

Alcuin, the Man and His Political Theories

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## INTRODUCTION

In the following pages the point of this thesis is to look at Alcuin as a man, a scholar, and finally as a politician. We shall trace his life from his early days in York through his interim at the palace Schools, and finally his last years at the well known Abbey of St. Martin.

The object of this thesis is to investigate Alcuin's life, his scholarship at the Palace School, which is covered in the first section of the thesis, and a translation of two of Alcuin's Letters which contain the basic elements of his political theories. The aspect of Alcuin's political theories is treated in the second section. Following the translation there is a detailed discussion of the political theories that helps shed light on the thought and genius of Alcuin.

Alcuin is one of the most interesting figures in the Middle Ages. He was an advisor to Charlemagne. Through his Letters a wealth of information can be obtained, which gives some very clear insights into the "Ecclesiastical" mentality of the Middle Ages.

### LIFE OF ALCUIN

In the course of the ninth century, when Charlemagne advanced to the throne of the Franks,<sup>1</sup> a rather forceful breath of fresh air blew across the continent of Europe. "This son of Pepin, usurper of the throne of the Franks, for some reason found time in the interim of his wars of religious conquest to discover a real passion for learning."<sup>2</sup> The court gates were opened to scholars from every land, especially those of England, Italy, and Spain. Among the scholarly arrivals came the noted scholar from York, Alcuin, who was considered the "greatest scholar of his day, to be master of the so-called Palace School."<sup>3</sup>

Alcuin, was a descendant of a noble Northumbrian family. The date and place of his birth are not definite, but it is generally considered that he was born in 735 in or near York.<sup>4</sup> In his early childhood he was placed in the Cathedral School founded by Egbert.

It may be that his parents died while he was quite young, because evidence of Alcuin's life never goes back further than his school associations at York, "his master there being father and mother and all to him."<sup>5</sup> This point is expressed well by Alcuin in the following excerpt from one of his letters:

Vos fragiles infantiae meae annos materno fov-  
istis affectu; et lascivum puericiae tempus  
pia sustinuistis patientiae et paternae cas-

tigationis disciplinis ad perfectam viri educationis aetatem et sacrarum eruditione disciplinarum roborastis.

With the death of Egbert in 766, the unanimous voice of the people called Aelbert to the vacant see. He showed himself worthy of their choice, "feeding his flock with the food of Divine word, and guarding the lambs of Christ from the wolf."<sup>7</sup> He governed the Church at York for thirteen years, during which time he never abandoned his care of the school."<sup>8</sup> The headship of the school fell to Alcuin. His fame of scholarship was at such a height that students "not only from all parts of England and Ireland, but also from France and Germany"<sup>9</sup> came to the cathedral school at York.

In 781,<sup>10</sup> on the occasion of Charlemagne's second visit to Italy, when Alcuin had been sent to obtain the sanction of the Holy See for the appointment of Einbald<sup>11</sup> was returning to York, that

Parma civitatem obvium. Quem magnis rex alloquens suasionibus et precibus postulavit, ut ad se post expletionem missatiae in Franciam reverteretur noverat enim eum, quia olim a magistro suo ad ipsum directus fuerat."<sup>12</sup>

Alcuin was not blind to the opportunity offered and he was not reluctant to admit that Charlemagne was in dire need of the abilities which he possessed.<sup>13</sup> Thus, Alcuin, in 782, came to the Court of Charlemagne, bringing with him several of the finest scholars of York.<sup>14</sup> Alcuin was received by Charlemagne "with joy and assigned him three abbeys for the maintenance of

himself and his disciples, those, namely, of Ferrieres, St. Lupus of Troyes, and St. Josse in Ponthieu. From this time Alcuin held first place in the literary society that surrounded the Frankish sovereign, and filled an office the <sup>duties</sup> of which were as vast as they were numerous.<sup>15</sup>

At the Palace School among the pupils is found the mighty Charlemagne himself and all the members of his family. It seems that there were many young nobles present, because if one wanted to retain the favor of the king, attendance at the school was obligatory. On this point Schachner has an interesting insight; "It must have been a pleasant sight to witness these rude young warriors, more accustomed to the heft of a heavy sword than to the delicate operation of a quill, bending over their tasks under the earnest admonitions of the venerable Alcuin and the more dreaded glances of their liege-lord."<sup>16</sup> And, indeed, it would have been a rather interesting sight, to say the least.

The "classes" were conducted in the form of a dialogue. A typical example of a discussion is one between Charlemagne and Alcuin. The inquiry made by Charlemagne is to the nature of justice.

Car: Justitia rationem expone.

Alb: Justitiae est habitus animi unicuique rei propriam tribuens dignitatem. In hac divinitatis cultus et humanitatis jura, et aequitas totius vitae conservatur.

Car: Ejus quoque partes pande.

Alb: Partim illa est ex naturae jure, partim illa ex consuetudinis usu.

Car: Quomodo ex naturae jure.

Alb: Quia partes illius quaedam naturae vis (Al., quasdam natura) inserit, ut religionem, pietatem (gratiam) vindicationem, observationem, veritatem.

Car: De his singulis lucidius operi.

Alb: Religio est, quae superiores cujusdam naturae, quae divinam vocant, curam ceremoniasque offert. Pietas, per quam sanguine conjunctis, patriaeque benevobis officium, diligensque tribuntur cultus. Gratia, in qua amicitiarum (Mss., inimicitiarum) et officiorum alterius memoria et remunerandi voluntas continetur. Vindicatio, per quam jus aut injuria et omnis omne, quod obfuturum est, defendendo aut ulciscendo propulsatur. Observantia, qua homines aliqua dignitate antecedentes cultu quodam et honore dignamur. Veritas, per quam ea quae sunt, aut quae fuerunt aut quae futura sunt, indicantur (Ms., dicuntur).

Car: Quomodo ex consuetudinis usu justitia servatur?

Alb: Ex pacto, pari, judicatio (et) ex lege.

Car: Plus quaero et de his quoque.

Alb: Pactum est quod inter aliquos convenit. Par in omnes aequabile est. Judicatum, quod aliquis magni viri, aut aliquam sententiis constitutum est. Lex est omni populo scriptum jus, quid cavere vel quid obsequere debeat.<sup>17</sup>

One can readily concede that Alcuin's "educational treatises are not, judged by any standards, remarkable; indeed, they are mediocre. That he was, nevertheless, a very great teacher is beyond dispute."<sup>18</sup> A proof of this needs merely include a listing of some of the famous personages who studied under him; Einhard, Hrabanus Maurus, and Grimald. "Such men

passed on the memory of their old teacher to the next generation, so that Alcuin in the later ninth century came to be regarded as the ideal scholar, poet, and theologian."<sup>19</sup>

The palace school was extremely successful; and in a short time, Alcuin and his assistants had spread their influence over the Empire of Charlemagne to such an extent that Alcuin was placed in the capacity of state minister of education, making him responsible to a great extent for the success of the educational revival.<sup>20</sup>

It was then, as we must believe, a real school over which Alcuin presided. The court of the Frankish monarch was fixed at Aix-la-Chapelle, but it seems to have been removed to Paris in the reign of Charles the Bald, and there the Palatine school continued to flourish under a succession of famous masters.<sup>21</sup>

As the years progressed, it became evident that the head-ship of Alcuin would culminate before too long. Alcuin wanted to retire from his educational activities in 796. At this time, when he was in his mid-sixties, he wrote to Charlemagne and asked for his release from the school. It was time for Charlemagne to answer his often repeated request and grant his release from the many duties of court, school, and state. More and more he was finding it harder to tear himself away from the brief seasons of retreat which he now and then allowed himself, particularly at the monasteries of St. Peter at Ferrier and St. Lupus at Troyes, which had been given

to him by Charlemagne.<sup>22</sup>

In this same year, 796, Abbot Itherius of Tours died and

...the King...conferred upon Alcuin the rule of its Abbey of St. Martin, in the assurance that this new abbot would still be available to him for counsel and collaboration in the time of need. To Alcuin this held out exactly what he so long had craved: a home among brethren united by religious rule, in which, removed from immediate contact with the Court and its calls, he might serve God and man in comparative peace."<sup>23</sup>

While Alcuin was abbot, Tours "acquired unique and unsurpassed repute. Its scriptorium became and long remained Europe's most celebrated center in the production of the 'new' Carolingian minuscule."<sup>24</sup>

However, contrary to what seems to be the general opinion, what Alcuin here contributed was not the initial impulse because there are two scholars, and possibly others who have dated certain manuscripts that were done in this "minuscule" script before the time of Alcuin.<sup>25</sup>

The next early example is the still more celebrated Lectionary of Charlemagne, of the year 781. The Manuscript itself is written on purple parchment, in large uncial letters; but its scribe, Godessalc, added a page of dedicatory verses, not in unicolor but in minuscule characters we are accustomed to regard as Caroline... This new type...must have won the warm approval of Charlemagne and Alcuin. For the school in which it was to reach its greatest perfection -- a level of calligraphic art unsurpassed, to my mind, in the annals of writing -- was the school directly under the



Emperor's patronage, in the Abbey where  
Alcuin was abbot -- the School of St. Martin  
of Tours.<sup>26</sup>

In 804, according to his biographer, Alcuin's health failed rapidly, and this is best shown in the following quote from his biographer:

Iam ergo Albinus corpore dessolvi cupiens  
et cum Christo esse desiderans, exorabat eum  
votis omnibus, ut die, quo in linguis igneis  
Spiritus sanctus super apostolos venisse vi-  
sus est et eorum corda replevit, si fieri  
posset, migraret e mundo. Vespertium so-  
quidem pro se agens officium in loco quo  
elegerat post obitum quiescere, iuxta vide-  
licet ecclesiam sancti Martini, hymnum  
sanctae Mariae evangelicum cum hoc antiphona  
decantabat: O Clavis David et sceptrum domus  
Israel, quo aperis, et nemo claudit, claudis,  
et nemo aperit, veni deus vinctum de domo  
carceris, sedentem in tenebris et umbra  
mortis.<sup>27</sup>

As to the actual day and time of his death, the following lines, while typical of the piety of the Middle Ages, is actually quite expressive of the passing of such a man as Alcuin:

"Diem autem pentecostes, peracto matutinali officio, eadem hora qua ingredi consueverat ad missas, aurora patente, sancta Albini anima carne solvitur."<sup>28</sup>

Alcuin was buried at St. Martin's, and the epitaph which he himself had written was placed on his tomb.

Hic, rogo, pauxillum veniens subsiste, viator,  
Et mea scrutare pectore dicta tuo,  
Ut tua deque meis agnoscas fata figuris:  
Vertitur, o species, ut mea, sicque tua.  
Quod nunc es fueram, famosus in orbe, viator.  
Et quod nunc ego sum, tuque futurus eris.

Delicias mundi casso sectabar amore,  
Nunc cinis et pulvis, vermibus atque cibus.

Quapropter potius animam curare memento,  
Quam canem, quoniam haec manet, illa perit.  
Cur tibi rura paras: Quam parvo cernis in antro  
Me tenet hic requies: sic tua parva fiet.  
Cur Tyrio corpus inhias vestirier ostro  
Quod mox esuriens pulvere vermis edet?  
Ut flores pereunt vento veniente minaci,  
Sic tuo namque caro, gloria tota perit.

Tu mihi redde vicem, lector, rogo, carminis huius  
Et dic: 'Da veniam, Christe, tuo famulo'  
Obsecro, nulla manus violet pia iura sepulcri,  
Personet angelica donec ab arce tuba:  
'Qui iaces in tunulo, terrae de pulvere surge,  
Magnus adest iudex milibus innumeris'.

Alchuine nomen erat sophiam mihi semper amanti  
Pro quo funde preces mente, legens titulum.

Hic requiescit beatae memoriae domnus Alchuinus,  
qui obiit in pace xiv Kal. Iunias. Quando legeri-  
tis, o vos omnes, orate pro eo et dicite, 'Requiem  
aeternam donet ei dominus,' Amen.<sup>29</sup>

### POLITICAL THEORIES

Above and beyond what has been mentioned, there was another aspect of Alcuin which deserves special study and acclaim; that is, the vast correspondence which he carried on at Tours. These Epistulae are valuable source material for insights into the Church-State relationships of his times. Some three-hundred pieces have been gathered together from his years at Tours. His letters were so highly treasured that, within a few years of his death, they were collected and began to be published by his close friends and associates. Now and then pieces still appear, one being published just seventeen years ago in 1948.<sup>30</sup>

It is extremely beneficial that in a time of intellectual awakening "men turned their minds to political theory, especially between Church and State. This question clearly must have presented itself to the minds of men who, like Alcuin... were for much of their life involved in political and ecclesiastical affairs."<sup>31</sup> During the period of time Alcuin spent at St. Martin's, he served as Charlemagne's advisor in ecclesiastical affairs.<sup>32</sup> Charlemagne needed an advisor on ecclesiastical matters because, as shall be later clarified in some detail, "Charles was the protector of the papacy, the guardian of orthodoxy, and the supporter and patron of all efforts to promote unity of Christian faith, order and practice within the fold of the Roman Church."<sup>33</sup> Professor Laistner shows that

while he regarded the Church and the papal authority with veneration, he still looked upon members of the hierarchy as his vassals and felt himself the head of the Church.

Alcuin's political theories have yet to be presented in coherent form. They must be gathered from fragmentary sources, namely from his vast correspondence.

The theories Alcuin held were influenced by several men. The first one was Isidore of Seville.

Isidore's often quoted definition of a king (Etymologiae IX. 3.4) was adopted by Alcuin, who wrote to King Ethelred of Northumbria: A king is so called from ruling (a regendo vero rex dicitur), and that king who rules his subjects well receives a good return from God, namely the Kingdom of Heaven. Alcuin furthermore held with the bishop of Seville that justice and piety are the principle royal virtues; he told Ethelred that princes and judges ought to rule their people with justice and piety. But it was Isidore's Sententiae...that chiefly impressed upon Alcuin Isidore's ideas of the functions of rulers. God granted leadership in government to princes that they may guide the people. The princes should be helpful to the people, not harmful. So says Isidore, and Alcuin correspondingly states that the imperial dignity of Charlemagne, ordained by God, is but for the government and welfare of the people.<sup>34</sup>

Alcuin incorporated Isidore's ideas on the duty of correction of the fallen peoples by means of terror. This will be specifically seen later in this study when the discussion of the actual text of Alcuin's Letters is undertaken.

Another man who greatly influenced Alcuin was the Pseudo-Cyprian. This is easily seen in contrasting the ideas contained

in the following quotation with the ideas that are contained in the Letters.

The Nature of royal authority, that is the ruler's duty to his subjects, to the Church, and to himself, was often discussed by Alcuin in Letters addressed to persons in ruling positions. Although all these statements have an obvious practical application, they are at the same time elements of political theory that follow the Chapter on the Unjust King in Pseudo-Cyprian's De duodecim abusivis saeculi, an Irish treatise of the seventh century. Alcuin's letter in 793 to King Ethelred of Northumbria, for example, which has the characteristics of a speculum principis, betrays prominently the influence of the anonymous treatise on its description of the king's duty to suppress all iniquities, to have wise advisors, and to protect widows and orphans. And in 796...a hortatory epistle that is replete with key terms associated with the king's government according to Pseudo-Cyprian; the king is corrector patriae and the corrector of his subjects; and he is responsible for the prosperity of the fatherland.<sup>35</sup>

Now the detailed translation and treatment of two of Alcuin's Letters to Charlemagne follow, in which the main points of his political theory are easily seen.

LETTER # 41

Veniete ad nos filio nostro Candido, vestro autem fideli servulo, multum nos vestrae prosperitatis adnuntiatione laetificabat, necnon magna salutatione vestrae dilectionis dulciter reficiebat. Laudabilis quoque doni allatione intimae mentis affectum fecundabat. Insuper mentis pronobis explicavit devotionem, quam pura et sancta inquisitione catholicae fidei veritatem examinare studuistis, et semper viam reginam, apostolica confortatus praedicatione, plano veritatis sermone vestram adseruit prudentiam renere.

Beata gens, cuius est dominus Deus eorum: et beatus populus tali rectore exaltatus et tali praedicatore munitus; et utrumque; et gladium triumphalis potentiae vibrat in dextera et catholicae praedicationis tuba resonat in lingua. Ita et David olim praecedentis populi rex a Deo electus et Deo dilectus et egregius psalmista Israheli victrici gladio undique gentes subiciens, legisque Deo eximius praedicator in populo extitit. Cuius eximia filiorum nobilitate in salute mundi, de virga flos campi et convallium floruit Christus, qui istis modo temporibus ac eiusdem nominis, virtutis et fidei David regem populo suo concessit rectorem et doctorem. Sub cuius unbra superna quiete populus requiescit christianus, et terribilis undique gentibus extat paginis. Cuius devotio a sectis perversi dogmatis fidem catholicam evangelica soliditate munire

non cessat, ne quid novi et apostolicis inconueniens doctrinis per clandestinas subreptiones alicubi aboriri valeat, sed caelestis gratiae lumine fides ubique fulgeat catholica.

Quiuc luminis, heu pro dolor! quidam exterres, Christum ex virgine sancta natum, impia temeritate Deum verum, et filium Dei proprium negare non timent. Qui error eo usque, ut videtur, latenter quorundam etiam fidelium doctorum animis subrepsit, ut durum videatur illis confiteri vel credere Deum esse tantum Jesum Christum, qui sedet ad dextram patris, et in gloria paternae maiestatis venturus est iudicare vivos ac mortuos. Nec in spiritalem nunc gloriam carnem Christi dei esse mutatem, quae pro nobis pependit in ligno, contra illud apostoli dictum, qui de nostri corporis inmutatione ait: 'Seminatur corpus animale, surget corpus spiritale'. Nec illam considerantes sententiam, qua idem ipse a Deo electus mundi praedicator iustorum resurrectionem discernens ab impiis dixit: 'Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes inmutabimur'. Si nostris corporibus secundum modum meritorum spiritualis gloriae promittitur inmutatio, quanto magis corporis Christi clarificatione gloriosa esse credenda est post resurrectionem? dicente apostolo de nostrae resurrectionis gloria: 'Qui reformabit corpus humilitatis nostrae, configuratum corpori claritatis suae'. Unum verum Deum et unum Dei filium in duabus naturis, divina scilicet et humana, dominum nostrum Jesum Christum regnantem cum patre et Spiritu sancto praedicamus et confitemur, non divisa potestate nec partita, quasi una sit maior potestas et altera

minor; quia divisionem et partitionem vera non recipit aeternitas vel divinitas, quae est in Christo Jesu domino nostro, apostolo dicente: "si christum noveramus secundum carnem, sed nunc iam non movimus". id est, qui mortalis fuit in terris ea natura, quae mori potuit, nunc totus spiritalis regnat in divinitatis maiestate in caelis, qui post resurrectionem ait apostolis: 'Data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra'. Quae potestas multo ante filio hominis danda decitur a prophetis.<sup>36</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

Since the return of your dedicated servant Candidus, he has shown a great deal of joy about your prosperity, and was very much pleased at the warm welcome that you gave him. He also enriched the deepest part of your affection, giving you a praiseworthy gift. He also expressed a devotion of your strong willed authority for us, which you have developed that you might examine the truth of the Catholic faith through a holy and pure inquiry, and always in a regal manner, established by apostolic declaration and he intends to support your prudence by simple word of truth.

"Happy the nation whose God is their Lord: and happy the people who have been led by such a ruler and guarded by such a herald; and further, the sword of triumphant power gleams in his right hand and the trumpet of Catholic procla-



mation resounds in his mouth. And David was once appointed and loved by God, as king of the chosen people, and the outstanding psalmist of Israel conquered nations from everywhere with a victorius sword, and the herald of God's law appeared among his people. By the outstanding nobility of his children in the sálvation of the world, Christ the flower blossomed from a flower of the field and the valley. (Christ) and who in these times, in the same way, in the same mame, gave his people a ruler and teacher, like David, a king of virtue and faith. Under whose shadow the Christian people rest quietly, even though the fierce pagans still live on all sides. Whose devotion never ceases to guard the Catholic faith from the teachings of per-verse sects by strong teaching, so that no new or unsuitable teachings contrary to apostólic teaching might possibly be strong enough to spring up anywhere through cunning deceit, but the Catholic Church shines on all sides through light of heavenly grace.

There are certain exiles, believe it or not, whose eyes do not fear to deny by an impious rashness, that the very Son of God, the true God, Christ was born of the holy virgin. This error, up to this point, so it seems, has recently harmed extensively the faith of the souls of several teachers to the extent that it seems difficult for them to believe or procalim that God is the great Jesus Christ who sits at the right hand of the Father, and in glory of the majestic Father will come to judge the living and the dead. Not that the glorified flesh

of Christ, God, be changed in a spiritual sense, (the flesh) which hung on the cross for us, against this saying of the apostle, who said about the change of our body: "What is sown a natural body, arises a spiritual body." Nor the ones who consider that opinion, because the same proclaimer of the word, chosen by God, said in distinguishing the resurrection of the just from the resurrection of the evil ones: we shall all indeed rise, but we shall not all be changed." If change be assured in our bodies according to the merits of spiritual glory, how much greater the glorious glorification of Christ's body must be believed to be after the resurrection? As the apostle, speaking about the glory of our resurrection: "who will refashion the body of our lowliness, conforming it to his glory." We must confess and uphold the one true God and the one Son of God in two natures, actually human and divine, and we must uphold and confess Our Lord Jesus Christ ruling together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, are not divided or distributed in power or part or one greater and one lesser than the other; for the truly eternal or divine is not understood as a division and part, (eternal) which is Christ Jesus our Lord, as the Apostle says: "Even if we know Christ according to the flesh, yet, now we know him so no longer; that is, he who on earth had the nature of a mortal, which is capable of death now rules completely spiritually in the majesty of the divine in heaven; he who after his resurrection said to the apostles: "all the power in heaven and on earth has been given to me:" This power which

must be given to the Son of man from all eternity is spoken  
of by the prophets.

### NOTES ON THE TEXT

line 1: Candido -- This man is known also as Wizo; he was of the scholars that accompanied Alcuin to the Court of Charlemagne in the year 782. The other ones involved were Fredegis and Sigluf.

line 4-5: Laudabilis...fecundabat -- fecundo: this verb has no perfect and no supine and is thus only used in the imperfect to show past action. Its meanings are to make fruitful and to fertilize; thus to enrich.

line 10: Beata gens...eorum: -- this is a quotation from Ps. 32: 12. Alcuin uses it here to contrast the beata gens of the Scriptures with the beatus populus who are the people under Charlemagne. As is easily noticed in this, and a goodly number of Alcuin's Letters to Charlemagne, he was fluent with Scripture and many of his political ideas are definitely based on<sup>a</sup> scriptural setting.

line 18: de virga flos -- another Scripture sighting; this time from the Canticle of Canticles 2:1. "I am a flower of Saron, a lily of the valley". He is here giving praise to the Blessed Virgin, the bearer of Christ.

line 20: regem -- is here definitely referring to Charlemagne; he is comparing him to King David.

line 26: subreptiones -- subreptio: deceit; theft; unpremeditatedly, taken by surprise.<sup>37</sup>

line 28-30: exterres...timent -- M.G.H. gives the following note on this phrase: "Loquitur de doctrina Felicis Orgellintani episcopi a. 792. Regini primum condemnata."<sup>40</sup>

line 30-32: Qui error...subrepsit -- Again M.G.H. gives a note on this; it reads: "his verbis initia doctrinae adoptionis cis Pyrenaeos montes dilatatae significari censuit."<sup>39</sup>  
As to whom the doctorum are that Alcuin refers to, we can only conjecture that they would be the teachers with whom he was associated at the Palace Schools. And the Heresy referred to is definitely that of the Adoptionists. The Adoptionists were condemned for "their heretical conception of the Nature of Christ."<sup>40</sup>

line 37-38: Seminatur...spiritale -- Another Scripture quotation, I Cor. 15:24. "Natural body endowed with that natural life which we share with all men (good and bad). Spiritual body: not a body made of spirit. An immaterial body (which would be a contradiction), but a natural body perfectly fitted to be the instrument of a soul

elevated and transfigured by union with God; in short, a body like our Lord's body after his resurrection."<sup>41</sup>  
The contradiction mentioned was not a contradiction in eighth century terms.

line 45-46: Qui reformabit...suae -- cited from Phillip. 3:21.

"Our Lord will glorify our bodies making them like his own."<sup>43</sup>

line 53-54: si Christum...novimus -- cited from II Cor. 5:16.

line 58-60: "Data est...terra -- cited from Math. 28:18.

"Sovereign powers were his before (11:27); cf. Jn. 3:5, a necessary consequence of the Incarnation, but now the Son of Man has formally taken possession of his throne, Dan. 7:14. The Resurrection inaugurates the new and world-wide epoch of the Kingdom. The Kingdom has come 'in power!'"<sup>44</sup>

LETTER # 178

Litteras prosperitatis vestrae et consolationis nostrae magno amore et digno favore suscepimus, Dei omnipotentis clementiam conlaudantes, qui vos, fidelesque vestros prosperis successibus pöllere fecit, et inimicos sui nominis vestrae potentiae subdidit pedibus.

Hoc enim faciat Deus et hoc addat, ut triumpho terroris vestri inimicas undique subiciat gentes; et suavissimo suae dilectionis iugo in christiani fide ferocissimos subiciat animos, ut solus deus et dominus noster Jesus Christus credatur, colatur, atque ametur. Vestra clarissima potestas et sanctissima voluntas in hoc omni labore studio, ut Christi nomen clarificetur et eius divina potestas per fortitudinis vestrae triumphos multis terrarum regnis innotescat; quatenus non solum magnitudo potestatis te regem ostendat, sed etiam instantia seminandi verbi Dei in laude nominis domini nostri Jesu Christi praedicatorem efficiat. Ideo divina te gratia his duobus mirabiliter ditavit muneribus, id est terrenae felicitatis imperio et spiritalis sapientiae latitudine, ut in utroque proficias, donec ad aeternae beatitudinis pervenias felicitatem.

Parce populo tuo christiano, et ecclesias Christi defende, ut benedictio superni regis te fortem efficiat super paganos. Legitur quendam veterum dixisse poetarum, cum laude imperatorum

Romani regni, si rite recorder, cecinisset, quales esse debuissent, dicens:

'Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos';

quem versiculum beatus Augustinus in libro de civitate Dei multa laude exposuit. Quamvis magis nobis attendendum sit evangelicis praeceptis, quam Virgiliacis versibus. Nam et ipsa veritas ait: 'Beati misericordes, quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur'; et alibi: 'Estote misericordes, sicut et pater vester caelestis misericors est'.

Quod vero nobis vestrae bonitatis in Christo probata voluntas de apostolici pastoris mirabili sanitate demandare curavit: decet enim omnem populum christianum in hac clementia divinae protectionis gaudere et laudare nomen sanctum Dei nostri, qui numquam deserit sperantes in se, qui impias conspexit manus a pravo voluntatis effectum; volentes caecatis mentibus lumen suum extinguere et se ipsos impio consilio proprio privare capite.

Quicquid vero de illis agendum sit, vestra cautissima considerare habet sapientia. Quae optime novit quid cui conveniat personae; et quid cui sit facto retribuendum; vel quomodo ille pius pastor, divina ab inimicorum manibus libertus protectione, securus in sua sede deo Christo deservire valeat.

Quod vero vestrae benignitatis litterae Flacco taciturnitatis culpam ingerunt quem fervor mensis Augusti desidem,



non voluntatis effica tia pigrum efficit.

De pueris vero nostris, quos pedibus paternis Romam pergere praecipis, velim scire, quando vel ubi vel quibus comitantibus vestrae beatitudini occurrere debeant. De quibus in vestrae excellentiae litteris scriptum invenimus: 'Qui, te' inquis 'quiescente, pro te tua munera inire valent'. Fateor quidem vobis iubentibus et iuvantibus, laboris mei possunt inire sudorem, munera vero mea illis necdum concedo, quae vestra frequenter largitate accipere solebam. Nam et Moyses -- quem nobis quasi ad exemplum proponitis -- pugna peracta et Amalechitis fugatis, praedam reductam ipse populo distribuit; et David, Syria per Joab principem lilitiae subiecta, aurum et gemmas pretiosissimas ad templi dedicavit ornatum; sed et Ammonitarum regis diadema proprio imposuit capiti, licet Joab labores sustinuisset militiae.

Sed et de hoc, quod mihi inproperare voluistis me fumo sordentia Turonorum tecta auratis Romanorum arcibus praeponere, scio vestram legisse prudentiam Salomonicum illud elogium: 'Melius' inquit 'sedere in angulo domatis, quam cum muliere litigiosa in domo communi'. Et, ut cum pace dicam, magis ferrum nocet oculis quam fumus. Turonis enim, fumosis tectis contenta, Deo donante per vestrae bonitatis providentiam in pace permanet. Roma vero, quae fraterna discordia iniciata est, insitum dissensionis venenum huiusque tenere non cessat; vestraeque venerande dignitatis potentiam ad huius pestis conpescendam perniciem e dulcibus Germaniae sedibus festinare

conpellit.

Nos vero lacrimis absentiam et precibus iter vestrum continuis prosequimur; divinam humiliter obsecrantes clementiam, quatenus vos vestrosque simul cum omni prosperitate sanos ducat et reducat gaudentes. Verstrae vero pietatis litterae, nullatenus consentio, ut obliviscantur mei. Sed saepius veniant in spiritu consolationis, ut osculentur, iterum iterumque relegantur et in cordis thesauro perpetua dulcedine conserventur.

Tempora concedat Christus felicia regni  
Huius et aeterni, David amate, tibi.<sup>45</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

We have received the letter of your prosperity and our consolation with great love and suitable favor, we are constantly praising the kindness of the omnipotent God, who makes you worthy of your prosperity and faithfulness you have received and he subjected enemies of his name and of your authority at your feet.

For God might do what he has and even a little more so that he might subject the evil nations everywhere by the force of your terror; and he subjected the most evil minds into the christian faith through the very gracious working of his love so that God alone and Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ might be

alone believed in and praised and loved. Your outstanding power and your good will labors in this entire undertaking so that Christ's name and his divine power be made known in all the lands of the kingdom through the power of your strength; seeing to it that not only the greatness of your power might be known but also that the instance of the sowing of the word of God might result in the praise of the proclaimer of the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ. And so divine grace has wonderfully given you these two gifts, namely, the authority of earthly felicity, and the authority of the expanse of spiritual wisdom, that you might advance in both when you come to the love of eternal life.

Spare your Christian people and defend the Church of Christ so that the blessing of the eternal king might go from you over to the pagans. It is here that the ancient poet, while he sang about the praise of the generals of the Roman Empire, if I recall correctly, that they should be such saying.

"Spare those in subjection and beat down the proud";

Augustine speaks of this short verse with great praise in his book the City of God. And so much more we must heed the gospel precepts rather than Vergil's verses. For that very truth states: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy", and also, "Be merciful, therefore, even as your heavenly Father is merciful".

Moreover, the inclination of your goodness proven to

us in Christ, concerned itself to check on the good health of the apostolic shepherd; for it is fitting for all Christian people to rejoice in this love of the divine protector and to praise the holy name of our God, who never forgets anyone hoping in him, whose hand restrains the wicked from the evil ideas of their wills; for those willing, be sure to take the light from the minds of the blind and to hold themselves back on their own wicked evil plans.

Your very cautious wisdom must consider whatever must be done concerning the above matters. He knew these things because he gathered them personally; and what, in fact, he may have to return to you; or in what way the holy shepherd, freed from the hands of enemies by divine protection, secured in his seat, he was accustomed to serve Christ God.

Moreover, your letters of secrecy find fault with Flaccus, whom the lazy heat of the month of August did not slow down because of positive determination of the will.

Concerning your attendants, however, whom you order to go to Rome to the feet of the holy father and to know where and when to carry out the commitments of your joy. Concerning the items we found in your outstanding letter; you asked "who might bear your gifts in your name while you remained behind". I am sending some instructed young men; they are able to carry the burden of my gift, which I am giving them, the gift that I am so used to receive from your abundance. For when the battle was over both Moses -- whom you set before us as an example

and Amalec whom you avoid, gave the captured booty to the people themselves; And David, after he had beaten the Syrians, gave gold ornaments and very precious jewels to the temple in the name of the chief of Job's army; it was allowed that Job carry on the duties of the soldiers, even though he had camped near the diadem of the king of the Ammonites and was defeated. Concerning the matter which you wish that I keep myself from the sordid hidden smoke of the Turoni and the rym-like air of the Romans, I know that your prudence has sent the inscription of Solomon: "It is better to dwell in the corner of the house top than in a roomy house with a nagging woman." And so that I might speak to you peacefully, there is more danger to the eyes from the actual battle than from the smoke. For Turon, though it is clear from the smoke, nevertheless upholds the goodness that was given to you by God. Rome, moreover, which has been harmed by fraternal contention, has not clinging to this poison of contention; and by honoring your dignity, Rome is actually commanding you to check the threat from the German Lands.

And we have followed your journey with continual prayers and sadness; humbly we are asking for divine clemency, so that he might lead you and your followers in prosperity and return you all joyfully. I don't tell anyone of your diligent letters so that they won't know about mine. But write more often in a spirit of encouragement because your letters are valued and are held in the treasure of our mind with a lasting delight.

May Christ grant to you abundant years on earth  
and in eternal life, as he did in loving David.

NOTES ON THE TEXT

lines 1-5: Litteras...pedibus -- M.G.H. gives the following note in this section; "Referenda haec videntur ad istam annalium Einharti relationem (SS. I, 187) 799: Misit Karlum filium suum ad Albim cum parte exercitus propter quaedam negotia cum Wilces et Abodritis disponenda et quosdam Saxones de Nordliudis recipiendas."<sup>46</sup>

line 6: Hoc...gentes -- a reference to I Kings 3, 17.  
"Abner also spoke to the ancients of Israel, saying: Both yesterday and the day before you sought for David that he might reign over you." The mentioning of David here and in several other places in the two letters that I have translated, shows the great respect and devotion Alcuin had for David. He felt that Charlemagne had to place in his reign many of the ideals and ideas that David had used in his reign.

line 21: Parcere...superbus -- Refers to the Aeneid of Virgil VI, 853.

line 26: de civitate Dei -- reference to Augustine's City of God, as M.G.H. notes, I C. 6 (Opp vii, 6).<sup>47</sup>

line 30:     Beati...consequentur -- a reference to the Gospel of St. Matthew 5,7. Our Lord gives his people the Beatitudes. The contrast is made between the text of Virgil and that of St. Matthew; the fact that both bring out the same idea.

line 31:     Estote...est -- a reference to the Gospel of St. Luke 6; 36; this follows right in line with the previously referred to text of St. Matthew and that of Virgil.

From this point on in the letter, Alcuin doesn't speak directly of his political theories as we are studying them here; instead he deals with the relationships with the Pope. And since this is so, we will not go into any detailed notes on this section except to cite the various scripture passages that Alcuin makes illusion to.

line 37:     qui...sperantes -- a reference to Judith 13:17.

"Judith said: Praise the Lord our God who has not forsaken those who hope in him." The reason for this reference is quite easily seen in the translation.

line 58:     Amalechitis fugatis -- a reference to Exodus 17:13.

"And Josue mowed down Amalec and his people with the edge of his sword."



line 60-61: et...ornatum -- a reference to II Kings 8:11.

"And king David dedicated them to the Lord, together with the silver and gold that he had subdued." It is also a reference to II Kings 8:16: "And Joab the son of Sarvie was over the Army..."

line 62: licet...militiae -- a reference to II Kings 12:27.

"And Joab sent messengers to Rabbath; and the city of waters is about to be taken." And also a reference to II Kings 12:30. "And he took the crown of their king from his head, the weight of which was a talent of gold, set with the most precious stones: and it was put on David's head. And the spoils of the city which were very great he carried off."

line 66-67: Melius...communi -- a reference to Proverbs 21:9, and is a direct quote.

line 83-84: Tempora...tibi -- M.G.H. gives the following note of this text: "secuntur versus qui leguntur supra..."<sup>48</sup>  
These two lines are to be added to the end of a poem which is in Letter # 177 of Alcuin to Charlemagne.

The following list of duties ascribed to Charlemagne by Alcuin sums up quite well the basic political ideals which he felt Charlemagne should exercise. In fact, Alcuin's ideas of the basic function that should be assigned to a ruler are predominately revealed to us in three of his Epistulae, no. 41, 178, which are investigated in this thesis, and no. 257, which contains practically the same terminology and need not be translated to grasp the basic ideas Alcuin has laid down.<sup>49</sup> This list of duties are:

regna gubernare,  
iustitias facere,  
ecclesias renovare,  
populum corrigere,  
singulis personis..iusta decernere,  
oppressos defendere,  
peregrinos consolari,  
et omnibus iubique aequitatis et caelestis cetae  
viam ostendere<sup>50</sup>

When Alcuin wrote the above to Charlemagne in 794-95, his King was in Saxony. Alcuin advised Charlemagne that he should return home that he might carry out the above program, worthy of a king.

The first and foremost duty of Charlemagne can best be described as his relationship to his people. Just as "Beata gens, cuius est dominus Deus eorum:" so to according to Alcuin in referring to Charlemagne's subjects, "et beatus populus tali rectore exaltatus et tali praedicatore munitus."<sup>51</sup>

This same idea is repeated again with a little more emphasis placed on the rex:... "quatenus non solum mahnitudo

potestatis te regem ostendat, sed etiam instantia seminandi verbi Dei in laude nominis domini nostri Jesu Christi praedicatorem."<sup>52</sup> And Charlemagne serves as a guide and is useful to his people, "Deum dignitas imperialis a Deo ordinata, ad nil aliud exaltata esse videtur nisi populo praesse et prod-esse."<sup>53</sup>

Now the basis of Charlemagne's authority must be ascertained. According to Alcuin this authority is based on the following. "...potentiae vibrat in dextra et catholicae praedicationis tuba resonat in lingua."<sup>54</sup> This same idea is repeated again, but the idea of praedicatio is supplemented by instantiae seminandi verbi dei. "...potestatis...sed etiam iustantia seminandi verbi dei in laude nominis domini Jesu Christi praedicatorem efficiat."<sup>55</sup> However, when Alcuin speaks primarily of the root authority of the emperor, the definite source is "proinde datum Deo electis potestas et sapientia."<sup>56</sup>

Now that the concept of Alcuin's bases for authority is known, the next idea that needs consideration is the aspect of the aim of Charlemagne as ruler. This idea is expressed quite clearly in Letter no. 41 and again in Letter no. 178 by the same terms. "...victrici glaudio undique subiciens."<sup>57</sup> And correspondingly, "...vestri inimicos undique subiciat gentes."<sup>58</sup> The same basic idea is contained in Letter no. 257, but is strengthened by the aspect of coercive force: "...terrorem potentiae vestrae super omnes undique gentes inmittens."<sup>59</sup>

Another aim, or actually duty, of Charlemagne was the

subjugation of nations, particularly those who were barbarian.  
"...rex a Deo electus et Deo delectus et egregius palmista  
Israhili victrici gladio undique gentes subiciens..."<sup>60</sup>

However, in order that a king might complete these duties and carry them out to full maturity, he must have certain gifts which aid him in the execution thereof, "...proinde datum a Deo electi potestas et sapientia."<sup>62</sup>

If these duties are carried out and the aims laid down by Alcuin are attained, there will be a wonderful and complete result, namely, "the peace and security of the Christian people."<sup>63</sup> Over and above this the emperor himself "Sub cuius umbra superna quiete populus requiescit christianus, et terribilis undique gentibus extat paganus."<sup>64</sup> "Ideo divina te gratia his duobus mirabiliter ditavit muneribus, id est terrenae felicitatis imperio et spiritalis sapientiae latitudine ..."<sup>65</sup> and finally "...totus pacifica quiete populus, the voluntary submission under his rule of unconquerable nations."<sup>66</sup>

On first reading of Alcuin's ideals of his political theory, one might feel that Alcuin was laying down his own personal ideas of a "dream emperor", whereas he was actually not doing this, as can readily be seen in a letter which Charlemagne wrote to Leo III in 796. One can easily see that these represent "the official policies of Charlemagne,"<sup>67</sup> and that Alcuin was not "dreaming" or playing the part of a "wishful thinker".

Nostrum est: secundum auxilium divinae pietatis

sanctam undique Christi ecclesiam ab iniursu  
paganorum et ab infidelium devastatione armis  
defendere foris, et intus catholicae fidei  
agnitione munire.

And then Charlemagne in the same letter goes on to address the  
Holy Father, in regard to what he should personally do:

Vestrum est, sanctissime pater: elevatis ad Deum  
cum Moyse manibus nostram adjuvare militiam,  
quatenus vobis intercedentibus Deo ductore et  
datore populus christianus super inimicos sui  
sancti nomenis ubique semper habet victoriam, et  
nomen domini nostri Jesu Christi toto clarifi-  
catus in orbe.<sup>68</sup>

The duties that Charlemagne assigned to himself in this letter  
are the same as those given to him in Alcuin's theory.

One constant duty and wish of Alcuin in his theory is the  
defending of Church and subduing of all nations;

this was a traditional wish, often repeated in  
the papal correspondence with the Carolingians  
since the days of Pope Stephan II. Charlemagne's  
collection of papal letters, the so-called Codex  
Carolinus, contains numerous letters that express  
the wish that the Frankish king be victorious  
over all barbarian nations, super omnes barbaras  
nationes. Although these wishes of the popes  
originally referred to the Lombards, they were  
retained in their correspondence with Charlemagne,  
after he had defeated the Lombards...however, with  
the additional wish that God might now subject  
also to Charlemagne the remaining barbarian  
nations.<sup>69</sup> Charlemagne adopted this papal request  
by extending it to the pagan nations; and, there-  
fore, it became his duty -- in accordance with  
Alcuin's formulary -- undique to protect the  
ecclesia Christi, not only in Rome, but also  
elsewhere.<sup>70</sup>

It can be clearly seen in Letter #10 that Alcuin was

impressed with Charlemagne's conquest and conversion of the pagans.

Qualis erit tibi gloria, o beatissime rex, in die aeternae retributionis, quando hi omnes, qui per tuam bonam sollicitudinem ab idolatriae cultu ad cognoscendum verum Deum conversi sunt, te ante tribunal domini nostri Jesu Christi in beata sorte stantem sequentur et ex his omnibus perpetuae beatitudinis merces augetur.<sup>71</sup>

### CONCLUSION

As the political theories of Alcuin are studied, one can easily see that Alcuin was striving for an imperial theocracy. The Franks were to be under an absolute religious rule, which would for all practical purposes, eliminate the difficulties of Church-State relations because the emperor was to rule his kingdom and along with it, re-establish the Church wherever it was suffering any form of persecution. This is not to say that the ideas of Alcuin were to eliminate the problem. The aspect of Caesaropapism brought in here does not solve the problem: it is rather, Alcuin's contribution to aid in the solving of the problem.

In the theories the constant re-occurring idea of coercive terror does not mean that Charlemagne was to storm a barbarian land and force the inhabitants to adopt the Catholic Faith. It seems that it was the wish of Alcuin that God grant the barbarians to be subjugated to Charlemagne in a peaceful relationship. This is expressed in the aspect of ecclesias renovare of the political theories.

Charlemagne was to rule his nation through the establishment of justice, which entailed suppressing the enemies of the state and the Church, and legislating laws that were fair and for the benefit of the common good of his subjects.

However, the final aim, which is evident in the theories

of Alcuin by merely a cursory reading, that the Church, both in Rome and over the entire Kingdom itself, aside from ecclesiastical affairs, be a unified and non-separated entity. This is easily seen in the constant repetition of the theme of subjugation of nations, which covers the temporal side, and the seminandi verbi Dei, which covers the Supernatural side. Finally, in Alcuin's setting up Charlemagne as a proto-type of King David. The Church and State could not possibly be separated; they had to be, in Alcuin's mind, one harmonious unit.<sup>72</sup>

The preceding has given a brief, but complete, look at the ingenuity of one man, with a network of political ideas, which he himself helped carry out through his counselling. All these ideas were contributing factors in making Charlemagne one of the greatest rulers that ever presided over the Frankish nation.



## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Charlemagne ascended the throne in 763.

<sup>2</sup> Nathan Schachner, Medieval Universities, A.S. Barnes and Co., Inc., New York, 1962, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Fleming West, Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1892, p. 31. Alcuin was also known as Albinus.

<sup>5</sup> Gerald Ellard, Master Alcuin, Liturgis, a Partiner of Our Piety, Loyola University Press, Chicago, 1956, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Monumenta Germaniae Historica, (Epistolae Karolini Aevi II), Tomus IV, Ernestus Deumler, apud Weidmannos, Berolini, MDCCCXCV, p. 85.

<sup>7</sup> As quoted in Christian Schools and Scholars, Mother Francis Raphael, O.S.D., New Edition, edited by Walter Grumbly, O.P., Benziger Brothers, New York, 1924, p. 86, but the source of the quote is not given.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Seems to be an uncertainty of the actual date, but it is usually accepted in this year or slightly before.

<sup>11</sup> Christian Schools and Scholars, p. 87.

<sup>12</sup> M.G.H. SS. xv, 1, p. 190

<sup>13</sup> Ellard, op. cit., p. 40-41.

<sup>14</sup> Wizo, Fredëgis, and Sigluf.

<sup>15</sup> Mother Francis Raphael, op. cit., p. 119, and the fact of the names of the three Abbeys is given in Thought and Letters in Western Europe, M.L.W. Laistner, Cornell University Press, New York, 1957, p. 194.

<sup>16</sup> Nathan Schachner, op. cit., p. 8.

- <sup>17</sup>Migne, Pat. Lat., vol. 101, col 944 b-c.
- <sup>18</sup>Thought and Letters in Western Europe, M.L.W. Laistner, Cornell University Press, New York, 1957, p. 201.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>21</sup>Mother Francis Raphael, op. cit., p. 128-129.
- <sup>22</sup>Eleanor Shipley Duckett, Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne, Macmillan Company, New York, 1951, p. 200. We learn of this from Vita Alcuini, SS. XV, i, whose author is unknown.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid., 201.
- <sup>24</sup>Ellard, op. cit., 205.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>26</sup>Gerald Ellard, op. cit., 206, as quoted from "Hand-writing", in Crump and Jacob, The Legacy of the Middle Ages, pp. 217-218. E.A. Lowe, in the same book, claims that the Corbie Bible at Amiens, dated 778, is the oldest. Edward K. Rand and Leslie W. Jones, Studies in the Script of Tours, p. 79, claims that some pages of a Paris Eugippius are the oldest sample of the Minuscule. Both of these works are quoted in Master Alcuin, Liturgist, Gerald Ellard, Loyola University Press, Chicago, 1956, pp. 205-206.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 214, as quoted from M.G.H. SS. XV, i, p.196.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 215.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., introduction, p. x-xi.
- <sup>31</sup>Laistner, op. cit., p. 315.
- <sup>32</sup>L. Wallach, "Charlemagne and Alcuin; diplomatic studies in Carolingian epistolography", Traditio 9:127-154, 1953, p.140.
- <sup>33</sup>History and Philosophy of Education, Ancient and Medieval, Ebby and Arrowhead, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1940, p. 693, as quoted from Laistner, Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500-900, first edition, New York, Dial Press, 1940, pp. 148-149.
- <sup>34</sup>Alcuin and Charlemagne: Studies in Carolingian History

and Literature. L. Wallach, Cornell University Press, New York, p. 7.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 8-9.

<sup>36</sup>Ellard, Gerald, op. cit., p. 214, as quoted from M.G.H. SS. XV, i, p. 196.

<sup>37</sup>Medieval Latin Word List, Baxter and Johnson, Oxford University Press, London, 1947, p. 407.

<sup>38</sup>M.G.H. Epistulae iv, p. 84.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>R. Walzer, Galen on Jews and Christians, Oxford University Press, London, 1949, p. 176.

<sup>41</sup>A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture, Orchard, Sutcliffe, Fuller, Russel, Thomas Nelson and Sons, New York, 1953, p. 1097.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 1098.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 1130.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 904.

<sup>45</sup>M.G.H. Epistulae IV, p. 294.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 15-18. Though the basic outline for this section is from Wallach, the author of this thesis has returned to the original Letters of Alcuin for a greater expansion of the political theories.

<sup>50</sup>Wallach, L. op. cit., p. 10, as quoted from Epis. 177 Dummier 293, 11-14: Iusta decernere; also in Epist. 157 D. 414.31: nisi etiam omni dignitati iusta decernere; cf. Prov. 8:15-16.

<sup>51</sup>M.G.H. IV, Epistulae, p. 34, line 12-13.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 294, line 19-21.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 414, line 20-21.

- <sup>54</sup>Ibid. p. 84, line 13-14.
- <sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 294, line 20-21.
- <sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 414, line 20-21.
- <sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 84, line 16.
- <sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 294, line 14-15.
- <sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 414, line 25-27.
- <sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 84, line 15-16.
- <sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 294, line 14-15.
- <sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 414, line 21.
- <sup>63</sup>Wallach, L. op. cit., p. 18.
- <sup>64</sup>M.G.H. Epistulae IV, p. 84, line 19-21.
- <sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 294, line 21-23.
- <sup>66</sup>Wallach, L., op. cit., p. 18.
- <sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 18.
- <sup>68</sup>M.G.H. Epistulae IV, #93 pp. 137-8.
- <sup>69</sup>Wallach, L. op. cit., p. 19, as quoted from Codex Carolinus, 498, n. 1.
- <sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 19-20.
- <sup>71</sup>M.G.H. Epistulae IV, #110, p. 157, line 8-12.
- <sup>72</sup>The whole idea of the pan-Germanic empire that are indicated in these two letters of Alcuin can be substantiated in several other Letters Alcuin wrote. Historically this concept can be developed into a fascinating study, but from the standpoint of this thesis it is not necessary.

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