 167–70).

Cochelin also mentions a tendency in the later medieval Church, that it determined the maturity of candidates for the priesthood and for entry into the monastery based not only on chronological age, but also on physical appearance and the ‘cognitive ages’ of the candidates.[11] This notion of cognitive age is of great interest, even if it applies more to a later period, and it will be shown below that Alcuin alludes to such an idea regarding the level of maturity required for biblical instruction.

More recently, important works on Alcuin and clerical careers have expressed greater confidence in interpreting references to the *gradus aetatis*, noting instances where the use of these terms is meant to communicate their more traditional and technical meanings.[12] Cochelin, who is representative of this trend, provides a comprehensive summary of pre-thirteenth-century definitions of the life cycle, complete with corresponding tables.[13] With regard to Alcuin, she notes his mention of the six ages of man in his *Commentaria in S. Joannis evangelium*, where he follows the Augustinian conception of the life cycle.[14] This is visually apparent in Cochelin’s table listing definitions for the medieval West, an important feature of which are the vertical lines by which she separates the different life stages, some of which appear solid, while others are dashed. The prominent solid lines, Cochelin explains, represent partitions that were more clearly essential for medieval society.[15] The dashed lines would then represent partitions that were less clearly essential.

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[11] Cochelin, ‘Adolescence Uncloistered’, p. 153.

[12] Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 105; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 53–54.

[13] Isabelle Cochelin, ‘Introduction: Pre-Thirteenth-Century Definitions of the Life Cycle’, in *Medieval Life Cycles: Continuity and Change*, ed. by Cochelin and Smyth, pp. 1–54.

[14] Cochelin, ‘Introduction: Pre-Thirteenth-Century Definitions’, p. 24; Alcuin, *Commentaria in S. Joannis evangelium*, c. 7, PL 100, cols 733–1008 (col. 792C–D). For Augustine’s conception of the six ages see also Sears, *The Ages of Man*, pp. 55–58.

[15] Cochelin, ‘Introduction: Pre-Thirteenth-Century Definitions’, p. 7.

Cochelin observes two fundamental partitions of the early medieval life cycle, representing these with solid lines in her table: the line that separated *pueritia* from the stages that followed, and that which separated *juventus* from *senectus*, also known as *gravitas* or *senior aetas*. Thus, in broad terms, early medieval society emphasized three major stages: childhood (which might include *infantia* and *pueritia*), after which came 'young adulthood' (the name Cochelin gives to *juventus*, which sometimes included *adolescentia*), and finally old adulthood.[16] Although three stages emerge, Cochelin finds a striking lack of a middle age, since *juventus* belongs conceptually to the young life stages. Here, she proposes a fascinating explanation for this lack of a middle age, attributing it to an ecclesiastical or monastic perspective on life. This perspective, which emphasized communal bonds and spiritual dependence on God, she argues, would seek to avoid the notion of a 'perfect age' between youth and old age, where mental and physical independence was attained.[17]

That the ecclesiastical and monastic perspective played a role in how clerics viewed the life stages seems beyond question. Still, an understanding of *juventus* as the 'perfect age', as representing full mental and physical prowess, would not necessarily lead clerics to associate this with *spiritual* independence counter to ecclesiastical values.[18] If many did make this association, Alcuin appears to have been an exception, and a more detailed study of Alcuin's references to the early life stages is revealing in this regard. He viewed *juvenes* as belonging to a perfect age (*perfecta aetas*) in terms of mental capacity, as having reached full effectiveness in both learning and teaching. In fact, it may be argued that Alcuin viewed *juventus* as a distinct middle age, meaning that Cochelin's dashed line between *adolescentia* and *juventus* in her table, at least where this represents Alcuin's own conception, might be drawn more solidly. In this way, at least for Alcuin, *juventus* appears to have meant something more like 'prime of life', still conveying the idea of 'young adulthood' as Cochelin argues, and yet distinct from both *adolescentia* and old age.

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[16] Cochelin, 'Introduction: Pre-Thirteenth-Century Definitions', pp. 7–10.

[17] Cochelin, 'Introduction: Pre-Thirteenth-Century Definitions', pp. 15–16.

[18] The language of Ephesians 4.13, 'donec occurramus omnes in unitatem fidei, et agnitionis Filii Die, in virum perfectum, in mensuram aetatis plenitudinis Christi' ('until we all attain to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to perfect manhood, to the measure of maturity of the fullness of Christ'), referring to a *perfectus vir* and a *mensura aetatis*, conveys the notion that Jesus's age at the time he began his ministry, thirty, or roughly the start of *juventus*, suggests a goal to be aimed at rather than avoided. Such would have been the understanding of Haymo of Halberstadt in his commentary *In epistolam ad Ephesios*, c. 4, PL 117, cols 699–734 (col. 720D).

III.2 Alcuin and the Early Life Stages

As was shown above, Alcuin described his own early life in terms of a progression from *infantia* and *pueritia* to the *perfecta aetas* of a man, which was marked by the 'sacrarum eruditione disciplinarum' ('instruction of holy disciplines').[19] In his 'York Poem', he describes his master Ælberht's progression in education, moral development, and clerical promotion as an interlocking system that spanned the early life stages, and Alcuin describes him as *puer*, *adolescens*, and *juvenis*.[20] It is a structure that appears to have been engrained in Alcuin's thinking with regard to education and development.

Among Alcuin's writings, his *Vita Willibrordi* is perhaps the one that stands out in sharpest relief from traditional literary convention related to the *gradus aetatis*. When describing a saint during childhood, the hagiography of Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages often used the topos of the *puer-senex*, the boy who is mature beyond his years, already possessing the saintliness of an old man.[21] Martin

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[19] *Ep*. 42, MGH Epp., 4, p. 85, lines 21–23 (line 23); see above, pp. 18–19.

[20] See above, pp. 22–24.

[21] For background see Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (London: Routledge, 1953), pp. 98–101. The *puer-senex* topos has been said to represent an 'extreme compression of the notion of life cycle': Teresa C. Carp, '*Puer senex* in Roman and Medieval Thought', *Latomus*, 39 (1980), 736–39 (p. 736).

Heinzelmann noted that when this topos was applied, it usually meant that details of the saint's educational and moral development were excluded.[22] For this reason, Alcuin represents a departure from hagiographical convention. In his *Vita Willibrordi*, Alcuin tracks Willibrord's progress with regard to his life stage (*aetas*), marked in years (*anni*) and learning. He describes how Willibrord's father handed him over as an *infantulus* to the brothers of Ripon, 'religiosis studiis et sacris litteris erudiendum: ut fragilior aetas validioribus invalesceret disciplinis' ('to be instructed in religious studies and sacred letters, that his weaker age might grow stronger with more vigorous disciplines').[23] Alcuin then says that 'ab ineunte pueritia' ('from the beginning of boyhood'), Willibrord progressed in mind and character through God's grace, and as for the measure of this grace, 'quantum ad tales congruit annos, concessit' ('it granted as much as is appropriate to such years').[24] Indeed, he does go on to describe Willibrord as mature beyond his years, as becoming aged (*grandaevus*) in terms of understanding. But Alcuin does not simply make Willibrord a *puer*-*senex* in terms of piety, he also makes him a *puer*-*adolescens* in devotion and learning:

> And there in the aforementioned monastery the boy would profit in many ways, he received the clerical tonsure, and by pious profession made himself a monk, and he was nurtured in the midst of the others, *adolescentes*, of the same most holy monastery. But he was lesser than no one in alacrity, second to no one in the duty of humility, inferior to no one in the diligence of reading, but daily the boy of good nature progressed so much that in seriousness of character he transcended the tender years of boyhood. And he became aged in understanding who was little and frail in body.[25]

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[22] Heinzelmann, '*Studia sanctorum*', p. 109.

[23] *De vita s. Willibrordi Trajectensis episcopi libri duo*, c. 3, PL 101, cols 693–724 (col. 696A).

[24] *Vita Willibrordi*, c. 3, PL 101, col. 696A–B.

[25] *Vita Willibrordi*, c. 3, PL 101, col. 696B. 'Ibique in praedicto monasterio multis profuturus puer, clericatus accepit tonsuram, et pia professione monachum se fecit esse, et inter caeteros ejusdem sanctissimi monasterii adolescentes enutritus est; sed nulli alacritate minor, nulli humilitatis officio

Alcuin does not generalize in making Willibrord a child saint with an old soul; rather, he makes him a boy (*puer*), in the years of boyhood (*pueritiae anni*), at the head of his class among *adolescentes*.[26] Alcuin continues to describe Willibrord's development in the very next line, referring to him now as an *adolescens*, progressing in sacred learning (*sacrae eruditiones*) and character 'usque ad vicesimum aetatis suae annum' ('until the twentieth year of his age').[27] When he heard that school learning (*scholastica eruditio*) was thriving in Ireland, Alcuin says that Willibrord, the 'beatus adolescens', spent twelve years there until, having been instructed, he reached the age of a *vir perfectus* at thirty-three:

> Ibique duodecim annis, inter eximios simul piae religionis et sacrae lectionis magistros, futurus multorum populorum praedicator erudiebatur, donec occurreret in virum perfectum et in aetatem plenitudinis Christi. […] Tricesimo itaque et tertio aetatis suae anno […].
>
> And there, for twelve years, among exceptional teachers of both pious religion and the sacred text, the future preacher of many peoples was instructed, until he attained to a perfect man and to the age of the fullness of Christ. And there also in the thirty-third year of his age […].[28]

It is unclear what exactly Willibrord studies at each stage of his youth, apart from the sacred text.[29] Alcuin appears to treat *religiosa studia*, *sacrae litterae*, *sacrae*

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secundus, nulli lectionis studio inferior: sed sic quotidie bonae indolis puer proficiebat, ut teneros pueritiae annos morum gravitate transcenderet: factusque est grandaevus sensu qui corpusculo modicus fuit et fragilis.'

[26] This clarifies the more general observation of J. A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 99–100.

[27] *Vita Willibrordi*, c. 4, PL 101, col. 696B–C.

[28] *Vita Willibrordi*, cc. 4–5, PL 101, cols 696C–697A (cols 696D–697A).

[29] Bullough noted the vagueness of Alcuin's treatment of Willibrord's biblical instruction: *Alcuin*, pp. 224–25.

eruditiones, *scholastica eruditio*, and *sacra lectio* as generally inclusive terms for the learning that Willibrord pursues throughout his youth. What is clear, though, is that Alcuin emphasizes Willibrord's learning, and he characterizes Willibrord's early life in terms of distinct stages, the *gradus aetatis*, marked by years (*anni*) and even his precise age.[30]

Alcuin wrote a short dialogue on Christian knowledge and wisdom, the *Disputatio de vera philosophia*, which served as a general introduction to the liberal arts and often preceded his *Grammatica* in early manuscripts. It is claimed that this work defined Alcuin's ideal curriculum.[31] In this dialogue, Alcuin likens the liberal arts to paths upon which his young pupils are to run for strengthening exercise:

> Per has vero, filii charissimi, semitas vestra quotidie currat adolescentia, donec perfectior aetas et animus sensu robustior ad culmina sanctarum Scripturarum perveniat.
>
> Just so, dearest sons, let your *adolescentia* run daily along these paths, until your more perfect age and your mind, stronger in understanding, may reach to the heights of the Holy Scriptures.[32]

This passage actually mentions two life stages. One of these is intended for the study of the liberal arts, this being *adolescentia*. The other stage is the 'more perfect age' (*perfectior aetas*), which is associated with a strong mind that comprehends the higher things of Scripture. Alcuin is doubtlessly alluding to *juventus*, the *firmissima aetatum* as Isidore described it, since it follows directly after *adolescentia*. Thus, among the most critical questions to be posed regarding a connection between the life stages and education is this: did Alcuin directly associate the life stages, according to their formal definitions, with certain levels of education? More specifically for the present case, did he perceive a connection between *adolescentia*, in the formal sense of a fourteen-year period between the ages of fourteen and twenty-eight, and the liberal arts, and did he connect *juventus* with biblical study?[33]

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[30] Elsewhere in his hagiography, Alcuin describes the youth of St Martin, a saint of Late Antiquity, only in terms of his conversion from military to religious life, adding that in his *adolescentia*, Martin joined himself to Hilary of Poitiers, 'ut tanti viri eruditus exemplis Christianam fortior processisset ad pugnam' ('so that, instructed by the examples of such a man, he might advance stronger to the Christian fight'): *Vita s. Martini Turonensis*, PL 101, cols 657–62 (col. 659C).

[31] Mary Alberi, 'The "Mystery of the Incarnation" and Wisdom's House (Prov. 9:1) in Alcuin's *Disputatio de vera philosophia*', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 48 (1997), 505–16 (p. 505). It is worth noting that in his major work on Alcuin, Bullough mentions the *Disputatio de vera philosophia* only twice and without much comment: *Alcuin*, pp. 252, 449, n. 55.

[32] PL 101, cols 849–54 (col. 854A).

Following the *Disputatio de vera philosophia*, Alcuin's *Grammatica* takes the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his students, and particularly two students who represent their schoolmates under the names of Franco and Saxo. Alcuin describes them as having 'nuperrime spineta grammaticae densitatis irruperunt' ('very recently broken into the thickets of the density of grammar'), and then has one of them relate their ages; the young Frank says that he is fourteen, and he proposes to asks questions while his Saxon counterpart, who is fifteen, responds.[34] In other words, Franco is in his fifteenth year, the formal beginning of *adolescentia*, and he considers Saxo, just a year older, to be slightly more advanced than himself. It is important to remember that they represent actual students, perhaps two categories of them, and that Alcuin makes them supply their precise ages. His claim that they have 'very recently' begun a particular study of grammar should come as a surprise. For if they are meant to represent typical students, then by this age they should have already had seven years of elementary instruction, likely involving grammar. However, it is plain that both now stand at the threshold of *adolescentia*, as well as a new phase of grammar. As mentioned above, Louis Holtz argued that this might be explained as a graduation from the elementary principles of Donatus to the more advanced ones of Priscian, which might also characterize the relationship between the two pupils, Franco only just beginning this transition and Saxo having begun it in the previous year.[35] In addition, one of them appears to provide another marker that positions them on a progression of learning; the young Frank declares that he and his companion have not yet been instructed in metrics.[36]

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[33] In a letter that Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne from Tours in 796 or 797, he quotes a passage from Jerome describing those who become wiser with age by instructing their *adolescentia* with 'noble arts' ('honestis artibus') and by meditating on Scripture: *Ep*. 121, MGH Epp., 4, p. 178, lines 6–8; Jerome, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae*, 52. 3. 4, ed. by Isidor Hilberg, CSEL 54, 55, 56, 2nd edn (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), CSEL 54, p. 417, lines 8–12.

[34] Alcuin, *Grammatica*, PL 101, col. 854B. Anneli Luhtala translates 'irruperunt' to mean 'made it through', suggesting that these pupils have completed elementary grammar: '"Unity" of the Liberal Arts in the Early Middle Ages', p. 60. This would have been the case for students at their age, but the idea here, in connection with their ages and the start of *adolescentia*, is that they are beginning these studies.

Alcuin differentiates the early life stages in his letters, and sometimes, even when he only uses one term, it is still possible to discern from context and structure that he has the technically-defined stage in mind. A prime example is the letter Alcuin wrote to Eanbald II in 796, congratulating him on his recent installation as archbishop of York. In one passage, Alcuin advises Eanbald on how to organize his cathedral school, which was to have clearly defined groups of students and teachers who specialized in different subjects:

> Praevideat sancta sollertia tua magistros pueris, clero segregentur separatim more illorum, qui libros legant, qui cantilene inserviant, qui scribendi studio deputentur. Habeas et singulis his ordinibus magistros suos.
>
> May your holy ingenuity provide teachers for the boys. Let the boys be set apart from the clergy, separately by their practice, those who read books, those who are devoted to singing, those who are destined for the study of writing. And have for these individual classes their own teachers.[37]

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[35] Holtz, 'Le dialogue de Franco et de Saxo', p. 144 (see above, pp. 56–57).

[36] Alcuin, *Grammatica*, PL 101, col. 856B.

[37] Alcuin, *ep*. 114, MGH Epp., 4, p. 169, lines 11–13.

Alcuin mentions three groups, but he describes them all using one term, *pueri*. By this he might be referring to boys under the age of fifteen, that is, if he intends those who belong to the stage of *pueritia*. But might not *pueri* also be taken in the general sense, as referring to 'boys' of all ages, including those who technically belong to *adolescentia*? This might seem a difficult problem of interpretation at first, but three points of evidence may provide clarification. Two of these are contained in the passage itself, and the other, and most important point, can be derived from the letter's structure.

First, Alcuin lists only three school subjects: reading, singing, and writing, or basic skills that might be associated specifically with *pueri*; he does not mention the liberal arts. Second, Alcuin says that these *pueri* are to be set apart from the clergy, which leads immediately to the third point of evidence. For just as Alcuin advises Eanbald to separate these students from the clergy in this passage; he himself separates them from the clergy in the structure of his letter. Even a glance at the overall structure makes it clear that Alcuin is treating the major segments of the York community in descending order. He begins by admonishing Eanbald regarding his own position, the *sublimis locus* (high or exalted place), then counsels him with regard to his *socii*, or associates, who may be classed as fellow priests, which is followed by instructions regarding deacons, subdeacons, 'ceterosque ordinatim gradus ecclesiae' ('and the other grades of the church in order').[38] He then turns to advise Eanbald with regard to how *pueri* are to be arranged in their schooling. From this descending structure it would appear that these *pueri* are not deacons or even subdeacons, but rather young boys, so that Alcuin is referring to those who technically belong to the stage of *pueritia*. It seems likely, then, that Alcuin associates the basic skills of reading, singing, and writing directly with *pueritia*, even as he associates the liberal arts with *adolescentia*.

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[38] Alcuin, *ep*. 114, MGH Epp., 4, p. 168, line 10 to p. 169, line 2 (p. 168, lines 10 and 35).

Elsewhere, Alcuin uses more than one term. He differentiates the early life stages in a treatise he wrote on confession, which he addressed to St Martin's at Tours around 797 in the form of a long letter known as *Ad pueros sancti Martini*. This conventionally accepted title is actually misleading, for Alcuin is concerned with more than just the 'boys' at St Martin's.[39] At the outset, Alcuin addresses himself to *filii* and *adolescentuli*, expressing his desire for them to prosper spiritually, 'et fragiles vestrae aetatis annos in Dei servitio edocti ad perfectum senectutis diem adducere' ('and to bring the fragile years of your age, thoroughly taught in the service of God, to the completed day of old age').[40] He also addresses older members of the community, calling them 'doctores et ductores in omni bonitate iuventutis' ('teachers and guides in every virtue of young manhood').[41] It might appear that Alcuin is making only a general distinction between young and old. However, in his closing remarks, he gives this final exhortation: 'Agite nunc iuvenes adolescentes et pueri, liberate vosmetipsos de diabolica servitute' ('Come now young men, youths, and boys, free yourselves from the devil's servitude').[42] By stringing these terms together, Alcuin makes the point that he is not leaving anyone out of the discussion. In another letter to St Martin's, which he wrote before he became abbot there, Alcuin tells *pueri* and *adolescentes* to be subject to their teachers (*magistri*) in the same phrase, so that both terms appear in a context that implies education as well as monastic humility.[43]

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[39] A point that Michael S. Driscoll makes in his translated edition, though not in terms of the work's terminology: '"Ad pueros sancti Martini": A Critical Edition', p. 41. The earlier edition is Alcuin, *ep*. 131, MGH Epp., 4, pp. 193–98.

[40] *Ad pueros sancti Martini*, cc. 1–2 (c. 2) (ed. Driscoll, p. 48 and MGH Epp., 4, p. 194, lines 1, 8–9).

[41] *Ad pueros sancti Martini*, c. 2 (ed. Driscoll, p. 48 and MGH Epp., 4, p. 194, line 10).

[42] *Ad pueros sancti Martini*, c. 8 (ed. Driscoll, p. 60 and MGH Epp., 4, p. 198, lines 14–15). Driscoll reads *juvenes* as an attributive adjective modifying *adolescentes*, so that 'iuvenes adolescentes' refers to a single group of 'young adolescents' (p. 61), which is possible. However, as Alcuin begins the letter, he uses the terms *adolescentuli* and *juvenes* separately, where *juvenes* is substantive, and elsewhere he addresses himself to a representative *juvenis*, again where it is substantive: cc. 2, 5 (ed. Driscoll, pp. 48, 54 and MGH Epp., 4, p. 194, lines 1, 18 and p. 196, line 17). Later in the ninth century, and into the tenth, other instructions on catechism and how to administer confession include references to the young life stages, treating them as distinct categories: see for example one letter by Agobard of Lyon (his *ep*. 19, MGH Epp., 5, p. 239, lines 9–10), another by Wulfad of Berry (*Epistolae variorum*, *ep*. 27, MGH Epp., 6, p. 189, line 28), and the Ps. Alcuin *De divinis officiis* (PL 101, cols 1173–1286 [col. 1197A]).

Shortly thereafter, in 799, Alcuin wrote to the monks of Salzburg living under the authority of Arn the archbishop. He impresses upon them the need for biblical and spiritual learning, and just before this he gives this moral counsel: 'Sit enim sanctae pacis concordia inter cunctos; vitae castitas in adolescentibus; morum gravitas in senibus; fervor operis in iuvenibus' ('But let there be the concord of holy peace among all, chastity of life in youths, gravity of character in old men, fervour of work in young men').[44] The presence of *adolescentes* and *senes* alone might have conveyed a general distinction of young and old, but by the addition of *juvenes*, and the duty of these men to display the 'fervor operis', or prime fitness for work, Alcuin shows that he has the specific life stages in mind. By 'work' Alcuin means keeping the canonical hours and psalmody, but from the context, it becomes clear that he also means the study of Scripture and the duty to learn in order to teach. He tells the monks to arm themselves with the knowledge of the truth: 'Quomodo pugnat inermis? vel quomodo docere potest, qui discere noluit?' ('How does an unarmed man fight? Or how can he teach if he has been unwilling to learn?').[45] He then calls upon these would-be teachers to learn from their bishop, Arn.[46]

Similar to his letter to Eanbald, with its clear structure that includes the archbishop at the top of the hierarchy, Alcuin's letter to the monks of Salzburg mentions *senes*, which would have included Arn by this time. Alcuin's ideal for a monastic community, then, involves cooperation between *senes*, *adolescentes*, and *juvenes*, who have express duties toward each other, often involving learning and teaching.[47]

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[43] *Ep*. 51, MGH Epp., 4, p. 95, lines 35–36. See Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*, pp. 157–58.
[44] *Ep*. 168, MGH Epp., 4, p. 276, lines 26–27.
[45] *Ep*. 168, MGH Epp., 4, p. 276, line 35 to p. 277, line 1. The importance of both learning and teaching for adult clergy was well established by Late Antiquity, particularly in the case of Ambrose; see Vocino, 'Bishops in the Mirror', pp. 333–35.
[46] *Ep*. 168, MGH Epp., 4, p. 277, lines 8–9.

In a letter he wrote to the monks of Ireland, dated within 792–804, Alcuin refers to the early life stages while describing a course of studies. In the opening, he addresses the monks under three headings: *patres*, *fratres*, and *filii*.[48] Then, turning his attention to various studies, he uses *juvenes*, *infantes*, and the stage of *adolescentia*, mentioning the eldest first, the *juvenes*, followed by the youngest, in what appears to be a descending-reascending order:

> Whence, most holy fathers, exhort your young men [iuvenes] to learn most diligently the traditions of the catholic doctors, and to strive with every effort to understand the doctrines of the catholic faith, because without faith it is impossible to please God. Nor, however, is the knowledge of secular letters to be despised, but grammar, a certain foundation as it were, is to be taught to the tender age of young children [infantium], and the other disciplines of philosophical subtlety, since by certain grades [gradibus] of wisdom they should be able to ascend to the highest summit of evangelical perfection; and according to the augment of years let their wealth of wisdom also increase. Nor allow the fervent flame of *adolescentia* to fall through the precipices of vices.[49]

Alcuin connects *juvenes* with leaning the traditions of catholic doctors, *infantes* with grammar, and then, after mentioning 'other disciplines' and certain *gradus* of wisdom, he warns against allowing *adolescentia* to fall.[50] The imagery of an ascent by *gradus*, or steps, and the need for *adolescentia* to remain on them, certainly implies what Alcuin explicitly states in the *Disputatio de vera philosophia*.[51]

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[47] Alcuin's letter to Salzburg has much in common with a letter he wrote to monks in Ireland, where he summarizes the duties of the community, saying, 'adolescentulos vestros diligenter erudite, et senes honorate, et sacerdotibus vestris oboedite', and he uses the phrase, 'eruditio filiorum gloria est magistri': *ep*. 287, MGH Epp., 4, p. 446, lines 14–15 and 22.

[48] *Ep*. 280, MGH Epp., 4, p. 437, lines 9–10.

[49] *Ep*. 280, MGH Epp., 4, p. 437, lines 25–32. 'Unde, sanctissimi patres, exhortamini iuvenes vestros, ut diligentissime catholicorum doctorum discant traditiones, et catholicae fidei rationes omni intentione adprehendere studeant, quia sine fide Deo inpossibile est placere. Nec tamen saecularium litterarum contempnenda est scientia, sed quasi quoddam fundamentum tenerae infantium aetati tradenda est grammatica, aliaeque philosophicae subtilitatis disciplinae, quatenus quibusdam sapientiae gradibus ad altissimum evangelicae perfectionis culmen ascendere valeant; et iuxta annorum augmentum sapientiae quoque accrescant divitiae. Nec ferventem adolescentiae flammam sinite per praecipitia vitiorum corruere.'

In another letter, Alcuin admonishes a wayward former pupil, apparently from Britain, who is now fully grown. Dümmler dated this letter to within Alcuin's years at Tours (796–804), a time when Alcuin was said to have received many visitors from Britain.[52] It is possible that Alcuin taught this pupil at York many years prior to this letter, for enough time had passed for this pupil to gain a reputation, since Alcuin says that 'tota pene […] Brittania' ('nearly all of Britain') sings his praise.[53] Alcuin claims to have been directly involved in three fundamental aspects of the pupil's development: erudition (in the arts), biblical instruction, and moral character. First, Alcuin describes these areas of development as a chronological progression, where one aspect is added to another over time, since he describes the pupil's development in them as parallel with growth from infancy to full manhood:

> Olim te genui, nutrivi, alui, et ad perfectum virum usque Deo donante perduxi, artibus studiose eruditum, sapientiae sole inluminatum, moribus adprime ornatum.

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[50] In a letter to Charlemagne dated 796 or 797, Alcuin differentiates between those to whom he teaches Scripture and others to whom he teaches the liberal arts at Tours: *ep*. 121, MGH Epp., 4, p. 176, line 32 to p. 177, line 1.

[51] *Disputatio de vera philosophia*, PL 101, cols 853D–854A. 'Sunt igitur gradus, quos quaeritis, et utinam tam ardentes sitis semper ad ascendendum, quam curiosi modo estis ad videndum: grammatica, rhetorica [dialectica], arithmetica, geometrica, musica et astrologia' ('These, then, are the steps that you are seeking, and oh, that you would always be as ardent to ascend as you are in a curious manner to observe [them]: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy').

[52] The *Vita Alcuini* relates how the brethren of Tours complained about Alcuin's numerous visitors from Britain: c. 18, MGH SS, 15, 1, pp. 193–94; Rosemary Cramp briefly mentions the account: *Anglian and Viking York*, p. 8.

[53] *Ep*. 294, MGH Epp., 4, p. 451, line 20.

> Formerly I bore, nourished, sustained, and, God permitting, brought you all the way up to a completed man, instructed studiously in the arts, illuminated with the sun of wisdom, adorned especially with character.[54]

By *perfectus vir*, Alcuin likely means that the pupil has become a *juvenis*, a finished product in terms of physical growth and education. As Alcuin continues to chastise him, he repeats the three aspects of development in the same order: ‘Ubi est nobilissima eruditio tua? ubi est clarissima in scripturis sacris industria tua? Ubi morum excellentia?’ (‘Where is your most noble erudition? Where is your most celebrated industry in the Holy Scriptures? Where the excellence of character?’).[55]

Alcuin describes essentially the same order of development in a letter to another wayward pupil, also dated to his years at Tours (796–804). This former pupil is also apparently fully grown, since Alcuin holds up as an example of piety a fellow pupil (*condiscipulus*) who has been raised to the rank of bishop, whom Frobenius Forster wished to identify as Eanbald II.[56] In lamenting his waywardness, Alcuin describes the pupil’s early development in this way:

> Quare dimisisti patrem, qui te ab infantia erudivit, qui te disciplinis liberalibus inbuit, moribus instruxit, perpetuae vitae praeceptis munivit?
>
> Why have you forsaken the father who taught you from infancy, who trained you in the liberal disciplines, instructed [you] in manners, fortified [you] with the precepts of eternal life?[57]

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[54] *Ep*. 294, MGH Epp., 4, p. 451, lines 18–20.
[55] *Ep*. 294, MGH Epp., 4, p. 451, line 33 to p. 452, line 2.
[56] *Ep*. 295, MGH Epp., 4, p. 453, lines 34–36 and n. 1.
[57] *Ep*. 295, MGH Epp., 4, p. 452, lines 31–32. Alcuin refers to this pupil as an *adulescentulus*, but it is clear that Alcuin is referring to the pupil’s former unstained reputation in earlier days: p. 452, line 34. He also refers to him figuratively as a *puer*: p. 453, line 2.

The pattern of development, from basic *eruditio* in the liberal arts to the addition of biblical knowledge and moral character, is consistent with the letter above and appears to be related chronologically to the early life stages.[58] When both letters are taken together, it is plain that between *infantia* and the arrival of the *perfectus vir*, the liberal arts would no doubt correspond to *adolescentia*.

One particular way in which Alcuin characterizes *juvenes* as members of an older group, as belonging to *juventus* in the technical sense, is by emphasizing their duty to set a good example and to teach others. Writing to his former pupils Candidus and Nathaniel sometime within 801–802, Alcuin conveys to them his wish, ‘ut exemplo sitis boni operis aliis in palatio iuvenibus’ (‘that you be an example of good work to the other young men in the palace’).[59] With regard to Candidus, he was Anglo-Saxon by birth, having the English name of Hwita, and was likely Alcuin’s pupil years previously in England.[60] At the time of this letter he is by no means an adolescent, nor is he in the stage of *adolescentia*. A manuscript dated prior to this letter, around 800, contains what is believed to be a joint work by Alcuin and Candidus, where the contribution by Candidus is entitled *Dicta Candidi presbiteri de imagine dei*, that is, where Candidus appears as a *presbyter*, a priest, likely to be at least thirty years of age.[61] Alcuin goes on to say that Candidus and Nathaniel have ‘recently’ (*nuper*) made the transition from their schooling (*scola eruditionis*), and the 'nest' of education, to the 'open skies' of public life where they may win honour.[62] Given Candidus's probable age, it is likely that the transition that Alcuin mentions, from schooling to public life, corresponded with a transition from *adolescentia*, in the traditional sense of around the age of twenty-eight, to the stage of *juventus*.

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[58] Before concluding, Alcuin wishes this pupil to consider how he compares with one of his fellow pupils, who has since gone on to become a bishop. Alcuin reminds him that, even compared with that exemplary pupil, he was ‘melior in eruditione […] et omni ecclesiastica doctrina praecellentior’ (‘better in erudition […] and more surpassing in every ecclesiastical doctrine’): p. 453, line 38 to p. 454, line 1. As Alcuin laments, this pupil has not gone on to match his fellow pupil in moral character.

[59] *Ep*. 245, MGH Epp., 4, p. 393, lines 18–19. Note how Alcuin’s use of *bonum opus* in connection with *juvenes* compares to his letter to the monks of Salzburg discussed above (‘fervor operis in iuvenibus’); see above, p. 128. Alcuin may connect *bonum opus* with *juvenes* based on 2 Timothy 3. 15–17, where Paul says that he is aware that Timothy has known the Scriptures ‘ab infantia’, and that Scripture is useful, ‘ut perfectus sit homo Dei, ad omne opus bonum instructus’ (‘that the man of God may be complete, instructed for every good work’). In this way, *bonum opus* comes at the end of a progression from *infantia* to the *perfectus homo*.

[60] John Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre: Logic, Theology and Philosophy in the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd ser., 15 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 38–39.

[61] Heinz Löwe, ‘Zur Geschichte Wizos’, *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters*, 6 (1943), 363–73 (p. 369).

In 793, following a raid by Norsemen on the church of Lindisfarne, Alcuin wrote a letter of encouragement to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Among other exhortations, Alcuin emphasizes learning in order that one may eventually teach, and he identifies teaching with the coming of the *aetas perfecta*:

> Discant pueri scripturas sacras; ut aetate perfecta veniente alios docere possint. Qui non discit in pueritia, non docet in senectute.
>
> Let boys learn the Holy Scriptures, so that with the coming of perfect age they may be able to teach others. He who does not learn in boyhood does not teach in old age.[63]

Alcuin names *pueri* in connection with learning Scripture, which does not necessarily contradict his association of biblical study with *juvenes* elsewhere. If his maxim, 'qui non discit in pueritia, non docet in senectute', is simply a restatement of the first sentence, then *perfecta aetas* would refer to old age here. Indeed, in the example above, Alcuin speaks of bringing life 'to the completed day' ('ad perfectum […] diem') of old age.[64] Nevertheless, Alcuin's use of *perfectum*, especially when he uses *perfecta* to modify *aetas*, more often refers to the coming of *juventus*, or full young manhood.[65]

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[62] *Ep*. 245, MGH Epp., 4, p. 393, lines 19–24. In his dialogue on rhetoric, Alcuin commends the art of public speaking to the *juvenis* in order to win praise, adding that one should learn from *adolescentia* not to fear public address. To this Charlemagne responds by naming the next life stage in descending order, saying that one should practice speaking directly from *pueritia*, so that he may deal confidently with public matters (*publicae quaestiones*): *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus*, lines 1142–55 (ed. Howell, pp. 140, 142).

[63] *Ep*. 19, MGH Epp., 4, p. 55, lines 21–22.

The life stages that Alcuin designates as the necessary ones for learning are somewhat fluid, or rather, he emphasizes a full range of young life stages. In the current letter, he goes on to hold up Bede as an example, 'quale habuit in iuventute discendi studium' ('how in his young manhood he had the zeal of learning').[66] He uses *juventus* instead of *pueritia*, which appears in the maxim, 'qui non discit in pueritia, non docet in senectute'. This maxim is interesting to consider with regard to how Alcuin differentiates the young life stages, for he expresses thoughts very similar to this in two additional letters. In each letter, including the one just quoted, he sets a different early life stage in relation to *senectus*. Alcuin uses *pueritia* in the letter quoted above. In another, he writes to a student to encourage him to pass on what he has learned. Alcuin tells him to admonish the 'adulescentulos, qui tecum sunt' ('youths who are with you'), and immediately after this he employs the maxim, 'discant in adolescentia, ut habeant, quid doceant in senectute' ('let them learn in youth, that they may retain what they teach in old age').[67] In a third letter, Alcuin writes to a larger group of monks at Murbach, whom he divides into *seniores* and *adolescentes*. He says that *seniores* ought to admonish *adolescentes*, and just after this he cites the maxim, this time using *juventus*: 'qui non vult in iuventute discere, in senectute scire non poterit' ('he who does not want to learn in young manhood will not be able to know how in old age').[68] In each of these cases, Alcuin tailors the maxim in order to apply it more directly to a particular group.[69]

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[64] See above, p. 127.

[65] Examples include Alcuin's description of his own life (see above, pp. 18–19), his advice to pupils that they spend their *adolescentia* learning the arts so that their *perfectior aetas* may reach the heights of Scripture (see above, pp. 123–24), and his description of how he brought a pupil up to a *perfectum virum* (see above, pp. 130–31). Elsewhere, Alcuin speaks of those who may die early, or before the *perfecta aetas*, where this refers to being fully grown: *De fide sanctae trinitatis et de incarnatione Christi*, III. 20. 20–24, ed. by Eric Knibbs and E. Ann Matter, CCCM 249 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 1–147 (pp. 130–31).

[66] *Ep*. 19, MGH Epp., 4, p. 55, lines 23–28 (lines 23–24).

[67] *Ep*. 88, MGH Epp., 4, p. 132, lines 27–28, 30–31.

Alcuin wrote to an unidentified English priest, perhaps directly associated with Canterbury.[70] In this letter, Alcuin encourages him to teach *juvenes*, and to have them confess their sins so that each one may become a worthy vessel of wisdom.

> Et hoc summa voluntate obsecro, ut lectionis studio in docendo iuvenes deservias, eosque exhortare sepius de confessione peccatorum suorum […]. Mundandum est cor a conscientia totius mali, ut dignum habeatur sapientie vasculum.
>
> And this I entreat with chief desire, that you be devoted to the study of reading in teaching young men, and exhort them often concerning the confession of their sins. […]. The heart must be cleansed from the knowledge of all evil, that it may be considered a worthy vessel of wisdom.[71]

Alcuin identifies these *juvenes* as the priest's *discipuli*, and in saying that each must become a worthy vessel of wisdom (*dignum sapientiae vasculum*), he connects their learning with their duty to become teachers themselves. Alcuin reminds the priest to admonish a fellow priest to teach in order that he may be a *vas utile*:

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[68] *Ep*. 117, MGH Epp., 4, p. 172, line 31 to p. 173, line 1, p. 173, lines 6–7.

[69] Alcuin applies a similar two-stage process of learning and teaching to himself in a letter to Charlemagne in 796 or 797, where he compares these stages to a 'morning' in which he studied followed by an 'evening' period: *Ep*. 121, MGH Epp., 4, p. 178, lines 1–2.

[70] Alcuin supported the archiepiscopal supremacy of Canterbury, which came into question after the death of Archbishop Jænberht in 792, when King Offa of Mercia had the new archbishop of Canterbury, Æthelheard, consecrated by Hygeberht, the bishop of Lichfield, thus enhancing the authority of that city. Upon Offa's death in 796, and the seizure of the Kentish throne by Eadberht, Æthelheard, being a symbol of Mercian rule, fled his see. Then, in 801, Alcuin was instrumental in assisting Æthelheard in his journey to Rome for papal support, which would result in the suppression of Lichfield and the restoration of Canterbury to archiepiscopal supremacy: Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), pp. 118–27.

[71] *Ep*. 293, MGH Epp., 4, p. 450, lines 26–28 and 32–33.

> Saluta, obsecro, filium meum, fratrem vero venerande dignitatis tue, et de his omnibus meis verbis ammoneas illum, ut honeste vivat aliosque doceat, ut sit vas utile in domo Dei.
>
> Greet, I beseech, my son, indeed a brother of your venerable rank, and admonish him concerning all these my words that he may live honourably and teach others, that he may be a useful vessel in the house of God.[72]

Just before this, Alcuin calls for *adolescentuli* to make confession, ‘aperiant adolescentuli vulnera sua medicis spiritalibus, ut salutem sempiternam mereantur accipere’ (‘let young adolescents open their wounds to spiritual remedies, that they may merit to receive eternal salvation’).[73] It is unclear what relationship these *adolescentuli* have to *juvenes*, but Alcuin’s letter suggests that *juvenes* are those who must prepare themselves to teach, whereas *adolescentuli* are concerned more with their own salvation.

Finally, in a letter to archbishop Arn of Salzburg dated within 798–802, Alcuin explains the interpretive value of numbers in Scripture, specifically in the Psalms. He emphasizes the importance of understanding the pervading governance of numbers ‘per quos etiam saeculorum ordo decurrit, et nostrae vitae ratio constat’ (‘by which both the order of the ages pass and the reckoning of our life consists’).[74] This is surely a reference to the dual explanation of the six ages of the world, or biblical history, in connection with the six ages of man, the individual man being a microcosm of the world, which Alcuin would have probably encountered in Bede’s *De temporibus* or *De temporum ratione*.[75] A discussion of these ages, the *sex aetates mundi, majoris videlicet*

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[72] *Ep*. 293, MGH Epp., 4, p. 450, line 36 to p. 451, line 2.

[73] *Ep*. 293, MGH Epp., 4, p. 450, lines 35–36.

[74] *Ep*. 243, MGH Epp., 4, p. 390, lines 26–27.

[75] Bede, *De temporibus liber*, c. 16, ed. by C. W. Jones, CCSL 123C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980), pp. 579–611 (pp. 600–01); Bede, *De temporum ratione liber*, c. 66, lines 1–47, CCSL 123B, pp. 463–64. For the comparison of the ages of man to the ages of the world, see Sears, *The Ages of Man*, chp. 3. Alcuin refers

et minoris, appear in the *Disputatio puerorum*, a work attributed to Alcuin. Based on Alcuin's use of *vitae ratio* in his letter to Arn, an additional point that may connect the *Disputatio puerorum* with Alcuin is the questioner's use of *ratio* when asking about the ages of man: 'quae est earum ratio, aut quot annis continentur?' ('what is their reckoning, or with how many years are they comprised?').[76]

Alcuin then immediately impresses upon Arn the importance of numerological studies for *juvenes*:

> Quocirca fas esse videtur sanctam auctoritatem vestram iuvenes exhortari ingeniosos: in talibus se exerceri studiis; discant ferventi aetatis ingenio, ut habeant maturo annorum tempore quid doceant discipulos suos.
>
> Therefore, it seems right for your holy authority to exhort young men of intellect to exercise themselves in such studies. Let them learn with the fervent capacity of the period of life, so that in the mature period of years they may have something that they may teach to their students.[77]

Alcuin essentially repeats his maxim that one must learn while young, or in the prime of life, in order to be able to teach in the time of maturity (*maturum tempus*). As already shown, Alcuin refers to a different life stage each time he uses the maxim, and his use of *juvenes* here is probably consistent with his technical usage.

The notion of 'cognitive age' was mentioned earlier in the chapter, where it applied to how the later medieval Church determined the maturity of young men.[78]

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to the six ages of man in connection with the six ages of the world in his *Commentaria in S. Joannis evangelium* (see above, p. 118). Bullough noted that nothing in Alcuin's teaching on computus 'shows unequivocally how and to what degree Bede's teaching had been passed on to him': *Alcuin*, p. 219.

[76] *The Disputatio puerorum: A Ninth-Century Monastic Instructional Text, Edited from Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 458*, 3. 3 (lines 684–85), ed. by Andrew Rabin and Liam Felsen, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts, 34 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2017), p. 43.

[77] *Ep*. 243, MGH Epp., 4, p. 390, lines 29–31.

[78] See above, p. 118.

Jerome described something like cognitive age with regard to biblical instruction in his commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes, which Alcuin copied in his *Commentaria super Ecclesiasten*. Jerome says that the three books of Solomon, namely, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, were intended for the instruction of three maturity levels, the little child (*parvulus*), the man of mature age (*vir maturae aetatis*), and the fully accomplished man (*vir consummatus*) respectively, and he then compares this division to the order of instruction given by philosophers, that is, the progression from ethics to natural science (*physica*) and finally to theology.[79] The progression from *parvulus* to *vir maturae aetatis*, and then to *vir consummatus*, suggests chronological age, though the emphasis is certainly upon spiritual maturity.

A description of life according to three distinct ages of man appeared early in patristic biblical interpretation, and went on to be expressed in later medieval art. Gregory the Great, commenting on the parable of the vigils, or the watchful servants (Luke 12. 35–38), compared the watches of the night to three major periods of life: *pueritia*, *adolescentia*, considered together with *juventus*, and *senectus*, a comparison that was repeated by Bede, Smaragdus, and Haymo of Halberstadt.[80] More directly related to the idea of wisdom, by the early ninth century, the Carolingians were aware of a standard representation of the three Magi: one depicted as a youth without a beard, one as a middle-aged man, and one as an old man with a white beard.[81]

In the three-age scheme connected with the works of Solomon, Alcuin cites the middle age as being the *matura aetas*. In general, it seems safe to conclude that Alcuin understands this to mean *juventus*. Patristic commentary again provides some precedent for this: In his verse, Prudentius refers to *adolescentia* as 'youth', or 'juventa' (as opposed to *juventus*), and the stage following this as the 'maturi roboris aetas' ('age of mature strength').[82] In commenting on the parable of the labourers in the vineyard (Matthew 20. 1–6), Jerome compared the labourers hired in the third, sixth, ninth, and eleventh hours to those who become believers in the stages he called *pubertas*, *matura aetas*, *declinans ad senium*, and *ultima senectus* respectively.[83] Gregory the Great went on to give a definitive interpretation of the parable in keeping with the traditional life stages. The morning (*mane*) corresponded to *pueritia*, while the third, sixth, ninth, and eleventh hours corresponded to *adolescentia*, *juventus*, *senectus*, and *decrepita* or *veterana* respectively, where the full strength of *juventus* is compared to the sun at its midpoint or zenith in the sky.[84] In other words, whereas Jerome simply has *matura aetas* at the sixth hour or midpoint of life, Gregory supplies *juventus*, which very likely informed Alcuin's view.

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[79] Alcuin, *Commentaria super Ecclesiasten*, PL 100, cols 665–722 (cols 668D–669A); Jerome, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, 1. 1, lines 17–30, ed. by M. Adriaen, CCSL 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959), pp. 247–361 (pp. 250–51).

[80] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia*, I. 13. 5 (lines 69–82), ed. by Raymond Étaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), p. 92; Bede, *In Lucae evangelium expositio*, IV. 1038–50, ed. by D. Hurst, CCSL 120 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1960), pp. 1–425 (p. 257); Smaragdus, *Collectiones*, PL 102, cols 15–552 (col. 539B); Haymo, *Homiliae sive contiones ad plebem in evangelia de tempore et sanctis*, *Homiliae aliquot de sanctis*, 10, PL 118, cols 9–816 (col. 789B). See Sears, *The Ages of Man*, p. 88.

[81] Sears cites an image from the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter, which conforms to a description in the eighth-century *Collectanea* of pseudo-Bede: *The Ages of Man*, pp. 90–94 (p. 92).

This appears to be consistent with Alcuin's use of *juvenes*/*juventus* in his moral treatise *De virtutibus et vitiis*, written between 799 and 800 for Wido, Charlemagne's *comes* in Brittany.[85] In his chapter on chastity, Alcuin refers repeatedly to a *juvenis* or *juvenes*, by which he does not mean pubescent youths and those a bit older; rather, he tailors his comments to apply them directly to Wido. He is not addressing boys or adolescents, or those who might commit themselves to a future life of chastity, but rather to those of marriageable age, who must either remain chaste, or have a lawful wife with whom they have relations at the proper times.[86] As he concludes the work, Alcuin says, ‘Fili, a juventute tua excipe doctrinam, et usque ad canos invenies sapientiam (‘Son, from your young manhood receive instruction, and you will find wisdom into your grey years’).[87] It seems clear that with regard to Wido’s *juventus*, Alcuin is not referring to his childhood or adolescence, but rather to the years between his prime of life and old age.

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[82] Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum libri duo*, II. 320–21, ed. by M. P. Cunningham, CCSL 126 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966), pp. 182–250 (p. 222); Sears, *The Ages of Man*, p. 82.

[83] Jerome, *Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV*, III. 973–81, ed. by D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CCSL 77 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), pp. 174–75; Sears, *The Ages of Man*, p. 83.

[84] Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in evangelia*, I. 19. 2 (lines 43–56), CCSL 141, pp. 144–45; Sears, *The Ages of Man*, pp. 83–84.

[85] See Owen M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 141–43; Julia M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 52–53; 67–68.

III.3 The Early Life Stages in the Ninth Century

Hraban Maur is considered to have been Alcuin’s premier pupil. The year of Hraban’s birth has been the subject of debate, which will be addressed later, but the earlier date of 776 has given way to the currently accepted range of dates from 780 to 784. The duration of his studies with Alcuin, also to be considered later, has likewise been debated, but this certainly included a period of liberal arts instruction at Tours between 802 and Alcuin’s death in 804. Hraban went on to become abbot of Fulda in 822, and then archbishop of Mainz in 847.[88] His literary activity was devoted primarily to the Bible and to biblical commentary, and was often heavily dependent on patristic sources. Hraban’s work as a commentator has been viewed as unoriginal, and yet the process of compiling, excerpting, and arranging biblical and patristic material, by early medieval commentators in general and by Hraban in particular, has been shown to reveal authorial intention with regard to pedagogical, polemical, and even political aims.[89]

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[86] Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad Widonem comitem*, c. 18, PL 101, cols 613–38 (cols 626C–627C). See Stone, *Morality and Masculinity*, pp. 1–2, 14, 283–86, 311.

[87] *De virtutibus et vitiis*, c. 36, PL 101, col. 638D.

[88] For Hraban’s biography see below, p. 246, n. 21. See also the chapters in Philippe Depreux and others, eds, *Raban Maur et son temps*, Collection Haut Moyen Âge, 9 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), and in Franz J. Felten and Barbara Nichtweiß, eds, *Hrabanus Maurus: Gelehrter, Abt von Fulda und Erzbischof von Mainz* (Mainz: Publikationen Bistum Mainz, 2006). For a discussion of Hraban’s family see Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 65–68, 212–13.

Hraban Maur included Isidore's definitions of the six *gradus aetatis* in his encyclopaedic *De universo*, also known as the *De rerum naturis*.[90] In this work, Hraban is also aware of a basic three-age division of life, apparently relying on Fulgentius's allegorical interpretation of the three-headed watchdog of Hades, Cerberus, its three heads signifying the three ages of *infantia*, *juventus*, and *senectus*, through which death is able to devour man.[91] Likewise, Hraban draws on Bede's *De temporum ratione* for the concluding chapter of his *De computo*, describing the six ages of the world and their similarity to the ages of man. Still, before quoting Bede, Hraban summarizes the ages of man under the three headings of *infantia*, *juventus*, and *senectus*.[92] He is apparently compressing the stages for the sake of convenience here. It is interesting that while Bede refers to every life stage by name except *juventus*, using *juvenalis aetas* instead,[93] in his own summary before quoting Bede, Hraban makes a point to name *juventus* as the middle stage between *infantia* and *senectus*. Hraban is also aware, as Alcuin was in his *De rhetorica et de virtutibus*, of history being divided into three ages: before the law, under the law, and under grace.[94]

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[89] Ian Christopher Levy, 'Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles in the Carolingian Era', in *A Companion to St. Paul in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Steven R. Cartwright (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 145–74 (p. 145–46, 150–53); Mayke de Jong, 'Carolingian Political Discourse and the Biblical Past: Hraban, Dhuoda, Radbert', in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Clemens Gantner, Rosamond McKitterick, and Sven Meeder (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 87–102 (pp. 91–94).

[90] *De universo libri viginti duo*, VII. 1, PL 111, cols 9–614 (cols 179C–185D).

[91] Hraban, *De universo*, PL 111, col. 198A–B; Fulgentius, *Mitologiarum libri tres*, I. 6, in *Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii V. C. opera*, ed. by Rudolf Helm (Leipzig: Teubner: 1898), pp. 1–80 (p. 20).

[92] *Rabani Mogontiacensis episcopi de computo*, c. 96, line 17, CCCM 44, ed. by Wesley M. Stevens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), pp. 163–321 (p. 319); Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 66, lines 1–47, CCSL 123B, pp. 463–64.

[93] Bede, *De temporum ratione*, c. 66, line 33, CCSL 123B, p. 464. Bede uses the same terminology in his *De temporibus*, c. 16, line 16, CCSL 123C, p. 601.

[94] Hraban, *Commentariorum in Genesim libri quatuor*, III. 3, PL 107, cols 439–670 (col. 569A). For Alcuin, see Guy Lobrichon, 'Making Sense of the Bible', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, 9 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006–09), III: *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100*, ed. by Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (2008), pp. 531–53 (p. 532).

In his commentary on Ezekiel, Hraban quotes from Gregory the Great's homily on that book. Gregory compared the prophecy against the pride of those living in Jerusalem, who are likened to a rusty pot (Ezekiel 24. 1–27), to the prophecy of Nahum against the pride of the princes of Nineveh, whom Nahum refers to as young lions (Nahum 2. 11–12). Here, Gregory used not one but three terms to describe those who belong to the early life stages in his explanation:

> Hic leonum catuli inveniebant pascua, quia pueri, adolescentes, juvenes saeculares et saecularium filii, hic undique concurrebant, cum proficere in hoc mundo voluissent.
>
> Here the lions' whelps were finding food, because the boys, *adolescentes*, worldly young men, and the sons of worldly men were running here and there, since they wished to advance in this world.[95]

Gregory's use of the three terms, *pueri*, *adolescentes*, and *juvenes*, appears to be a differentiation of three age groups. The mention of those who represent these early life stages, in ascending order, is interesting in itself, but it becomes even more so when they are named in connection with a desire to advance (*proficere*). At the same time, in his commentary, Hraban also quotes passages from Gregory's homilies and Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel where *juventus* is understood as inclusive of *pueritia* and *adolescentia*.[96] Hraban adopts Gregory's arrangement of age groups, as well as his lesson regarding ambition, but then applies these to his present audience, since he ends with an admonition to despise the present world in order to merit the eternal kingdom, this last bit being inserted by Hraban himself.[97]

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[95] Hraban, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, IX. 24, PL 110, cols 497–1084 (col. 754A); Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, II. 6. 23 (lines 581–84), ed. by M. Adriaen, CCSL 142 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1971), p. 312.

[96] Hraban, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, I. 1, X. 25, PL 110, cols 506C, 763B–C; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, I. 2. 19 (lines 394–95), CCSL 142, p. 29; Jerome, *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem libri XIV*, VIII. 12–14, lines 316–20, ed. by F. Glorie, CCSL 75 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1964), p. 343.

Hraban treats the early life stages similarly and even more comprehensively in his commentary on the apocryphal book of Sirach. In some passages, both from his source and in his own comments, it is clear that Hraban understands life as divided into the two basic stages of *juventus* (including all the early life stages) and *senectus*.[98] But he also refers to the full range of life stages. In one passage, Jesus the son of Sirach compares human generations to grass and leaves that flourish and die (Sirach 14. 18). Hraban adds the following explanation:

> Comparat humanam naturam secundum carnis conditionem ad foeni et folii similitudinem: quia sicut fenum in terra, vel folium in arbore nascitur, crescit, virescit, exsiccatur et dejicitur, ita carnis nostrae natura nascitur ex progenie parentum, crescit in infantia atque pueritia, florescit in adolescentia, maturescit in juventute, arescit in senectute, et dejicitur in morte.
>
> He compares human nature according to the flesh to the likeness of grass and leaves, because just like grass in the earth, and leaves in a tree, it is born, grows, flourishes, dries up and is cast down, so the nature of our flesh is born from the progeny of parents, grows in infancy and boyhood, flourishes in *adolescentia*, matures in young manhood, withers in old age, and is cast down in death.[99]

Near the end of this work, Hraban offers an interesting comment when the son of Sirach describes how he sought wisdom from a young age, speaking once again in terms of the early life stages. The son of Sirach says that he sought wisdom 'cum adhuc junior sum, priusquam oberrarem' ('while I was still younger, before I travelled' [Sirach 51. 13]), and Hraban goes on to quote a passage from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, referring to an older use of the letter 'Y' to symbolize the divided paths of youth and maturity.[100] The philosophers, Hraban says, ascribe the left branch of the letter, or left-hand path, to boyhood and *adolescentia*, but the right-hand line to the stronger age (*fortior aetas*), when the more powerful intellect rejects foolishness. In this passage, Hraban considers *pueritia* and *adolescentia* together under the heading of *juvenilis aetas*, but the traditional idea of an older stage of *juventus*, after the age of twenty-eight, is present in his mention of the *fortior aetas*.[101] Although the branching away from the danger of vices is said to begin from *adolescentia*, it is clear that the left arm of the 'Y' represents both *pueritia* and *adolescentia*, while the right arm signifies the maturity of *juventus*.

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[97] Hraban, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, IX. 24, PL 110, col. 754C; Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, II. 6. 24 (lines 601–04), CCSL 142, p. 313.

[98] Hraban, *Commentariorum in Ecclesiasticum libri decem*, II. 3, VI. 3, PL 109, cols 763–1126 (cols 947A, 798B–C).

[99] *Commentariorum in Ecclesiasticum libri decem*, III. 10, PL 109, col. 858B.

A clear break between *adolescentia* and *juventus* is also apparent in Hraban's earlier explanation of a passage instructing the *adolescens* when to speak (Sirach 32. 7): 'Adolescens loquere in tua causa vix cum necesse fuerit. Si bis interrogatus fueris, habeat caput responsum tuum' ('Speak on your own account, *adolescens*, scarcely but when it is necessary. If you are asked twice, the chief person may have your answer').[102] Hraban adds, 'oportet ergo magistrum loqui et docere, discipulum vero convenit tacere et audire' ('therefore it is proper for the teacher to speak and teach, but it is fitting for the student to be silent and listen').[103] He goes on to cite the example of the twelve-year-old Jesus asking questions in the temple, apparently relying on the commentary of

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[100] *Commentariorum in Ecclesiasticum libri decem*, X. 31, PL 109, col. 1122B–C; Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri*, I. 3. 7 (ed. Lindsay, vol. I).

[101] But compare this with what Hraban says in his commentary on The Wisdom of Solomon (8. 2), where Solomon says that he sought wisdom 'a juventute mea', and Hraban adds that *a juventute* means 'a cunabulis vitae humanae', or from the cradle of life: *Commentariorum in librum Sapientiae libri tres*, II. 5, PL 109, cols 671–762 (col. 705A).

[102] *Commentariorum in Ecclesiasticum libri decem*, VII. 9, PL 109, col. 995C.

[103] *Commentariorum in Ecclesiasticum libri decem*, VII. 9, PL 109, col. 995C–D.

Paterius, the notary of Gregory the Great,[104] who made a collection of excerpts from Gregory's commentaries:

> Hoc etiam Dominus suo exemplo nos facere docuit, quando in Hierusalem duodecennis sedebat in medio doctorum audiens illos et interrogans. De quo continuo Scriptura subjungit, dicens: 'Stupebant autem omnes super prudentia et responsis ejus' [Luke 2. 47]. Doctor angelorum ante tricennale tempus in terra magister fieri noluit hominum, ut videlicet praecipitatis vim saluberrimi timoris infunderet, cum ipse etiam qui labi non posset, perfectae vitae gratiam non nisi perfecta aetate praedicaret.
>
> The Lord himself also taught us to do this by his example, when in Jerusalem at the age of twelve he sat in the midst of the teachers listening to them and asking questions. Concerning which Scripture immediately adds saying, 'but all were amazed at his knowledge and his answers' [Luke 2. 47]. The doctor of angels did not wish to become a teacher of men before the time of his thirtieth year on earth, that he might clearly impart the power of most wholesome fear to the rash, since even he who could not err would not preach the grace of the perfect life without perfect age.[105]

The use of *doctores* appears in the passage from Luke. Still, Hraban himself introduces the idea of Jesus being the doctor of angels, and adds that Jesus did not presume to become a *magister* of men at such a young age. Hraban defines the thirtieth year of life as the *perfecta aetas*, saying that Jesus, though unable to err, would not presume to speak up to the level of *doctores* before that age, which clearly corresponds to *juventus*.

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[104] See Mark DelCogliano, trans. and introduction, *Gregory the Great on the Song of Songs*, Cistercian Studies Series, 244 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012), pp. 50–51; E. Ann Matter, 'Gregory the Great in the Twelfth Century: The Glossa Ordinaria', in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. by John C. Cavadini (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1995), pp. 216–26.

[105] Hraban, *Commentariorum in Ecclesiasticum libri decem*, VII. 9, PL 109, col. 995D–996A; Paterius, *Liber de expositione veteris ac novi testamenti de diversis libris S. Gregorii Magni concinnatus*, III. 14, PL 79, cols 683–1136 (col. 1059C–D). Paterius's text was Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, I. 2. 3 (lines 37–45), CCSL 142, p. 18.

For Hraban the idea of cognitive age, or spiritual maturity, was inherent in his sources. This, it seems, did not work to obscure the framework of the early life stages for him as much as to inform and qualify it. The stages of *adolescentia* and *juventus* (generally and specifically applied), the duty of teaching, and the office of the priesthood all become central to his thinking. Again relying on Paterius, Hraban copied the ecclesiastical application of the prohibition against doing work using 'the firstling of your herd' (Deuteronomy 15. 19), which meant not allowing the immature to preach. The same passage states that when the apostle Paul instructed Timothy not to let anyone despise his *adolescentia* (1 Timothy 4.12), it is clear that Timothy's *adolescentia* only applied to his years and not to his character, and the passage adds that even though in Scripture *adolescentia* is sometimes called *juventus*, they are in fact separate stages.[106]

The priesthood in connection with the *aetates* and cognitive (spiritual) maturity appears in Hraban's commentary on the book of Numbers. Hraban quotes a passage, apparently derived from a sermon attributed to Augustine, in which the budding of Aaron's staff is described in terms of its four-fold production of buds, leaves, blossoms, and finally almonds, representing progress in the spiritual life. First, the bud is one's first confession of faith, second, the putting forth of leaves represents rebirth and sanctification, leading to the third stage of flowering, when one begins 'to advance' ('proficere') and 'to be adorned with the sweetness of good things' ('bonorum suavitate decorari'), after which, when it comes to perfection ('cum enim ad perfectum venerit'), it brings forth 'the word of the knowledge of God' ('verbum scientiae Dei') and bears fruit 'by which others may be nourished' ('quibus alii nutriantur').[107] These stages are then compared to the 'four ages' ('aetates quatuor') addressed by the apostle in 1 John 2. 12–13, which are spiritual ages ultimately signifying the flourishing of the priesthood in Christ:

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[106] Hraban, *Enarrationis super Deuteronomium libri quatuor*, II. 9, PL 108, cols 837–998 (col. 895A–B, C); Paterius, *Liber de expositione*, V. 5, PL 79, col. 776A–B. For Paterius's source, Gregory the Great, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelem prophetam*, I. 2. 3 (lines 49–54, 67–73), CCSL 142, pp. 18–19. On Hraban's sources and the future use of his commentary, see Burton Van Name Edwards, 'Deuteronomy in the Ninth Century: The Unpublished Commentaries of Walahfrid Strabo and Haimo of Auxerre', in *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, ed. by Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards, Medieval Church Studies, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 97–113 (pp. 101–02).

> Ait enim: 'Scripsi vobis, pueri, et scripsi vobis, adolescentes, et scripsi vobis, juvenes, et scripsi vobis, patres'. In quibus utique non corporalis aetatis, sed animae profectuum differentias ponit, ut etiam in hoc sacerdotalis virgae germina observemus designari.
>
> For he says, 'I write to you, boys, and I write to you, *adolescentes*, and I write to you, young men, and I write to you, fathers'. In which by all means he considers the different kinds of advances not of bodily age, but of the soul, that in this we may also observe that the shoots of the priestly branch are signified.[108]

Hraban then adds his own commentary, describing the dividing line between Aaron and his sons, being one group, and the Levites in terms of the Church. Aaron and his sons represent the 'perfectiores', or the 'doctores sive praesules' in the Church, who handle the 'mystica verba' ('mystical words') of Scripture, whereas the Levites represent the remaining 'turba fidelium' ('crowd of the faithful'), whose duty it is to meditate on the 'faciliora' ('easier things') that their *magistri* command them to retain, 'quia non eadem capacitas est sensus perfectorum jam in scientia et rudium adhuc in fide' ('because the understanding of those now perfect in knowledge and of those as yet inexperienced in the faith is not the same capacity').[109] He goes on to say that this better knowledge is specifically for those ‘qui in ordine sacerdotali gloriantur’ (‘who glory in the priestly order’).[110]

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[107] Hraban, *Enarrationum in librum Numerorum libri quatuor*, II. 20, PL 108, cols 587–838 (col. 690A–B); Augustine(?), *Sermones, classis prima: Sermones de veteri et novo testamento*, 31. 5, PL 39, cols 1735–1972 (col. 1807).

[108] Hraban, *Enarrationum in librum Numerorum libri quatuor*, II. 20, PL 108, col. 690B; Augustine(?), *Sermones de veteri et novo testamento*, 31. 5, PL 39, col. 1807.

[109] Hraban, *Enarrationum in librum Numerorum libri quatuor*, II. 21, PL 108, col. 693C.

As for his best-known work on ecclesiastical matters, the *De institutione clericorum*, Hraban devotes a brief section to the proper chronological ages for ordination, including twenty-five years of age for the deacon and thirty for the priest.[111] At the same time, in terms of the priesthood itself, Hraban borrowed a description from Isidore that emphasized cognitive and spiritual development over chronological age, though the chronological age requirements are by no means set aside.

> Presbiter enim graece, latine senior interpretatur. Non pro aetate autem vel decrepita senectute, sed propter honorem et dignitatem et doctrinam sapientiae, quam acceperunt, presbiteri nominantur.
>
> For presbyter in Greek is in Latin translated ‘senior’. However, they are named presbyters not on account of decrepit old age, but rather because of the honour and dignity and doctrine of wisdom that they acquire.[112]

Hraban felt the need to insert ‘et doctrinam sapientiae’ as the special acquisition of priests in addition to their *honor* and *dignitas*, that is, position. In the third book of *De institutione clericorum*, before treating matters like the study of Scripture, the *gradus sapientiae* (grades of wisdom) outlined by Augustine in his *De doctrina christiana*,[113] and the liberal arts, Hraban begins the book with a statement that might be considered its heading: ‘Quid eos scire et habere conveniat, qui ad sacrum ordinem accedere volunt’ (‘What is proper for them to know and to uphold, who wish to advance to holy order').[114] It is nearly a word-for-word match with what Hraban says in one of his letters, which will be treated in more detail below, where he combines the ideas of ecclesiastical grade, what candidates for promotion should 'know and uphold', and their specific ages (*aetates*).[115]

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[110] Hraban, *Enarrationum in librum Numerorum libri quatuor*, II. 21, PL 108, col. 694A.

[111] *De institutione clericorum libri tres*, I. 13, ed. by Detlev Zimpel, Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, 7 (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 1996), pp. 308–09.

[112] *De institutione clericorum*, I. 6, lines 4–7 (ed. Zimpel, p. 300).

[113] *De doctrina christiana*, II. 7, ed. by Joseph Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), pp. 1–167 (pp. 36–38).

In the course of the ninth century, and especially at the council of Paris in 829 and the council of Aachen in 836, the status of rural or associate bishops (*chorepiscopi*) came under increasing scrutiny, especially with regard to limiting their authority to ordain clergy.[116] Hraban does not seem to have been troubled by the thought of *chorepiscopi* infringing upon the authority of regular bishops; he appears to accept that a *chorepiscopus* should have oversight of an entire community, including the task of ordination. At some point between 835 and 847, before he was made archbishop of Mainz, and while he was either still abbot of Fulda or living as a monk after resigning the abbacy in 842, Hraban wrote a brief letter to a *chorepiscopus* named Reginbald, which also served as a dedicatory preface for his *De disciplina ecclesiastica*, a work devoted to catechesis and the cardinal virtues.[117] Hraban quotes a few verses from

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[114] *De institutione clericorum*, III. 1, lines 1–2 (ed. Zimpel, p. 435).

[115] *Ep*. 40, MGH Epp., 5, p. 479, lines 7–13 (lines 11–12).

[116] See Martin Connell, '*chorepiscopus*', in *The Oxford Dictionary of Late Antiquity*, ed. by Oliver Nicholson, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), I, p. 328. For discussions on *chorepiscopi* see Jörg Müller, 'Gedanken zum Institut der Chorbischöfe', in *Medieval Church Law and the Origins of the Western Legal Tradition: A Tribute to Kenneth Pennington*, ed. by Wolfgang P. Müller and Mary E. Sommar (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2006), pp. 77–94; Rudolf Pokorny, 'Ein übersehenes karolingisches Briefgutachten zugunsten der Chorbischöfe', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 99 (2013), 361–81; Franz Staab, 'Zur kirchlichen Raumerfassung im Mittelalter: Archidiakone, Chorbischöfe und Archidiakonate im Bistum Metz bis ins 13. Jahrhundert', in Die alte Diözese Metz / L'ancien diocèse de Metz: Referate eines Kolloquiums in Waldfischbach-Burgalben vom 21. bis 23. März 1990, ed. by Herrmann Hans-Walter, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Saarländische Landesgeschichte und Volksforschung, 19 (Saarbrüken: Dr. und Verl., 1994), pp. 85–111; Reynolds, 'Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchies and Functions', pp. 29–30; Reynolds, 'A Ninth-Century Treatise on the Origins, Office, and Ordination of the Bishop', part 5 in *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS670 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 321–32 (p. 322).

[117] Dümmler surmised that the addressee, Reginaldus, was likely the *chorepiscopus* Reginbald, to whom Hraban sent another letter in answer to his pressing concerns (*ep*. 30, MGH Epp., 5, pp. 448–54), and this identification has found acceptance: see for example Geneviève Bührer-Thierry, 'Raban Maur et l'épiscopat de son temps', in *Raban Maur et son temps*, ed. by Depreux and others, pp. 63–76 (p. 68). For Hraban's dependence on Alcuin with regard to the four virtues, see István P. Bejczy, *The Cardinal*

Paul's letters to Timothy, including 1 Timothy 4. 11–12, 'nemo adolescentiam tuam contemnat' ('let no one despise your *adolescentia*'), as well as 2 Timothy 2. 1–3 and 1 Timothy 5. 22, his exhortations about entrusting the duty 'to teach' to suitable men and not being hasty to lay hands on anyone for ordination.[118] Hraban's application of Paul's reference to *adolescentia* is probably not literal, but rather a comment on Reginbald's comparative youth, since Hraban begins by addressing him as a priest (*sacerdos*).[119] As such, Reginbald is in a position not only to teach, but also to ordain and commission others to teach. This involves more than simply preaching to the laity; it involves education tailored for each rank of the clergy, since Hraban concludes by making a pointed statement about teaching that will suit promotions to each *gradus* or *officium* of the ecclesiastical hierarchy:

> Et sic de singulis ordinibus eum instituturus, quomodo presbyteros atque diaconos caeterosque gradus ordinare deberet, singulasque personas atque aetates necnon et sexus docere atque erudire pleniter instruxit. Unde necesse est, ut eos, quos ad divinum officium promovere concupiscis, diligenter doceas atque cum disciplina erudias, ut sciant, qualiter divini verbi ministri fieri debeant, et quid eos scire et habere conveniat, ut cum ordinati fuerint et sacris ordinibus sublimati, magis populo Dei prosint quam noceant.

> And thus he [Paul] would instruct him concerning each order, how he ought to ordain presbyters and deacons and the other grades, and he instructed him to teach and fully educate each person, age, and sex. Whence it is necessary that you diligently teach and educate with discipline those whom you desire to promote to divine office, that they may know how they ought to become ministers of the divine word, and what is proper for them to know and to uphold, so that when

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Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 202 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 38–39.

[118] *Ep*. 40, MGH Epp., 5, p. 478, line 37.

[119] *Ep*. 40, MGH Epp., 5, p. 478, line 14.

> they have been ordained and raised to the holy orders they may benefit the people God more than harm them.[120]

Hraban's statement presupposes an awareness, at least for himself if not for Reginbald as well, of an educational programme where various aspects of advancement, such as ranks (*gradus*), ages (*aetates*), and promotions, are viewed as interrelated.

Walahfrid Strabo (c. 807–849), who grew up in the monastery of Reichenau and left there in 826 to study at Fulda with Hraban, abbot of Fulda since 822, writes what appears to confirm what has already been established with regard to *juventus* and the *perfecta aetas*.[121] In a commentary on Genesis attributed to Walahfrid, the commentator describes the pristine condition of creation as follows: 'Omnia creata sunt perfecta, et homo perfectus aetate erat, et arbores cum foliis et fructu' ('All things were created perfect, and the man was perfect in age, and the trees with leaves and fruit').[122] He says this in the context of discussing the six days of creation and the six ages of the world, the fourth day or age representing *juventus*, which 'inter omnes regnat aetates' ('reigns among all the ages').[123] The inclusion of trees with leaves and fruit is interesting; it may be that Walahfrid had read Hraban's description of Aaron's staff, with its buds, leaves, blossoms, and almonds representing progress in spiritual life, as mentioned above.[124]

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[120] *Ep*. 40, MGH Epp., 5, p. 479, lines 7–13.

[121] For Walahfrid's biography see Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Carolingian Portraits: A Study in the Ninth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969; repr. 1988), pp. 121–60; Alice L. Harting-Correa, ed. and trans., *Walahfrid Strabo's Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum: A Translation and Liturgical Commentary*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp. 6–12; Wesley M. Stevens, *Rhetoric and Reckoning in the Ninth Century: The Vademecum of Walahfrid Strabo*, Studia Traditionis Theologiae: Explorations in Early and Medieval Theology, 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 25–27; Wesley M. Stevens, 'Walahfrid Strabo: A Student at Fulda', Part 10 in *Cycles of Time and Scientific Learning in Medieval Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS482 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), pp. 13–20.

[122] *Liber Genesis*, PL 113, cols 67–182 (col. 74D). See Burton Van Name Edwards, 'The Commentary on Genesis Attributed to Walahfrid Strabo: A Preliminary Report from the Manuscripts', *Proceedings of the Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies Conference*, 15 (1990), 71–89; Edwards, 'Deuteronomy in the Ninth Century', p. 102.

[123] *Liber Genesis*, PL 113, col. 77B. *Infantia* and *pueritia* are mentioned earlier (cols 70D and 73C); *adolescentia* is not mentioned, but is of course assumed to be among the six *aetates*.

In 870, the clergy and people of Cologne wrote to pope Hadrian II concerning the election of their new archbishop, Willibert.[125] They conclude by emphasizing his promotions, which happened *regulariter*, as well as his learning (*doctrina*) and his growth from infancy to full manhood:

> Elegimus […] nomine Willibertum presbiterum, per singulos gradus ad sacerdotale ministerium regulariter promotum, hospitalem, benignum, sobrium, iustum, sanctum, continentem, amplectentem eum, qui secundum doctrinam est, fidelem sermonem: et est potens exortari in doctrina sana, et eos, qui contradicunt, redarguere. Qui etiam ab infantia benigne et caste inter nos fuit nutritus et usque ad perfectam aetatem religiose omnimodis conversatus.
>
> We have elected […] the priest by the name of Willibert, promoted regularly through each of the grades to the sacerdotal ministry, [who is] hospitable, kind, sober, just, holy, continent, embracing him who, according to doctrine (it is a faithful saying), is able both to exhort in sound doctrine and to refute those who contradict it. Who also was brought up kindly and chastely among us from infancy and unto perfect age lived religiously in every manner.[126]

The mention of his growth from infancy to the *perfecta aetas* ends what appears to be a catalogue of Willibert’s qualifications. *Regulariter* appears at the beginning of the catalogue, and would seem to pertain only to his clerical promotions. However, another letter, written near this time and written to a pope, uses the term more directly in connection with age and learning.

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[124] See above, pp. 146–47.

[125] For background see Dorine van Espelo, ‘Rulers, Popes and Bishops: The Historical Context of the Ninth-Century Cologne *Codex Carolinus* Manuscript (*Codex Vindobonensis* 449’, in *Religious Franks*, pp. 455–71 (pp. 461–64).

[126] *Epistolae Colonienses*, *ep*. 4, MGH Epp., 6, p. 246, lines 3–9.

Charles the Bald wrote a letter to Pope Nicholas I in 864, in which he commends a monk named Betto to Nicholas that he might receive him.[127] It is in fact an official commendation, one that Adventius the bishop of Metz has requested, 'petens a nobis vestrae amantissimae paternitati pro eo litteras mitti' ('asking of us that a letter be sent on his behalf to your most loving paternity').[128] This monk requires no catalogue of accomplishments to recommend him, as opposed to the case of Willibert and his archiepiscopal election. The single detail that Charles includes, which he probably learned from Adventius, is that Betto was 'in monasterio regni nostri ab infantia regulariter educatum' ('brought up according to rule from infancy in a monastery of our kingdom').[129] The addition of *ab infantia* to the phrase *regulariter educatus* most likely refers to being reared in monastic discipline, yet it is general enough that the interpretation 'regularly educated' is also possible.

The combination of age, instruction, and promotion, characterizing how clerical life is to proceed *regulariter*, is clearly presented in a letter by Pope Nicholas I to Egil, archbishop of Sens, in 865 or 866. Nicholas expresses reservations about sending the pallium to Egil upon his election, since Egil has not come to his new position after serving out a full career in the church of Sens itself, but rather in a monastery. Compared with those who have proven themselves throughout their course of *aetates*, which they have spent in moral and educational training while remaining at the same church, Nicholas considers Egil's situation as less than ideal:

> Quod nos, ubicumque fiat, cum fit, moleste ferimus et graviter omnimodis ducimus, pro conculcatione scilicet sacrorum canonum et aspernatione

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[127] For the correspondence of Pope Nicholas, see Tom Noble, 'Pope Nicholas I and the Franks: Politics and Ecclesiology in the Ninth Century', in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 472–88.

[128] *Epistolae ad divortium Lotharii II regis pertinentes*, *ep*. 9, MGH Epp., 6, p. 222, lines 35–36.

[129] MGH Epp., 6, p. 222, lines 33–34.

> clericorum, qui crescentes in sua ecclesia et virtutibus operam et probis moribus honestatem ac sapientiae studiis diligentiam impendisse per singularum aetatum incrementa probantur.
>
> Which we, wherever it happens and when it happens, bear with difficulty and by all means regard seriously on account of the trampling of the holy canons and the disdaining of clerics, who, growing in their own church, are proven to have devoted attention to the virtues, and to probity in character, and to diligence in the studies of wisdom throughout the increments of every age.[130]

It is clear that Nicholas places great emphasis not only on where these clerics train, in continued residence at their churches, but also on moral and educational training that can be marked off by discernible increments of *aetates*. Though he makes no actual reference to *anni* as Alcuin had done in his *Vita Willibrordi*, the importance of the early life stages is still very present.

For Alcuin and the ninth century, the *gradus aetatis*, and specifically the early life stages, did not represent a dissociated marker of development in children and young men; rather, these stages represented one of a number of markers fundamentally linked to clerical life, learning, and advancement. Alcuin treated the *gradus aetatis* as a structure of advancement that was intricately related to separate stages of education and clerical advancement, including promotion within the clerical ranks, or the *cursus honorum*. His understanding of the interconnected increments of age, learning, and advancement lived on into the ninth century, significantly in the influential writings of his famous pupil Hraban Maur.

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[130] Nicholas I, *ep*. 124, MGH Epp., 6, p. 644, lines 22–26.

Chapter IV

Structures of Advancement: The *cursus honorum*

The grades, offices, and ordination rites of the late antique and early medieval Church have been the province of only a few modern scholars. These scholars have produced broad surveys and specialized studies, and these have covered the most important points and provide useful guides for the topic and its sources. Still, these studies are by no means exhaustive, and while the basis for understanding the *cursus honorum* is in place, there is still great need for further study on the implications of the *cursus* in early medieval culture and society. The aim of this chapter, therefore, is not to build on previous work to define the *cursus honorum* itself; rather, this chapter will focus on sources that have to do with clerical promotion, and especially those where learning and education play a part. Alcuin, though mentioned at times, will not be a major feature of this discussion, which instead will focus more upon ninth-century conciliar and capitular decrees. As will be shown, these sources reveal an emphasis on communal learning and teaching among clerics, or a culture in which a chain of instructional accountability would serve to control promotion.

IV.1 Scholarship on the *cursus honorum*

Roger Reynolds has covered the topic of the *cursus* in many ways: wide-ranging surveys on sources describing the offices, grades, and ordination rites, as well as studies that focus on particular sources, individual grades, regions, or any combination of these.[1] Due to his subtopics and the nature of his sources, the chronological range of his studies is very broad, leaving little room for a comprehensive treatment of one period. Reynolds generally identifies two periods, the Carolingian ninth century and the late eleventh and early twelfth century, as being characterized by an increasing 'standardization' of liturgy, which later resulted in 'a standardization of clerical personnel and an ecclesiastical *cursus honorum*'.[2] Reynolds gives the Carolingian eighth and ninth centuries some limited direct treatment.[3] He notes the rise of the offices of archdeacon and archpresbyter, who provided regional oversight of *villae* as part of efforts to curb the regional autonomy of *chorepiscopi*.[4] He also highlights the emphasis on instructions for the ordination of the lower orders in the *Raganaldus Sacramentary*, reflecting the earlier addition of these instructions made by Benedict of Aniane to the *Hadrianum* once it had reached *Francia*, and, after Alcuin, the ninth-century omission of the grade of psalmist, or the combining of this order with that of the lector, as well as the unique position of the subdeacon.[5]

As for his sources, Reynolds tended to focus on various descriptive and prescriptive excerpts that directly treat the grades, offices, and ordination rites, whether in patristic authors or reworked in the many pontificals and *collectiones* in the Middle Ages. Reynolds did recognize the value of canon law collections in addition to liturgical sources for study of the ecclesiastical grades, but these sources remain underutilized for the ninth century. This chapter will consult a broader selection of ninth-century royal capitularies, conciliar decrees, letters, and other sources. These tend to reveal more about how the grades served as periods of development and preparation for young clerics, and how education and promotion were related to the *cursus* during this period.

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[1] See the articles in Roger E. Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS669 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Roger E. Reynolds, *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS670 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

[2] Reynolds, 'Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchies and Functions', p. 1. Reynolds suggests a movement toward standardization specifically of ninth-century ordination texts: 'Image and Text: The Liturgy of Clerical Ordination in Early Medieval Art', part 8 in *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 27–38 (p. 28).

[3] See especially parts 5, 6, and 7 in *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages*: 'A Ninth-Century Treatise on the Origins, Office, and Ordination of the Bishop', pp. 321–32; 'A Florilegium on the Ecclesiastical Grades in Clm 19414: Testimony to Ninth-Century Clerical Instruction', pp. 235–59; 'An Early Medieval Tract on the Diaconate', pp. 97–100.

[4] Reynolds, 'Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchies and Functions', pp. 25–31. For the role of the archdeacon, see above, p. 36, n. 63.

[5] Reynolds, 'The Portrait of the Ecclesiastical Officers in the *Raganaldus Sacramentary* and its Liturgico-Canonical Significance', part 7 in *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 432–42 (pp. 437–42).

Robert Godding surveys a number of examples from Merovingian hagiography that contain information on the clerical *cursus* of saints. One of his observations from this literature is the presence of two groups who have different relationships to the *cursus*: those for whom clerical life was not necessarily a vocation, including laymen ordained on an ad hoc basis along with children who may not have been expected to pursue the *cursus* as such, and those who from early childhood set out on the *cursus* as a vocation, who progressively climbed the ranks while receiving the appropriate education.[6] Godding's understanding of the *cursus* as an emerging vocation that required education begs the question: how did education become a necessary element of that vocation?

Godding discusses the *cursus* in the first chapter of his *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, going on to discuss clerical education in the second chapter, but he begins the second chapter by stressing that the separate treatment is not meant to detract from the view that the *cursus* and education were mutually intertwined.[7] Godding describes Merovingian education in terms of the bipartite division of 'elementary' and 'secondary'. In large cities, bishops would oversee 'public education', that is, education open to all and not just to future clerics, especially with regard to younger children at the elementary level. Priests would serve in teaching roles here as well as in smaller parishes. After this, secondary education involved a *commendatio* (which Godding identifies as Heinzelmann’s special contribution to the study), whereby an *adolescens* would be singled out and entrusted to a *magister*.[8]

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[6] Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, p. 49.

[7] Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, p. 51.

With regard to education at smaller parishes, one of Godding’s observations raises an interesting question about early medieval education as a progression related to ecclesiastical promotion. This observation has to do with a canon from the council of Vaison of 529. The first canon calls for priests to receive into their residences *juniores lectores*, as well as those who might be older but not yet married. The priests are to teach them in order to make them worthy successors:

> Et eos quomodo boni patres spiritaliter nutrientes psalmis parare, divinis lectionibus insistere et in lege Domini erudire contendant, ut et sibi dignos successores provideant.
>
> And let them strive as good fathers, as those who nourish spiritually, to prepare them with the Psalms, to be devoted to divine readings, and to instruct them in the law of God, that they may also provide worthy successors for themselves.[9]

The canon goes on to say that when these clerics reach full maturity (*aetatem perfectam*), and any of them wishes to marry out of weakness of the flesh, he may do so. Godding observed that those being educated here are already clerics and that they share the same rank, that of lector. He also concludes that this canon describes a particular school for ‘grands adolescents’ (‘older adolescents’) rather than children.[10] This may be the case, but it may still be asked whether the canon implies the entire process of education beginning with elementary instruction. It begins with students being prepared with the Psalms by their teachers, who act as ‘fathers’ and *nutrientes*, and ends when these students have become worthy successors. At the same time, it is not clear that preparation in the Psalms, experience in *lectiones*, and instruction in the *lex Domini* implies a process connected with ecclesiastical promotion, and the process of clerical education in Merovingian Gaul does not necessarily correspond to what it was in the ninth century. In sixth-century Gaul, some surviving late-antique schools were able to provide elementary instruction to children, and perhaps more.[11]

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[8] Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, pp. 54–59.

[9] Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, p. 60; *Concilium Vasense*, c. 1, MGH Conc., 1, pp. 55–58 (p. 56, lines 11–13).

[10] Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, p. 61.

Godding's survey of Merovingian sources includes a brief section treating the requisite education for ordination. He observed, having few examples to work from, that the Psalms played a key role in measuring the knowledge and ability of a candidate. In these examples, each in the context of some form of examination, a child being admitted to holy orders was to have memorized some portion of the Psalms; for ordination to the diaconate, the candidate had to memorize the entire Psalter (or at least a representative portion of it), or to have completed four readings of the entire Bible. With regard to the Psalms, the candidate would likely have had to prove himself capable of chanting as well as reciting them.[12] The context and terminology associated with examinations for ordination will be important considerations in this chapter.

John Gibaut has written the most recent overview of the *cursus*, treating it from the New Testament period to the Reformation. Given this broad range of history, Gibaut defined his topics of discussion according to each successive period's description of the offices, sequence(s) of ordination, and its maintenance, modification, or neglect of the interstices, or prescribed intervals of time that one was expected to serve in each office. A major turning point, as he points out, was the 'demise of the interstices' in the fifth century, where the interstices were shortened or ignored, revealing a breakdown in their twofold purpose, that is, preparation and probation.[13] Gibaut then discerns a move toward general recovery in the eighth and ninth centuries, when 'the overall significance of sequential ordination was increased, both canonically and theologically'.[14] He provides evidence to prove that it was a new emphasis on canon law and sacramental theology, observed in the vocabulary of legality and validity around the *cursus*, that provided the real impulse for its renewed significance, over against the need for preparation and probation of the clergy.[15] Gibaut succeeds in proving his case regarding the importance of canon law and theology, as far as his evidence goes, but his need to economize on that evidence comes at the expense of other evidence that suggests the rising importance of preparation and probation in the eighth and ninth centuries.

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[11] Riché, *Education and Culture*, pp. 279–303.
[12] Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, pp. 67–70.

As far as his objective is concerned, Gibaut's evidence comprehends more than church canons, ordination liturgies, and literature on the holy orders. Indeed, for each of the major periods under consideration he includes a section on biographical material, looking at prosopograpical details in order to show 'the actual practice of the clerical *cursus*'.[16] But the biographical material that he covers from the eighth century to the end of the tenth is extremely limited. Gibaut admits that he surveys more biographical material on the Roman church than on the Frankish, which is easily observed by a count of pages; he devotes some seven pages to the Roman church, leaving scarcely two pages and a few scattered examples for the Frankish church.[17] Thus, while Gibaut's work is undeniably useful for an understanding of the literature on the *cursus honorum*, it reveals a need for further treatment of biographical material and other sources to better understand the practical application of the *cursus*, especially for the eighth and ninth centuries.

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[13] Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum*, pp. 154–55.

[14] Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum*, p. 243.

[15] Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum*, pp. 243–45 (p. 245).

[16] Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum*, p. 135.

[17] Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum*, pp. 231–40.

The examination of priests to determine their fitness for office, whether at ordination or on a regular basis at annual synods, has received periodic interest. Susan Keefe has drawn attention to the presence of clerical questionnaires (*interrogationes sacerdotales*) in a number of codices, which have a pedagogical character and not just an emphasis on morality.[18] Carine van Rhijn has discussed the Carolingian emphasis on education as a backdrop for these examinations, noting that *correctio* and *emendatio* were the motivating factors behind them.[19] In terms of education, she focuses on sources dealing with priests' competence to educate the laity in the rudiments of the faith, and to accurately perform the Mass and baptism, rather than the process of clerical education itself.[20] At the same time, van Rhijn does note the prevalence of 'instruction readers' in connection with exams, as well as the level of education that the use of these readers implies.[21]

Van Rhijn's primary area of interest is the emergence of the priesthood in the ninth century as a prominent link between court, bishop, and people.[22] In her book on priests and episcopal statutes, van Rhijn seeks to bridge the gap between court and countryside, between the reform texts that prescribe *correctio* from the court and the practical effect of these at the local level. She incorporates the aspects of hierarchy and education, discussing these within a broader hierarchy of Carolingian society and the religious instruction given by bishops to priests, and then by priests to lay people; her interest is not the *cursus* and the education of clerics specifically.[23] Nevertheless, her general observation on the Carolingian project of reform, its universal application and pedagogical nature, presupposes a connection between education and the function of all the grades of the ecclesiastical hierarchy:

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[18] Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), I, pp. 19–20.

[19] Van Rhijn, '"Et hoc considerat episcopus, ut ipsi presbyteri non sint idiothae": Carolingian Local *Correctio* and an Unknown Priest's Exam', pp. 163–64.

[20] Susan Keefe has discussed how education with regard to baptism fit within the larger context of clerical education: *Water and the Word*, I, pp. 1–21. See also Thomas Kohl, '*Presbyter in parochia sua*: Local Priests and their Churches in Early Medieval Bavaria', in *Men in the Middle: Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Steffen Patzold and Carine van Rhijn (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), pp. 50–77 (pp. 59–64). See also Hamilton, 'Educating the Local Clergy', pp. 94–96.

[21] Van Rhijn, 'Manuscripts for Local Priests and the Carolingian Reforms', in *Men in the Middle*, ed. by Patzold and van Rhijn, pp. 177–98 (pp. 187–91).

[22] See for example van Rhijn, 'Priests and the Carolingian Reforms'. For the Church, headed by bishops and priests, considered in relation to the greater Carolingian social hierarchy, see also Charles West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle, c. 800–c. 1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge Universtiy Press, 2013), pp. 28–40; Raffaele Savigni, 'La *communitas Christiana* dans l'ecclésiologie Carolingienne', in *Hiérarchie et stratification sociale dans l'occident médiéval (400–1100)*, ed. by F. Bougard, D. Iogna-Prat, and R. Le Jan, Collection haut Moyen Âge, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 83–104.

> There was no space for passive recipients of the reforms in this set-up: all had a place and function […]. The key to success was instruction. […] The full responsibility for the education of the entire realm was, however, not intended to rest on the shoulders of the court alone. A division of labour was devised in which, for instance, the court instructed the bishops, who in turn instructed their clergy, who would then pass on the required knowledge to the lay communities in their care.[24]

In this regard, van Rhijn made another observation that should not go unnoticed. She suggests the possibility that the *Admonitio generalis*, in its well-known call for the establishment of *scholae legentium puerorum* (c. 70), was essentially making primary education for *pueri* at local schools an entry point for further study and ecclesiastical promotion:

> Should we rule out the possibility that there were future priests among these *pueri*, who later on continued their education elsewhere when they had shown talent? I think not, although it may have depended on their background whether or not they went on directly to a cathedral school or a monastery. The possibility that future

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[23] Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 5, 107–09, 175–77.

[24] Van Rhijn, ‘Priests and the Carolingian Reforms’, p. 221.

> priests received some education locally should, I think, be taken into consideration.[25]

Herbert Schneider sketches a brief outline of the official calls for a ‘jährliche Kontrolle’ (‘yearly check’) of rural priests at synods, and he includes an edition of a Visigothic *Ordo in susceptione presbiterorum* as an early example of the priest’s examination (*Prüfung*) at these gatherings.[26] In this *ordo*, after an opening prayer by the bishop and a few readings, the examination proper begins:

> Postinde quid unusquisque in spatio presentis anni profecerit tam in lectionibus quam in officiis sacris vel quomodo divina officia vel sacramenta ab illis in suis ecclesiis peragantur, et perquirendi et instruendi.
>
> Then afterwards how each one has progressed in the space of the present year, in readings as well as in the holy offices, and in what manner the divine offices and sacraments are performed by them in their churches, and they are to be questioned and instructed.[27]

Schneider suggests that progress in *lectiones* here implies not simply readings covered in the context of daily worship, or *lectio divina*, but rather a more educationally based *Fortbildungsprogramm*.[28] This is not apparent from the text itself, although it is possible. The final words of this decree, ‘et perquirendi et instruendi’, suggest that the examination itself was to be instructional, and perhaps even to resemble a classroom exercise.

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[25] Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 176–77.

[26] Herbert Schneider, ‘Priester bei der Prüfung: Ein westgotischer *Ordo in susceptione presbiterorum* in süditalienischer Überlieferung’, in *Ritual, Text and Law: Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds*, ed. by Kathleen G. Cushing and Richard F. Gyug (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 23–39 (p. 28).

[27] *Ordo in susceptione presbiterorum, quando ad conventum laetaniarum occurrunt*, c. 4, ed. by Herbert Schneider, ‘Priester bei der Prüfung’, pp. 37–39 (p. 39).

[28] Schneider, ‘Priester bei der Prüfung’, pp. 26–27. With regard to ninth-century monastic education, Hildebrandt notes the difference in the rule of Benedict between personal study and corporate worship: *The External School*, pp. 24–25.

For comparison, Schneider mentions another examination setting, this from the ninth century, which is retained in five manuscripts. Among the unique features of this Frankish *ordo*, *Qualiter synodus habendus sit ab episcopo cum presbyteris*, the duty of examining priests is shared by the bishop with 'magistri et inquisitores', where priests are called upon to present their 'libros et vestimenta, missalia reliquumque instrumentum sui ministerii' ('books and vestments, missals, and the other instruments of their ministry').[29]

IV.2 Ecclesiastical Promotion: Biblical and Patristic Background

In the Vulgate New Testament, *gradus* appears only a single time with any organizational or institutional meaning in connection with the Church. In 1 Timothy 3. 13, the apostle Paul says that deacons who minister well acquire for themselves a 'gradum bonum' ('good degree').[30] One interesting use from the Old Testament is Genesis 40. 13, where Joseph interprets the dream of Pharaoh's chief butler and predicts the recovery of his position, where the terms *ministerium*, *gradus*, and *officium* all appear in the same sentence:

> Post quos [dies] recordabitur Pharao ministerii tui, et restituet te in gradum pristinum: dabisque ei calicem juxta officium tuum.

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[29] Schneider, 'Priester bei der Prüfung', p. 29.

[30] In the Moutier-Grandval Bible revised by Alcuin, London, British Library, Add MS 10546, f. 435r, the phrase reads, 'gradu(m) sibi bonu(m) adquirent' (my normalization).

> After these [days] Pharaoh will remember your service and will restore you to the former rank, and you will give him the cup according to your office.[31]

It is quite possible that in the early Middle Ages, clerics who read this passage about the butler and his cup-bearing ministry, or *gradus*, especially those serving at the altar, would have seen a liturgical connotation.

Despite its limited occurrence in Scripture, many Church Fathers adopted the term *gradus* into standard usage, along with *ordo* and *officium*, when referring to ecclesiastical rank.[32] Augustine often used *gradus* in this way in his letters.[33] Likewise, Leo the Great frequently used *gradus* in the technical, institutional sense in his letters, with which Alcuin was familiar.[34] In his letter to the bishop of Aquileia, Leo renews the patristic decree that no one of any rank be allowed to migrate from church to church, 'nec in presbyteratus gradu, nec in diaconatus ordine, nec in subsequenti officio clericorum' (Neither in the degree of the presbyterate, nor in the order of the diaconate, nor in a lower office of clerics').[35] First, it is important to note that Leo equates *gradus*, *ordo*, and *officium* as a string of interchangeable terms; they function identically.[36]

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[31] I quote the passage as it appears in a reading from Genesis for the second Sunday in Lent in the *Breviarium Gothicum*, PL 86, cols 47–740 (col. 327C). It also appears in Gregory the Great, *Liber responsalis sive antiphonarius*, PL 78, cols 725–850 (col. 755C). In a Bible produced at Tours sometime between 820 and 830, Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 3, fol. 14v, the passage has *magisterium* instead of *ministerium*.

[32] Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum*, pp. 34–35, 68–69, 77, 79–80. See also David N. Power, *Ministers of Christ and his Church: The Theology of the Priesthood* (London: Chapman, 1969), pp. 62–64.

[33] Augustine, *ep*. 142. 4, ed. by Alois Goldbacher, CSEL 44 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1904; repr. New York: Johnson, 1970), p. 249, lines 17–18; *ep*. 209. 3, ed. by Alois Goldbacher, CSEL 57 (Vienna: Tempsky, 1911; repr. New York: Johnson, 1961), p. 349, lines 4–5; *ep*. 221. 3, CSEL 57, p. 444, lines 13–16. For further examples see the letters listed in the index of *Epistolae ex duobus codicibus nuper in lucem prolatae*, ed. by Johannes Divjak, CSEL 88 (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1981), p. 184. Of course, *gradus* did not strictly apply to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, since Augustine refers to virgins under vows as having attained a 'gradum honoris': *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*, 9. 2, lines 14–15, CCSL 36, p. 91. He also describes the marital status of virgins, widows, and married couples in this way in one of his sermons: *Sermones, classis prima: De scripturis*, 132. 3–4, PL 38, cols 23–994 (col. 736).

[34] Alcuin, *ep*. 137, MGH Epp., 4, p. 212, line 35; *ep*. 182, p. 305, line 37; *Libellus de processione Spiritus Sancti*, PL 101, cols 63–84 (cols 71B–72A). Alcuin names Leo the Great among the fathers whose writings were at York: *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1544 (ed. Godman, pp. 122–23).

[35] Leo the Great, *Epistolae*, *ep*. 1. 5, PL 54, cols 551–1218 (col. 596A–B).

[36] See also Leo, *Sermones in praecipuis totius anni festivitatibus ad romanam plebem habiti*, 88. 4, PL 54, cols 137–467 (col. 442C).

Secondly, Leo is concerned not merely with how clerics move geographically, but rather with how they move hierarchically from rank to rank within the Church. Their wandering from church to church has come about by having been ‘ambitione illectus’ (‘seduced by ambition’), that is, lured by the prospect of quick promotion.[37]

The discouragement of quick promotions and the need for slow advancement is a recurring theme for Leo. In a letter to Anastasius of Thessalonica, he insists that candidates spend sufficient time to mature in each ecclesiastical rank before promotion to the next:

> Ita ut per longa temporum curricula, qui sacerdos vel levita ordinandus est, per omnes clericalis officii ordines provehatur: ut diuturno discat tempore, cujus et doctor ipse futurus est.
>
> In such a way that by long courses of times, he who is to be ordained priest or deacon should advance through all the orders of clerical office, so that he may learn for a long period of time that of which he himself will be a teacher.[38]

Leo does not describe the clerical career path as a single *curriculum*, or a single course advancing through the clerical offices. He describes it as a series of long courses (*longa curricula*), using the plural, with the offices conceived independently of one another.

Writing to the bishops of Mauritania, Leo addresses the issue of hasty promotions more directly, this time using *gradus* as the preferred term, and Leo emphasizes that all promotions within the ecclesiastical hierarchy are of equal importance.[39] He stresses the need for the age of maturity (*aetas maturitatis*) and a sufficient time of testing (*tempus examinis*) for those considered for promotion.[40] Once again, he insists that throughout all the grades of the Church, concerning the increments of promotions, it ought to be determined whether greater things can be entrusted to the candidate.[41] The Fathers have rightly decreed, he adds, that the ones suitable for holy duties were those, 'qui multo tempore per singulos officiorum gradus provecti' ('who have been advanced for a long time through each and every grade of the offices').[42]

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[37] Leo, *ep*. 1. 5, PL 54, col. 596B.
[38] Leo, *ep*. 6. 6, PL 54, col. 620A.
[39] Leo, *ep*. 12. 2, PL 54, col. 647A.

The Rule of St Benedict uses *gradus* primarily in describing the steps of humility (*gradus humilitatis*), but it does use *gradus* with reference to the Church hierarchy as well, and the Rule also quotes 1 Timothy 3. 13 about those who acquire a *gradum bonum*.[43]

Alcuin was also familiar with the letters of Gregory the Great,[44] who likewise understood *gradus* as a technical term referring to the Church hierarchy.[45] In one letter that deals with hasty promotions, Gregory uses the term in the figurative sense. He compares the novice seeking after quick promotions to a careless climber: 'nam casum appetit, qui ad summa loci fastigia postpositis gradibus per abrupta quaerit ascensum' ('for he is eager for a fall, who seeks an ascent to the greatest heights of a place by precipitous ways, having disregarded the steps').[46] This is a key instance of the term, because it demonstrates the permeable nature of the figurative and technical uses of *gradus*.

In the dedicatory address of his *Regula pastoralis*, Gregory describes the divisions of his work as corresponding to an ordered series of interlinking bands, and as footsteps leading to the *culmen regiminis* (height of rule) in the Church, implying the rank of bishop.[47] One step involves how one is to teach (*docere*), and the taking up of *magisterium*, the weight and magnitude of which Gregory feels himself ignorant, being as those who desire to teach what they have not learned.[48] A dual sense of *magisterium* here, that of episcopal authority and at the same time the instruction of a teacher, is one that will be encountered later in this chapter. Accordingly, the first chapter opens with the summary statement, ‘Ne venire imperiti ad magisterium audeant’ (‘Let not the inexperienced dare to come to authority’), followed by Gregory’s opening words for the entire *Regula pastoralis*:

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[40] Leo, *ep*. 12. 2, PL 54, col. 647B. Leo writes another letter protesting the promotion of a younger man to the presbyterate over older candidates: *ep*. 19, PL 54, cols 709–14.
[41] Leo, *ep*. 12. 4, PL 54, col. 650A.
[42] Leo, *ep*. 12. 4, PL 54, col. 650A.
[43] *Benedicti regula*, cc. 7, 61. 12, and 31. 8, CSEL 75, pp. 39–52, 143, and 87.
[44] Alcuin, *ep*. 137, MGH Epp., 4, p. 215, lines 16–17. Paul the Deacon had also prepared a substantial collection of Gregory's letters for Adalhard of Corbie: MGH Epp., 4, p. 509, lines 11–16 and n. 2.
[45] Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum libri I–VII*, 1. 75, line 24 and 2. 19, line 4, ed. by Dag Norberg, CCSL 140 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), pp. 84, 105.
[46] Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistularum libri VIII–XIV*, 9. 219, lines 119–21, ed. by Dag Norberg, CCSL 140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), p. 787.

> Nulla ars doceri praesumitur, nisi intenta prius meditatione discatur. Ab imperitis ergo pastorale magisterium qua temeritate suscipitur, quando ars est artium regimen animarum.
>
> No art is presumed to be taught unless it is first learned with attentive practice. Therefore, with what temerity is the pastoral authority taken up by the inexperienced, when the governing of souls is the art of arts?[49]

Once again, Gregory’s use of *magisterium* associates episcopal authority with the highest form of teaching, the governing of souls being the superlative art surpassing the learned *artes*. This passage held enduring significance into the ninth century, for it appears in Carolingian legislation dealing with promotion, as will be seen later in the chapter. As for the significance of the biblical and patristic sources considered in this section, it is clear that the vocabulary associated with clerical position and progression, especially *gradus* and *magisterium*, was also associated with probationary periods, examination, and learning.

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[47] Gregory the Great, *Règle pastorale*, dedication, lines 10–14, intro. by Bruno Judic, crit. txt by Floribert Rommel, trans. by Charles Morel, 2 vols: SC 381 and 382 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992), I (SC 381), p. 124. Henceforth these volumes will be cited as *Regula pastoralis*.

[48] *Regula pastoralis*, dedication, lines 14–34 (ed. Judic, I, pp. 124, 126).

[49] *Regula pastoralis*, I. 1 (c. 1), lines 1–5 (ed. Judic, I, p. 128).

IV.3 Ecclesiastical Hierarchy and Promotion in Conciliar and Capitular Decrees

In his Rule, Chrodegang of Metz began with a brief appeal to humility, but his first practical instruction involved the proper order of clerical ranks:

> Ordine(m) suos canonici ita conservent, ut ordinati sunt in gradibus suis secundum legitimam vel sanctam institutionem romana ecclesia, in omnibus omnino locis, id est in ecclesia vel ubicumque simul convenerint, et ratio praestat, excepto his quos episcopus in alciora gradu constituerint vel degradaverint certis ex causis, reliqui omnes, ut diximus, ita ut ordinati sunt, ordines suos custodiant. Iuniores igitur priores suos honorent; priores minores suos in Deo diligant.
>
> Let the canons preserve their order just as they have been ordained, in their ranks according to the legitimate and holy teaching in the Roman church, in absolutely all places, that is, in the church or wherever they meet together, and let the system be preeminent, except for those whom the bishop has placed in a higher grade or has degraded for certain reasons. Let all the rest, as I have said, keep their orders just as they were ordained. Let the younger ones honour their superiors; let superiors love their inferiors in God.[50]

In prefacing what is to follow, it is helpful to note the emphasis that Chrodegang places at the very outset of his Rule on clerics being promoted and demoted, and on the practical relationship of the *gradus* being observed 'in absolutely all places', which would have included the educational setting as well. It is in this same *capitulum* that the Rule makes mention of *pueri parvi* and *adolescentes* and their need to keep discipline.

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[50] *Regula sancti Chrodegangi*, c. 2 (ed. Bertram, p. 30). See Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 128–132.

The longer 'Interpolated Rule of Chrodegang', compiled around 850,[51] drew upon the original Rule of Chrodegang as well as the rule that Louis the Pious would produce for secular clergy, the *Institutio Canonicorum*, or Rule of Aachen of 816.[52] The *Institutio Canonicorum* borrows many *capitula* from earlier councils, but it also contains some original matter. This new material includes part of a *capitulum* that treats *pueri* and *adolescentes*, and which specifically mentions their education and clerical promotion:

> Sollerter rectores ecclesiarum vigilare oportet, ut pueri et adolescentes, qui in congregatione sibi commissa nutriuntur vel erudiuntur, ita iugibus ecclesiasticis disciplinis constringantur, ut eorum lasciva aetas et ad peccandum valde proclivis nullum possit repperire locum, quo in peccati facinus proruat. Quapropter in huiuscemodi custodiendis et spiritaliter erudiendis talis a praelatis constituendus est vitae probabilis frater, qui eorum curam summa gerat industria eosque ita artissime constringat, qualiter ecclesiasticis doctrinis imbuti et armis spiritalibus induti et ecclesiae utilitatibus decenter parere et ad gradus ecclesiasticos, quandoque digne possint, promoveri.

> It is proper for the leaders of the churches to be shrewdly vigilant that the boys and *adolescentes*, who are brought up and instructed in the congregation committed to them, be so bound by perpetual ecclesiastical disciplines that their

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[51] In his edition, Bertram supposed a compilation date as late as the tenth century (*The Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 177–78), but Brigitte Langefeld relied on Bischoff, who dated a Paris manuscript containing the longer Rule to as early as the second quarter of the ninth century: *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: Edited Together with the Latin Text and an English Translation*, Münchener Universitätsschriften: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie, 26 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2003), pp. 12, 37.

[52] For the Rule of Aachen see Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules*, pp. 84–174; Josef Semmler, 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils im Jahre 816', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 74 (1963), 15–82; Julia Barrow, 'Review Article: Chrodegang, his Rule and its Successors', *Early Medieval Europe*, 14 (2006), 201–12 (pp. 203–04).

> wanton age, and one greatly disposed to sinning, may find no place in which it may fall into the act of sin. For this reason, such a brother of approved life is to be appointed by the dignitaries for safeguards of this kind and spiritual instructions, who may bear their care with the highest industry, and bind them so firmly, in such a way that they are instructed with the ecclesiastical doctrines and adorned with spiritual arms, and to fitly accomplish the services of the church, and to be promoted to the ecclesiastical grades when they may do so worthily.[53]

One aim of instruction here is clearly the moral probity of boys and *adolescentes*. This is stressed again as this *capitulum* goes on to quote a decree from the fourth council of Toledo of 633, where it warns against the moral dangers of *adolescentia*.[54] The council of Toledo mentions 'puberes aut adulescentes', who must be kept together and assigned a *senior* whom they regard as both '*magistrum doctrinae et testem vitae*' ('teacher of doctrine and witness of life').[55] The *capitulum* from the *Institutio Canonicorum* quoted above is more definite in its use of *pueri* and *adolescentes*, and also in describing a kind of dual-function education. The 'ecclesiastical disciplines' it mentions are indeed moral and spiritual, but they are school disciplines as well; moral probity is only half of the equation. In fact, the two-sided coin of training, with moral/spiritual learning on one side and school education on the other, can be observed throughout the *capitulum*. The paired terms, *nutrire* and *erudire*, and *custodire* and *erudire*, begin the idea. This pairing of ideas continues until the end of the *capitulum*, where it specifies that boys are to be given to the care of one *senior* for the safeguarding ('ad custodiendum') of their conduct, but then to another

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[53] *Concilium Aquisgranense 816*, c. 135, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 413, lines 2–10.

[54] *Concilium Aquisgranense 816*, c. 135, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 413, lines 12–16.

[55] *Concilium IV Toletanum*, c. 24 (lines 722–32), ed. by Gonzalo Martínez Díez and Félix Rodríguez, *La Colección canónica hispana*, V: *Concilios hispanos, segunda parte*, Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Canónica, 5 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992), pp. 161–274 (p. 215, lines 724, 727–28).

frater that they may be instructed ('erudiantur').[56] The practical aim of this training is their promotion *ad gradus ecclesiasticos*. Thus, their promotion appears to be related to these two factors of moral probity and school learning in equal measure.

This same dual emphasis appears earlier in the *Institutio Canonicorum*, and again in connection with education. *Capitulum* 123 prescribes that a 'gemina pastio' ('two-fold feeding'), both material and spiritual benefit, is to be provided by superiors to their flock, and in turn, the members of the flock must pay due honour 'praelatis suis ac magistris' ('to their superiors and teachers').[57] They are to avoid idleness by applying themselves to two primary tasks, prayer and reading, which is for the profit of both themselves and the Church. The decree stipulates:

> Ut non otio vacent […], sed potius aut orationi aut lectioni aut quibuslibet ecclesiae aut certe propriis utilitatibus vacent aut etiam doctrinis sanis et diversarum artium erudiantur disciplinis, ita videlicet ut nullus in congregatione inutilis aut otiosus existens stipendia ecclesiae inofficiose accipiat; ut quotidie ad conlationem veniant, ubi et hanc institutionem et aliarum scripturarum sanctarum lectiones perlegant et pro admissis veniam postulent et sententiam pro qualitate admissi suscipiant, ubi etiam de communi profectu et utilitate ecclesiae pertractent.
>
> That they not have time for leisure […], but rather that they devote themselves either to prayer or to reading, or to whatever advantages to the Church or assuredly to themselves, or also that they be instructed in sound doctrines and in the disciplines of the diverse arts, namely, in such a way that no one in the congregation who is useless or idle may receive the subsistence of the Church in an undutiful manner. That they come to the meeting daily, where they may read through both this instruction and readings of the other Holy Scriptures, and ask mercy for faults, and receive sentence for the quality of the fault, where they also

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[56] *Concilium Aquisgranense 816*, c. 135, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 413, lines 17–18. See also Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, p. 83.

[57] *Concilium Aquisgranense 816*, c. 123, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 403, lines 5, 19–20.

> may occupy themselves concerning the common advance and benefit of the Church.[58]

In the *capitulum* discussed before this one, *ecclesiasticae doctrinae* and *ecclesiasticae disciplinae* seem to refer to the same general body of necessary learning, but here they are yet another distinct pair, that of *doctrinae sanae* and *disciplinae diversarum artium*. The 'diverse arts' likely refers to the liberal arts, and this instruction (*haec institutio*) was added to *lectiones* of Scripture at (chapter as well as other?) meetings, where faults (*admissa*) were noted and corrected. Based on the pairing of moral and school-based learning, it is possible that receiving sentence based on the *qualitas* of a fault would include a determination of whether the fault was of a moral or schooling-related nature. It also seems likely that the stated aim of instruction here, or the common advance (*communis profectus*), is consistent with the other *capitulum* when it states the ultimate goal of instructing *pueri* and *adolescentes*, that they become worthy to be promoted (*promoveri*) to the ecclesiastical grades.

Years before this, in 769 or shortly thereafter, in what appears to have been Charlemagne's earliest set of capitular decrees, two of the eighteen *capitula* (cc. 15–16) threaten the loss of rank for a neglect of learning:

> Sacerdotes, qui rite non sapiunt adimplere ministerium suum nec discere iuxta praeceptum episcoporum suorum pro viribus satagunt vel contemptores canonum existunt, ab officio proprio sunt submovendi, quousque haec pleniter emendata habeant.
>
> Quicunque autem a suo episcopo frequenter admonitus de sua scientia, ut discere curet, facere neglexerit, procul dubio et ab officio removeatur et ecclesiam quam

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[58] *Concilium Aquisgranense 816*, c. 123, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 403, line 23 to p. 404, line 1.

> tenet amittat, quia ignorantes legem Dei eam aliis annuntiare et praedicare non possunt.
>
> The priests who do not know how to perform their ministry rightly, nor take the trouble to learn according to the direction of their bishops in proportion to their mental powers, and are disdainful of the canons, are to be removed from their particular office until they hold these things fully emended.
>
> But whoever, frequently admonished by his bishop concerning his knowledge, that he take care to learn, neglects to act, without doubt let him be removed from office and let him lose the church that he holds, because those who do not know the law of God cannot declare and preach it to others.[59]

The reference to knowledge (*scientia*), as opposed to *doctrina*, may be suggesting the practical benefits of schooling for a priest as opposed to the more abstract ideal of orthodoxy, and the appearance of *discere* (to learn) in both *capitula*, in addition to *sapere* (to know), also points in this direction. Admittedly, a connection between the refusal to learn and an official injunction to demote, or *submovere*, does not necessarily translate into a positive link between learning and promotion, but the idea is not far off.

As discussed above, Alcuin himself played an active role at the council of Frankfurt of 794.[60] Three decrees from this council are of particular interest, especially when considering the legislation that soon followed, as will be discussed below. These are *capitula* 27–29: the twenty-seventh states that clerics must not move from one church to another without the bishop's knowledge and a letter of recommendation, the twenty-eighth commands 'ut non absolute ordinentur' ('that they [clerics] not be ordained detachedly'), and the twenty-ninth stipulates 'ut unusquisque episcopus sibi subditos bene doceant et instruant, ita ut in domo Dei semper digni inveniantur, qui canonice possint fieri electi' ('that each bishop teach and instruct well those subject to him, such that those may always be found in the house of God who can canonically become elected').[61] These appear to set a tone for later legislation that would place emphasis on accountability through communal learning and teaching, and this for the sake of regulating promotion.

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[59] *Karoli M. capitulare primum*, cc. 15, 16, MGH Capit., 1, pp. 44–46 (p. 46). The second of these (c. 16) would be quoted later in 889 by Riculf of Soissons in his episcopal capitulary (c. 3, MGH Capit. episc., 2, pp. 100–11 (pp. 101, line 26 to p. 102, line 3).

[60] See above, pp. 50–53.

The interest that ninth-century councils take in clerical training can also be observed specifically with regard to monks. In 799 and 800, episcopal synods were held at Reisbach, Freising, and Salzburg, their statutes being subsequently combined into a single capitulary. Among the statutes contributed by the Freising synod, one concerns the procedure for receiving novices into a monastic community. It commands that they first be fully examined (*pleniter examinentur*) according to the Rule of Benedict, and that they not be placed before others before they are fully taught (*pleniter edoceantur*) the order of the regular life.[62] This *capitulum* essentially prescribes the novitiate 'just as it is contained' in the Rule of St Benedict,[63] but it does not simply repeat what the Rule says on the topic. The Rule of St Benedict sets a probationary period of one year, where the Rule itself is read in its entirety to the novice three times, but it says nothing about examining novices, nor anything about not placing novices before others until fully taught.

The statutes of Reisbach, Freising, and Salzburg may also suggest the initial stages of new policies for examining clergy for the sake of promotion, perhaps the examination of both priests and deacons, and in the context of biannual synods. The sixth decree upholds regular attendance at biannual synods.[64] Immediately after this, the seventh decree states that priests and deacons are not to be ordained except in the legitimate times, as in the decrees of Zosimus.[65] These *legitima tempora* do not refer to biannual synods, but it is interesting that the decree about ordinations follows a decree that upholds these synods. Were these synods being set up for regular clerical examinations, which would then lead to ordinations? The thirty fifth *capitulum*, belonging to the decrees contributed by the Salzburg synod, mentions examination and promotion, which is interesting given the fact that the basic rules for ordination were already covered in the Freising decrees.

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[61] *Concilium Francofurtense*, cc. 27, 28, 29, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 169.
[62] *Statuta Rhispacensia Frisingensia Salisburgensia*, c. 19, MGH Capit., 1, pp. 226–30 (p. 228, lines 26–29).
[63] *Benedicti regula*, c. 58, CSEL 75, pp. 133–38.

> Ut Deo opitulante eiusque consilio gubernante perpendamus, quid de his agendum sit quos ad sacrum ministerium ordinare cupimus, quod iudicio examinentur, si promoveri digni sint.
>
> That we carefully consider, with God aiding and his counsel governing, what is to be done concerning those whom we wish to ordain to the holy ministry, because they should be examined with judgement, whether they may be worthy to be promoted.[66]

It seems likely that this examination of candidates for promotion, or *judicium*, was to take place in the present context of the synod at Salzburg.

At least part of this updated *judicium*, which these synods and specifically the one at Salzburg called for in 799 or 800, may well be represented in the *Capitula de*

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[64] *Statuta Rhispacensia Frisingensia Salisburgensia*, c. 6, MGH Capit., 1, p. 227, lines 29–30.

[65] *Statuta Rhispacensia Frisingensia Salisburgensia*, c. 7, MGH Capit., 1, p. 227, lines 31–33. The *legitima tempora* refer both to the interstices of the grades, how long one must serve in each, which Zosimus describes in the third chapter of his letter to Hesychius of Salona, and to legitimate days of the year, ember days, on which ordinations could occur: Zosimus, *Epistolae et decreta*, 9. 3, PL 20, cols 639–86 (cols 672B–673A); Gelasius I, *Epistolae et decreta*, 9. 11 (*Ad episcopos Lucaniae*), PL 59, cols 13–140 (col. 52B).

[66] *Statuta Rhispacensia Frisingensia Salisburgensia*, c. 35, MGH Capit., 1, p. 229, lines 36–38.

examinandis ecclesiasticis, which appear in manuscript tradition in connection with these synods, and have been reasonably supposed to have originated at Salzburg around 802.[67] The prologue states that the *capitula* pertain to bishops, abbots, and priests, but this does not rule out the examination of the lower clergy. The *capitula* are meant for the eyes of these higher clerics, but the prologue goes on to relay a more general command to examine 'omnes ecclesiasticos de eorum eruditione et doctrina' ('all clergymen concerning their learning and teaching').[68] Later in the text, the teaching offered to the laity also becomes the subject of examination.

The prologue calls for an examination of the clergy's *eruditio* and *doctrina*, which is interesting because it does not emphasize the balance of learning with character (*mores*) or good works (*opera*), which continued to be emphasized in hagiography into the ninth century.[69] Based on previous observation, *eruditio* might be associated more with school learning for young pupils, while *doctrina* might apply to biblical doctrine as upheld by higher clergy, and thus it is probable that these two terms are meant to be inclusive of every aspect of education, both learning and teaching.

The first *capitulum* confirms an open-ended inclusion of all clerical ranks:

> Primo qualiter unusquisque aeclesiasticus, sive episcopus seu abbas vel presbiter omnesque canonici vel monachi, suum habeant officium praeparatum, quidque neglectum quidve emendationi condignum, ut is qui bene noverit officium suum gratias exinde habeat et in melius semper proficere suadetur; qui autem neglegens aut desidiosus inde fit, condigna satisfactione usque ad emendationem congruam constringatur.

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[67] See MGH Capit., 1, pp. 109–11 (p. 109); MGH Capit. episc., 3, p. 208.
[68] *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis*, MGH Capit., 1, p. 109, lines 31–33.
[69] Heinzelmann, '*Studia sanctorum*', p. 109. At least two examples from the Merovingian era, saints Vivianus and Licinius, appear to show that school learning (*litterae*) was more directly associated with the lower orders, while life (*vita*), character (*mores*), or good deeds (*acta*) were to be exhibited by those who would become priests: Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, pp. 10–11 (nn. 35 and 37; in the case of Vivianus see MGH SS rer. Merov., 3, pp. 92–100 [p. 95, lines 14–22]).

> First, how each churchman, whether bishop, or abbot, or presbyter, and all canons and monks hold their provided office, and what is neglected or what is worthy of correction, so that he who knows his office well may have favour thereafter and may be urged to advance always to the better, but he who after that becomes negligent or lazy may be bound by proper amendment until there is suitable correction.[70]

Though inclusive of all the ecclesiastical ranks, this decree is not open-ended in its intention. It is not aimed at correcting the moral character of the clergy, and if the decree takes its cue from the *eruditio* and *doctrina* mentioned in the prologue, it then stands to reason that each member of the clergy (*ecclesiasticus*) was expected to possess, or to impart, a level of knowledge corresponding to his *officium*. In addition to the decree's connection between one's knowledge and one's fitness to hold an office, its mention of clerics being urged to advance (*proficere*) may imply either an advancement in knowledge concerning the office one currently holds, or an advancement to a higher office. Clearly evident, then, is the correlation between learning and the idea of advancement, if not promotion, in the positive sense, rather than simply the threat of demotion for ignorance as noted in Charlemagne's earlier decrees.

The *capitula* that follow (cc. 2–4, 8–10) stress the knowledge, mostly liturgical, that is to be possessed by clerics, but they also place emphasis on the kind of teaching being offered by the clerics under examination. The examination is concerned with how priests instruct catechumens, and continuing on, it refers to preaching as the *officium praedicandi*, and then makes this synonymous with the *doctrina* or 'teaching' of the people.[71] The examination appears to be meant to support a culture of accountability in learning and teaching, which has as its primary aim, in addition to the goal of societal reform extending from the clergy to the laity, the regulation of clerical ordinations. The eleventh and twelfth decrees, considered in succession, are interesting in this regard:

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[70] *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis*, c. 1, MGH Capit., 1, p. 110, lines 1–6.

[71] *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis*, c. 4, MGH Capit., 1, p. 110, lines 12–14.

> Ut nullus tonsus sine canonica sit vita vel regulari, nullusque absolutus sine magisterio episcopali vel presbiter aut diaconus vel abbas; quia displicere Deo novimus eos qui sine disciplina[72] vel magisterio sunt.
>
> Ut nullus ex laicis presbiterum vel diaconem seu clericum secum habere praesumat vel ad ecclesias suas ordinare absque licentiam seu examinatione episcopi sui, ut ipse sciat, si recte possit appellari clericus aut presbiter et sit absque repraehensione.
>
> That no one who is tonsured be without the canonical or regular life, and no one be detached without episcopal authority, whether priest, or deacon, or abbot, since we know that they displease God who are without discipline or authority.
>
> That no one from the laity presume to have a priest, or deacon, or cleric with him, or to ordain to their churches without license or examination of their bishop, that he himself may know whether he may rightly be called a cleric or priest and that he may be without fault.[73]

The eleventh *capitulum* refers to one who is tonsured, who must be under canonical or monastic rule, while the higher ranks of priest, deacon, and abbot are not to be detached from episcopal *magisterium*,[74] a term conveying general episcopal authority, but also communicating the bishop's authority as expressed through teaching and the content of instruction.[75] Thus, just as (perhaps younger) tonsured clergy were to receive instruction in the *canonica* or *regularis vita*, in the same way, the higher clergy must remain under the instructional authority of their bishop. It is a chain of instructional accountability meant to control promotion. The twelfth decree forbids the laity from having a clergy member of any rank, whether priest, deacon, or *clericus* (a term often associated with the lower clergy),[76] whose ordination is made without the license or examination of the bishop.

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[72] Instead of the MGH editor's typo, 'displicina'.

[73] *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis*, cc. 11, 12, MGH Capit., 1, p. 110, lines 32–38.

[74] The *Capitulare missorum item speciale* is believed to have been composed around 802. Its second, tenth, and eleventh decrees require that travelling clerics not be received by anyone without a letter of recommendation, that clerics not move from city to city (presumably unless absolutely necessary), and that no one be ordained 'absolute' ('detachedly'), that is, with no connection to an assigned church: MGH Capit., 1, p. 102, lines 27, 36, and 37.

The appearance of *magisterium* in this context is significant. Van Rhijn notes how the line between communal and noncommunal clergy was drawn more sharply in the 750s and 760s, until finally in the late 780s legislation made it clear that *clerici canonici* were supposed to live either in a monastery or in an episcopal household.[77] At the same time, none of the examples of capitular and conciliar legislation from this period cited by van Rhijn uses *magisterium*; the term appears as formal terminology in the legislation of the early ninth century.

The use of *magisterium* in the *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis* is meant to emphasize episcopal teaching authority in a broad sense; it does not appear to mean 'instruction' in an educational sense. Still, a few observations can be made in support of this interpretation. First, the terminology within the *Capitula* sets a pattern of emphasis upon learning and teaching. In addition to *eruditio* and *doctrina* in the prologue, the decrees themselves use *instruere* (c. 3), *docere* (c. 4), and in the immediate context of the eleventh decree, *discere* (cc. 9, 13), *insinuare* (c. 9), and *eruditio* (c. 10). These terms set the overarching tone for all the decrees.

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[75] See Teeuwen, '*Magisterium*', in *The Vocabulary of Intellectual Life*, pp. 98–99. Van Rhijn interprets *magisterium* and *disciplina* in a more concrete sense, where *magisterium* roughly translates to 'a superior' such as a bishop and *disciplina* to 'rules for a proper life': *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 41–42, 47–48.

[76] For the use of *clericus* to signal one's entry to the ranks or first position among the clergy in hagiography, see Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, pp. 44, 442–43.

[77] Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 39–42.

With regard to the term *magisterium*, it conveyed the educational sense of ‘instruction’ in one of the most famous texts on early medieval education, that being Charlemagne’s *Epistola de litteris colendis*, issued perhaps only a few years before the *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis*. The *Epistola* states that both episcopal churches and monasteries are to expend effort beyond the ‘regularis vitae ordinem’ (‘the order of regular life’) to the inclusion of *litterarum meditationes* (the contemplations of letters), and the ‘docendi et discendi instantia’ (‘constancy of teaching and learning’).[78] The *Epistola* goes on to say that each one understands Scripture more quickly the sooner he is instructed ‘in litterarum magisterio’ (‘in the mastery of letters’).[79] Alcuin himself was involved in the composition of the *Epistola*, as was noted above,[80] and Alcuin also used *magisterium* with reference to education in his letters.[81] In the *Vita Liudgeri*, discussed above, Altfrid describes Alcuin in the role of *magister* at York and says that he went on to oversee *magisterium* at Tours and in Francia, which more likely refers to teaching than episcopal/abbatial authority.[82] Thus, while it is true that the *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis* probably does not use *magisterium* to refer to education, other sources allow for an understanding of the term in the educational sense.

In 817 the bishop of Constance, Wolfeo, wrote a letter of recommendation to the bishop of Strasbourg, Bernaltus, or Bernold, on behalf of a cleric named Anno.[83] This letter, an example of the *litterae formatae*, combines a number of key terms and ideas considered thus far, bringing together the three stages of tonsure, education, and ordination, as well as the term *magisterium*. Wolfeo informs Bernold that Anno has been ‘instructus ac detonsus’ (‘instructed and tonsured’) in his diocese, and that Anno has requested to live under Bernold’s rule (*regimen*). Furthermore, he grants Bernold license, should Anno prove himself worthy in applying himself to divine service under his authority (*magisterium*), to promote him to holy orders.[84] It seems likely, since Anno is not yet ordained to the ‘holy orders’, that he is still young and not yet a deacon. If indeed he is of younger school age, it would be fair to assume that *magisterium* here includes the school instruction that Bernold would provide and not just his episcopal authority.

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[78] *Epistola de litteris colendis*, MGH Capit., 1, p. 79, lines 9–13.

[79] *Epistola de litteris colendis*, MGH Capit., 1, p. 79, lines 34–35.

[80] See above, p. 47.

[81] Alcuin, *ep*. 22, MGH Epp., 4, p. 532, line 16; *ep*. 295, p. 454, line 11, where *magisterium* conveys moral admonition, but specifically that of a former teacher. Elsewhere, Alcuin uses *magisterium* to refer to the wise soul’s mastery over good and evil (*ep*. 1, p. 18, lines 19–20), and to the mastery of Christ instead of carnal desire (*ep*. 241, p. 386, line 32).

[82] See above, pp. 32–33 and n. 53.

[83] For Bernold see Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l’entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)*, Instrumenta, 1 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1997), pp. 140–41.

Finally, in 819, some three years before he became abbot of Fulda, Hraban Maur wrote to archbishop Haistulf of Mainz (813–825), who had ordained Hraban priest in 814. Hraban asks Haistulf to read and to make any needed corrections to his *De institutione clericorum*, and in doing so Hraban says that he is placing himself under the *magisterium* of Haistulf, remembering that it was he who had conferred ecclesiastical rank (*dignitas*) upon him: ‘Tuo enim magisterio semper me libens subdam, a quo recordor me accepisse dignitatem aecclesiasticam’ (‘For I should always place myself gladly under your authority, by which I remember that I received the ecclesiastical dignity’).[85] Again, the term is being used to convey episcopal authority, but here it is also connected with literary activity and the remembrance of promotion.

A set of decrees known as the *Capitulare ecclesiasticum* was apparently issued following a gathering of bishops, abbots, courtiers, and magnates convened by Louis the Pious in 818 or 819. The opening makes clear that the *capitula* themselves are to be the matter that bishops and the *ordines ecclesiastici* were to teach their subordinates (*subiecti*) and those committed to them (*commissi*). The sixth decree addresses the problem, apparently widespread, regarding those of servile condition being promoted

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[84] *De antiquis episcoporum promotionibus*, *Formatarum veterum epistolarum canonicarum exempla XI*, 2, PL 129, cols 1381–98 (cols 1389D–1390A).

[85] Hraban, *ep*. 3, MGH Epp., 5, p. 386, lines 13–15. See Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*, p. 402.

indiscrete (indiscriminately) to the ecclesiastical grades. It prohibits a son who has been 'educated and promoted', upon determining his unfree status, from retaining his clerical grade if his rightful lord wishes to claim him.[86]

In the twenty-eighth decree of the *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, instruction for the sake of promotion to the *ecclesiastici ordines* refers to promotion to the higher orders as opposed to entry to the lower orders of the clergy. It commands bishops:

> Ut clerum sibi commissum in sobrietate et castitate nutrirent divinisque officiis imbuerent, qui rite ad sacrosanctos ecclesiasticos ordines promoveri possint, et ut operam dent, quatenus presbyteri missalem et lectionarium sive ceteros libellos sibi necessarios bene correctos habeant.
>
> That they bring up the clergy entrusted to them in temperance and chastity and instruct them in the divine offices, who can rightly be promoted to the most sacred ecclesiastical orders, and that they give attention so that priests have a missal and a lectionary or other books, well corrected, that are necessary for them.[87]

The vocabulary corresponds to a progression where *clerus* is used to refer to clerics in minor orders.[88] Those who are brought up and instructed, already being members of the *clerus*, are to be viable candidates for promotion to the 'most sacred' ecclesiastical orders, referring to the diaconate and priesthood. In addition to corrected missals and lectionaries, the 'other books' mentioned in connection with priests would likely include a minimum number of schoolbooks required for teaching a mastery of the divine offices, leading to promotion. As Susan Keefe has observed, many manuscripts that contain collections of liturgical matter were not necessarily meant for use in worship, but rather for private study and to educate clerics.[89]

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[86] *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, c. 6, MGH Capit., 1, pp. 275–80 (p. 276, lines 35–41).

[87] *Capitulare ecclesiasticum*, c. 28, MGH Capit., 1, p. 279, lines 33–36. In the introduction to her edition of Carolingian texts explaining the creedal faith, Susan Keefe includes a brief description and a preface from one manuscript describing the lack of, and demand for, copies of psalters, lectionaries, and missals: *Explanationes symboli aevi Carolini*, ed. by Susan Keefe, CCCM 254 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. v–vii.

[88] As already mentioned, Bullough showed how *clerici* functioned as a general term referring to the lower orders (see above, pp. 17–18).

Before his death in 813, Charlemagne called for a series of five episcopal councils to held at Mainz, Rheims, Tours, Chalon-sur-Saône, and Arles. The council of Tours of 813 sets a clear pattern of concern with hierarchy and learning. The first decree calls for obedience and loyalty to the emperor; the second emphasizes the duty of bishops to read and memorize Scripture and to familiarize themselves with the patristic writings.[90] The ninth decree states that priests and deacons must then follow the footsteps of their bishop in every good work.[91] No mention is made of the lower clergy, but the twelfth decree gives this instruction regarding candidates for the priesthood:

> Presbyterum ordinari non debere ante legitimum tempus, hoc est trigesimum aetatis annum. Sed priusquam ad consecrationem praesbiteratus accedat, maneat in episcopio discendi gratia officium suum tamdiu, donec possint et mores et actus eius animadverti, et tunc, si dignus fuerit, ad sacerdotium promoveatur.
>
> A presbyter ought not to be ordained before the legitimate time, that is, the thirtieth year of age. But before he accedes to the consecration of the presbyterate, let him remain in the episcopal jurisdiction for the sake of learning his office for so long a time, until his character and action can be observed, and then, if he is worthy, he may be promoted to the sacerdotal office.[92]

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[89] Keefe, *Water and the Word*, I, pp. 13–21 (pp. 15–16). See also van Rhijn, 'The Local Church, Priests' Handbooks and Pastoral Care in the Carolingian Period', in *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio della fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 61, 2 vols (Spoleto: Fondazione centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2014), II, pp. 689–710 (p. 696).

[90] *Concilium Turonense 813*, cc. 1, 2, MGH Conc., 2, 1, pp. 286–93 (p. 286, line 29 to p. 287, line 8).

[91] *Concilium Turonense 813*, c. 9, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 287, lines 30–32.

[92] *Concilium Turonense 813*, c. 12, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 288, lines 4–7. It is believed that Charles the Bald convened a running council that opened in Meaux in 845 and concluded in Paris in 846 (see Wilfried Hartmann's introduction to the text: MGH Conc., 3, pp. 61–63). This council decreed that clerics were to remain in an established place for one year before ordination so that their life, conduct, and doctrine may be known: *Meaux-Paris 845, 846*, c. 52, MGH Conc., 3, pp. 61–132 (p. 109, lines 9–12). Another decree from this council describes a process whereby canons are tonsured, educated, and ordained: c. 58, MGH Conc., 3, p. 112, lines 1–2.

The council of Rheims of 813 more directly addresses the matters of learning and promotion. The first two decrees require that each one (*unusquisque*), the clergy not specifically being addressed here, learn, understand, and put into practice the *fidei ratio* (doctrine of the faith), and to learn and understand the Lord's prayer.[93] The third decree addresses the clergy, requiring knowledge at the individual level, and:

> Ut quicumque ad gradus ecclesiasticos condigne ascendere voluerit, unusquisque intellegeret, qualiter secundum possibilitatem intellectus sui in eo gradu, ubi constitutus est, Deo militare et se ipsum valeret custodire.
>
> That whoever wishes to ascend to the ecclesiastical grades very worthily, that each one understand how to be a soldier for God in the grade where he is placed, according to the ability of his intellect, and how he may be able to guard himself.[94]

Following this, *capitula* 4–15 specify the tasks, that is, the biblical, liturgical, and canonical content appropriate to the ranks of subdeacon, deacon, priest, as well as to abbots and bishops. This certainly reflects a kind of curriculum by grade, an idea which will be discussed further in the next chapter. What should be noted here is the emphasis on being able to perform tasks *secundum conlatum gradum* (according to the grade conferred), as stated in the fourth decree.[95]

The Roman council of 826, convened by Pope Eugenius II, reproduced a number of passages from the Roman council of 465 under Pope Hilarius. Among these is the opening statement about the purpose of the council, that is, to deal with items pertaining ‘ad ordinationum tenorem’ (‘to the course of ordinations’).[96] In the first of its two parts, the *capitula* of admonition by Eugenius II, the council of 826 repeats the earlier council’s awareness that bishops and priests (*sacerdotes*), who enjoy a *potior honor* (more powerful position) or the *sublimitas dignitatum* (the height of dignities), incur the greater guilt if they are lazy or negligent.[97] The 826 council then makes an interesting departure from the council of 465; it does not follow the earlier council’s wording that bans anyone from the ecclesiastical grades who had not in his former life contracted a proper marriage. The council of 826, as its first example of what it considers to be contrary to the holy canons and decrees of the fathers, cites the instance of those ‘qui inscii sunt litterarum et doctrinarum in honorem inventi’ (‘who are ignorant of letters and doctrines found in an official dignity’).[98] The earlier council of 465 indeed mentions the *inscii litterarum* along with those from among the penitents who must not dare to aspire to holy orders,[99] but the subjects of illiteracy and learning are in the council of 826 treated in isolation and in greater detail. In another decree, the council of 826 makes a positive statement regarding the *gradus clericorum ordinati* (ordained grades of the clergy), that they are to be taught and also to become able to teach.[100]

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[93] *Concilium Remense 813*, cc. 1, 2, MGH Conc., 2, 1, pp. 253–58 (p. 254).

[94] *Concilium Remense 813*, c. 3, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 254.

[95] *Concilium Remense 813*, c. 4, MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 254, lines 24–25.

In the second part of the Roman council of 826, the *Canones concilii Romani*, the first few decrees are interesting when considered together. The first decree cites the passage from Gregory’s *Regula pastoralis* mentioned above:

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[96] *Concilium Romanum 826*, c. (1), MGH Conc., 2, 2, pp. 552–83 (p. 554, line 7); *Concilium Romanum 465*, c. 1, Mansi, VII, cols 959–964 (col. 960).
[97] *Concilium Romanum 826*, c. (1), MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 554, lines 10–13; *Concilium Romanum 465*, c. 1, Mansi, VII, col. 960.
[98] *Concilium Romanum 826*, c. (1), MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 554, lines 16–17.
[99] *Concilium Romanum 465*, c. 3, Mansi, VII, col. 961.
[100] *Concilium Romanum 826*, c. 5 (7), MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 556, line 32 to p. 557, line 7.

> Ab imperitis enim, inquit, pastorale magisterium qua temeritate suscipitur, quando ars est artium regimen animarum.
>
> For with what temerity, he says, is the pastoral authority taken up by the inexperienced, when the governing of souls is the art of arts.[101]

From the context, the pastoral *magisterium* here is specifically that of the bishop. The second decree forbids the bishop to ordain *sacerdotes* for rewards or money. The third decree treats the manner in which the bishop ought to teach, quoting again from the *Regula pastoralis*: ‘Pro qualitate igitur audientium formari debet sermo doctorum’ (‘Therefore, according to the quality of the hearers the discourse of the doctors ought to be fashioned’).[102] This comes from the third part of the *Regula pastoralis*, where Gregory’s long list of potential hearers clearly refers to the laity rather than clerics receiving school instruction.[103] Nevertheless, the context of this statement in the Roman council of 826 suggests the role of clerical instruction in governing promotion and ordination. This decree is preceded by the first two *capitula*, which deal with the ordination of the bishop and the bishop’s ordination of *sacerdotes*, and it is followed by the fourth decree that deals with *sacerdotes indocti*, which involves more than just the formal grade of priests:

> Quamquam admonita doctorum et statuta patrum sacerdotes indoctos prohibeant consecrari, oportuni temporis moderatione, si episcopus inveniatur indoctus, a metropolitano proprio et deinceps sacerdotes, id est presbyteri, diaconi vel etiam subdiaconi, a suo episcopo, ut doceri possint, admoneantur, et interim subiecti sacerdotes et tales clerici ad tempus celebratione divini mysterii et officiis

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[101] *Concilium Romanum 826*, c. 1, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 567, lines 2–3.
[102] *Concilium Romanum 826*, c. 3, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 568, lines 9–10.
[103] *Regula pastoralis*, III. prologue (c. 23), lines 10–11, and III. 1 (c. 23), ed. Judic, II, p. 258 and 262, 264, 266.

> suspendantur, ut docti valeant ad devitum ministerium advenire. Sin autem non potuerint edoceri, in potestate episcopi sint canonicae iudicandi.
>
> Although the admonitions of the doctors and statutes of the fathers prohibit consecrating uninstructed priests, with the moderation of a suitable period of time, if a bishop should be found to be uninstructed, let him, by his own metropolitan, and successively the priests, that is, the presbyters, deacons, or even subdeacons, by their bishop be admonished, so that they may be able to be taught. And meanwhile, let the subject priests and such clerics be suspended for a time from the celebration of the divine mysteries, so that, having been instructed, they may be able to approach the due ministry. If however they are not able to be fully taught, let them be in the power of the canonical judgement of the bishop.[104]

This passage may well reflect changing attitudes regarding education and clerical roles, if not rank and promotion. The stress appears to be on liturgical instruction, and yet the broader context of the council shows an interest in letters, literacy, and even further instruction in doctrine. It also addresses a broad range of clerical ranks. They are priests, deacons, and subdeacons specifically, all listed under a more general use of the term *sacerdotes*.[105] Within this context also belongs the thirty-fourth decree of the Roman council of 826. It brings together many elements discussed thus far: the diligent maintenance of *scholae,* ‘ut magistri et doctores constituantur, qui, studia litterarum liberaliumque artium ac sancta habentes dogmata, assiduae doceant’ (‘so that teachers and doctors are appointed who, possessing the studies of letters and of the liberal arts and the holy dogmas, may teach assiduously’).[106] Enlisting both *magistri* and *doctores*, it essentially calls for a three-tier educational program consisting of basic literacy, the liberal arts, and the ‘holy dogmas’, and this in the same council that calls for probationary periods of learning for bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons.

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[104] *Concilium Romanum 826*, c. 4, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 568, lines 13–19.

[105] Van Rhijn noted this more general usage: *Shepherds of the Lord*, pp. 52–55.

[106] *Concilium Romanum 826*, c. 34, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 581, lines 10–12.

The council of Paris, one of four councils summoned by Louis the Pious in 829, was attended by a number of archbishops and bishops, some twenty-four of them, including Ebbo of Rheims.[107] Its third *capitulum* describes the authority of the Church as made up of the priestly (*sacerdotalis*) and the royal (*regalis*), thus essentially affirming the place of episcopal authority in the greater social hierarchy.[108] The fourth *capitulum* of the council quotes Julianus Pomerius at length, where Julianus describes *sacerdotes* as the doors (*januae*) of the eternal city by which all who believe enter unto Christ; they are the doorkeepers (*janitores*) to whom the keys of the kingdom have been given, and further, 'ipsi etiam dispensatores regiae domus, quorum arbitrio in aula regis aeterni dividuntur gradus et officia singulorum' ('these also are the superintendents of the royal house, by whose judgement the grades and offices of each one are distributed in the court of the eternal king').[109] After this quotation, the council goes on to make use of the imagery of doorkeepers, keys, and entry, but to this it adds the idea of knowledge using a biblical passage. *Sacerdotes* must themselves enter the fore-courts of the heavenly city by despising earthly things and loving the heavenly, but they must then strive to open these fore-courts (*atria*) by their words and examples, lest they hear what Jesus says to the lawyers (*legisperiti*) in Luke 11. 52: 'Habentes clavem scientiae vos ipsi non intratis et alios intrare non sinitis' ('Having the key of knowledge you yourselves do not enter and you do not allow others to enter').[110]

These ideas, that *sacerdotes* are those by whom the grades are distributed and those who hold the key of knowledge, set the tone for the major concerns to be addressed at the council of Paris. Chief among these concerns were clerical isolation, neglect, and the need for learned and scholarly clerics to serve as examples for others. One selection in particular, *capitula* twenty through thirty, demonstrates this, where one attendant issue is the arbitrary attitude of some bishops toward promotion,[111] and where this problem finds its solution in the steady adherence to biannual provincial synods, where a display of studiousness was to have a mutually edifying effect. The twenty-sixth *capitulum* assigns the cause of the Church's problems to the neglect of biannual synods. It ends by quoting from the council of Antioch of 341, to which the bishops gathered at Paris add their own admonition. They recount that one of the canons of Antioch teaches:

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[107] For background see Steffen Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts*, Mittelalter-Forschungen, 25 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2008), pp. 149–68.

[108] *Concilium Parisiense*, c. 3, MGH Conc., 2, 2, pp. 605–80 (pp. 610–11); Savigni, 'La *communitas Christiana*', pp. 88–89.

[109] *Concilium Parisiense*, c. 4, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 611, lines 36–38; Julianus Pomerius, *De vita contemplativa libri tres*, II. 2, PL 59, cols 415–520 (col. 445A–B).

[110] *Concilium Parisiense*, c. 4, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 612, lines 7–13.

> 'Ut in ipsis conciliis adsint praesbiteri et diaconi et omnes, qui se laesos existimant, et synodi experiantur examen', ut adsint etiam uniuscuiusque episcopi eruditi viri, quos ad Christi militiam eiusque ecclesiae honorem utilitatemque praeparat, quatenus et ceteris ecclesiis noti sint et studium ac providentia episcopi ad aliorum exemplum manifesta fiant.
>
> [Antioch 341] 'That in these councils the priests and deacons be present, and all those who consider themselves wronged, and let them undergo the examination of the synod', [Paris 829] that the learned men of each bishop also be present, those whom he prepares for the army of Christ and for the honour and use of his Church, so that they may be noted by others also and the devotion and forethought of the bishop may be made manifest for the example of others.[112]

The canon of Antioch mentions priests and deacons specifically, and those who wish to make formal complaints. The synod is to make an examination of each case in order to redress the wrongs suffered; it is not an examination of candidates for promotion. Still, the comment added by the Paris council is interesting for its emphasis as well as its relation to the matter quoted from the council of Antioch. Just after the mention of the *examen*, it adds that the bishop's *eruditi viri* are to be present as well. Does this refer to the priests and deacons already mentioned, to those who are teachers, or does it include others, perhaps younger clerics whom the bishop 'prepares' for service? Is their preparation or fitness for promotion also to undergo examination at these councils? The wording of the *capitulum* does not specify younger 'learned men' belonging to the lower orders. It implies members of the higher clergy, but this does not necessarily rule out younger clerics. The question is an important one to consider, especially when turning to the thirtieth *capitulum*, which appears to restate the present one in further detail.

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[111] The twenty-second *capitulum* deals with bishops who had been refusing to ordain acceptable (*utiles*) clerics at the request of the laity. The council stipulates that these suitable (*idonei*) candidates are not to be rejected by the bishop, and that if they are to be rejected, a clear reason must be established by examination: *Concilium Parisiense*, c. 22, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 627.

[112] *Concilium Parisiense*, c. 26, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 629, lines 20–24; *Canones concilii Antiocheni*, c. 20, Mansi, II, cols 1319–28 (col. 1326).

The thirtieth *capitulum* calls for the reform of schools, and instead of the bishop's *eruditi viri*, it states that directors (*rectores*) should cause their *scholastici* to be present at provincial councils. It commands:

> Ut ab omnibus episcopis propter honorem et utilitatem ecclesiasticam sollicitior circa habendas scolas cura habeatur […], ut rectores ecclesiarum in ecclesiis sibi commissis strenuos milites Christi, quibus Deus placari posset, praepararent et educarent […], et quando ad provintiale episcoporum concilium ventum fuerit, unusquisque rectorum, sicut iam in praecedentibus memoratum est, scolasticos suos eidem concilio adesse faciat, ut suum sollers studium circa divinum cultum omnibus manifestum fiat.
>
> That attention be held more carefully by all bishops with regard to managing schools for the ecclesiastical honour and benefit […], that the rectors of the churches might prepare and educate the vigorous soldiers of Christ entrusted to them, with whom God might be pleased […], and when he comes to the

> provincial council of bishops, as was mentioned in what precedes, let each of the rectors cause his scholars to be present at the same council, so that his skilful study with regard to divine worship may be manifest to all.[113]

This is a restatement of what the bishops had related to Louis the Pious in a separate report.[114] *Scholastici* might be interpreted as having the same meaning as *eruditi viri* in the other *capitulum*. It could thus be argued that *scholastici* refers to teachers, and that bishops are to cause only those who oversee schools to be present at councils, which is likely the case if *rectores* refers only to the bishops themselves. However, Contreni and de Jong have confidently asserted that these *scholastici* are to be identified as young pupils.[115] It seems that this conclusion depends not only on the meaning of *scholastici* here, but also on the meaning of *rectores*.[116] If *rectores* refers to priests or deacons in charge of teaching, and these *rectores* are to cause their *scholastici* to be present at provincial councils, then *scholastici* might certainly include younger pupils. More attention to schools is said to be needed so that the *rectores* might prepare and educate the *milites Christi*, vocabulary that directly echoes the *praeparare* and *militia* of the earlier *capitulum*, but now with the addition of *educare*. The *milites* who are being educated by the rectors are the same *scholastici* who are to be present at provincial councils.

From these two *capitula* alone, it is difficult to conclude whether the terms *rectores* and *scholastici* refer to bishops and their learned teachers, or on the other hand to teachers, whether priests or deacons, and their young pupils. In Carolingian sources,

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[113] *Concilium Parisiense*, c. 30, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 632, lines 13–26.
[114] *Episcoporum ad Hludowicum imperatorem relatio*, c. (39) 5, MGH Capit., 2, pp. 26–51 (p. 40).
[115] Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', p. 714; de Jong, 'From *Scolastici* to *Scioli*', p. 49. This is also the view of Hildebrandt: *The External School*, p. 67.
[116] See Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 381.

rectores are not always bishops.[117] The council of Aachen of 816, as discussed above, said that it is proper for *rectores* of the churches to see to it that boys and *adolescentes* are bound by ecclesiastical disciplines, and that one *senior* or *frater* is to be appointed for the safeguarding of their conduct, and another for their instruction.[118] It seems reasonable in this instance to read *rectores* as inclusive of these *seniores* or *fratres*, who are said to be charged with adorning their young pupils with spiritual arms so that they may be promoted to the ecclesiastical grades. If so, it may be tentatively concluded that *scholastici* in the passage above refers to pupils, and that the Paris council of 829 is calling for younger clerics to be present at provincial councils to serve as examples to others. Nevertheless, due to the vocabulary involved, its range of meanings and the varied contexts of instances that might be used for comparison, the question must remain open.

Either in 869 or 870, bishop Walter of Orléans issued a set of episcopal statutes. His first decree borrows from the capitulary of Ansegis of 827, where this calls upon bishops to make regular evaluations of parochial priests regarding their liturgical knowledge, but instead of bishops, Walter singles out archdeacons for the task.[119] The second *capitulum* carries this further, drawing again on Ansegis, but Walter adds a preface that departs from his source in its intent. The capitulary of Ansegis treats the doctrinal matter to be preached to the people.[120] Walter, on the other hand, introduces this matter as being what the *cardinales presbiteri*, or archpresbyters, ought to be able to teach their 'brothers'. It extends the chain of accountability for education from archdeacons, who evaluate the *vita*, *intellectus* and *doctrina* of archpresbyters, to archpresbyters, who teach their *fratres*, these perhaps being other priests but likely their subordinates as well. After the matter imported from Ansegis, which is only a summary of credal faith, Walter ends the decree by adding that the archpresbyters are to be evaluated in *doctrina* with regard to how they instruct those who are *tardiores* (slower or duller) in the faith, which again appears to indicate other priests or subordinate clerics. He decrees,

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[117] Charlemagne’s capitulary of Bologna in 811 suggests that a *rector ecclesiae* could be someone other than a bishop, abbot, or abbess: *Capitulare Bononiense*, c. 10, MGH Capit., 1, pp. 166–67 (p. 167, lines 25–26). At the council of Rome of 826, after the long list of attendees that includes bishops, priests, and deacons, Pope Eugenius II refers to the assembled clergy as *rectores*: *Concilium Romanum 826*, MGH Conc., 2, 2, p. 563, line 13. At the council of Aachen of 836, *rectores* are treated explicitly as an *ordo* below that of bishops: *Concilium Aquisgranense 836*, (25) c. 1, MGH Conc., 2, 2, pp. 704–67 (p. 710, lines 31–35).

[118] See above, pp. 170–72. The council of Mainz of 813 directed *canonici clerici* to do nothing without the permission of their *episcopus* or *magister*, suggesting two superiors: *Concilium Moguntinense 813*, c. 9, MGH Conc., 2, 1, pp. 258–73 (p. 262, lines 26–28).

[119] Walter of Orléans, c. 1, MGH Capit. episc., 1, pp. 185–93 (p. 187, line 17); *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis* (*Collectio capitularium Ansegisi*), I. c. 66, ed. by Gerhard Schmitz, MGH Capit. N.S., 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1996), p. 465, line 11. Walahfrid Strabo, near the conclusion of his *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis*, which he composed between 840 and 842, said that in the same way that secular magnates have counsellors in domestic affairs and *paedagogi* for their children, churches have archdeacons. After describing archdeacons in this manner, Walahfrid goes on to mention the lower grades of acolytes, readers, cantors, and psalmists: *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis*, c. 32, in *Walahfrid Strabo’s Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum: A Translation and Liturgical Commentary*, ed. and trans. by Alice L. Harting-Correa, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 194, lines 13–21; for its date of composition, pp. 21–22.

> Ut per archidiachonos vita, intellectus et doctrina cardinalium presbiterorum investigetur. Vita scilicet modestiae et sobrietatis ac studium religiose conversationis in cunctis eorum actibus. Intellectus vero, quomodo sit idoneus unusquisque suos fratres in fide sanctae trinitatis erudire […]. In doctrina vero, qualiter eos, qui tardiores sunt de fide, spe et caritate ceterisque virtutibus, verbo et probabili exemplo, eos, qui indigent, possit instruere secundum evangelicam et apostolicam atque canonicam instructionem.
>
> That the life, intellect, and doctrine of the cardinal priests be investigated by the archdeacons. A life, of course, of modesty and sobriety and a zeal of living religiously in all their actions. Intellect, to be sure, how each one is suitable to teach his brothers in the faith of the Holy Trinity […]. In doctrine, certainly, how he is able to instruct those who are slower concerning faith, hope, and charity, and the rest of the virtues, by word and by commendable example those who are

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[120] *Collectio capitularium Ansegisi*, I. c. 76, MGH Capit. N.S., 1, pp. 473–74.

> lacking [in these], according to evangelical and apostolic and canonical instruction.[121]

This decree is aimed at archdeacons with regard to the scope of their evaluation of priests. The notion that the priests' teaching of *fratres* applies to younger clergy becomes clear in subsequent *capitula*. Walter's sixth decree appears to be directed at the priests themselves, informing them on the scope of their teaching. It is to be dual in nature, focused on one understudy cleric, or protégé, on the one hand, and yet open to directing a *schola* on the other. Here Walter commands,

> Ut unusquisque presbiter suum habeat clericum, quem religiose educare procuret et, si possibilitas illi est, scolam in ecclesia sua habere non negligat sollerterque caveat, ut, quos ad erudiendum suscipit, caste sinceriterque nutriat.
>
> That each presbyter have his own cleric, whom he takes care to educate religiously and, if there is opportunity for him, that he not neglect to hold school in his church, and that he wisely take heed that he bring up chastely and sincerely those whom he takes up in order to teach.[122]

The seventh decree states that priests are to possess biblical and liturgical books, as well as capitularies, 'per quos se et alios informare debent' (through which they ought to inform themselves and others').[123]

These earlier decrees supply the necessary context for three subsequent *capitula* (cc. 19, 20, 21), which could be suggesting that the biannual synod was the setting in which clerics of the lower orders were evaluated, and where decisions were made regarding their promotions. This is not to say that these promotions took place at the biannual synod, unless of course this were held on one of the ember days; it is merely to propose that the synod may have provided a setting for formal educational evaluation for future promotions.

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[121] Walter of Orléans, c. 2, MGH Capit. episc., 1, p. 188, lines 1–4, 13–16.
[122] Walter of Orléans, c. 6, MGH Capit. episc., 1, p. 189.
[123] Walter of Orléans, c. 7, MGH Capit. episc., 1, p. 189, lines 12–13.

The nineteenth decree calls for biannual synods, where matters are to be resolved ‘coram prioribus fratribus aut coram archidiachonibus’ (before superior brothers or before the archdeacons’).[124] The next two *capitula* do not explicitly state that they are to be carried out at biannual synods, but their content and placement after the nineteenth decree makes this highly probable. In his twentieth decree, Walter commands that *sacerdotes* be able to recite from memory and explain ‘coram nobis’ (‘before us’) the sacraments, the procedure for visitation of the sick, rights for the dead, the canon of the Mass, and the ecclesiastical grades, that is, their origin in the Old Testament as well as how Christ fulfilled the grades in the course of his life on earth.[125] Following this, the twenty-first decree commands,

> Ut quoscumque presbiteri de suis alumnis in quolibet gradu promovendos obtulerint, sicut probabilis illorum vitae testes idonei esse debent, ita in suprascriptorum tenore sacramentorum et graduum edoctos exhibeant, quatinus et memoriter ea tenere et intellectuose sciant explanare.
>
> That whomsoever of their pupils the priests offer to be promoted to any grade, they ought to be as capable witnesses of their commendable life, such that they present them fully taught in the content of the sacraments and the grades written above, in so far as they should know how to retain them by memory and to competently explain them.[126]

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[124] Walter of Orléans, c. 19, MGH Capit. episc., 1, p. 192, line 9.
[125] Walter of Orléans, c. 20, MGH Capit. episc., 1, p. 192.
[126] Walter of Orléans, c. 21, MGH Capit. episc., 1, p. 192.

Just after the decree regarding biannual synods, where archdeacons act as witnesses and arbiters, Walter commands that priests recite their knowledge ‘coram nobis’, followed by the decree above where priests act as witnesses for their pupils and ‘present them fully taught’. Another fascinating aspect of this last decree is that the material being recited by the priests is the same which is expected of their pupils. Thus the evaluative process and the relationship between learning and teaching appears to be highly integrated. It applies in every instance of promotion, ‘to any grade’, rather than just promotions to the higher orders.

Finally, early in the tenth century, Regino of Prüm included a brief section on ordination and examination at the end of the first book of his compilation of canon law. This includes a canon which Regino ascribed to a council of Nantes, though this particular canon has no earlier precedent than Regino himself.[127] It stipulates a four-day examination process, where ‘priests and other prudent men’ investigate various aspects concerning those being considered for ordination: ‘life, family, native land, age, institution, the place where they were educated, whether they are well educated, whether they are instructed in the law of the Lord’.[128] The criteria for determining whether candidates were ‘well educated’ is inferred by the canon itself, which requires candidates to express the doctrines of the catholic faith in simple words, but in the context of examinations, ‘well educated’ would seem to imply a broader curriculum as well, which the following chapter will consider.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated how ninth-century legislation promoted accountability through communal learning and teaching, which would ideally result in a chain of instructional accountability that would control promotion. This accountability was expressed by the term *magisterium*, which often meant simply living under the authority of a bishop, but in some cases also implied the teaching authority and content of teaching offered by that bishop. In terms of the broader scope of this study, the present chapter and the previous one serve to identify the key structures of advancement for ninth-century clerical careers: educational level, age (or life stage), and ecclesiastical rank. The interdependence of these structures has been highlighted, demonstrating the usefulness of a wider consideration of advancement, rather than simply ecclesiastical promotion, in seeking to establish the connection between education and clerical advancement.

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[127] See Hamilton, ‘Educating the Local Clergy’, pp. 88–89.

[128] Regino of Prüm, *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis* (*Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm*), c. 453, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), p. 228 (the section is cc. 452–55 [pp. 228–32]). ‘Vitam, genus, patriam, aetatem, institutionem, locum ubi educati sunt, si bene sint literati, si in lege Domini instructi.’

Chapter V

Curriculum and Clerical Advancement

This chapter considers the relationship between school curriculum and clerical advancement. It does not attempt to catalogue the educational sources studied in the eighth and ninth centuries, nor to summarize all available scholarship on the topic. Rather, this chapter seeks to clarify how clerical offices, functions, and tasks influenced the nature of school curriculum, and how curriculum in turn influenced clerical offices. First, it discusses clerical tasks as being determinative of school subjects in capitular decrees. Secondly, it considers the interrelation of school disciplines. It proposes that although these disciplines were to some degree related hierarchically, functioning as a 'hierarchy of disciplines' as traditional scholarship would have it, nevertheless, a more accurate description of educational curriculum would be that of a synthesis of disciplines functioning to promote the clerical skills of reading, singing, and writing. This appears to have been the view of Alcuin, for whom progress in educational curriculum was connected with growth in the young life stages, where a cyclical engagement and reengagement with authors would eventually culminate in the imitation and employment of their skill in writing. This is particularly evident in the study and writing of histories and saints' lives, and this chapter proposes that the transition from reading to writing, in the sense of formal composition, was a key stage in education with some bearing on ecclesiastical promotion.

There have been a number of studies on 'school reading' in the early Middle Ages, including Alcuin's role in shaping this reading.[1] These have focused primarily on identifying what student clerics read. Anna Grotans has offered a more contextualized view of the practice of reading at St Gall in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Among other things, she highlights the necessary connection between the techniques of legible writing introduced by the Carolingians and performative reading in the monastery, the fact that public reading presupposed grammatical and rhetorical traditions, and that this reading was routinely observed and evaluated by the community.[2] Thus, Grotans's work underscores that reading was not simply a matter of an individual student and a single-purpose book; it involved a community of individuals with various ranks and levels of skills in reading and writing, who bore witness to the proficiency of each reader, and who were also aware of overlapping traditions implicit in the texts being read. In addition to this, an emphasis on the authors (*auctores*) representing these traditions, many of whom had had ecclesiastical careers themselves, rather than on their works as such, appears to have influenced the practical basis of learning more directly than scholarship has yet appreciated.

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[1] Günter Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekanons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 5 (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1970); Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I. 2, chp. 1 (for Alcuin, pp. 268–86); McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 165–210; L.

John Contreni made a defining statement regarding the educational curriculum of the Carolingian era: 'The requirements of pastoral care took precedence over scholarship.'[3] This is to say that the governing principle in understanding the sources used in education, as well as how and why they were studied, is based on how readily these sources could be more or less directly applied to the offices and ministry of the Church. As a result, none of the books belonging to Carolingian churches and monasteries, including their schoolbooks, should be viewed as pertaining so much to the *schola* as to the Church in the widest scope of its operation. This singular purpose

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M. de Rijk, 'On the Curriculum of the Arts of the Trivium at St Gall from c. 850–c. 1000', *Vivarium*, 1. 1 (1963), 35–86. For a more recent summary of Alcuin's teaching, see Michael Fox, 'Alcuin as Exile and Educator: "vir undecumque doctissimus"', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), I, 215–36.

[2] Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 8–9, and her discussion on literacy and orality (chp. 1).

[3] Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', p. 726.

would seem to indicate some level of common practice as to how educational sources were selected and used.

On the other hand, the selection of sources and their arrangement as pathways for education were highly varied and personalized. It has been noted that this variability characterized the nature of curriculum from Bede's Wearmouth and Jarrow to Ælberht and Alcuin's York, and from these centres of learning to the palace school.[4] Contreni made it clear that scholars search in vain if they hope to find a universal and comprehensive standard curriculum:

> No school ever offered the full range of theoretical and practical studies that was possible in the Carolingian realms. Everything depended on local resources, interests, and talents. Indeed, the unevenness of the curriculum fostered interdependence among centers and stimulated masters and students to create networks that linked schools, libraries, and, of course, people.[5]

Nevertheless, Contreni and others have observed that, although varied, the curriculum did move students through a discernible progression of three basic stages. An elementary stage, characterized by reading, writing, computus, and chant, introduced students to the practical skills they needed to fulfil clerical functions; a secondary stage blended the practical and the theoretical as students approached the liberal arts with an emphasis on grammar and Latin authors. These studies would certainly involve biblical sources, but they would also culminate in the more rigorous study of Scripture as the final stage of clerical education.[6]

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[4] George H. Brown, 'The Preservation and Transmission of Northumbrian Culture on the Continent: Alcuin's Debt to Bede', in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture: Selected Papers from the 1991 Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal, Studies in Medieval Culture, 40 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1997), pp. 159–75 (pp. 164–65).

[5] Contreni, 'The Pursuit of Knowledge', p. 127. See also Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, p. 100; Günter Glauche, 'Die Rolle der Schulautoren im Unterricht von 800 bis 1100', in *La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, II, 617–38 (pp. 617–19).

Pierre Riché discussed early medieval curriculum according to the same basic categories of ‘elementary’, ‘secondary’, and ‘specialized’ subject matter, where he emphasized the development of various disciplines over the course of the early Middle Ages, rather than the process of advancement for the clerics who studied them.[7] But Riché also noted the existence of tiers of clerics based on varying levels of experience with subject matter. He did not view these as a progression of learning that all students undertook, moving from one tier to the next, but rather as categories of ability and specialization. Riché expressed a somewhat more pessimistic view that not all clerics who became literate at the elementary level went on to further studies; it was only a more gifted minority of students that went on to study the liberal arts.[8]

With regard to education at St Gall, Grotans describes a progression of three phases: primary (the first three years), secondary (the next four or five years), and advanced (apparently during and beyond the secondary period), where the arts of the trivium generally preceded those of the quadrivium.[9] Grotans focuses on the beginning and intermediate levels of education, which, based on the process just mentioned, primarily concerns students between the ages of seven and fifteen.[10]

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[6] Contreni, ‘The Pursuit of Knowledge’, pp. 116–18; Contreni, ‘The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture’, pp. 725–47. See also Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 217–27.

[7] Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*, pp. 221–84.

[8] Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*, p. 236.

[9] Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 71–79.

[10] Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, p. 52.

V.1 Clerical Tasks as School Subjects

The last chapter dealt with capitular decrees, and there are a few capitularies that contain information on the clerical curriculum. The first to mention is the well-known decree from the *Admonitio generalis* of 789, which prescribes the emendation of 'catholic books' in general, and specifically texts having to do with the Psalms, notes (or characters), chant, computus, and grammar.[11] These items represent the clerical tasks of reading, singing, and writing, as well as the overarching task of the Carolingian educational programme, that is, the production of accurate texts.

The *Capitula Frisingensia prima*, also known as *Quae a presbyteris discenda sint*, probably originated in Freising in the last years of Charlemagne's reign and is a short list of items recommended for priests to learn.[12] It is a fairly basic list related to priestly tasks, but it also pertains to knowledge gained perhaps well in advance of ordination: the Athanasian Creed,[13] the Apostles' creed, the *Liber sacramentorum* and liturgical matter, computus, 'Roman' chant, *lectiones* from the gospels, homilies, the rule for monks, Gregory the Great's *Liber pastoralis* for canons, the pastoral letter of Gelasius, and finally, 'scribere cartas et epistulas' ('to write charters and letters'), which is believed to have been a later addition to the list.[14] It should be noted that *omnes ecclesiastici*, rather than only priests, are being commanded to learn these things. The mix of specific sources, educational subjects, and clerical tasks to be learned seems to exemplify the ad hoc character of capitulary prescriptions in general. Nevertheless, this need not suggest the localized quality of school curriculums mentioned at the start of this chapter. The mention of computus, Roman chant, the writing of charters and letters, and the standard sources for the offices and governance of the Church, seem to match the requirements of the *Admonitio generalis* and *Epistola de litteris colendis*, and thus a strong relation to the wider programme envisioned by Charlemagne.

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[11] *Admonitio generalis*, c. 70, lines 314–26, MGH Fontes iuris, 16, pp. 222 and 224; see above, p. 80.

[12] MGH Capit. episc., 3, pp. 199–205, also MGH Capit., 1, p. 235. See Kohl, '*Presbyter in parochia sua*: Local Priests and their Churches', pp. 60–61.

[13] For Carolingian emphasis on learning the Creed, see Celia Chazelle, who discusses its variant form under the name *Fides catholica*: 'Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter', *Speculum*, 72 (1997), 1055–77 (p. 1056 and n. 5).

[14] MGH Capit. episc., 3, p. 199.

The *Capitula Frisingensia secunda*, probably written in the province of Salzburg by the first decade of the ninth century, is related more specifically to priests in relation to how they teach catechumens and the laity, but it begins by commanding that a determination be made as to how well priests know the Psalms.[15] Another list, the *Interrogationes examinationis*, was apparently meant as a checklist for the knowledge required of priests ahead of their examination and ordination due to its first line: ‘ut presbiteri non ordinentur priusquam examinentur’.[16] As will be demonstrated below, the context of an examination is strongly suggested by the use of the second person directly addressing the priests in question. They are to know the basic statements of faith, the Lord’s Prayer, canons, the penitential, missal, and other liturgical texts. The fifth and sixth decrees, on knowing the gospel and homilies, are interesting in that they are also concerned with how the priests instruct ‘the inexperienced’ (‘imperitos’).[17] Equally interesting is the command that each member of the laity send his or her son to school (presumably local) to learn letters until he is ‘well instructed’.[18]

A tension becomes evident as more of these documents are considered together. Since new legislation on clerical learning would apply to those who were already priests, it could not prescribe what was to be learned strictly as a prerequisite for ordination; rather, it had to set out what current priests should be learning to better fulfil their office. This might explain the awkwardness, in the technical sense, of the last document, where the heading makes clear that priests were not to be ordained before examination, and yet the beginning of that examination is addressed to priests: ‘Interrogo vos, presbiteri, quomodo creditis […]’ (‘I ask you, priests, how it is that you believe […]’).[19] A key concern is therefore to distinguish legislation that calls for prerequisite learning before promotion from that which requires learning in order to keep or hold one’s office well.

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[15] MGH Capit. episc., 3, pp. 206–11.
[16] MGH Capit. episc., 3, pp. 212–15 (p. 214).
[17] *Interrogationes examinationis*, MGH Capit. episc., 3, p. 215, lines 5–7.
[18] *Interrogationes examinationis*, MGH Capit. episc., 3, p. 215, lines 17–18.

Calls for prerequisite learning are hard to come by in capitular sources. The *Capitula Frisingensia tertia*, which Rudolf Pokorny supposed was written in Bavaria in the mid-ninth century, makes a general statement about the necessity of learning, teaching, and practice:

> We wish that each one of yours learn well and hold rightly his own ministry, lest any scandal grow in your churches on account of your negligence and foolishness. We read that there are three unfortunate things in the world: one is the type that does not know and does not learn; second, the type that knows and does not teach; third, the type that teaches and does not practice. And therefore, if there is anyone of yours who does not know, let him not neglect to learn; and if he does know, let him not delay to teach the people subject to him and let him demonstrate teaching with the example of good works.[20]

The decree expresses the wish that each one (*unusquisque*) under episcopal authority learn his own duty, which probably applies to all the clerical grades. Two other decrees, one dealing with the correction of books and another requiring knowledge of biblical readings and liturgical books, apply specifically to priests.[21] Still, in the decree quoted above, there is another hint that it involves the teaching of lower clergy. The mention of ‘three unfortunate things’ (*infelicitates*) in the world is taken from Pseudo-Bede’s *Excerptiones patrum*.[22] The *Excerptiones patrum* contains a section that explains the biblical origin of the seven clerical orders and their duties. It says this about lectors: ‘Lectores in veteri testamento aperte et distincte docebant populum verba legis’ (‘In the Old Testament, lectors taught the people the words of the law clearly and distinctly’).[23] Again, the decree above commands that if there is anyone who is ignorant, he is not to neglect to learn, and if he knows, he is not to neglect ‘to teach the people’ (‘docere populum’). Even if lectors did not technically hold teaching authority in the Church, they could nonetheless ‘teach the people’ through their correct reading. This is clearly the duty of lectors in the *Excerptiones patrum*, and thus the decree above likely implies the duty of lectors, in addition to the higher grades, to learn their ministry well.

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[19] *Interrogationes examinationis*, MGH Capit. episc., 3, p. 214.

[20] *Capitula Frisingensia tertia*, c. 2, MGH Capit. episc., 3, pp. 216–30 (p. 222, lines 8–13). ‘Volumus, ut unusquisque vestrum suum ministerium bene discat et recte teneat, ne aliquod scandalum propter vestram neglegentiam et insipientiam in vestris crescat ecclesiis. Legimus tres in mundo esse infelicitates: Una est, quae nescit et non discit; altera, quae scit et non docet; tercia, quae docet et non operatur. Ac ideo, si vestrum aliquis est, qui nesciat, discere non neglegat; et qui scit, docere populum sibi subiectum non retardet et doctrinam cum exemplo bonorum operum ostendat.’

That lectors would have been included in such a context is strongly suggested by Isidore’s description of the grade of lectors and their need for instruction to carry out their task in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*:

> The order of the lectors takes its form and beginning from the prophets. Lectors, therefore, are those who preach the Word of God. […] But he who is promoted to a grade of this kind, he shall be trained in doctrine and books and thoroughly adorned with the knowledge of meanings and words.[24]

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[21] *Capitula Frisingensia tertia*, cc. 3, 32, MGH Capit. episc., 3, pp. 222, 229–30.

[22] PL 94, cols 539–60 (col. 543B).

[23] Pseudo-Bede, *Excerptiones patrum*, PL 94, cols 553D–554A.

[24] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II. 11. 1, 2, lines 2–3, 8–10, ed. by Christopher M. Lawson, CCSL 113 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), p. 70. ‘Lectorum ordo formam et initium a prophetis accepit. Sunt igitur lectores qui verbum dei praedicant. […] Qui autem ad huiusmodi promovetur gradum, iste erit doctrina et libris inbutus, sensuumque ac verborum scientia peronatus’. See also Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, p. 31.

Isidore goes on to prescribe that the lector learn to recognize punctuation and pronounce correctly, ‘ut ad intellectum mentes omnium sensusque permoveat’ (‘so that he may move the minds and perceptions of all toward understanding’).[25] Hraban Maur quotes this passage from Isidore on the training of lectors in his *De institutione clericorum*. Indeed, he uses it twice, but he makes a few interesting adaptations. The first occurrence is where Hraban treats the ecclesiastical grades, where he quotes much of Isidore’s passage verbatim, but changes Isidore’s phrase, ‘qui autem ad huiusmodi promovetur gradum, iste erit […] inbutus’ (‘but he who is promoted to a grade of this kind, he shall be trained […]’),[26] leaving out the first part having to do with promotion, and changing the second part to read, ‘iste […] debet esse imbutus’ (‘he ought to be trained’).[27] Could it be that Hraban wanted to make it clear, since the future *erit* was disjoined from *imbutus* and thus not a clear future perfect tense, that the lector was not one who would be described as ‘trained’ at some point in the future, but rather one who is at present (*esse*) trained? The second time Hraban quotes this passage by Isidore is equally interesting, and points to the same idea. Here, where Hraban explains liturgical readings, he again omits the phrase, ‘he who is promoted to a grade of this kind’), but this time he replaces it with ‘quicumque enim legendi officium decenter et rite peragere vult, doctrina et libris debet esse imbutus’ (‘for whoever wishes to execute the office of reading properly and rightly ought to be trained in doctrine and books […]’).[28] Of course, Hraban’s adaptation would not have been a negation of Isidore’s original comment on the promotion of lectors, but Hraban introduces the new idea that the holding and discharge of the office of lector, beyond simply attaining it, required training in books.

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[25] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II. 11. 2, line 13, CCSL 113, p. 70.
[26] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II. 11. 2, lines 8–9, CCSL 113, p. 70.
[27] Hraban, *De institutione clericorum*, I. 11, line 12 (ed. Zimpel, p. 307).
[28] Hraban, *De institutione clericorum*, II. 52, lines 18–19 (ed. Zimpel, p. 412).

Charlemagne issued an ecclesiastical capitulary for his *missi* at Thionville in late 805 or early 806, which begins by listing a group of subjects.[29] They are listed vertically without comment, indicating that they were probably topics for discussion at the gathering, but could they have been a checklist for the examination of clerics? There are seven:

[1.] De lectionibus[30]
2. De cantu.
3. De scribis ut non vitiose scribant.
4. De notariis.
5. De caeteris disciplinis.
6. De compoto.
7. De medicinalia [sic] arte.

[1.] Concerning readings.
2. Concerning chant.
3. Concerning scribes that they not write badly.
4. Concerning notaries.
5. Concerning other disciplines.
6. Concerning computus.
7. Concerning the medicinal art.[31]

The first three represent the three fundamental skills of reading, singing, and writing, noted above. The first four items are directly related to clerical positions and duties, but after these, it is unclear what is meant by 'other disciplines'. This could refer to the other practical offices of liturgical life and thus adhere to the first four items listed. On the other hand, it could refer to the liberal arts and be more related to the last two items mentioned, to computus and the medicinal art.

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[29] For this capitulary see Nelson, *King and Emperor*, pp. 425–29.

[30] This first item is not assigned a number in the MGH edition.

[31] *Capitulare missorum in Theodonis villa datum primum, mere ecclesiasticum*, cc. 1–7, MGH Capit., 1, pp. 121–122 (p. 121, lines 12–18).

There are two factors suggesting that ‘other disciplines’ might refer to the liberal arts. First, there is the position of these disciplines within the list itself. Neither computus nor (in the most common classifications) medicine were named disciplines among the arts. Computus would have been associated with the quadrivial disciplines, while medicine would have been considered a specialization separate from the arts. Thus, if ‘other disciplines’ refers to the liberal arts, including at least some basic arithmetic, the most logical progression would then lead to a mastery of computus. The second factor can be inferred from the common scholarly view of what a primary and secondary education would entail. Once clerics have moved beyond the primary stage of reading, singing, and writing, and have become able to perform their offices, they would then begin the secondary stage involving the arts. If this is true, the above list would be a fairly ordered system suggesting a real progression rather than a random collection of topics. It is unclear, though, whether ‘other disciplines’ refers specifically to the arts or simply to any training necessary for clerical life, as another council one year later appears to indicate.

In the year following the council of Thionville, in March of 806, Charlemagne met with his *missi* at Nijmegen in the Netherlands. The third decree of this council commands the *missi* to inquire into every ecclesiastical *domus* and monastery, of both men and women, to learn how those living there are corrected ‘de eorum lectione et canto [sic] caeterisque disciplinis aecclesiasticae regulae pertinentibus’ (‘concerning their reading and singing and the other disciplines pertaining to ecclesiastical rule’).[32] It is possible that ‘other disciplines’ would include the liberal arts, but this more likely refers to any learning that might be useful for life under the ecclesiastical rule.

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[32] *Capitulare missorum Niumagae datum*, c. 3, MGH Capit., 1, pp. 130–32 (p. 131, lines 21–22).

Christopher Page describes how the rank of *lector* in the late antique and early medieval Western Church included the role of the singer.[33] This being the case, the letter by Alcuin discussed above, in which he recommends separate training for reading, singing, and writing, may be viewed as a call not only for distinct roles, but also for distinct educational phases. In that letter, Alcuin advised Eanbald II to set his *pueri* apart from the clergy and to treat them ‘separatim more illorum’ (‘separately by their practice’), meaning those who read books, those who sing, and those who write.[34] Alcuin referred to these groups as *ordines*, even though they were the youngest members of the community and were to be treated as separate from the clergy. Riché has interpreted this separation of groups by their tasks as indicating the specialized vocations that these *pueri* would have in their later careers.[35] It seems more in line with the aims of the *Admonitio generalis* and those of Alcuin, however, to view the three tasks as being required of all future clerics, as the stages of a common path of education that most students were expected to pass on their way to proficiency and promotion to the higher ecclesiastical ranks.

One later instance might echo concerns related to the separation of these tasks, and to a progression from one task to the next. In the late 830s, Agobard of Lyon and his deacon Florus were engaged in a liturgical controversy with Amalarius of Metz, who had replaced Agobard as bishop of Lyon in 835. This involved an attack on Amalarius’s novel method of allegorizing the liturgy, but it also involved the roles of ecclesiastical ranks and the composition of new liturgical material.[36] In around 838, Agobard composed a letter summarizing the patristic teaching on singing in the Church. One such teaching was that of Gregory the Great, which dealt specifically with the proper ranks of those performing the various parts of the liturgy. Agobard relates how Gregory condemned the practice of giving the office of singing (*cantandi officium*) to deacons, that the singing of Psalms and certain other readings were the proper duty of subdeacons, or the minor orders, while Gospel readings belonged to deacons.[37] Agobard cites Augustine to remind his readers that only the things which are written to be sung should be sung in church.[38] Here, 'written things' probably refers to the words of Scripture as applied to the mass and the office liturgy, and to chant texts, as opposed to melodies, since musical notation was in its experimental infancy during most of the ninth century.[39] Agobard goes on to warn against the vain preoccupation of some clerics in devoting their entire careers, from childhood to old age, to the practice of singing, so that they are counted among the cantors instead of moving on to a deeper knowledge of Scripture.[40] He prescribes the basic liturgical books that the churches are to have, including an antiphonary free of *humana figmenta*, which suggests at least one problem

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[33] Christopher Page, *The Christian West and its Singers: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 100–01.
[34] Alcuin, *ep*. 114, MGH Epp., 4, p. 169, lines 11–13. See above, p. 83.
[35] Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*, p. 236.

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[36] For the context of this controversy see Els Rose, *Ritual Memory: The Apocryphal Acts and Liturgical Commemoration in the Early Medieval West (c. 500–1215)*, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte, 40 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 74–77; Samuel W. Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 55–65.

[37] Agobard of Lyon, *ep*. 18, c. 15, MGH Epp., 5, p. 236, line 43 to p. 237, line 8. For the background of Gregory's decree, see Joseph Dyer, 'The *Schola Cantorum* and Its Roman Milieu in the Early Middle Ages', in *De Musica et Cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper: Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Peter Cahn and Ann-Katrin Heimer, Musikwissenschaftliche Publikationen, 2 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), pp. 19–40 (pp. 28–40).

[38] *Ep*. 18, c. 17, MGH Epp., 5, p. 237.

[39] Peter Jeffery notes that by the tenth century, if not before, the ordination ceremony for the cantor involved his receiving an authoritative collection of chants (that is, a *cantatorium* or *antiphonarium*): *Re-Envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), pp. 65–66. Records of musical notation begin around 900, before which memory served a more fundamental role in preserving melodic patterns: Susan Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), chp. 11; Susan Rankin, 'Carolingian Music', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by McKitterick, pp. 274–316 (pp. 281, 290, 292–303), and on musical creativity, pp. 303–13; her bibliography on notation and new composition, pp. 314–16. See also the sources mentioned in Page, *The Christian West and its Singers*, p. 564, n. 3.

[40] *Ep*. 18, c. 18, MGH Epp., 5, pp. 237–38.

Agobard was seeking to address: the introduction of new elements into the liturgy and innovative compositions being written for the choir.[41] An anonymous member of Agobard's circle composed a short work, *De divina psalmodia*, which, being likely aimed at Amalarius, prohibited 'plebeios psalmos' ('popular psalms') and anything 'poetice compositum' ('poetically composed').[42] The office of singing, which had been for subdeacons and the minor orders, seems to have become a stage for clerics of the higher orders to show off their skills in composition and performance, and Agobard countered this by emphasizing that singing belonged particularly to the lower ranks, the gospel readings to deacons, and the in-depth study of Scripture to mature clerics of the higher orders.

V.2 Disciplines and Subjects: Integration, Emphasis, and Progression

The Psalter was the foundation for elementary instruction; it provided the basis not only for learning to read and sing, and for memorization, but also for moral formation.[43] The Psalms were the first matter of clerical instruction listed in the well-known *capitulum* on schools in the *Admonitio generalis*.[44] It is important to note that the Psalms were also associated with one of the ecclesiastical grades, the *psalmista*, who appears second among the ranks listed in ascending order, after the doorkeeper and before the lector, in

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[41] Agobard uses the phrase *humana figmenta* also in his *De antiphonario*, c. 19, line 7, ed. by Lieven van Acker, CCCM 52 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), pp. 335–51 (p. 351).

[42] PL 104, cols 325–30 (col. 327A).

[43] See Susan Rankin, 'Singing the Psalter in the Early Middle Ages', in *Chant, Liturgy, and the Inheritance of Rome*, ed. by DiCenso and Maloy, pp. 271–89 (pp. 277–79); Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', p. 729; Contreni, 'The Pursuit of Knowledge', p. 116; Pierre Riché, 'Le rôle de la mémoire dans l'enseignement médiéval', part 12 in *Education et culture dans l'occident médiéval*, Collected Studies Series CS420 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), pp. 133–48 (pp. 135–37).

[44] *Admonitio generalis*, c. 70, line 320, MGH Fontes iuris, 16, p. 224.

Isidore's *Etymologies* and in the *Disputatio puerorum* attributed to Alcuin.[45] The *psalmista* belonged to the lower orders, and in the late antique Church his office of singing the liturgy was often identified with that of the lector.[46] Nevertheless, this office did not refer to a young learner of the Psalms, but rather a 'highly trained professional' who led and taught a group of singers.[47] *Psalmista* was synonymous with *cantor*, which is the term most often encountered in the ninth-century.[48]

The educational function of the Psalms was not just to aid in reading, singing, and memorization. In his commentary on the Psalms, Cassiodorus claimed to have demonstrated that the Psalms were filled with effective uses of the liberal arts.[49] This means that the Psalms formed an essential basis not only for elementary education but for secondary as well.[50] The Psalms were equally useful for advanced study, being comprehensive of spiritual practice and wider biblical knowledge. Their form as poetry, and the multiple levels of interpretation they contain, made the Psalms 'ripe for deeper and more wide-ranging analysis both scholarly and spiritual', as one study noted when discussing 'higher level' Psalm study.[51] Alcuin himself is likely the author of a small guide on the uses of the Psalms, the *De laude psalmorum*, which, due to its form and manuscript tradition, is believed to have been intended more for private devotion than for schooling.[52] It presents eight primary devotional uses, from making confession to meditating on the divine law. In describing this last use, Alcuin (if indeed the author) writes that one can mediate an entire lifetime on the divine law in Psalm 119, and that therefore one need not be scattered in mind 'per diversos libros' ('though diverse books').[53] Going on, he describes the Psalter as a microcosm of biblical knowledge and teaching:

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[45] Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri*, VII. 12. 3 (ed. Lindsay, vol. I); see also Isidore's letter to Leudfred: *Epistolae*, *ep*. 1, PL 83, cols 893–914 (cols 895A–896C); *Disputatio puerorum*, 7. 2 (lines 1711–13) (eds Rabin and Felsen, p. 75).

[46] Page, *The Christian West and its Singers*, pp. 101, 117.

[47] Page, *The Christian West and its Singers*, p. 240.

[48] See Joseph Dyer, 'Cantor', in *Grove Music Online*, online edn of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com> [accessed 22 January 2019]; Page, *The Christian West and its Singers*, p. 214; for an example see the council of Aachen, cc. 60, 76: MGH Conc., 2, 1, p. 364, line 21, p. 367, line 11.

[49] Cassiodorus, *Expositio psalmorum*, exp. in ps. 150. 5.6, lines 148–54, CCSL 98, p. 1329.

[50] See Ann W. Astell, 'Cassiodorus's *Commentary on the Psalms* as an *Ars rhetorica*', *Rhetorica*, 17 (1999), 37–75 (pp. 38–39).

[51] Rebecca Rushforth, 'Annotated Psalters and Psalm Study in Late Anglo-Saxon England: The Manuscript Evidence', in *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New Perspectives in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, ed. by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and Claudia Di Sciacca, Textes et études du moyen âge, 54 (Porto: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2011), pp. 39–66 (pp. 39–40). See also Carol Scheppard, 'Prophetic History: Tales of Righteousness and Calls to Action in the *Eclogae Tractatorum in Psalterium*', in *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, ed. by Chazelle and Edwards, pp. 61–73.

> In the psalter alone you have up to the end of life matter for reading, investigating, teaching, in which you will find the prophets, gospels, and the apostles, and all the divine books in some degree spiritually and intelligibly treated and described.[54]

This statement is perhaps more important for an understanding of ninth-century curriculum than it at first appears. Study of the Psalms, and probably the study of all biblical literature and all disciplines, was cyclical and lifelong rather than limited to one application and one stage of life.

Alcuin describes the comprehensive nature of the Psalms again in a letter to Arn, written between 798–802, which served as a preface to his exposition of the penitential and gradual psalms.[55] Alcuin tells Arn to exhort his *juvenes* to the study the numerological significance of the Psalms, and to learn while young so that in their mature years they will be able to teach their students.[56] In this section of the letter, Alcuin makes a point of describing the *bonus doctor* as an exemplar for Arn. Based on the status and learning that Alcuin associated with the *doctor*, it is likely that Alcuin refers to an advanced level of knowledge on the Psalms passed down from bishop to priests and deacons.

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[52] See Jonathan Black, 'Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin and the Preface to *De psalmorum usu*', *Mediaeval Studies*, 64 (2002), 1–60 (his edition of *De laude psalmorum*, pp. 45–60). Christopher Page has warned against contrasting too strongly the domestic setting for learning the Psalms and the grammarian's school in Late Antiquity, *The Christian West and its Singers*, pp. 140–41.

[53] *De laude psalmorum*, c. 8, lines 244–45 (ed. by Jonathan Black in 'Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks', pp. 45–60 [p. 59]).

[54] *De laude psalmorum*, c. 8, lines 246–52 (ed. Black, p. 60). 'In psalterio solo usque ad obitum vitae habes materiam legendi, scrutandi, docendi, in quo invenies prophetas, evangelia atque apostolicos et omnes divinos libros spiritaliter atque intellegibiliter ex parte tractatos atque descriptos.'

[55] *Ep*. 243, MGH Epp., 4, pp. 388–92 (p. 391, lines 19–24); *Enchiridion seu expositio pia ac brevis in psalmos poenitentiales, in psalmum cxviii et graduales*, PL 100, cols 569–639 (cols 570D–575A).

[56] *Ep*. 243, MGH Epp., 4, p. 390, lines 29–38.

With an initiation to the Psalter completed or well underway, the next step in the education of clerics would have been Latin grammar and matters pertaining to the liberal arts. In her study on St Gall, Grotans makes some observations on liberal arts learning in the tenth and eleventh centuries that appear to be relevant for the ninth century as well. Her examples include Walter of Speyer (d. 1027) and Notker Labeo (d. 1022), who, as student and teacher respectively, experienced liberal arts instruction as a matter of reading 'many Latin authors' or 'the study of literature'.[57] Going back to the ninth century, Grotans notes the example of Hildemar, who, in his commentary on the *Rule of St Benedict*, describes the process whereby the *bibliothecarius* of a monastery was to bring out books from the library to be placed on a table and assigned to the monks. At this time, a monk would return the book he had received previously, and would then have to prove his comprehension of that book by examination. If he passed the examination he could receive another book, provided it was suitable for him according to the abbot.[58] As Grotans noted, Lapidge showed that this stipulation was interpreted by the Carolingians to mean that each monk was expected to read one book each year.[59] If this is true, the minimum requirement of reading a single book over the course of an entire year would imply that by the ninth century, books given out on this basis could have been tailored to serve multiple curricular functions. In her discussion on the function of Cassiodorus's *Institutiones* in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, Filippa

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[57] Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, pp. 77, 97.

[58] Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, pp. 106–07; Hildemar, *Expositio regulae*, c. 48 (ed. Mittermüller, III, p. 487).

[59] Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, p. 106; Michael Lapidge cites the contemporary example of Fleury, 'The Study of Latin Texts in Late Anglo-Saxon England [1]: The Evidence of Latin Glosses', in *Latin and the Vernacular Languages in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 99–140 (p. 126).

Alcamesi states that the works that accompany the *Institutiones* in these manuscripts, by authors such as Gennadius, Isidore, and Augustine, were meant to be combined as a 'cluster' of texts. This was done, she argues, in order to serve the student's 'personal time table and rhythm of acquisition', so that 'the texts are grouped in order to form a systematic compilation, where the main emphasis was not on the *Institutiones* as a single work, but on the entire cluster of texts'.[60]

One of the most well-known examples of a self-made collection of school texts is Walahfrid Strabo's *Vademecum*, preserved as St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 878. This manuscript represents the virtual gamut of educational curriculum from beginning to end, including texts on grammar, rhetoric, metrics, computus, Alcuin's *Disputatio de vera philosophia*, exemplars of letters, and historical excerpts from Eusebius, Orosius, and the *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*.[61] According to Wesley Stevens, Walahfrid copied much of the grammatical material early in his career, as a teenager, and the historical excerpts within the last eight years of his young life, or between 842–849.[62] A progression from the study of grammar to that of history is worth noting. The study of history as an essential step toward students composing their own works will be considered later in this chapter. In the meantime, the inclusion of historical works in a few educational manuscripts is interesting to observe.

Heiric of Auxerre produced his *Collectanea*, a compilation of scholarly notes representing the teaching he had received years earlier as a student, for Bishop Hildebold of Soissons (871–884). The compilation is generally divided into two parts, based on Heiric's mention of his two former teachers in his dedication to Hildebold. The first part consists of excerpts from classical readings that Heiric undertook with

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[60] Alcamesi, 'Cassiodorus's *Institutiones* in Anglo-Saxon England: The Manuscripts', in *Fruits of Learning*, ed. by Bremmer and Dekker, pp. 115–33 (p. 133).
[61] For bibliography on the manuscript, see Stevens, *Rhetoric and Reckoning*, pp. xi–xxxviii.
[62] Stevens, *Rhetoric and Reckoning*, pp. 25–45 (p. 27).

Lupus of Ferrières as his teacher, where he arranges memorable sayings and deeds by topic; the second includes various *scolia quaestionum*, or difficult questions from Scripture, which he gathered while under the instruction of Haimo of Auxerre, along with other theological and philosophical studies.[63] In the first part, Heiric included excerpts from Suetonius's lives of the Caesars, and Contreni commented on the usefulness of these historical selections as examples for the composition of one's own work.[64] Giorgia Vocino has elaborated on the likely origin of another interesting compilation in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 363, concluding that it arose from the circle, ultimately the classroom, of Sedulius Scottus, and was the vade mecum of an anonymous cleric or monk who had completed higher education.[65] This manuscript contains annotated copies of Servius's commentaries on the works of Virgil, a *Vita Vergilii*, classical and contemporary *carmina*, late antique tracts on rhetoric and dialectic, excerpts from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and Priscian's *De laude Anastasii imperatoris*.[66] It is a book for advanced study of the trivium with examples of writing from *fabulae* and *historiae*, including biographies, or *vitae*. Another collection, Laon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 468, was compiled and used in the second half of the ninth century by Martin Hiberniensis in his teaching.[67] It contains an introduction to the life and works of Virgil, an introduction to the liberal arts, glossaries that cover classical mythology, philosophers, and poets, a glossary on Virgil's epithets covering the *Bucolics* (*Eclogues*) the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*, and glosses on the *Carmen Paschale* by Sedulius. It is thus a reference book on the arts generally, and specifically an aid for reading *fabulae* and epic historical poetry.

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[63] Heiric, *Collectanea*, pref., lines 9–14, *I Collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre*, ed. by Riccardo Quadri, Spicilegium Friburgense, 11 (Fribourg: Edizioni Universitarie Friburgo Svizzera, 1966), p. 77. See John J. Contreni, '"And Even Today": Carolingian Monasticism and the *Miracula sancti Germani* of Heiric of Auxerre', in *Medieval Monks and Their World: Ideas and Realities: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, ed. by David Blanks, Michael Frassetto, and Amy Livingstone, Brill's Series in Church History, 25 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 35–48 (p. 39); Édouard Jeauneau, 'Heiric d'Auxerre disciple de Jean Scot', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 353–70 (p. 353).

[64] Contreni, 'The Pursuit of Knowledge', p. 128.

[65] Vocino, 'A *Peregrinus's* Vade Mecum: MS Bern 363 and the "Circle of Sedulius Scottus"', in *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*, ed. by Mariken Teeuwen and Irene van Renswoude (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), pp. 87–123.

[66] In one anecdote from Priscian's panegyric for Anastasius, he praises the emperor for promoting those at his court through the ranks (*gradus*) who had been transferred from Rome, and who had displayed skill in learning and poetry: *De laude Anastasii imperatoris*, lines 239–53, ed. by Patricia Coyne, Studies in Classics, 1 (Lewiston, NY: Mellen, 1991), pp. 48–49.

[67] John J. Contreni, *Codex Laudunensis 468: A Ninth-Century Guide to Virgil, Sedulius, and the Liberal Arts*, Armarium Codicum Insignium, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984).

As for the liberal arts, the descriptions supplied by Alcuin in his 'York Poem', both of the arts instruction offered by Ælberht and of the library at York,[68] have been considered with interest and also scepticism as a guide to curriculum. It has been observed that in describing Ælberht's teaching, Alcuin refers to the arts in their traditional order.[69] Still, it should be noted that Alcuin refers only to grammar and rhetoric more directly, while he describes the other arts in more general terms. With regard to York's library, Mary Garrison stressed that Alcuin neither prescribes an educational programme nor offers a catalogue of specific works.[70] Instead, he names authors and teachers, and the significance of Alcuin's emphasis on *auctores* and *magistri*, rather than works or disciplines, should not be underestimated with regard to early medieval curriculum.

Louis Holtz made an insightful statement when observing that Alcuin's named authors were meant to serve as *garants* (guarantors) of learning or of specific disciplines. In particular, Holtz noted the central place of Aldhelm and Bede in Alcuin's list, standing between the Church Fathers and authors representing the liberal arts, as though Alcuin considered them more recent Fathers and at the same time guarantors of the liberal arts.[71] Holtz observed that when listing authors that represent the trivium, Alcuin uses an inverse order. He begins with dialectic (Aristotle) and then proceeds to rhetoric (Cicero) and grammar (represented by multiple authors), treating the authors as *garants* of the correction of language, ranking philosophers and orators over technicians.[72]

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[68] Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1434–49, 1536–62 (ed. Godman, pp. 112, 114, 122, 124, 126).

[69] Louis Holtz, 'Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux', in *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken*, I, pp. 45–60 (p. 47).

[70] Garrison, 'The Library of Alcuin's York', p. 657.

[71] Holtz, 'Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux', p. 48.

Holtz found a hierarchy of disciplines in Alcuin's York Poem, basing this on the number of authors that Alcuin names for each discipline and the value of these authors in relation to each other. Alcuin expresses this hierarchy, Holtz argued, in the inverse order from the normal pedagogical method: philosophers, historians, proponents of natural science, dialecticians, rhetors, and grammarians. Authors representing philosophy and the sciences, these being fewer in number, are 'more precious', while the grammatical and literary authors are less so because they are more abundant.[73] Holtz argues that Alcuin's description of the arts implies how quickly students were asked to dispense with (*se débarrasser*) elementary disciplines, the trivium, in order to study the sciences of the quadrivium. But even if this was Alcuin's ideal hierarchy of learning, this does not seem to have been followed in practice. If an educational focus on certain disciplines is to be based on the abundance or paucity of sources, the opposite view, that more time was devoted to the trivium, might equally be maintained. I would argue that the educational process envisioned by Alcuin, if the 'York Poem' sheds any light on this, is not based on a hierarchy of disciplines, in the sense that one discipline was set aside in order to learn another. Rather, Alcuin's emphasis on *auctores* suggests that he would have students learn various disciplines by observing how select authors have utilized combinations of these in their works. They were to learn from the authors' demonstration of the cumulative effect of learning the disciplines, whether it appears in tracts on the liberal arts, histories, or biblical commentaries.

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[72] Holtz, 'Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux', p. 49.
[73] Holtz, 'Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux', pp. 50–51.

As for grammar, it must be noted that grammar is the only liberal art specified in the *Admonitio generalis*, which suggests the elementary nature of the education enjoined there, though further education is certainly implied.[74] A letter that Alcuin wrote to the monks of Ireland prescribing a course of studies has already been mentioned with regard to the young life stages.[75] In this letter, Alcuin describes his curriculum as a process of ascending the steps of wisdom (*gradus sapientiae*), from grammar to the other secular disciplines, and finally to the traditions of the catholic doctors. Alcuin assigns grammar to children (*infantes*) and the learning of catholic doctrines to young men (*juvenes*), which suggests a relationship between the life stages and school disciplines, since Alcuin understood the life stages and the (liberal) disciplines as ‘steps’ (*gradus*).

One likely inspiration for Alcuin’s identification of school subjects with age groups was a vignette attributed to Peter of Pisa. This grammatical excerpt, *De similitudine primae litterae aetati hominis, hoc est, infantiae*, compares the basic unit of language, or the individual letter, to an infant, and the addition of syllables and the parts of speech to an infant that passes through various ages on its way to maturity:

> A letter is said to be similar to an infant, since through various ages and by increments he grows up to a perfect age. So also with a letter, which seems to grow by syllables and parts of speech up to complete and perfect speech.[76]

Peter of Pisa compares only the elements of grammar to human growth in terms of the grades of age (*gradus aetatis*), whereas Alcuin speaks of grammar as the first of many steps, or *gradus*, in a comprehensive curriculum spanning the early life stages in the literal sense.

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[74] See above, p. 80; Holtz, ‘Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux’, p. 53.

[75] See above, pp. 129–30.

[76] Elke Krotz and Michael M. Gorman, eds, *Grammatical Works Attributed to Peter of Pisa, Charlemagne’s Tutor*, Bibliotheca Weidmanniana, 16 (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2014), p. 223. ‘Littera dicitur similis esse infanti, quia per varias aetates et per incrementa usque ad perfectam aetatem crescit. Sic et littera, quae per syllabas et partes orationis usque ad integram et perfectam orationem crescere videtur.’

Just after this passage, Peter of Pisa quotes Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, who refers to the individual letter as 'quaedam legendi nativitas' ('a certain birth of reading'), and goes on to compare the development of composition to the increments of learning in successive age categories, including those of the *adolescens* and *juvenis*:

> But [one is called] *adolescens* when he grows in the stature of his body, but *juvenis* when he grows into young manhood, by this time made worthy by the uniting of arms and the other liberal studies. But on the other hand, he is a man when he attains the power of all faculties and prudent judgements. Likewise, a letter also moves from those same characters of the tablet by the composition of cases to these the things of order.[77]

Alcuin would have particularly noted the portion describing what it means for a student to go from being an *adolescens* to a *juvenis*.

One of the most widely used sources for grammatical instruction among Alcuin and his intellectual progeny was the fourth-century grammarian Donatus. His *Ars minor* and *Ars maior* formed a two-stage curriculum that early medieval authors copied, used as the basis for their commentary editions of Donatus's work, and drew upon for their own grammars.[78] Alcuin relied on Donatus for his *Grammatica*, but in doing so he did not reproduce a simplified primer based on the *Ars minor*, but rather incorporated material from the more advanced *Ars* of Priscian, as well as philosophical matter related to dialectic.[79] At certain points Alcuin names his sources, and his synthesis is consistent with a stage of education where pupils are becoming more acquainted with *auctores* as well as different forms of writing, since Alcuin extends Donatus's more traditional list of the *species* of grammar to mention the matters more fully discussed by Isidore, including prose, metrics, fable, and history.[80]

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[77] Krotz and Gorman, eds, *Grammatical Works Attributed to Peter of Pisa*, p. 223. 'Adolescens autem, cum proceritate corporis adolescit, iuvenis vero, cum in iuventute adultat, coniugis armis ceterisque liberalibus studiis iam dignus <fit>, at vir, cum omnium sensuum consiliorumque manciscitur [sic (nanciscitur)] virtute, ita etiam littera ab ipsis cerae caracteribus usque ad casorum compositione hosque ordinis directat.' For the source of the quotation see Virgilius Maro Grammaticus, *Epitomae*, 2 (*De littera*), in *Virgilius Maro Grammaticus Opera omnia*, ed. by Bengt Löfstedt, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Munich: Saur, 2003), pp. 103–245 (pp. 108–09).

[78] See James E. G. Zetzel, *Critics, Compilers, and Commentators: An Introduction to Roman Philology, 200 BCE–800 CE* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 190–97, 296–97. Edition by Louis Holtz, *Donat et la tradition de l'enseignement grammatical: Étude sur l'Ars Donati et sa diffusion (IVe–IXe siècle) et édition critique* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981).

The fact that Alcuin composed separate works on grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic does not necessarily indicate that he taught these disciplines separately or in succession. He does not mention teaching his pupils rhetoric or dialectic specifically, nor any progression of learning from grammar to the other two disciplines. In his discussion on interpretation (*de perihermeniis*) with Charlemagne in his *De dialectica*, Alcuin lists the kinds of things to be considered in interpretation, these matching the grammatical parts of speech. Charlemagne asks whether he plans to lead him once again through grammar, and Alcuin says that indeed he does, 'sed excelsiore gradu' ('but at a higher level').[81] From this it appears that he did not view these disciplines as distinct units of teaching. On the other hand, Alcuin's limited incorporation of dialectical principles into his *Grammatica* shows no intention on his part to integrate the two disciplines, even if the tendency over the ninth century was their gradual assimilation.[82]

The revival of dialectic, or the study of logic, in the Carolingian era has been attributed to Alcuin's influence.[83] His *De dialectica* has been termed only 'an elementary introduction to logic', and yet, in the ninth century, this discipline was clearly associated with more advanced discussions on Christian doctrine.[84] According to the formal division of philosophy, which Alcuin repeats at the beginning of his *De dialectica*, dialectic and rhetoric constitute the category of *logica*, which Alcuin understands to have been adopted by the Church under the name of *theologica*.[85] The association of dialectic with theology implies a great leap from the study of grammar to dialectic, or theological inquiry. Thus, from Alcuin's elementary *De dialectica* to advanced theology, dialectic appears to have applied to various levels of learning, and in fact, the few instance where Alcuin mentions dialectic are fortuitous in that they seem to reflect these levels of learning. They also introduce the idea that the writing of compositions represented the culmination of learning.

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[79] Holtz, 'Le dialogue de Franco et de Saxo', pp. 136–44; Swiggers, 'Alcuin et les doctrines grammaticales', pp. 148–55.

[80] Alcuin, *Grammatica*, PL 101, cols 857D–858A; Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri*, I (ed. Lindsay, vol. I).

[81] *De dialectica*, PL 101, col. 973A.

[82] Law, 'The Study of Grammar', pp. 97–99.

[83] John Marenbon, 'Carolingian Thought', in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. by McKitterick, pp. 171–92 (pp. 174–77); Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, pp. 80–81; Vivien Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1997), pp. 138–40, 154–63; Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, p. 64.

Alcuin wrote to a noblewoman around the year 800, perhaps Gundrada, the sister of Adalhard of Corbie and Charlemagne's cousin, instructing her on how to counter the heresy of Adoptionism. Alcuin first reminds her of the rules that she might draw from grammar, which she already knows.[86] Then, since she has already been instructed in 'dialectical subtleties', he says that he has added some dialectical exercises, or 'interrogationes dialecticae disciplinae' ('questions of the art of dialectic') related to the controversy, and from here the letter proceeds 'per interrogationes et responsiones' ('by questions and responses').[87] The method of dialogue might bear some resemblance to the rudimentary instruction found in Alcuin's works on the arts, but here it is nothing of the kind. Alcuin is not teaching his addressee the art of dialectic; he is offering a display of applied dialectic through composition. As Bullough pointed out, the resolving of *quaestiones* was an established genre from early Latin Patristic exegesis; in other words, the question-and-answer form was used as a means of exploring a literary text at a more advanced level than basic instruction.[88] The context of the letter is that of theological debate, and Alcuin does not forget to mention the opposition, sarcastically challenging an Adoptionist to bring forth his logically inconsistent view 'secundum artem dialecticam' ('according to the art of dialectic').[89] The verb Alcuin chooses, *profere*, in his challenge 'proferat' ('let him bring forth') is interesting, for its classical meanings include 'to cite' and 'to publish', and even as he opens the letter Alcuin recounts a proverb that he read, 'Hieronimo proferente' ('with Jerome citing').[90] At this point, it becomes necessary to ask whether Alcuin viewed dialectic as a gateway to composing written works with theological content. Two other letters suggest that this is likely.

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[84] Marenbon, 'Carolingian Thought', p. 175.
[85] PL 101, col. 952C.
[86] Alcuin, *ep*. 204, MGH Epp., 4, p. 338, lines 12–14.
[87] Alcuin, *ep*. 204, MGH Epp., 4, p. 338, lines 31–33, p. 340, line 4.

The first is a letter that Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne sometime within 801–804, responding to a question on the doctrine of the Atonement.[91] A 'wise Greek' visitor to the court had propounded the 'ransom' theory of atonement, in which Christ's blood sacrifice is paid either to the devil or to death itself, which Alcuin writes to refute. Alcuin relies on biblical and patristic sources, but he also proposes 'dialecticos […] syllogismos' ('dialectical syllogisms') in order to prove that death, since it is not a created thing, cannot receive the price for sins, and he goes on to say that if his opponent does not accept dialectical reasoning (*dialectica ratio*), he ought to believe Scripture.[92] At the outset of the letter, Alcuin refers directly to the art of writing, saying that if he wished to answer the obscurity of the question it would require the work of an entire book, but that he will nonetheless moderate his pen (*calamus*) so that his answer does not exceed a long letter.[93]

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[88] Bullough, 'Reminiscence and Reality', pp. 197–98.
[89] *Ep*. 204, MGH Epp., 4, p. 339, lines 23–26 (line 25).
[90] *Ep*. 204, MGH Epp., 4, p. 337, line 36.
[91] For this letter see Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 71–72.
[92] *Ep*. 307, MGH Epp., 4, p. 470, lines 24–39 (lines 25, 37).

As for the other letter, in his final years at Tours, in 802, Alcuin wrote to Charlemagne commending to him his manual on the Trinity, *De fide sanctae trinitatis*.[94] In this letter, Alcuin states that he wrote this work in order to demonstrate the office of his name ('mei nominis [...] officium'), the name of *magister*, which some had called him, and to convince some critics at the court that it was useful for Charlemagne to learn the 'doctrines of the dialectical discipline' ('dialecticae disciplinae [...] rationes'), since Augustine had also demonstrated this in his *De trinitate*.[95] Alcuin expresses some apprehension about his work being presented to priestly ears (*sacerdotales aures*), but is confident nonetheless that with Charlemagne's right hand holding it forth to be read, it cannot justly be spurned by anyone. Once again, dialectical skill is directly associated with writing and submitting written work, and this time for the approval of superiors. At the same time, this letter emphasizes again that learning the disciplines is demonstrated by the composition of an author, in this case Augustine. In Alcuin's comments regarding dialectic, one observes a critical point of transition from passive reader to active composer, and from a learner to a practitioner of the disciplines.

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[93] *Ep*. 307, MGH Epp., 4, p. 467, lines 1–3.

[94] The edition is *De fide sanctae trinitatis et de incarnatione Christi*, ed. by Eric Knibbs and E. Ann Matter, CCCM 249 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 1–147.

[95] *Ep*. 257, MGH Epp., 4, p. 415, lines 8–13 (lines 8–9, 10–11).

V.3 From Reading to Writing: The Study of *historia* and the Composition of Saints' Lives

The importance of the study of history as part of ninth-century clerical education has been underrepresented and perhaps underestimated.[96] Holtz found it surprising that Alcuin should mention authors representing history (Pompeius Trogus, and Pliny for natural history) just after those representing the trivium in his 'York Poem'.[97] Riché made the point that history was often studied in *florilegia* containing excerpts from various authors, but he devoted only a single page to the study of history in his *Écoles et enseignement*, appending this to the study of grammar.[98] This connection between history and grammar was certainly appropriate, since Isidore names *historia* as a division of grammar in his *Etymologies*.[99] Isidore's historical works, and his views on history and the moral value of history-writing, have been treated in detail by Jamie Wood.[100] Studies of this kind, as will be shown, have profound implications for the study of clerical education.

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[96] The reading and writing of history has received much attention, but mostly in connection with reading interests in general, textual transmission, political and social contexts, and the laity. For examples see Edward Roberts, *Flodoard of Rheims and the Writing of History in the Tenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Robert A. H. Evans, '"Instructing Readers' Minds in Heavenly Matters": Carolingian History Writing and Christian Education', *Studies in Church History*, 55 (2019), 56–71; part 1 of *Writing the Early Medieval West: Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick*, ed. by Elina Screen and Charles West (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); chapters in *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Gantner, McKitterick, and Meeder; Helmut Reimitz, *History, Frankish Identity and the Framing of Western Ethnicity, 550–850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); chapters in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 236–41; Janet L. Nelson, 'History-Writing at the Courts of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 32 (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 435–42.

[97] Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, 1549 (ed. Godman, p. 124); Holtz, 'Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux', p. 49. See also Garrison, 'The Library of Alcuin's York', pp. 649–50.

[98] Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*, p. 252.

[99] Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri*, I. 5. 4 (ed. Lindsay, vol. I).

[100] Jamie Wood, *The Politics of Identity in Visigothic Spain: Religion and Power in the Histories of Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 85–92.

First, the position that history takes in Isidore's divisions of grammar should be considered. It comes last in a list of thirty divisions of grammar and literary genres, all of which appear to build upon the next: the eight parts of speech, articulate voice, the letter, the syllable, metrical feet, accent, punctuation marks, abbreviations, orthography, analogy, etymology, glosses, differentiation, barbarisms, solecisms, mistakes, metaplasms, schemata, tropes, prose, metres, fables, and histories.[101] Isidore treats each of these, ending book one of his *Etymologies* with four small sections on history. In book six, on books and the ecclesiastical (divine) offices, Isidore describes three kinds of written works. These include extracts, which explain obscure or difficult things, homilies, which are spoken to common people, and tomes, that is, volumes or books, which are longer discourses (*maiores disputationes*).[102] Isidore gives some indication that he associates history with these longer discourses when he addresses the making of books (*de libris conficiendis*): 'Certain denominations of books were made among the pagans in fixed sizes: poems and epistles in a smaller form, but indeed histories were written in a larger size.'[103] Of course, the historical, or literal sense, was one of the four senses in which Scripture was to be interpreted.[104] It is also in book six, at the beginning, that Isidore says that the two Testaments were distinguished in a threefold manner, that is, in history, morals, and allegory.[105] As Riché commented, these senses also represent a progression in biblical training, where *historia* represents the level of beginners.[106] With these two considerations in mind, the thirty divisions of grammar and the threefold nature of biblical interpretation, history stands at a point of connection between intermediate and advanced education. It comes last in the divisions of grammar, and thus may suggest the culmination of all thirty divisions, or the genre in which they are united and displayed, since, as will be shown below, history could incorporate prose and verse composition. At the same time, *historia* represents the first and most basic interpretive level necessary for going on to advanced biblical scholarship.

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[101] Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri*, I. 5. 4 (ed. Lindsay, vol. I). 'Partes orationis octo: vox articulata, littera, syllaba, pedes, accentus, positurae, notae, orthographia, analogia, etymologia, glossae, differentiae, barbarismi, soloecismi, vitia, metaplasmi, schemata, tropi, prosa, metra, fabulae, historiae.'

[102] Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri*, VI. 8. 1–2 (ed. Lindsay, vol. I).

[103] Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri*, VI. 12. 1 (ed. Lindsay, vol. I). 'Quaedam nomina librorum apud gentiles certis modulis conficiebantur. Breviori forma carmina atque epistolae. At vero historiae maiori modulo scribebantur.'

[104] See Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. by Mark Sebanc and E. M. Macierowski, 3 vols (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998–2009); Frans van Liere, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 120–23.

[105] Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri*, VI. 1. 11 (ed. Lindsay, vol. I); Wood, *The Politics of Identity*, p. 86.

In more specific terms, what constituted *historia*?[107] In the first book of his *Institutiones*, Cassiodorus provides the divisions of biblical literature as laid down by Augustine. The first division is that of history, consisting of twenty-two books of the Old Testament including Job, Tobit, Esther, Judith, the two books of Maccabees, and the two books of Esdras.[108] These particular eight books, as Cassiodorus explains in an earlier chapter, form their own subcategory, that of *hagiographa*, or sacred writings.[109] Describing Job first, Cassiodorus cites what Jerome wrote about this book in a letter to Paulinus, that it begins in prose, shifts to verse, and then ends in prose, and that it determines everything by the laws of dialectic, proving that the art of dialectic began with Scripture.[110] Moving on to Tobit, Esther, Judith, and Maccabees, Cassiodorus further defines the category of *hagiographa*, explaining that although these books are historical (*historici*), they are nevertheless histories written for the sake of demonstrating the virtues.[111] After the Scriptures, Cassiodorus includes a section on

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[106] Riché, *Écoles et enseignement*, p. 283.

[107] Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, ‘Introduction’, in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 1–13.

[108] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I. 13. 1 (ed. Mynors, p. 38, lines 10–13).

[109] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I. 6 (ed. Mynors, pp. 25–27).

[110] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I. 6. 2 (ed. Mynors, p. 25, line 24 to p. 26, line 5); Jerome, *ep*. 53. 8, CSEL 54, p. 455, lines 8–11.

[111] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I. 6. 4–5 (I. 6. 5) (ed. Mynors, pp. 26–27 [p. 27, lines 5–9]).

Christian historians (*De historicis christianis*), where Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* and Jerome's *De viris inlustribus*, along with the addition to this by Gennadius, feature prominently.[112]

Though it is true that Cassiodorus, and later the Carolingians, did not associate *hagiographa* exclusively with saints' lives, the inclusion of saint's lives in the category of history would have been understood nonetheless.[113] Jerome included historians in his *De viris illustribus*, and some of these were also the writers of *vitae*, or what would be considered as such.[114] Jerome lists a number of works by Eusebius of Caesarea, including his *Historia ecclesiastica*, his chronicle and its epitome, and his three books on the life of Pamphilus (*De vita Pamphili*).[115] He mentions Athanasius's *Life of Anthony*, which he calls the *Historia Antonii monachi*.[116] Toward the end of *De viris illustribus*, Jerome alludes to the continued work of historical composition. He relates that Dexter, the son of Bishop Pacianus of Barcelona and also the one to whom Jerome dedicates his *De viris illustribus*, had written a universal history (*Omnimodam historiam*), which Jerome says he has not yet read.[117] Closer to the Carolingian period, Rosamond McKitterick has discussed early medieval bibliographical guides, pointing out how Jerome-Gennadius went on to influence the so-called 'Gelasian Decretum', or *Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, a list of books and authors produced in Frankish Gaul around the year 700, which includes saints' lives alongside authors like Eusebius and Orosius.[118] McKitterick has also suggested that the mid-sixth-century *Liber pontificalis*, being a series of lives of the Popes, owed more to Roman secular and serial biography than to biblical and sacred hagiography, and that it served as an essential part of a new Carolingian curriculum on Roman history.[119] A more recent volume has also shown how a later author such as Orderic Vitalis (1075–1142) could represent the fusion of history, poetry, and hagiography.[120] In fact, at the opening of his *Historia ecclesiastica*, which he completed around 1141, Orderic appears to make writers of sacred history (*hagiographi*) and secular history (*historiographi*) identical in all but their intent.[121]

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[112] Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I. 17. 1–2 (ed. Mynors, pp. 55–57 [p. 56, lines 2–5, p. 57, lines 4–10).
[113] Gregory of Tours refers to the stories of martyrs as *historiae* in his *Liber in gloria martyrum* (passim), ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov., 1, 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1885, new ed. 1969), pp. 34–111. Likewise, in his edition of the *Seven Sleepers at Ephesus*, Gregory calls the lead tablets relating the story of the seven sleepers the 'omnem historiam sanctorum' ('full history of the saints'): *Passio sanctorum martyrum septem dormientium apud Ephesum*, c. 5, ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov., 1, 2, pp. 397–403 (p. 399, line 25).
[114] Examples include Philo, whose works, as Jerome says, included a book on Mark the evangelist and another on the lives of the apostles (*De apostolicis viris*): Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. 11, in *Hieronymus liber de viris inlustribus, Gennadius liber de viris inlustribus*, ed. by Ernest Cushing Richardson, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 14. 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1896), pp. 1–56 (p. 14, lines 10–19, p. 15, lines 7–10). Jerome notes that Pontius was a deacon of Cyprian and wrote a volume on the life and death of Cyprian (c. 68 [ed. Richardson, p. 38, lines 16–19]).
[115] Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. 81 (ed. Richardson, p. 43, lines 9–14).
[116] Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. 87 (ed. Richardson, pp. 44–45 [p. 45 lines 4–5]).
[117] Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, c. 132 (ed. Richardson, p. 55, lines 1–4).

Bede provides a catalogue of his own works at the end of his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.[122] After listing his biblical commentaries and a book containing his letters, he describes his historical works beginning with saints' lives. Under the heading, 'de historiis sanctorum' ('concerning histories of the saints'), Bede lists his book on the life and passion of Felix, which he rendered into prose from the metrical version of Paulinus, another book on the life and passion of Anastasius, which he says he had to correct due to a poor Greek translation, and finally his two versions of the *Life of St Cuthbert*, one in heroic verse which also included prose *capitula* summaries, and another in prose.[123] After these he mentions his 'historiam abbatum monasterii huius' ('history of the abbots of this monastery [Wearmouth and Jarrow]', and finally his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.[124] Alan Thacker demonstrates that Bede's roles as historian and hagiographer were so fused that this led to a kind of paradox in his writing: 'While in the *Ecclesiastical History* Bede offers a hagiographer's perception of history, in the prose *Life* [*of St Cuthbert*] he presents a historian's methodology for hagiography.'[125] Bede's hagiographical works, except for his prose *Life of St Cuthbert*, have been identified as his early works.[126] He submitted the prose *Life of St Cuthbert* in note form for the approval of senior members of the community in 721, which, since he was born in 672/3, did not occur in his earlier career.[127] Thacker notes that Bede's metrical *Life of St Cuthbert* was probably written soon after 705/6, that is, when Bede was around thirty years of age and had recently been ordained priest.[128] It seems possible, then, that Bede submitted his metrical *Vita* for approval also, and at a time just prior to his ordination, perhaps with the intention of demonstrating his level of learning.

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[118] See McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 200–10 (p. 204); *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, 4. 4–5, ed. by Ernst von Dobschütz, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, 38. 4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1912), pp. 9–10.

[119] Rosamond McKitterick, 'Reading Roman History in the Early Middle Ages', in *Discovery and Distinction*, ed. by Chandler and Stofferahn, pp. 3–21 (pp. 10–12); she also notes Alcuin's reading of history as demonstrated in his poem on the 793 attack on Lindisfarne (pp. 9–10). *Le liber pontificalis*, ed. by L. Duchesne, 3 vols (Paris: Boccard, 1955–57).

[120] See Vincent Debiais and Estelle Ingrand-Varenne, 'Inscriptions in Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica*: A Writing Technique between History and Poetry', and Véronique Gazeau, 'Orderic Vitalis and the Cult of Saints', in *Orderic Vitalis: Life, Works and Interpretations*, ed. by Charles C. Rozier and others (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016), pp. 127–44, 172–88.

[121] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, prologue, i. 1–2, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969–80), I (1980), p. 130.

[122] For the historiographical aspect running through Bede's works, see Charles W. Jones, 'Bede as Early Medieval Historian', part 3 in *Bede, the Schools and the Computus*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 436 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), pp. 26–36.

The relationship between Carolingian poetic composition and the support of royal and noble patrons has been well documented.[129] In the Carolingian period, a case can also be made for the connection between the study of history, the composition of *vitae*, and advancement. After all, how better could a young cleric demonstrate his wide reading, writing skill, and understanding of the virtues than by composing prose and verse hagiography?[130] Anna Lisa Taylor treats the significance of epic verse hagiographical writing in Carolingian culture and education in her monograph, *Epic Lives and Monasticism in the Middle Ages, 800-1050*. She credits ninth-century poets as the first to create a corpus of epic saints' lives, their works appearing most often in schoolbooks.[131] Taylor described the reworking of prose *vitae* into verse compositions as a process that served to encompass the entire curriculum and mark one's mastery of it:

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[123] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, V. 24 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 568, 570).
[124] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, V. 24 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 570).
[125] Alan Thacker, 'Bede and History', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. by Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 170–89 (pp. 175–76). The many and varied modes of historical projects in early medieval England have been noted by Renée R. Trilling, 'The Writing of History in the Early Middle Ages: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in Context', in *The Cambridge History of Early Medieval English Literature*, ed. by Clare A. Lees (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 232–56 (p. 234).
[126] Thacker, 'Bede and History', pp. 170–71.
[127] Thacker, 'Bede and History', p. 174.
[128] For Bede's biography, see Michelle P. Brown, 'Bede's Life in Context', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. by DeGregorio, pp. 3–24 (his ordinations as deacon and priest, p. 9).
[129] See for example Godman, *Poets and Emperors*.

> The characteristic elaborations of the prose originals reflect Carolingian educational practices. The classroom's influence is evident in digressions on geography, astronomy, mythology, and philosophy, which emphasize the poet's erudition and provide teachers with topics for elaboration. […] Because epic *vitae* were often written by a student at the end of his or her education, the poems employ devices learned from these *praeexercitamina* [rhetorical exercises in rewriting].[132]

Her statement about the writing of these compositions 'at the end' of a student's education is striking, and it certainly invites deeper investigation into when clerical students were writing *vitae*, when these compositions were published, and when these students were promoted to higher ecclesiastical rank. Of course, many hagiographical works were composed by mature clerics writing many years after their ecclesiastical promotions, and some might be written by younger clerics well before their promotions.

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[130] While not addressing hagiography per se, Mary Garrison notes that Alcuin's teaching of letter writing and verse composition would essentially position his students for advancement: 'Alcuin, *Carmen IX* and Hrabanus, *Ad Bonosum*', pp. 64–65.

[131] Anna Lisa Taylor, *Epic Lives and Monasticism in the Middle Ages, 800–1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 45.

[132] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 24–25 (see also p. 10). Taylor does not include ninth-century examples in her note, n. 104, p. 25.

Still, even in these cases a pedagogical motive is often present, and other kinds of advancement, preferment, or patronage were likely involved.

Following the example of Bede, Alcuin composed a hagiographical work in prose and verse, the *Vita sancti Willibrordi*, for Archbishop Beornrad of Sens. Alcuin himself stated the purpose of the two versions: the prose was to be read to the whole community, while the metrical version was to be studied at a deeper level by the bishop and his *scholastici*.[133] Though it is unclear when Alcuin wrote the *Vita Willibrordi*, he did not compose it as a student at York.[134] Nevertheless, Alcuin did write about bishops and saints in his 'York Poem', which, as mentioned above, is thought to have been an earlier work composed before Alcuin left England for Charlemagne's court.[135] As George Brown noted, 'two-thirds of Alcuin's great poem on York is a poetic rendition of Bede's *Historia*, with some borrowing from Bede's metrical Life of Cuthbert',[136] meaning that Alcuin likely intended his 'York poem' as a companion piece that would make a virtual *opus geminatum* of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.[137] Taylor draws attention to Alcuin's potential role in passing on the genre of epic hagiography as a heritage to future generations, claiming that Alcuin 'may have provided the impetus for the widespread production of epic *vitae* in the ninth and tenth centuries, because many of the poets were his intellectual descendants'.[138] She also concludes that epic saints' lives were 'tokens in the economy of advancement within a monastery and beyond its walls', an exchange between students and teachers, different monastic houses, and between poets and patrons.[139] But did this literary exercise inherited from Alcuin have a specific connection to ecclesiastical promotion? Much of the evidence to be considered is unspecific in this regard, but some idea can be formed with regard to the age of the writers.

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[133] *Vita Willibrordi*, prologue, PL 101, cols 693C–694B.

[134] *Vita Willibrordi*, MGH Poetae, 1, pp. 207–20; Dümmler gave a date range of between 782–789 or after 793 (p. 163). See Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 43–45; Brown, 'The Preservation and Transmission', pp. 168–69; Peter Godman, 'The Anglo-Latin *Opus geminatum*: From Aldhelm to Alcuin', *Medium Aevum*, 50 (1981), 215–29.

[135] See above, p. 20 and n. 17.

[136] Brown, 'The Preservation and Transmission', p. 168; Godman, 'The Anglo-Latin *Opus geminatum*', p. 215.

[137] Godman, 'The Anglo-Latin *Opus geminatum*', p. 225.

[138] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 45–46.

Eigil, who would later become abbot of Fulda (818–822), wrote the life of Fulda's first abbot, Sturm (744–759), at the request of Angildruth, a Bavarian nun believed to have been related to Eigil.[140] Being himself a relative of Sturm, Eigil entered Fulda at a young age, but it is unclear exactly when this took place, or how old he was at the time. It is believed that Eigil came to the monastery around 758, and if he indeed entered as a child oblate, he would have been around seven years old in this year, and thus born around 751. In the prologue to his *Vita Sturmi*, Eigil says that he has been in the monastic discipline at Fulda for over twenty years, 'from infancy' ('ab infantia').[141] This would mean that twenty years, or a few more, after his oblation, he would likely have been writing the *Vita Sturmi* at the age of between twenty-seven and thirty. Sturm died in 779, and so if Eigil had been an oblate at age seven and later began to write only after the death of Sturm, he would have had to have been at least twenty-eight years of age.[142]

The precise chronology for the early career of Candidus Brun, a monk and priest of Fulda, is unknown. He came to Fulda during the abbacy of Baugulf (779–802), was sent by Abbot Ratgar (802–817) to study with Einhard, ordained priest upon his return, and inherited the role of *magister* of the school at Fulda when Hraban Maur became abbot there in 822. Just as Eigil had been requested to write the *Vita Sturmi*, the first abbot of Fulda, Candidus was commanded by Eigil to compose a *vita* on the life of Baugulf, the second abbot, and was later exhorted by Hraban to write the life of Eigil himself. Candidus is believed to have begun writing his *Vita Eigilis* at Hraban's behest sometime within 840–842, which he wrote in prose and verse, intending the two parts of his *opus geminatum* to be bound as a single unit.[143] He certainly wrote the work as a mature priest.

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[139] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 50–51.

[140] Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda*, pp. 151–52.

[141] Eigil, *Vita sancti Sturmi*, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1829), pp. 365–77 (p. 366, lines 12–14). The more recent edition is *Die Vita Sturmi des Eigil von Fulda: Literarkritisch-historische Untersuchung und Edition*, ed. by Pius Engelbert, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck, 29 (Marburg: Elwert, 1968).

[142] In Candidus's treatment of Eigil's life, Eigil's ordination as priest is followed immediately by the mention of Sturm's death, which he says happened 'meanwhile' (*interea*), referring to the general time of life in which Eigil was ordained: *De Vita Aeigili*, c. 3, line 15 to c. 4, line 4 (c. 4, line 1), MGH Poetae, 2, pp. 94–117 (p. 98).

Candidus's other work, the *Vita Baugulfi*, has not survived, and its date of origin is unknown. Still, if Eigil commanded Candidus to write the *Vita Baugulfi* based on the model of his own experience, to write it at the same time of life that he himself was asked to write the *Vita Sturmi*, then Candidus's early career may fit the pattern of clerics that will be under discussion in the next chapter. As will be argued, Hraban Maur was around twenty-five years of age when he was sent from Fulda to receive instruction from Alcuin at Tours, and Lupus was around the same age when he left Ferrières to study with Hraban at Fulda. It is only conjecture, but if Eigil wished Candidus to follow the pattern of his own career, this would mean that Candidus was born c. 790 and was sent at around age twenty-five, c. 815, to be instructed by Einhard, then returned to Fulda in the years prior to Eigil's death in 822 to receive Eigil's commission to write the *Vita Baugulfi*, and composed this by the age of thirty and before his ordination to the priesthood.

Taylor discusses the example of Milo, a monk of Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, who composed his *Vita Amandi* around 845–855.[144] Milo presented this work to his teacher Haimin, a monk of Saint-Vaast, where Milo had been a young student. Milo included a letter in which he asked Haimin to correct anything he found inconsistent with catholic doctrine or metrical rules.[145] Haimin wrote back to say that he found no such errors, that he has exhorted the brothers of his monastery to read Milo's work, and beseeched that they be provoked to similar diligence rather than envy because of it.[146]

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[143] See Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda*, pp. 237–43; Candidus, *ep. Modesto*, MGH Poetae, 2, pp. 94–95 (p. 94); the prose and verse lives are, respectively: *Vita Eigilis abbatis Fuldensis auctore Candido*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 15, 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1887), pp. 221–33; *Candidus de vita Aeigili*, MGH Poetae, 2, pp. 94–117; Taylor, *Epic Lives*, p. 24.

[144] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 1–11.

It is not possible to determine at what point in his career Milo wrote the *Vita Amandi*. Traube set Milo's birth at some unspecified date after 809, and the dates of his ordinations as deacon and priest are unknown.[147] The general chronology, his birth after 809 and the appearance of the *Vita Amandi*, within 845–855, certainly allow for the possibility that Milo wrote his *Vita* around the age of thirty or his ordination as priest. The manuscript headings for Milo's letter to Haimin refer to Milo as a deacon (*levita*), with one variant referring to the letter as being that of 'milonis levitae postea presbiteri' ('Milo the deacon and afterward the priest'), while in the preface to his poem *De sobrietate*, which would then have to be a later work, Milo calls himself 'sacerdotum minimus' ('least of the priests').[148] In addition to this, Milo, at the end of book one of his *Vita Amandi*, says that up to this point in his narrative he has written the things which Amandus has done as a 'juvenile' (*iuvenilis*), and he then compares himself with the Saint, saying, 'aptum opus, ut iuvenis iuvenem laudare mererer' ('it is a fitting task, that a young man should merit to praise a young man').[149] Could it be that Milo made a point of including this comparison because he had recently passed the stage of *adolescentia*, which ended at age twenty-eight, and was now a *juvenis* in the technical sense?

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[145] Milo, *Vita Amandi*, MGH Poetae, 3, pp. 567–609 (for the letter, MGH Poetae, 3, p. 566, lines 13–15).
[146] MGH Poetae, 3, p. 566, line 33 to p. 567, line 1.
[147] MGH Poetae, 3, pp. 557–58.
[148] MGH Poetae, 3, p. 566 (see also Traube's note here); *De sobrietate*, pref., line 4, MGH Poetae, 3, pp. 613–75 (p. 613).
[149] *Vita Amandi*, I, lines 430–31, MGH Poetae, 3, p. 578.

Walahfrid Strabo is a prime example of a ninth-century cleric who was trained to write compositions from an early age. Born in 808/9, Walahfrid was an oblate at Reichenau, where he received his early education, and he continued his schooling at Fulda from 826–829. In 829, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, Walahfrid was brought to the court of Louis the Pious, where, it is believed, he became the tutor of young Charles, later Charles the Bald. In 838, when Walahfrid was twenty-nine or thirty years old, Louis appointed him abbot of Reichenau, but by this time he had already written a number of works. By age eighteen he wrote the *Visio Wettini*, his verse rendering of a prose work written a few years earlier by Heito, a senior monk of Reichenau who later became abbot there and then bishop of Basle, relating visions of heaven and hell that Wetti, a monk at Reichenau, experienced in the days before his death.[150] Walahfrid composed hagiographical works, one of them a prose *Vita Galli*, which he intended to render into verse, and two in verse, the *Vita Blaithmaic* and *Vita Mammae*.[151] It is unclear whether he wrote the *Vita Blaithmaic* and *Vita Mammae* early in his career, as a pupil at Reichenau or at Fulda, or later at the court.[152] He did write at least two of his works at critical times with regard to his preferment and advancement. Walahfrid composed the *Visio Wettini* in 827, at around age eighteen, during his time at Fulda and just before he was transferred to the court. Later, he was asked by Abbot Gozbert and his monks at St Gall to compose a newly corrected prose *Vita Galli*, which was dated to around 833/4, with a wider range of no earlier than 830 and no later than 837.[153] If Walahfrid composed it close to the date of 833/4, this means that he would have been around twenty-five years of age, the age of ordination to the diaconate. If he had written the *Vita* closer to the date of 837, he would have been twenty-nine or thirty years of age, and this would have been just before he was appointed abbot of Reichenau in 838.

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[150] *Visio Wettini, Die Vision Wettis*, ed. and trans. by Hermann Knittel (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986). See Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, 'La réécriture en vers par Walafrid Strabon de la *Visio Wettini* en prose d'Heito (IXe siècle): enjeux théoriques, procédés stylistiques', in *Rencontres du vers et de la prose: conscience théorique et mise en page*, ed. by Catherine Croizy-Naquet and Michelle Szkilnik, Texte, Codex & Contexte, 20 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 15–34; Paul Edward Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), pp. 63–67.

[151] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 113–15. *Vita Galli*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH SS rer. Merov., 4 (Hanover: Hahn, 1902), pp. 280–337; *Vita sancti Blaitmaici*, PL 114, cols 1043–46; *Vita Mammae*, PL 114, cols 1047–62 and Boris Solinski, ed. and trans., 'Le *De vita et fine sancti Mammae monachi* de Walahfrid Strabon: texte, traduction et notes', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 12 (2002), 1–77. For Walahfrid's intention to write the verse *Vita Galli*, see Ermenric's letter to Grimald, c. 28, MGH Epp., 5, pp. 534–79 (p. 566, lines 30–31).

[152] For discussion see Martin Brooke, 'The Prose and Verse Hagiography of Walahfrid Strabo', in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. by Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), pp. 551–64.

A careful study of the curriculum of the eighth and ninth centuries reveals yet again that for Alcuin and his heirs, education and the concepts and structures of advancement were closely connected. The division of subjects according to clerical tasks, the integration of disciplines and reengagement with these at different ages and at various stages in the early clerical career, and an emphasis on authors (*auctores*), who combined the skills of the arts and exhibited them in their works for emulation, testify to this connection. The study of history provided immediate models for young clerics to emulate leading up to a critical transition in their education and careers, the transition from reading to writing their own compositions, which often occurred at or near the time of their promotions to the higher orders. This can be observed in further prosopographical examples, which will be treated in the next chapter.

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[153] MGH SS rer. Merov., 4, p. 234.

Chapter VI

Prosopography and Clerical Advancement

For many ninth-century intellectuals such as John Scottus Eriugena, Martin Hiberniensis, and Sedulius Scottus, little or no information exists on their early life, education, and promotions.[1] While prosopographies treating the careers of adults are more feasible, these being based on their political affiliation with royal courts,[2] or their mature intellectual pursuits in areas such as philosophy,[3] prosopographical study based on education is more difficult due to the anonymity of its younger subjects.[4] As already shown, most of this information comes via bits of narrative and incidental material from sources like saints' lives and letters, and even here the sort of education being described usually pertains to a limited group of gifted students who would become renowned clergymen. If study could be done on a wider range of young clergy, it would likely reveal significant variation in their education and career paths. This chapter discusses the early lives of some of Alcuin's prominent 'heirs', meaning his own pupils as well as those who were taught by his pupils in succession, and this will involve a more detailed treatment of Hraban Maur, Lupus of Ferrières, Ermenric of Ellwangen, and Heiric of Auxerre. The groundwork of the preceding chapters, especially with regard to age (*aetas*), curriculum, and the role that composition played in promotion, provides the basis for a new perspective on these early careers, demonstrating a connection between education and advancement.

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[1] See Contreni, 'The Pursuit of Knowledge', p. 129. For John Scottus see Deirdre Carabine, *John Scottus Eriugena* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 13–15; Dermot Moran, *The Philosophy of John Scottus Eriugena: A Study of Idealism in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 35–37; John O'Meara, *Eriugena* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), pp. 1–9.

[2] For example, Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)*.

[3] For example, Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre*.

[4] The most recent work on clerical careers in connection with education and advancement has been that of Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World* (see esp. pp. 53–64 and chapters 6 and 7).

VI.1 General Observations on Educational Careers

Salomo III, bishop of Constance and abbot of St Gall (890–919/20), was educated at St Gall from a young age.[5] This was no doubt with the intention that he should follow in the footsteps of his two uncles, both bishops of Constance in their turns, his great-uncle Salomo I (838/9–71) and uncle Salomo II (875/6–89).[6] The *Collectio Sangallensis*, or *Formulae Salomonis*, a compilation produced in the time of Salomo III, contains a letter written by Notker the Stammerer to two of his former pupils, Salomo III himself and his brother Waldo. Notker writes to admonish them regarding their intellectual pursuits, and more specifically, to correct them on the proper duration and emphasis of their studies. The letter opens with a fascinating biblical anecdote, recounting the first chapter of Daniel where Nebuchadnezzar, after laying siege to Jerusalem, commanded that the best and brightest young men of Judah be taken to Babylon where they might serve at his palace:

> We read in the prophet that when king Nebuchadnezzar had seen the fine and talented boys among captive Judah, he commanded that they stand, after having been educated for three years, in the sight of the king, and thus it was done. And after the period of three years it was found that the wisdom and intellect in them was above all the wise men of Babylon. The gentile peoples, at the preaching of the apostles, were found to be perfected in the grace and doctrine of Christ, some after three years, some after a period of two years, others after the space of one year or a half-year. Why should I recount that God, that teacher, not only whose words, but also whose deeds are instruction, lived visibly with his disciples no

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[5] For the account of Salomo III's career see Ekkehard IV, *St. Galler Klostergeschichten* (*Casus sancti Galli*), cc. 1–29, ed. and trans. by Hans F. Haefele (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980; repr. 2013), pp. 18–71.

[6] See de Rijk, 'On the Curriculum of the Arts of the Trivium at St Gall, pp. 40–44; Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 53–55; Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 232, 237–38; Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, pp. 117–35 (p. 123).

> more than three and a half years, or rather, according to others, two and a half [years], and wished to inform and instruct them by his presence?[7]

The notion of a formative stint of learning that lasted around three years is cited from both the Old and New Testaments. Some variation of the duration is allowed for the 'gentile peoples', but the ideal period of three years is nonetheless established in Christ's teaching of the disciples.

Notker goes on to express his displeasure that Salomo and Waldo have not adhered to such a limit, but have prolonged certain studies that they should have left behind by their stage of maturity. Notker chides them for still learning their alphabet and how to join syllables into speech, but he is not just using hyperbole to shame them. He also includes the more advanced studies of the liberal arts. Notker accuses them of making a pastime of discussing the difficult questions of grammar, of slipping out of the 'little snares' of dialectic, of being the 'victors' of rhetorical struggles, and of always wanting to learn something new about geography and astronomy.[8] The harm of this exercise, as Notker describes it, appears to lie in the fact that they remain locked in a fruitless exchange among peers, when they could share a more meaningful exchange with those of superior wisdom like Notker himself, or those of greater authority, in confronting the mysteries of Scripture:

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[7] *Collectio Sangallensis Salomonis III tempore conscripta*, c. 41, ed. by Karl Zeumer, MGH Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi (Hanover: Hahn, 1886), pp. 390–433 (p. 423, lines 2–10). The letter is also in *Formulae Salomonis*, c. 42, *Das Formelbuch des Bischofs Salomo III von Konstanz: Aus dem Neunten Jahrhundert*, ed. by Ernst Dümmler (Osnabrück: Zeller, 1964), pp. 50–52. 'Legimus in propheta, quia, cum Nabuchodonosor rex inter captivitatem Iuda pueros elegantes vidisset et ingeniosos, praeceperit, ut, eruditi tribus annis, postea starent in conspectu regis. Factumque est ita. Et post triennium inventa est in eis sapientia et intellectus super omnes sapientes Babylonis. Gentiles populi ad praedicationem apostolorum, alii post tres annos, alii post biennium, alii post unius anni spatium vel dimidii in gratia et doctrina Christi perfecti sunt inventi. Quid referam, quod Deus ille magister, cuius non solum verba, sed et facta doctrina sunt, non amplius cum discipulis suis quam tribus annis et dimidio, vel potius iuxta alios duobus et semisse visibiliter conversari et eos per sui praesentiam informare et instruere voluit?'

[8] *Collectio Sangallensis*, c. 41, MGH Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi, p. 423, lines 17–22.

> You should have set forth daily something concerning the obscure enigmas of the law and prophets, whether to be solved, or even as something unknown for others, so that, if we should know them, you too likewise would know them, but if we should not know, we would refer [you] to a person of greater knowledge.[9]

Notker would have been aware that Salomo and Waldo were destined for high office from an early age, and he expresses something important here about the main purpose of clerical education. Salomo and Waldo were not simply to become knowledgeable clerics; Notker insists that they participate in a network of learned exchange with the higher clergy, to offer their knowledge, and to depend on others with greater knowledge or authority. This network of shared learning is characteristic of the Carolingian reform of education in general, but the more specific practices of undergoing set periods of education and traveling in order to secure the best education, as represented in the story of Nebuchadnezzar and the young men of Judah, appear to have been a pattern as well. As will be shown, a common practice was that once a candidate had been ordained to the diaconate, he would then be sent off to study for a period under an accomplished teacher. This opportunity was likely granted as a reward for earlier academic performance, but also with the expectation that this educational experience, granted upon attaining the first of the higher orders, would lead to advancement to the priesthood or higher office, to the production of written compositions, and to learned interaction with a network of higher clergy.

As for Alcuin’s pupils, Notker remarked that ‘none remained who did not become prominent as either a most holy abbot or most holy bishop’, and Notker was thinking particularly of his own abbot at St Gall, Grimald (841–72).[10] Grimald was born around 790, and so he would have had Alcuin for his teacher at a relatively young age, and only until around age fourteen.[11] As with Grimald, the early careers of most of Alcuin's pupils are not known in detail, but some are worth mentioning. The early career of Liudger was considered above, where, at the time Liudger was ordained deacon at York in 767 he remained with Alcuin for one year, and upon returning to Utrecht he gained permission to return to York to study with Alcuin for three and a half years.[12] As was noted, virtually all of Liudger's time in the diaconate was served during his 'study abroad' term with Alcuin. Hatto, who became abbot of Fulda (842–856) as Hraban Maur's successor, accompanied Hraban earlier to Tours where they both studied with Alcuin.[13] It is unknown how old Hatto was at the time, or whether he was very close in age with Hraban. Hraban enlisted Hatto's help both in conceiving and correcting his great work, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, which Hraban apparently completed in the same year he was ordained priest.[14] Did this mean that Hatto may have been Hraban's senior by a few years? Does it mean that Hatto could expect credit in terms of his own advancement for being involved in the composition or publication of that work? Amalarius too, in his *De ordine antiphonarii*, refers to a time, 'quando videbar puer esse ante Albinum doctissimum magistrum totius regionis nostrae' ('when

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[9] *Collectio Sangallensis*, c. 41, MGH Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi, p. 423, lines 22–25. ‘De legis et prophetarum obscuris enigmatibus quiddam cotidie vel solvendum vel etiam ceteris ignotum proponeretis, ut, si nos ea sciremus, pariter ea sciretis et vos, si autem nesciremus, ad potioris scientiae personam referremus.’

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[10] Notker, *Gesta Karoli Magni*, I. 8, MGH SS rer. Germ. N.S., 12, p. 11, lines 7–12.
[11] For the outline of Grimald's career see Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 111–13; Hildebrandt, *The External School*, pp. 108–12.
[12] See above, pp. 31–33.
[13] *Catalogus abbatum Fuldensium*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 13 (Hanover: Hahn, 1881), pp. 272–74 (p. 272, lines 26–28). See Mechthild Sandmann, 'Die Folge der Äbte', in *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. by Karl Schmid, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 8, 3 vols, vol. 2 in 3 parts (Munich: Fink, 1978), I: *Grundlegung und Edition der Fuldischen Gedenküberlieferung*, pp. 178–204 (p. 186); Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda*, p. 267.
[14] See Michel Perrin, ed., introduction to Hraban Maur, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, 100A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), CCCM 100, pp. xii–xv. For this work, see Herrad Spilling, *Opus Magnentii Hrabani Mauri in honorem sanctae crucis conditum: Hrabans Beziehung zu seinem Werk*, Fuldaer Hochschulschriften, 18 (Frankfurt: Knecht, 1992); Michele C. Ferrari, *Il 'Liber sanctae crucis' di Rabano Mauro: Testo, immagine, contesto*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters, 30 (Bern: Lang, 1999); Michel Jean-Louis Perrin, 'La poésie de cour carolingienne, les contacts entre Alcuin et Hraban Maur et les indices de l'influence d'Alcuin sur l'*In honorem sanctae crucis*', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest*, 111.3 (2004), 333–51.

I seemed a boy before Alcuin, the most learned teacher of our entire region').[15] Hanssens, the editor of this work, pointed out that 'videbar puer esse' could be read in two ways: 'I was seen to be a boy' or 'I seemed a boy', but the context of the statement adds some clarity.[16] Being 'delighted and supported' with Alcuin's authority on the subject, Amalarius felt that he himself had the freedom (*libertas*) to implement or recommend the implementation of Alcuin's method of singing the Psalms. In other words, Amalarius was not a boy; he appears to have been able to make decisions about liturgy soon after his observation of Alcuin's method. In the next line, he says that after this he went to Rome and that the year was 831.[17] If born around 775, Amalarius would have been around fifty-five years old.

Alcuin made a request of king Offa of Mercia sometime between 787–96 that he grant favour to one of his former pupils. Addressing the king, he asks, 'ut eum honorifice habeatis' ('that you hold him with respect'), and Alcuin goes on to explain precisely what this would entail:

> Provide pupils for him, and, admonishing, bid that he teach diligently. I know that he has learned well; would that he also advance well! Because the success of my pupils is reward for me with God.[18]

Possibly within the same year of the Frankfurt synod of 794, Alcuin sent another letter to his homeland, this time to Hygbald, bishop of Lindisfarne. Alcuin informs Hygbald that he has sent a student named Candidus, who had studied with him the previous year, back to Lindisfarne, and Alcuin offers that if Hygbald wished to send Candidus again, he would gladly receive him and continue his education:

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[15] Amalarius, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, 58. 2 (ed. Hanssens, III, pp. 93–94). See Collins, *The Carolingian Debate over Sacred Space*, p. 43; Graeme Ward, 'The Order of History: Liturgical Time and the Rhythms of the Past in Amalarius of Metz's *De ordine antiphonarii*', in *Writing the Early Medieval West*, ed. by Screen and West, pp. 98–111 (p. 99); Duckett, *Carolingian Portraits*, p. 93.

[16] Hanssens, *Amalarii episcopi opera*, I (1948), p. 62.

[17] Amalarius, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, 58. 2–3 (ed. Hanssens, III, p. 94).

[18] Alcuin, *ep*. 64, MGH Epp., 4, p. 107, lines 7–11. 'Praevidete ei discipulos; et praecipientes praecipite, ut diligenter doceat. Scio, quod bene didicit. Et utinam bene proficiat. Quia discipulorum meorum profectus merces est mihi apud Deum.'

> And if it pleases you to return him again to us, whatever we think to bring about for the advance [profectum] of the same holy church [Lindisfarne], we shall gladly apply to him.
>
> For whatever I learned from teachers for the service of the holy churches of God, these things I delight to impart, especially to men of our own race, and yet not only to these, but also to all who eagerly seek, if I can [do] anything useful for the profit of the soul and the increase of the holy Church.[19]

A stint of one year, with the promise of a second term, perhaps of a year or more, makes Candidus a tantalizing example to consider when trying to determine what Alcuin means by his use of *profectus* (advance or progress). First, he seems to apply the idea of *profectus* both to the soul of his pupil and to the church of Lindisfarne. Alcuin then adds another term, *incrementum* (increase), which he applies to the Church in the general sense, all the while making it clear that he is passing on what he himself received from his *magistri*.

For Alcuin, and for those who would be influenced by him, the advance and increase of individual churches and monasteries, and of the greater church as well, was measured in time spent and knowledge exchanged between teachers and pupils. Education was to be a highway of knowledge for clerical networks, which of course meant the passage of knowledge from teachers belonging to the higher clerical orders to their pupils in the lower orders. In addition to this, it meant that upon being educated and promoted, these pupils would begin to participate in these networks, either by seeking further stints of education with recognized masters, by posing difficult questions to former teachers or to senior clergy, or by becoming teachers themselves.

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[19] Alcuin, *ep*. 24, MGH Epp., 4, p. 65, lines 31–36. ‘Quem si iterum vobis placuerit ad nos reverti, quicquid ad profectum eiusdem sanctae ecclesiae provenire credimus, ei libenter impendemus.

Quaecunque enim a magistris ad utilitatem sanctarum ecclesiarum Dei didici, haec maxime gentis nostrae hominibus communicare delector; et non solis tamen illis, sed et omnibus, qui desideranter quaerunt; si quid utile possum ad animae profectum et sanctae Dei incrementum ecclesiae.’

VI.2 Hraban Maur

According to the *Annales Laurissenses minores*, Hraban Maur was ordained deacon in 801 and priest in 814.[20] The year 814 also happens to be the composition date given to Hraban's elaborate acrostic poem, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, which, as will be discussed below, Hraban claimed to have begun writing at the age of thirty. The key to understanding the course of Hraban's early career remains his date of birth, which was the subject of debate nearly a century ago. The currently accepted date, 780, is based on an entry in the Fulda annals, and has long replaced the traditional date of 776, but based on a reconsideration of Hraban's education and early writing career, it may be time to reopen this debate.[21]

In his introduction to the MGH edition of Hraban Maur's poetry, published in 1884, Dümmler accepted 776 as the year of Hraban's birth.[22] This date was based simply on the year that Hraban became a deacon, in 801, assuming that this ordination had taken place at the prescribed age of twenty-five. But then Dümmler faced what he considered to be a problem. He noted that Ratgar, who succeeded Baugulf as abbot of Fulda in 802, sent Hraban to Tours for the purpose of studying the liberal arts with Alcuin, which meant that if Hraban was born in 776 and was sent to Tours for arts instruction in or after 802, he would have been twenty-five years of age or older.[23] Although Dümmler seemed to find no difficulty with Hraban's age for undertaking such studies, he was troubled by the question of how Hraban and Alcuin could have forged such a close relationship in so little time, since Alcuin died in 804. For this reason, he surmised that Hraban could have gone to Tours years earlier, under Baugulf's abbacy, for a much longer period of study with Alcuin.[24] In fact, by 1898 Dümmler was convinced not only that Hraban had studied at Tours with Alcuin for an extended period before 802, but also that Hraban must have been nearly a decade younger than previously thought, putting him in his late childhood or early teens at the time of these studies.[25] He reasoned that Hraban, coming from a distinguished family and possessed of immense talent, must have been ordained deacon before the usual age. Dümmler suggested that a better marker for determining Hraban's age was his ordination as priest in 814, which, if occurring when Hraban had just reached the prescribed age of thirty, would set the date of his birth at or near 784.[26]

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[20] *Annales Laurissenses minores*, entries for 801, 814, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1826), pp. 112–23 (p. 120, lines 12–13, p. 122, lines 16–18).

[21] See Perrin, introduction to Hraban Maur, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, pp. v–vi, and nn. 1 and 2 for biographies on Hraban. De Jong argues that Hraban came to Fulda as a young oblate in 788, 'when he was eight years old at most – but probably younger', and thus accepts a date even later than 780 for Hraban's birth: *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 73–77 (p. 77). This is based on two charters, dated May 788, by which Hraban's parents donated goods to Fulda, these charters being signed by Hraban's parents and even by Hraban himself. De Jong associated this transaction with a normal oblation at age eight (pp. 75–76), but Hraban's involvement in the transaction probably means that he was twelve years old, and that his parents and Fulda wanted his oblation to involve his own volition.

[22] *Hrabani Mauri carmina*, MGH Poetae, 2, p. 154.

None of the reasons for which Dümmler abandoned the earlier date of 776 for Hraban's birth for the later one were very convincing. First, he described the age requirement of twenty-five years for deacons as having been only loosely based on the biblical model for Levites, and blamed modern scholars for elevating it to the respect of canonical authority.[27] However, biblical models were never taken lightly, and even Hraban himself went on to declare that the ‘canons and ordinances of Pope Zosimus decree’ the various age requirements.[28] At the same time, Dümmler believed that Hraban’s ordination as priest must have taken place precisely at the prescribed age of thirty, while rejecting the possibility that Hraban, if he had been born in 776, could have served as deacon for thirteen years until the age of thirty-eight.[29] The impetus to remain a deacon has already been discussed, and in Alcuin Hraban certainly had a model for this. Secondly, Dümmler seized upon Hraban’s mention of illness in a letter of 841, and from this he argued that Hraban could not have taken on the role of archbishop of Mainz in 847 at the age of seventy-one.[30] Thirdly, he based his new conclusion partly on the mention of a certain ‘Corvulus’ among the students of Alcuin in a poem by Theodulf of Orléans, which seems to have gone against Dümmler’s better judgment years earlier.[31]

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[23] *Annales Laurissenses minores*, c. 34 (entry for 802), MGH SS, 1, p. 120, line 15; *Catalogus abbatum Fuldensium*, MGH SS, 13, p. 272, lines 25–29.

[24] Ernst Dümmler, 'Rabanus: Magnentius Hrabanus Maurus', in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Historische Kommission bei der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 56 vols (Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1875–1912), XXVII (1888), pp. 66–74 (p. 67).

[25] Dümmler, introduction to *Hrabani Mauri epistolae*, MGH Epp., 5, p. 379.

[26] Ernst Dümmler, 'Hrabanstudien', in *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 3 (Berlin: Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1898), pp. 24–42 (pp. 27–28); *Annales Laurissenses minores*, MGH SS, 1, p. 122, lines 16–18.

Paul Lehmann then drew attention to an entry among the Fulda annals preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 460. Here the annalist has recorded the birth of Hraban under the year 780. Although this information was recorded at Fulda, Lehmann wisely understood that this date, as all annalistic dates, should not be trusted per se, but should be corroborated by other evidence. This evidence, he argued, is supplied by the composition of Hraban’s *In honorem sanctae*

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[27] Dümmler, ‘Hrabanstudien’, p. 27. The biblical requirement that Levites enter upon service at the age of twenty-five is found in Numbers 8. 24.

[28] Hraban, *De institutione clericorum*, I. 13, line 2 (ed. Zimpel, p. 308). ‘Canones et decreta Zosimi papae decernunt.’ For the decrees, see Zosimus, *ep*. 9, PL 20, cols 672B–673A. See also Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum*, pp. 226–27.

[29] Ermenric of Ellwangen (born c. 814) was a student at Fulda during Hraban’s abbacy and would have had a nearly identical career, becoming a deacon at age twenty-five and a priest ten years later: Taylor, *Epic Lives*, p. 115.

[30] Dümmler, ‘Hrabanstudien’, p. 27. The letter is that of Hraban to Samuel of Worms: *ep*. 24, MGH Epp., 5, pp. 430–31 (p. 431, lines 6–7).

[31] Dümmler, ‘Hrabanstudien’, pp. 28–29; Theodulf of Orléans, *carm*. XXVII, MGH Poetae, 1, pp. 490–93 (p. 492, line 56, p. 493, lines 102, 107, 112), and Dümmler’s comment on p. 492, n. 5. For the identity of *Corvulus*, see Dieter Schaller, ‘Der junge “Rabe” am Hof Karls des Großen (Theodulf. carm. 27)’, in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. by Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1971), pp. 123–41. Schaller points out that Theodulf uses the plural ‘corvi’ and ‘corvos’ with reference to a collective, that is, an entire group of students at the court, and thus *Corvulus* might refer to anyone in this group (p. 138).

crucis, dated 814, and its introductory poem, the *Intercessio Albini pro Mauro*, in which Hraban says that he had completed six *lustra*, or was thirty years old, when he began to write this work.[32] Accordingly, if Hraban had been born in 780, he would have begun its composition by 810, and thus had enough time to complete it by 814. This was sufficient for Lehmann, and the date of 780 has become generally accepted.[33]

One potential problem with setting Hraban's birth at 780 is that in the introductory poem, Hraban finishes describing his studies at Tours with Alcuin, and in the line immediately following this says that he reached the age of thirty and began to compose the *In honorem sanctae crucis*.[34] If we trust Lehmann and the annalist's dating of Hraban's birth to 780, Hraban was twenty-four years old when Alcuin died in 804, and we must grant that six years (804–810) elapsed between the lines describing Hraban's studies at Tours and the start of his project at age thirty. It seems more reasonable to set the date of Hraban's birth at 776 and the start of his composition at 806, or within two years after his time with Alcuin. Setting the beginning of composition for *In honorem sanctae crucis* in 806 might be more in keeping with an introductory poem like the *Intercessio Albini pro Mauro*, with Alcuin being the most prominent figure in Hraban's life, though Hraban could certainly have written it long after Alcuin's death. Consequently, Hraban may have taken longer to compose the *In honorem sanctae crucis*, or waited for a period before exposing it to public scrutiny in 814.[35] The coincidence of the appearance of his *In honorem sanctae crucis* and his ordination as priest, both occurring in 814, is also interesting, and may suggest that

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[32] Paul Lehmann, *Fuldaer Studien*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, 3 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1925), p. 25; *Intercessio Albini pro Mauro*, in *In honorem sanctae crucis*, A 2, lines 13–14, CCCM 100, p. 5. See also Perrin, 'La poésie de cour carolingienne', pp. 335–36.

[33] Michel Sot, 'Introduction', in *Raban Maur et son temps*, ed. by Depreux and others, pp. 9–17 (p. 9); Schaller, 'Der junge "Rabe" am Hof', p. 133.

[34] *Intercessio Albini pro Mauro*, in *In honorem sanctae crucis*, A 2, lines 9–14, CCCM 100, p. 5.

[35] Hraban's writing may have been delayed by difficult circumstances at Fulda between 806 and 812, including an epidemic and the time that Hraban fell out of favour with his abbot, Ratgar (see Steckel, *Kulturen des Lehrens*, p. 383).

Hraban was saving this work for such an occasion. Did he intend it as proof of his erudition and fitness for the priesthood?

The dates for Hraban's ordinations as deacon and priest, 801 and 814 respectively, provoke a tempting explanation for the Fulda annalist's date of 780 for Hraban's birth. The annalist may not have known the year of Hraban's birth, and may have only known the dates of Hraban's ordinations. If so, the traditional twenty-five year requirement for ordination to the diaconate would have yielded a date of 776 for Hraban's birth, while the thirty-year requirement for the priesthood would have yielded a date of 784. Faced with these two dates with a range of nine years, the annalist may have simply split the difference, adding four years to the earlier date and subtracting four years from the later to arrive at 780.

In 1972, Franz Brunhölzl wrote his own biographical sketch of Hraban Maur. He largely avoided the question of Hraban's date of birth, giving only a general date of 'around 780', and simply noted the brevity of Hraban's time with Alcuin after his ordination as deacon in 801 until Alcuin's death in 804.[36] After this, Franz Staab also accepted a date of around 780, while Eckhard Freise proposed 783.[37] In my opinion, these arguments for a later date are partially due to the same misgiving that Dümmler never explicitly stated, but nonetheless attempted to resolve. We might express this misgiving with the following question: If Hraban had actually been born in 776, would he not have been too old to set out on another phase of liberal arts instruction at the age of twenty-five? From our earlier discussion it becomes evident that he was not too old, and thus from the standpoint of schooling, 776 remains a perfectly valid year for his birth. In fact, if Hraban concluded his studies and returned to Fulda upon Alcuin's death in 804, he would have been twenty-eight years old, the precise age at which *adolescentia*, the stage of life that Alcuin designated for liberal arts instruction, technically ended. One might call it a coincidence that Alcuin may have died in the same year that Hraban concluded his *adolescentia*, but the elegance of this coincidence may have led to the strong impression, in hindsight, that the mantle of Alcuin's learning and teaching authority was passed to Hraban. In any case, between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-eight, it was still thought that Hraban needed one last term of polishing and testing, this time with the great Alcuin himself, as the crowning stage of his liberal arts education.

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[36] Franz Brunhölzl, 'Hrabanus Maurus', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1953–), IX (1972), pp. 674–76 (pp. 674–75). See also Sandmann, 'Die Folge der Äbte', pp. 184–86; Eckhard Freise, 'Studien zum Einzugsbereich der Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda', in *Die Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, ed. by Schmid, II.3: *Untersuchungen*, pp. 1031–35 (pp. 1032–34).

[37] Franz Staab, 'Wann wurde Hrabanus Maurus Mönch in Fulda? Beobachtungen zur Anteilnahme seiner Familie an den Anfängen seiner Laufbahn', in *Hrabanus Maurus: Lehrer, Abt und Bischof*, ed. by Raymund Kottje and Harald Zimmermann, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz: Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Einzelveröffentlichung, 4 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), pp. 75–101. Staab maintains that Hraban's parents gave him to Fulda as an oblate in 788, when Staab assumes that Hraban would have been around seven years old (pp. 98–100). Eckhard Freise, 'Zum Geburtsjahr des Hrabanus Maurus', in *Hrabanus Maurus: Lehrer, Abt und Bischof*, ed. by Kottje and Zimmermann, pp. 18–74. Like Dümmler, Freise argues that the age requirements for promotions were not rigidly followed (pp. 50–51), and he concludes that Hraban must have also been an exception to the rule (pp. 55–57). He interprets *scolastici* as necessarily referring to young students, and views the ordination of *scolastici* to the lower grades as evidence of early promotion. Freise also takes one source's reference to Hraban as *puer* literally, but this reference is a familiar address in a poetic context, where *puer* may carry the affectionate meaning of 'son' (p. 57). For the age of *scolastici*, see de Jong, 'From *Scolastici* to *Scioli*', pp. 45–57 (pp. 48–49, and her comments on Hraban, pp. 52–53).

VI.3 Lupus of Ferrières

The case of Lupus of Ferrières is strikingly similar to that of Hraban, though it presents its own problems with regard to understanding his early career and education. It is believed that Lupus was born around 805, that he was ordained deacon at Ferrières by his twenty-fifth year before departing to study at Fulda from around 829 to 836.[38] As discussed below, the role of Aldric, abbot of Ferrières and then archbishop of Sens from

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[38] See Heinz Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli Einhards', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 39 (1983), 85–103 (p. 98 and n. 49).

June 829 until his death in 836, is critical for making determinations about Lupus's career.

In the hope of providing a date range, specifically the latest possible date, for Einhard's composition of the *Vita Karoli*, Heinz Löwe outlined what he viewed to be the distinct stages of Lupus's education, which he then used as a chronological context to determine when Lupus first read the *Vita*.[39] Others have since emphasized political context as a way of dating the *Vita Karoli*, arguing that Einhard composed it to celebrate Charlemagne soon after his death in 814, and to promote Louis the Pious's legitimacy, thus setting its composition sometime between 817 (or earlier) and 823.[40] Steffen Patzold suggests that Einhard's motive was more personal, that he composed the *Vita* primarily to demonstrate his rhetorical skill and reclaim his position at court, and that he could have composed it in the winter of 828/29.[41] This idea of dating the work in connection with Einhard's position at court is certainly appealing, and yet the career of Lupus himself should remain a factor, since he describes the course of his own education and his reading of the *Vita Karoli* in his well-known letter to Einhard. Writing from Fulda, Lupus relates how his education began at Ferrières and was now continuing under Hraban's guidance:

> To me it is sufficiently clear that wisdom is to be sought for its own sake. I was assigned to seeking it out by the holy metropolitan bishop Aldric; I obtained a teacher of grammar and learned the precepts of the art from him. I remained in this condition, since at this time it is only a fable for one to pass from grammar to

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[39] Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli', pp. 94–97.

[40] Rachel Stone follows Karl Krüger in setting the date range at around 821 × 823: Stone, *Morality and Masculinity*, p. 50; Karl Heinrich Krüger, 'Neue Beobachtungen zur Datierung von Einhards Karlsvita', Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 32 (1998), 124–45. McKitterick summarizes the debate on the dating of the *Vita* and argues for an early date of before 817 and no later than 823: *Charlemagne*, pp. 11–14.

[41] Steffen Patzold, 'Einhards erste Leser: Zu Kontext und Darstellungsabsicht der "Vita Karoli"', *Viator Multilingual*, 42 (2011), 33–55 (pp. 46–55). This is also the date accepted by Janet Nelson: *King and Emperor*, pp. 5–6.

> rhetoric, and in successive order to the other liberal disciplines. When I then had begun somewhat to proceed to the volumes of authors, and the writings produced in our day were displeasing because they wandered from that Ciceronian gravitas of the others, which eminent men of the Christian religion have also emulated, your work came into my hands, in which you recounted most brilliantly in writing (allow me to speak without suspicion of flattery) the most glorious deeds of the renowned emperor. There I embraced an elegance of expressions, there a sparsity of conjunctions, which I had noted in the authors, there, finally finding complete ideas, not encumbered and entangled in very long sentences, but in moderate lengths. Wherefore, not only earlier on account of your reputation, which I had conceived to be fitting for a wise man, but also, for my part, chiefly because of the proven eloquence of that book, I have desired thereafter to find some opportunity that I might speak with you in person, so that just as your probity and wisdom had made you manifest to my humble self, so too my love toward you and my zeal toward the disciplines might commend me to your eminence. Nor indeed shall I cease to wish for this as long as I, being well myself, know that you are alive. I am drawn more to the hope that this can happen, because, retiring hither from Gall to the region beyond the Rhine, I have been brought closer to you. For I was sent by the aforementioned bishop to the venerable Hraban, that I might obtain an introduction to the divine Scriptures from him.[42]

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[42] Lupus of Ferrières, *ep.* 1, MGH Epp., 6, p. 7, line 32 to p. 8, lines 1–20. 'Mihi satis apparet propter se ipsam appetenda sapientia. Cui indagandae a sancto metropolitano episcopo Aldrico delegatus, doctorem grammaticae sortitus sum, praeceptaque ab eo artis accepi. Sic, quoniam a grammatica ad rhetoricam et deinceps ordine ad ceteras liberales disciplinas transire hoc tempore fabula tantum est, cum deinde auctorum voluminibus spatiari aliquantulum coepissem, et dictatus nostra aetate confecti displicerent, propterea quod ab illa Tulliana ceterorumque gravitate, quam insignes quoque christianae religionis viri aemulati sunt, oberrarent, venit in manus meas opus vestrum, quo memorati imperatoris clarissima gesta (liceat mihi absque suspicione adulationis dicere) clarissime litteris allegastis. Ibi eligantiam sensuum, ibi raritatem coniunctionum, quam in auctoribus notaveram, ibi denique non longissimis perhiodis impeditas et implicitas, at modicis absolutas spatiis sententias inveniens amplexus sum. Quare, cum et ante propter opinionem vestram, quam sapiente viro dignam imbiberam, tum praecipue propter expertam mihi illius libri facundiam, desideravi deinceps aliquam nancisci oportunitatem, ut vos praesentes alloqui possem; ut quemadmodum vos meae parvitati vestra tum probitas tum sapientia fecerat claros, ita me vestrae sublimitati meus et erga vos amor et erga disciplinas studium commendaret. Neque vero id optare desistam, quamdiu ipse incolumis in hac vita vos esse cognovero. Quod posse contingere hoc magis in spem ducor, quo ex Gallia huc in Transrhenanam concedens regionem vobis vicinior factus sum. Nam a praefato episcopo ad venerabilem Rhabanum directus sum, uti ab eo ingressum caperem divinarum scripturarum.' See the edition and translation by Michael I. Allen, 'Lupus, or the Wolf in the Library: New Commentary, Edition, and Translation of Lupus of Ferrières, *Epistola* 1', in *Studies on Medieval Empathies*, ed. by Karl F. Morrison and Rudolph M. Bell, Disputatio, 25 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 141–60 (pp. 151–52 and 155–56).

According to Löwe, Lupus describes his education here as being neatly divided into three separate stages: first, a period of liberal arts instruction, second, a time devoted to reading various authors, and finally, a period devoted to the study of Scripture or theology.[43] Löwe bases a chronology of these stages on the accepted date of 805 for Lupus's birth. He concludes that Lupus would have begun liberal arts instruction at the age of fourteen or fifteen, that is, sometime between 819 and 820, and that this would have lasted only seven or eight years, ending when Lupus was between twenty-one and twenty-three years of age, or between 826 and 828. This, Löwe argues, would have allowed sufficient time for Lupus to devote himself to the reading of authors before the middle of 829, after which time Aldric is believed to have sent Lupus to Fulda to study Scripture with Hraban.[44] Therefore, Löwe proposes that Lupus must have read Einhard's work during this middle stage of reading, which would yield a terminus ante quem of 827–829 for the origin of the *Vita Karoli*.

There are a number of problems with this interpretation. First, it views Lupus's reading of authors as an independent stage of education, and this simply because Lupus mentions reading volumes in a separate clause following his mention of the liberal arts. Of course, Lupus does use *deinde* (then, next) near the beginning of this clause, but this does not necessarily mark the beginning of one phase of education after the conclusion of another. Lupus never says that he *completed* liberal arts instruction. After describing his initial study of grammar, his use of 'sic', which I translate to mean, 'I remained in this condition', evokes a sense of limbo, that Lupus regarded his instruction in the arts as unfinished business when he undertook this reading.[45] Instead of concentrating on grammar and waiting until the age of twenty-one to read authors, it is more likely that

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[43] Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli', pp. 95–97.
[44] Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli', pp. 100–01.
[45] Allen translates 'sic' with, 'such was the schooling I received,' which gives the impression that Lupus viewed his arts education as having concluded: 'Lupus, or the Wolf in the Library', p. 155.

Lupus undertook this reading as a substitute for the formal, sequential arts instruction he desired, and, what is more likely, as an essential aspect of the arts instruction he did receive. His complaint that sequential arts instruction is a 'fable' might be meant as hyperbole; he may not mean that formal arts instruction is non-existent, but only that it is hard to come by.[46] In any case, Lupus's reading of authors appears to have been supplemental to what he considered a deficient arts education.

A second problem with Löwe's interpretation is its assumption regarding the duration and age limit for liberal arts instruction. Löwe adopted Riché's claim that the stages of the student life cycle were imprecise, while affirming nonetheless that arts instruction lasted for seven or eight years and ended by the age of twenty-one or twenty-three.[47] This is particularly a problem when considering what Lupus says about his own education. According to Löwe's summary of this description, Lupus is saying that although his liberal arts education did not go very deep, he nonetheless passed through all the disciplines cursorily, and that at the end of seven years he considered his arts instruction as having concluded.[48] This is not, however, what Lupus actually says; indeed, he implies that he did *not* pass through the disciplines. If anything, he is insisting that while at Ferrières he had only begun his arts education. This is an important point to consider when discussing the significance of Lupus's move to Fulda in order to study with Hraban Maur, which did not happen until Lupus was at least twenty-four years of age.

Lupus says that Aldric, the metropolitan bishop, sent him to Fulda. Although it is unclear exactly when Aldric sent him, Löwe notes that Aldric's ordination as archbishop of Sens took place on June 6, 829, meaning that Lupus came to Fulda after this, and it is believed that Lupus stayed at Fulda until 836.[49] Therefore, assuming that Lupus was born in 805, and that he went to Fulda as soon as he was eligible to be ordained deacon at age twenty-four (his twenty-fifth year), in 829 or soon after,[50] he could have been at Fulda for a period of nearly seven years. Did he really only receive an 'introduction' to the Scriptures during this time, as he says, or did he also continue his basic education in the arts? Löwe ruled out the possibility, even taking issue with Lupus's statement that Aldric the *metropolitan bishop* assigned him to the task of learning grammar at Ferrières, where Lupus refers to Aldric using the title he did not possess until 829. Since Löwe assigned Lupus's study of grammar and the arts to his early education at Ferrières, he reasoned that Lupus simply misapplied the title of bishop to Aldric at the time of his arts instruction, a time when Aldric was still only an abbot.[51] Löwe argues that if we accept Lupus's use of Aldric's title as accurate, we would then have to view his entire liberal arts instruction and study of Scripture as fitting into his subsequent years at Fulda. However, it is not necessary to take such a view.

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[46] Compare this comment to what Lupus says later in a letter to Altwin in 837, the year after Lupus concluded his studies with Hraban Maur. Here, Lupus inquires about a certain Probus who claimed to have studied the arts in sequential order, but Lupus doubts that he has followed through with this method: *ep*. 20, MGH Epp., 6, p. 28, lines 28–31.

[47] Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli', pp. 98–99.

[48] Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli', p. 94.

From a traditional understanding of the duration of *adolescentia*, it would have been perfectly acceptable for Lupus to continue his arts instruction at Fulda between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-eight. Thus, when describing his arts education in the letter he wrote to Einhard while at Fulda, Lupus refers to Aldric as metropolitan bishop, not because he misapplies the title to Aldric at the time these studies began, but because he is still a student of the liberal arts. The one who assigned him the task of seeking wisdom and pursing his arts education, at whatever stage, was Aldric the metropolitan bishop. In fact, Lupus may be describing his arts education only in terms of the second *hebdomas* of his *adolescentia*, beginning when he was twenty-one years of age, around 826, or shortly before Aldric became bishop. From this a more realistic picture of Lupus's course of study emerges, one showing more fluid continuity. Lupus obtained a teacher at Ferrières for elementary and perhaps advanced grammatical study. He then tried to further his arts education and was unable to find suitable instruction or resources, but managed to supplement this study with the authors he had on hand. Then, soon after 829, Lupus got a second chance for formal instruction with Hraban Maur. It was at Fulda that Lupus found sufficient resources and instruction for the education he could not receive at Ferrières, and this likely involved more than just the study of Scripture. For if Lupus arrived at Fulda as early as 829, at age twenty-four, and remained until 836, he would have spent nearly seven years with Hraban. It has been established that Lupus left Fulda in 836, at around age thirty-one. Thus, after reaching the end of *adolescentia* at age twenty-eight, Lupus would have had some three years remaining in which to obtain an introduction (*ingressus*) to the Scriptures.

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[49] Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli', pp. 90–92, 97, n. 48.

[50] Michael I. Allen has recently shown that Heiric of Auxerre was dispatched for 'study abroad' shortly after being ordained deacon at the age of twenty-five, and Allen goes on to assert that his itinerary was based on an established pattern, since Lupus and others had done the same before Heiric: 'Poems by Lupus, Written by Heiric: An Endpaper for Édouard Jeauneau (Paris, BnF, lat. 7496, fol. 249v)', in *Eriugena and Creation: Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference on Eriugenian Studies, Held in Honor of Edouard Jeauneau, Chicago, 9–12 November 2011*, ed. by Willemien Otten and Michael I. Allen, Instrumenta patristica et mediaevalia, 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 105–35 (pp. 112, n. 23, 119–20). As we have shown above, this was indeed the experience of Hraban as well.

[51] Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli', pp. 96–97.

The quality of Lupus's early education would have influenced his access to works like Einhard's *Vita Karoli*, and a major factor in his dissatisfaction with Ferrières would likely have been a lack of books.[52] In his biography of Lupus, Franz Sprotte noted Lupus's complaint about a general lack of books at schools in a letter he wrote in 837, just when a comparison between the holdings at Ferrières and Fulda would have been a basis for such a complaint.[53] Sprotte nonetheless believed that Einhard's *Vita Karoli* was available for Lupus at Ferrières, as Löwe also argued.[54] Löwe based this on his hypothesized reading stage in Lupus's education at Ferrières, but also upon the relationship of Aldric, Sens, and Ferrières to the court and to Einhard.[55] He offered no evidence for the loaning and borrowing of books between them. On the other hand, based on Lupus's letter to Einhard, it is clear that Hraban and Fulda did have a book-borrowing relationship with Einhard and Seligenstadt.[56] Just after mentioning his move to Fulda, Lupus asks Einhard to send a number of books to him, books by Cicero on rhetoric, specifically Cicero's *De inventione*, *De oratore*, and a commentary on the books of Cicero.[57] He wishes to make accurate copies of these, since he discovered that a copy of one of them, which he apparently brought with him from Ferrières, was full of errors when he compared it to a copy at Fulda. This revision project was by no means a mere pastime for Lupus at Fulda; it was among his major priorities.

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[52] Upon returning from Fulda, Lupus explained that his primary work there had been reading and acquiring books: *ep*. 41, MGH Epp., 6, p. 49, lines 4–6. 'Itaque simpliciter vobis aperio principem operam me illic destinasse lectioni et ad oblivionis remedium et eruditionis augmentum libros pauculos paravisse.'

Based on the availability of books at Fulda, and on the expectation of a loan of books on rhetoric from Einhard, it is my belief that Lupus's continuing education at Fulda was directly related to his liberal arts instruction, and to his reading of the *Vita Karoli*. In fact, I would propose that Fulda's acquisition of an early copy of the *Vita Karoli* served as another reason for Lupus to study there when he did. In the passage quoted above, Lupus praises Einhard for the clear classical style of the *Vita Karoli*. It has been noted that Lupus's request for works by Cicero was proof that he had understood how Einhard had conceived the *Vita Karoli* as essentially ‘Ciceronian’.[58] It may have been that once Lupus had proven himself as a gifted student of advanced grammar at Ferrières, the recent acquisition of the *Vita Karoli* at Fulda provided Lupus with an immediate reason to study with Hraban. The *Vita Karoli* would have been viewed as the prospective new standard for historical composition, and so it is possible that Lupus read it at Fulda with Hraban as an editing project, one that would serve as the conclusion to Lupus’s advanced grammatical and literary instruction. If so, Lupus’s letter to Einhard constitutes nothing less than a review of the *Vita Karoli*, with Lupus writing under the auspices and in the name of Hraban. By receiving such a review by an accomplished pupil like Lupus, while under the eye of his master, Hraban, Einhard would be assured that his *Vita* was free of errors and ready for copying and dissemination. More importantly for Lupus, the project would have represented a formal end to his grammatical instruction, freeing him to pursue more advanced studies in the arts and an introduction to Scripture with Hraban. It is for this reason that Lupus asks Einhard to send him books on rhetoric, and hopes that his ‘zeal toward the disciplines’ will commend him to Einhard. Thus, whereas Löwe set the terminus ante quem for the *Vita Karoli* between 827–829, or during Lupus’s supposed reading stage while still at Ferrières, an alternate view, allowing for his continuing liberal arts instruction, would extend the terminus ante quem to anytime just before Lupus’s move to Fulda, which could have happened immediately after June 6, 829 or perhaps a few years later.

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[53] Franz Sprotte, *Biographie des Abtes Servatus Lupus von Ferrières, nach den Quellen des neunten Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Manz, 1880), pp. 19–20; Lupus of Ferrières, *ep*. 34, MGH Epp., 6, p. 42, lines 22–23.

[54] Sprotte, *Biographie des Abtes Servatus Lupus von Ferrières*, p. 20.

[55] Löwe, 'Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli', pp. 95–96.

[56] See Philippe Depreux, 'Büchersuche und Büchertausch im Zeitalter der karolingischen Renaissance am Beispiel des Briefwechsels des Lupus von Ferrières', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 76 (1994), 267–84 (pp. 272–78, 281; Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries*, pp. 124–25, 144.

[57] Lupus of Ferrières, *ep*. 1, MGH Epp., 6, p. 8, lines 25–35. Lupus made these selections from a catalogue (*brevis*) at Fulda that listed the volumes owned by Einhard. See Ward, *Classical Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*, pp. 162–64; P. Ruth Taylor, '"Pre-History" in the Ninth-Century Manuscripts of the *Ad Herennium*', *Classica et mediaevalia*, 44 (1993), 181–254 (pp. 220–21).

From the early careers of Hraban Maur and Lupus of Ferrières, it becomes apparent that for elite students who were connected directly or indirectly with Alcuin, the study of the liberal arts could extend throughout the traditional life stage of *adolescentia*, until the age of twenty-eight. The period of about five years, between the ages of twenty-four and twenty-eight or thirty, constituted a final stage of formal education, coming just after ordination to the diaconate and before ordination to the priesthood, where arts training would eventually lead to higher literary pursuits, whether in the form of composition or editing. Formal compositions were not necessarily completed before or at the time of ordination to the priesthood, but in Hraban's case, the writing process for his major work, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, lasted from his thirtieth year until his ordination as priest.

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[58] Steffen Patzold, *Ich und Karl der Grosse: Das Leben des Höflings Einhard* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2013), pp. 236–37; Patzold, ‘Einhards erste Leser’, pp. 39–46.

VI.4 Ermenric of Ellwangen

Taylor summarizes the career of Ermenric of Ellwangen (c. 814–874), a contemporary of Walahfrid Strabo, noting that he was educated at Fulda, Reichenau, and St Gall, and that he was a deacon by 839 (likely by age twenty-five) and a priest a decade later.[59] As Taylor goes on to discuss his writings, it becomes apparent that his promotions, both to the diaconate and the priesthood, may well have occurred very near the time he composed his hagiographical works. The first evidence of his having become a deacon appears in the confraternity records of St Gall for the year 839. Ermenric also refers to himself as a deacon in the prefatory letter to his prose *Vita Sualonis*, which he dedicated to Rudolf, his teacher at Fulda.[60] He addresses the letter to Gundram, Hraban Maur's nephew, whom Louis the German had exiled to Solnhofen, a hermitage connected with Fulda. Between 839 and 841, Ermenric went there to visit Gundram, and it was

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[59] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 115–17. The chronology for Ermenric's education at these centres is obscure: see Taylor, *Epic Lives*, p. 115 and her sources in nn. 45–48, esp. Wilhelm Forke, 'Studien zu Ermenrich von Ellwangen', in Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte, 28 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1969), pp. 1–104 (p. 6).

[60] *Vita Sualonis*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS, 15, 1, pp. 151–63; the letter and his rank, pp. 153–54 (p. 153, lines 29–32).

Gundram who requested that Ermenric compose a *vita* for Sualo, the founder of Solnhofen.[61] Ermenric's motives for writing the *vita* have been linked to the political circumstances surrounding Fulda,[62] but did he also have a more personal motive in connection with his education and career?

It is interesting to note the timing of Ermenric's first appearance as a deacon, in his prefatory letter, and the process in which the *Vita Sualonis* was requested, completed, and corrected. The apparent speed of this process makes it seem as if Ermenric was sent to Gundram for the express purpose of finding a writing project, and that his rank as deacon could have been granted to him with the understanding that he would produce some meaningful work to demonstrate his learning.

In fact, there are three prefatory *epistolae* that together provide a distinct, if not detailed, impression of the process that brought the *Vita Sualonis* into being. First, in Ermenric's letter to Gundram, Ermenric calls himself an unworthy fellow deacon (*conlevita*), and he expresses surprise that Gundram would select him to write the *vita* while passing over others who are 'bene scioli' ('truly knowledgeable').[63] Ermenric follows this by declaring his intention to do what Gundram asks, with the condition that Hraban grant him permission to write the work:

> I declare, then, that I intend to do that, with God's aid, if you ask the venerable abbot, lord Hraban, your uncle, license for writing, or rather, if it were not too great a labour, he himself might deign to comment on the signs of such a great man. Or, if he should be unable on account of too much business, he should, the

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[61] The *vita* has been dated to within 839–842 (see Forke, 'Studien zu Ermenrich', p. 6).

[62] Lynda L. Coon, 'Historical Fact and Exegetical Fiction in the Carolingian *Vita S. Sualonis*', *Church History*, 72 (2003), 1–24 (pp. 4–7).

[63] MGH SS, 15, 1, p. 153, line 31 to p. 154, line 3.

> privilege of the lord abbot being preserved, at intervals appoint Rudolf, the most skilled in every art by his learning.[64]

An important detail to note is that Ermenric, and Gundram by implication, see a necessary connection between a superior's approval of the project (*licentia scribendi*), and that superior's agreement to serve as editor of the work.

Gundram writes a reply to Ermenric with a number of interesting points to consider.[65] First, as in Ermenric's letter, he draws attention to their rank as deacons. Next, he states that Ermenric has thoroughly learned his subject matter, hearing of it not only through Gundram himself but also through eyewitnesses. He confirms that he would have no one else write the *vita*, and demands that Ermenric 'begin' ('incipias') the work. Gundram then requests, using the present tense ('exposco'), that his uncle Hraban grant his permission ('licentiam'), and commands Ermenric to enlist Rudolf's aid in correcting and adding to the work. Since the *vita* deals with Solnhofen, it is worth noting that close to this time, Rudolf himself would have been collecting material for his own work, the *Miracula sanctorum*, composed between 842 and 847, in which Rudolf would highlight places of local saintly activity and portray Fulda 'as a spider in a web of churches and cellae' connected with it.[66] All of these elements, and their compressed form and directness in answering Ermenric's letter, suggest that both letters could have been written while Ermenric was on site, collecting his material and beginning to write. It may be that Ermenric was sent to Gundram with the hope of finding a suitable project that would both warrant his time investment and justify his recent promotion, and that he was to convey these letters to Hraban and Rudolf in order to prove that he had found such a project.

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[64] MGH SS, 15, 1, p. 154, lines 18–22. 'Quod me tunc facere velle cum Dei amminiculo profiteor, si venerabilem abbatem domnum Rabanum, tuum patruum, licentiam scribendi petieris, vel potius, si permagni laboris non esset, ipse dignaretur tanti viri signa annotare; vel si hoc ob nimiam eius occupationem fieri nequeat, Ruadolfo in omni arte ex eius doctrina peritissimo, salvo domni abbatis privilegio, identidem iubeat.'

[65] MGH SS, 15, 1, p. 154, line 25 to p. 155, line 9.

[66] Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda*, pp. 231–35 (p. 233).

Was Ermenric's claim of being an unworthy *conlevita* merely a trope of humility, or was he in a very real sense being expected to prove his worthiness and learning by producing a written work, whether in prose or in verse? The *Vita Sualonis*, although a prose work itself, begins with a short poem, which Ermenric addresses to his teacher Rudolf. Ermenric calls attention to his rank once again in his prefatory letter to Rudolf, where he calls himself the 'ultimus omnium ac indignus levita' ('last of all and an unworthy deacon').[67] At one point, Ermenric appears to be seeking Rudolf's permission to begin writing the *vita*, but very soon it becomes clear that Ermenric has already written it, and is now seeking Rudolf's help in correcting it.[68]

Ermenric also composed a prose *vita* for Hariolf, founder of the abbey of Ellwangen, sometime shortly before 849.[69] Ermenric calls himself a priest in his prefatory note to the *vita*, and his promotion to the priesthood is thought to have happened between 840 and 844.[70] If he was indeed born around 814, and his promotion came at or after the appropriate age of thirty, he would have been ordained priest and would have written the *Vita Hariolfi* sometime between 844 and 849. Ermenric dedicated the *vita* to Gozbald, bishop of Würzburg (842–855), and sent it to him for correction, but he wrote it in the form of a student-teacher dialogue in which he, taking the part of the student, converses 'with a certain man more advanced in age and virtue by the name of Mahtolf' ('cum quodam aetate et virtute provecto, nomine Mahtolfo').[71] Again, as in the case of the *Vita Sualonis*, the relative proximity of the date of his promotion and the publication of the *Vita Hariolfi*, and in addition to this, the pedagogical format in which Ermenric appears as a student, suggest that the composition of the *vita* was a means by which Ermenric could demonstrate his worthiness to hold his position.[72]

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[67] MGH SS, 15, 1, p. 155, line 10 to p. 156, line 20 (p. 155, lines 38–39).

[68] MGH SS, 15, 1, p. 156, lines 6–8, 11–19; Forke, 'Studien zu Ermenrich', p. 70.

[69] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, p. 116; Forke, 'Studien zu Ermenrich', pp. 9–10; 35–69.

[70] *Vita Hariolfi*, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS, 10 (Hanover: Hahn, 1852), pp. 11–15 (p. 11, line 29); Forke, 'Studien zu Ermenrich', p. 9.

[71] *Vita Hariolfi*, MGH SS, 10, p. 11, lines 30–32.

The notion that Ermenric wrote these *vitae* in order to demonstrate his fitness for office, both for the diaconate and the priesthood, and even that he was a late bloomer who had to justify his promotions, is supported by his later writing. Having written the *Vita Hariolfi*, Ermenric was still evidently a learner seeking to prove himself. Between 849 and 855, Ermenric wrote a lengthy and complex letter to Grimald, abbot of St Gall (841–72).[73] Prior to this, Grimald had commanded Ermenric to leave Reichenau for St Gall, 'commorandi et discendi gratia' ('for the sake of lingering and learning'), which he did just before or near the time of the death of Walafrid, who drowned while crossing the Loire in 849, and whom Ermenric refers to as his *praeceptor*, or instructor, in the letter.[74]

It is unclear whether Ermenric intended to pursue any specific writing project while at St Gall, but with the passing of Walahfrid, a new opportunity presented itself. As Ermenric says in his letter, Gozbert, the nephew and namesake of the former abbot, along with other monks of St Gall, asked him to compose the metrical *vita* of St Gall that Walahfrid had intended to write.[75] This offer was eventually withdrawn and given to another,[76] but it is interesting to note that the proposed project came after Ermenric had written two prose *vitae*. Having written these, writing the authoritative metrical *vita* would have represented an opportunity for Ermenric to finally prove his competence in all areas of composition. At the same time, it would be an opportunity for him to take up the mantle of Walahfrid, whom he could claim as his teacher.

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[72] A late ninth-century *vita* of St Gall, written in prose and verse and in the form of a teacher-student dialogue, is said to have been the joint project of Notker Balbulus and his student, Hartmann, but it is unclear whether the project had any bearing on ecclesiastical promotion for either of them: *Notkeri Vita s. Galli*, ed. by Karl Strecker, MGH Poetae, 4, 2–3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), pp. 1093–1108; the more recent edition is Walter Berschin, 'Notkers Metrum de vita S. Galli: Einleitung und Edition', in *Florilegium Sangallense: Festschrift für Johannes Duft zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Otto P. Clavadetscher, Helmut Maurer, and Stefan Sonderegger (St Gallen: Ostschweiz; Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1980), pp. 71–121 (pp. 91–116); see also Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 27, 153, n. 229.

[73] *Ermenrici Elwangensis epistola ad Grimaldum abbatem*, MGH Epp., 5, pp. 534–80.

[74] Ermenric, *Epistola ad Grimaldum*, c. 27, MGH Epp., 5, p. 564, lines 35–39.

[75] Ermenric, *Epistola ad Grimaldum*, c. 28, MGH Epp., 5, p. 566, lines 24–35.

Though Ermenric did not go on to compose a metrical *vita* of St Gall, his letter to Grimald, in and of itself, is informative with regard to the social and educational importance of composing saints' lives.[77] Taylor discusses the letter in detail, noting its curious mixture of topics, from exegesis to Classical mythology, as well as Ermenric's inclusion of an appendix that contained passages from the *vita* he intended to write for St Gall, some passages in prose and others in verse demonstrating various meters. In particular, Taylor notes the three reasons that Ermenric gives for writing the letter, to respond to Grimald's request for an introduction to a theological topic, to educate others who may read the letter, and to win Grimald's patronage to compose the metrical life of St Gall.[78] The letter may then be understood, she argues, with reference to Ermenric's three purposes in writing: the social, didactic, and poetic. The overall impression Ermenric seeks to give is that of a teacher in an imaginary or 'virtual' classroom, and he has framed his epic *vita* as an 'absent teaching text' that combines his pedagogical purpose and his bid for patronage.[79] Although it comes after his promotion to the priesthood, Taylor yet affirms that Ermenric's bid to write the epic *vita* of St Gall reveals a critical transition in his career. It marks the critical juncture at which Ermenric sought to complete his transformation from student to teacher, and it is an example of how the act of composition signalled the end of education.

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[76] For the competition for patronage to write the *vita*, see Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 155–57.
[77] Forke, 'Studien zu Ermenrich', pp. 11–14.
[78] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 108–09.
[79] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 109, 153.

> As a text composed at the culmination of education, they [epic *vitae*] showcased the writer's proficiency (proving his or her qualification for teaching) and represented a high level of cultural prestige while celebrating the abbey's saint and glorifying God.[80]

Certainly, the composition of *vitae* served to raise the cultural prestige of writers and their monastic communities, but these compositions played a more specific role in that they responded to a formal expectation to prove one's learning. The evidence does not show that such compositions were a formal requirement for promotion. Nevertheless, these compositions were often associated with the completion of clerical education, and would therefore have been useful in determining fitness for higher clerical office or teaching positions, which is especially evident where the writing process involved the teacher-student relationship. Taylor goes on to conclude that 'understanding the role of the epic *vita* in Ermenric's letter gives us an unprecedented view inside the Carolingian classroom unparalleled in any other source'.[81] It also demonstrates once again the importance of composition, specifically in terms of dedications, requests for correction, and the continuation of the work of one's teacher, in providing links in a chain of succession between teachers and students.[82]

VI.5 Heiric of Auxerre

Auxerre, with its monastery of St Germanus, was a centre of political support for Charles the Bald in the troubled 850s and during the rebellion of Louis the German in

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[80] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, p. 109.
[81] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, p. 109.
[82] Taylor, *Epic Lives*, pp. 157–58.

858.[83] Charles personally oversaw the transfer of the relics of St Germanus to a new crypt in 859; in 864, Charles made his son Lothar abbot of the monastery, and upon Lothar's death a year later, Charles appointed his other son, Karlomann, in his place.[84] These events, demonstrating Auxerre's royal favour, all occurred during the time of Heiric of Auxerre's youth, and Heiric's education falls roughly in the middle of Auxerre's most influential period as an important site of intellectual activity.[85]

A few details of Heiric's early career are known thanks to the autobiographical entries he made in his *Annales breves*.[86] According to this, Heiric was born in 841, tonsured at Christmas in 850, ordained subdeacon in September 859 at around age eighteen, and ordained deacon on 31 March, 866, at around age twenty-five.[87] In that same year of 866, in the fifty-sixth day of his ordination as deacon (25 May), Heiric, having been commanded, went to the monastery of St Medard, Soissons in order to study, much as others had been sent away for study abroad upon ordination to the diaconate.[88] Heiric probably had earlier experience of this; he studied with Lupus at Ferrières, perhaps soon after his tonsuring in 850, as early as 851.[89]

Heiric's departure from Auxerre to study at Soissons in 866 coincided with a major change in the career of Haimo of Auxerre. Contreni rejected the notion that

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[83] Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 160–89.
[84] Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, pp. 189, 214; Contreni, 'And Even Today', p. 37.
[85] Louis Holtz, 'L'école d'Auxerre', in *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, ed. by Iogna-Prat, Jeudy, and Lobrichon, pp. 131–46 (p. 131–32).
[86] *Heirici monachi S. Germani Autisiodorensis Annales breves*, ed. by T. Sickel in Georg Waitz (ed.) MGH SS, 13 (Hanover: Hahn, 1881), p. 80. For his life see also Traube's introduction in MGH Poetae, 3, pp. 421–24; Jeauneau, 'Les Écoles de Laon et d'Auxerre', pp. 511–20.
[87] Allen, 'Poems by Lupus', pp. 119–20. Allen revises an earlier reading of the *Annales breves* that supposed Heiric was ordained priest in 865, showing that Heiric was in fact ordained deacon and suggesting that the year was likely 866 (p. 112, n. 23). However, Allen mistakenly transposes Heiric's date of departure for Soissons, 25 May (p. 119), with Heiric's ordination to the diaconate, which, if Allen's transcription is correct, took place rather on 31 March. The earlier reading of the annals was Eckhard Freise, 'Kalendarische und annalistische Grundformen der Memoria', in *Memoria: Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. by Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 48 (Munich: Fink, 1984), pp. 441–577 (pp. 527–34). See also Quadri, *I Collectanea di Eirico di Auxerre*, pp. 11–28.
[88] Heiric, *Annales breves*, MGH SS, 13, p. 80, lines 27–28; Allen, 'Poems by Lupus', p. 112, n. 23, pp. 119–20.
[89] Allen, 'Poems by Lupus', pp. 120–22.

Haimo died near this time, in 865, arguing instead that Haimo became abbot of Sasceium (Cessy-les-Bois).[90] It could well be that the appointment of Karlomann as abbot of St Germanus, following the death of Lothar in 865, disappointed Haimo's hopes of becoming abbot there, and that to avoid conflict Haimo was sent to Cessy-les-Bois to be abbot. This would have deprived Heiric of one of his teachers, and for this reason, his move to Soissons for further education was perhaps not just a privilege for a gifted student, but also necessary under the circumstances.

As Contreni noted, Heiric was recognized as possessing literary skill from a young age, being only fourteen or fifteen years old when, upon the death of Lothar I in 855, the monks of St Germanus had him compose the dedication for an interpolated version of the life of Germanus to be sent to Lothar II.[91] His subsequent works appear to be dispersed between the time of his ordination as deacon and his early thirties. In 864 (according to Contreni), one year before his ordination as deacon in 865, or in the year of that ordination (Édouard Jeauneau's date), Heiric began to compose his *Vita Germani* for his abbot, Lothar, son of Charles the Bald.[92] He finished it nearly a decade later in 873 (according to Traube and Jeauneau), and thus when he was around thirty-two years old, and dedicated this metrical work to Charles the Bald, together with a companion work, his prose *Miracula sancti Germani*.[93] Around the same time, Heiric could have dedicated his *Collectanea* to Hildebold of Soissons, whose episcopate began in 871 when Heiric was thirty years old, although it is uncertain when Heiric did this.[94] Heiric also wrote a book of homilies, the core of which may have been written between 865–870, or from the time of his ordination as deacon to around age thirty.[95] After this, during the episcopate of Wala (872–879), Heiric assisted two clerics at Auxerre, Rainogala and Alagus, in producing an edition of the *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*.[96] Heiric's *Vita* and *Miracula* of Germanus indicate once again the importance of historically-oriented compositions by younger clerics around the time of their promotions.[97] Likewise, Heiric's involvement in the *Gesta episcoporum Autissiodorensium*, assisting Rainogala and Alagus, could have been his overseeing of younger clerics in this pursuit. Rainogala and Alagus are said to be 'duo luminaria collegii nostri' ('two luminaries of our community'), and among the *magistri* that Bishop Wala surrounded himself with after dismissing some vassals who had been attached to him in his secular life, men connected with Carloman and probably not trusted by Charles the Bald, who had appointed Wala.[98] It is likely that Rainogala and Alagus were newly acquired associates. They could have been younger *magistri* and on the verge of their own promotions, but this cannot be proven.

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[90] John J. Contreni, 'Haimo of Auxerre, Abbot of Sasceium (Cessy-les-Bois), and a New Sermon on I John V. 4–10', Part 7 in *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts*, Variorum Collected Studies Series CS363 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992; repr. 1999), pp. 303–20. Contreni cited the prevailing view that Heiric had returned to Auxerre in 865 in order to take up Haimo's teaching responsibilities (p. 311).

[91] Contreni, 'And Even Today', pp. 38–40.

[92] Contreni, 'And Even Today', p. 39; Jeauneau, 'Les Écoles de Laon et d'Auxerre', p. 512.

[93] The *Miracula* could not have predated the *Vita* by very much if the latest date mentioned in the *Miracula* was October, 873: Contreni, 'And Even Today', p. 39 and n. 16; Traube's introduction to Heiric's poetry, MGH Poetae, 3, p. 423; Jeauneau, 'Les Écoles de Laon et d'Auxerre', p. 512. *Vita s. Germani*, ed. by Ludwig Traube, MGH Poetae, 3, pp. 428–517; *Miracula sancti Germani episcopi Antissiodorensis*, PL 124, cols 1207B–1270C.

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[94] Max Manitius supposed that Heiric did this before 873: *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 3 vols (Munich: Beck, 1911–31; repr. 2005), I: *Von Justinian bis zur Mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts* (1911), p. 500.

[95] Jeauneau, 'Les Écoles de Laon et d'Auxerre', p. 512. For Heiric's homilies, *Homiliae per circulum anni*, ed. by Richard Quadri and Roland Demeulenaere, CCCM 116, 116A, 116B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992–94).

[96] Jeauneau, 'Les Écoles de Laon et d'Auxerre', pp. 512–13. For the edition, *Gesta pontificum Autissiodorensium*, in *Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne ou collection de légendes, chroniques et documents divers pour servir à l'histoire des différentes contrées qui forment aujourd'hui ce département, Auxerre*, ed. by L.-M. Duru, 2 vols (Paris: Perriquet, 1850–63), I (1850), pp. 309–509 (Heiric, Rainogala, and Alagus, pp. 309–57; Heiric's involvement is mentioned in c. 39 [p. 357]); also *Ex gestis episcoporum Autisiodorensium*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 13 (Hanover: Hahn, 1881), pp. 393–400 (pp. 393–98). See Pierre Janin, 'Heiric d'Auxerre et les Gesta Pontificum Autissiodorensium', *Francia*, 4 (1976), 89–105.

[97] Among Heiric's sources for the *Miracula sancti Germani*, Contreni names the *Glory of the Confessors* by Gregory of Tours, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and the *Historia Brittonum*: Contreni, 'And Even Today', p. 41.

[98] *Ex gestis episcoporum Autisiodorensium*, c. 39, MGH SS, 13, p. 398, lines 28–35 [line 33]). See Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 230.

As this chapter has demonstrated, prosopographical study on early clerical careers must take a holistic approach that considers education alongside the broad concept of advancement and the structures that defined it. The major factors involved include age, or the life stages, levels of learning, curriculum, and ecclesiastical ranks. From the examples cited, it becomes clear that this broader treatment can give the historian a new perspective on how the stages of early clerical careers were aligned, the duration of studies, and the part that formal composition played in advancement and promotion, whether before or soon after this promotion took place. Though the evidence does not suggest that composition was a formal requirement for ecclesiastical promotion, it nonetheless indicates that for the more gifted or elite students who might attain the most important positions in the Carolingian church, the writing or editing of formal compositions was considered an important marker of preparedness or worthiness for advancement.

Conclusion

Alcuin's life was defined by his role as a teacher, and equally by the structures that mark incremental growth in body, mind, and moral perfection. He was aware of his own standing, and that of his pupils, peers, and a larger world of superiors with regard to these measurements, and he knew where he stood in relation to others on the steps, or *gradus*, of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Alcuin's understanding of these hierarchical relationships had a direct bearing on his view of education, and on how he trained and advised others to train young pupils for clerical careers. His influence, and that of his pupils and intellectual heirs, served to promote a meaningful connection, both in theory and in practice, between education and clerical advancement in the ninth century. This is not to say that the ninth century saw the general propagation of an Alcuinian model for education and advancement, nor that such a model was generally known to all who made decisions about clerical advancement. Alcuin's influence and that of his intellectual heirs was significant, but also limited to fairly well-defined networks of masters, pupils, regions, and legislative gatherings.

Alcuin remained a deacon and a *magister* throughout his life, which holds greater significance than scholarship has appreciated up to now. By ranking the *doctor* over the *magister*, and yet modelling the importance of the *magister* as the foundation for clerical education, Alcuin made a major contribution toward redefining the role and status of the *magister* that effectively realigned the clerical career, such that scholarly discussion must now be reoriented to view the clerical career as a *process* of learning and advancement, rather than simply the acquisition of ecclesiastical honours. Alcuin handed on a high regard for teaching authority to the ninth century, where the association of the *doctor* with the rank of priest reinforced the link between teaching position and ecclesiastical grade. Nevertheless, the name of *doctor* in itself was not enough to guarantee wisdom or doctrinal purity; a cleric had to begin by learning first principles (*prima elementa*) with a *magister*, and then serve as a *magister* himself, practicing how to pass on to younger clerics what he had learned. Only then could he become a true *doctor*, or have the privilege of sitting with the *doctores* of the Church, as Alcuin did at the Frankfurt synod of 794. In other legislation, teaching authority, or *magisterium*, would bind young clerics to their respective churches, and would be the basis upon which they might be transferred to another episcopal jurisdiction. It is hard to imagine that the presence of newly founded schools at churches and monasteries, which Charlemagne had called for in legislation drafted in part by Alcuin, played no role in further establishing this authority. In any case, using Alcuin as its basis and starting point, this study offers new insight on a fundamental link between education and the organizational structure of the ninth-century Church. Alcuin's life and work demonstrated that a lower status or rank, when associated with the basic instruction of the *magister*, was not a stone that the builders of the Carolingian Church could reject, but rather one that they had to set in place if anything greater and higher was to stand.

This study also provides a more contextualized understanding of the term *schola*, which is important for the study of Carolingian education, since it represents the ways in which the educational and institutional aspects of clerical life converged. From the classical period to Late Antiquity, the term *schola* meant a place of preparation for a life in politics and public discourse. For the Carolingians, clerical education in *scholae* meant acquiring basic literacy, learning skills associated with liturgical performance and book production (reading, singing, and writing), and mastering biblical theology. The term *schola* could apply to any group of pupils learning any one of these skills, including the liberal arts, at any skill level, and at any age. With regard to clerical careers, the function of the ninth-century *schola*, whether connected with a church, monastery, or cathedral, must not be viewed in simplistic terms. A *schola* might have existed simply to prepare young clerics for participation in the liturgical and daily life of the Church, or, if better endowed with books and personnel, to groom more gifted young clerics for high ecclesiastical office, where the political and intellectual pursuits of educated elites already holding these offices defined the nature of their education. The presence of multiple *scholae* (classes) at some churches or monasteries might mean that these institutions were able to serve both functions of elementary and advanced education. In practice, however, few schools were able to meet both demands, and to provide students of every age, learning level, and rank with the education necessary for advancement to the higher grades.

For Alcuin and his ninth-century intellectual heirs, the clerical career was meant to proceed according to parallel increments within key structures of advancement: educational level, age (or life stage), and ecclesiastical rank. This study has highlighted the interdependence of these structures, demonstrating the usefulness of a wider consideration of advancement, as opposed to a narrower discussion of ecclesiastical promotion, which serves to bridge the topics of early medieval education and clerical careers. The growth of *pueri*, *adolescentes*, and *juvenes* through their specific age ranges, their progress in studies especially designated for them, whether the basic skills of reading, singing, and writing, the liberal arts, or advanced biblical exegesis and theology, and their development in moral virtue, were the essential strands that regulated their promotions through the ecclesiastical ranks and their overall careers. This study has also addressed the need to consult a wider range of legislative and biographical sources in connection with the *cursus honorum*. As for promotions specifically, ninth-century capitular and conciliar evidence shows an increasing emphasis on clerical accountability through learning and teaching. A change between the eighth and the ninth centuries is discernible, in that whereas early legislation by Charlemagne simply threatened clerics with demotion if they refused to learn, ninth-century legislation promoted a more positive relationship between learning and promotion, where learning should lead to promotion. The examination of candidates for ecclesiastical promotion included an evaluation of their *eruditio* and *doctrina*, which likely took place at biannual synods, where the rectors of the churches were commanded to bring their *scholastici*.

Educational curriculum was highly varied based on the utility, popularity, and availability of texts during the eighth and ninth centuries. Nevertheless, the clear intention of legislation dealing with required learning was to promote the clerical functions of reading, singing, and writing, specifically with regard to primary education for children before they entered the clerical ranks, and for younger clerics. The sources are not clear with regard to prerequisite learning for the sake of promotion, whether to the lower or higher orders, but in many instances, they show a correlation between required learning and teaching for the sake of properly holding ecclesiastical office. Not only this, they show that it was possible for higher clergy to pay too much attention to mastering clerical functions that were associated with lower ranks.

For Alcuin, educational subject matter was not stratified in accordance with the clerical ranks, but rather with regard to the life stages, especially in the cases of the three basic clerical functions in *pueritia* and the liberal arts in *adolescentia*. Coming from one of the finest schools and best-stocked libraries of the eighth century at York, Alcuin provided an author list in his ‘York Poem’. His emphasis on authors (*auctores*) as exemplars or guarantors of the disciplines, rather than on an ordered set of named topics, probably indicates an integrated rather than systematic approach to the disciplines. The observation of how authors utilized the arts in their works helped students to develop from learners to practitioners, and in the process, the authors themselves, many of whom had been clerics, were held up as models for young clerics to emulate. Alcuin wrote separate tracts highlighting the principles of each discipline of the trivium, but he did not intend pupils to master the disciplines successively and leave them behind. Learning the disciplines was to happen through long, cyclical reengagements with Scripture and the works of learned authors throughout the early life stages, and certainly in the time leading up to and following promotions to the higher ecclesiastical orders. Alcuin himself would be recognized throughout the ninth century as a learned author whose works could be studied by students at various educational levels, as was the case with his *Vita Willibrordi*, which he composed in prose and verse, the one version being intended for general readership and the other for *scholastici*.

Knowledge of Scripture and theology was paramount for clerics who would advance to the priesthood and beyond, but this study has shown that the study of history was also an important component of clerical education in connection with advancement, a point that scholarship has hitherto neglected. *Historia* played a crucial role in ninth-century education, since works of this genre represented the combination and culmination of grammatical and rhetorical skill and could convey moral and spiritual truth. Histories and *hagiographa*, which included the *vitae* of saints and influential figures, served as immediate models for composition for aspiring clerics. Scholarship has recognized that by composing *vitae*, these clerics could enhance the reputation of their particular communities, signal their personal investment in those communities, and at the same time demonstrate the quality of their learning. This study contributes by highlighting the importance of composition in clerical careers. As numerous prosopographical examples in this study have demonstrated, the transition from reading to composition, specifically the composition of prose and verse *vitae*, was a major step in clerical education and advancement.

After primary education and much of their secondary training in the arts, the advanced learning that gifted and ambitious pupils acquired was associated, not with *scholae*, but rather with the particular masters with whom they studied. As in the cases of Liudger, Hraban Maur, and Lupus of Ferrières, this often involved moving from one's own church or monastery to that of a noted *magister* for an extended period of study, which began with one's ordination to the diaconate and lasted anywhere from one to six years. This period of study was not undertaken haphazardly, but with specific structures of advancement in mind: age, educational/curricular level, and rank. Coming after promotion to the diaconate, this opportunity for further education was granted, partly as a reward for past behaviour and scholarly performance, but mostly with the expectation of future scholarly activity that would both justify promotion to the diaconate and anticipate future promotions. This process helped to forge teacher-student relationships that would introduce pupils to scholarly interaction with superiors in the higher clergy, which often involved the writing and editing of compositions.

Due to recognized structures of advancement and growing expectations of scholarly output, the careers of many young ninth-century clerics, from their primary education to their promotions to the higher orders, were characterized by increasing continuity and measured progress. Likewise, due to the institutional and interpersonal bonds that linked primary-school children, junior and senior clerics, older pupils, *magistri*, and *doctores* in a hierarchy of learning and teaching, the overall process of education and advancement, beginning with Alcuin, became intertwined in the ninth century. In this way, ninth-century education and clerical advancement shared a dynamic relationship that was mutually perpetuating.

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