A COMMENTARY WITH INTRODUCTION, TEXT AND TRANSLATION, ON SELECTED POEMS OF THEODULF OF ORLEANS (SIRMOND III.1-6)

Christopher John Blakeman

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'A Commentary with Introduction, Text and Translation, on Selected Poems of Theodulf of Orléans (Sirmond III.1-6)'

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D. by Christopher John Blakeman.

30th September 1990.
Declarations

I, Christopher John Blakeman, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 70,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

30th September 1990

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 in October 1984 as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in October 1984: the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1984 and 1990.

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ABSTRACT

The first introductory chapter addresses the facts of Theodulf's life and career and the primary and secondary source material that supports these facts and attempts to establish a firm outline of his life and career.

The second chapter looks at Theodulf's position and work in the court, and his relations with the court, in particular his relations with Alcuin. The chapter also discusses the importance of panegyric and patronage for Theodulf.

The third and last introductory chapter is a detailed analysis of the poetry of Theodulf as a whole. This chapter looks at the subject, language and prosody of the poems and the influence on them from other poets.

The six poems then follow. Each is first prefaced by a short introduction, then the text is given with a translation on the following page. The text and translation for each poem is then followed by a line by line commentary, noting literary and historical points of interest.
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Preface

In many ways Theodulf has been overshadowed by Alcuin. Alcuin's corpus is greater but the pragmatism of his character and of his work is, I feel, surpassed by the wit and imagination of Theodulf. He can without hesitation be described as the most vibrant poet of his circle, writing with perception, wit, eloquence and anger. Theodulf is in comparison a lesser figure in the court, but this distance enhances his interest as an observer of the court.

These six poems have been chosen partly because they are a convenient grouping, the first six in the third book of Jacob Sirmond's edition. They also offer an instructive cross-section of Theodulf's life and poetry by their variety of addressees and genres. In this selection are Theodulf's most grandiloquent and also his most recondite poems (I and III). A unifying aspect of this selection is the court, with references in all to the royal family or the court.

Thanks are due in particular to my supervisor, Roger Green, for his support and advice during my studies. I would also like to record my thanks for the material supplied by the many libraries and for the help given by the staff of the University Library.
CHAPTER 1

Theodulf's Life and Career

Theodulf's date of birth

The precise date of Theodulf's birth is unknown and there are no references by Theodulf to his age at any point. Dümmler's evidence for a birth date of c.760 is based only on a letter of Alcuin dated 801. The significant phrase cui est aetas florida is used by Catullus of a youth, and Alcuin himself, using a similar phrase in an earlier letter, intends only a comparison between his own slowness and the others' more youthful vigour. Such an ambiguous phrase at best shows only that Theodulf is younger than Alcuin and does not support this date. The difference in the ages is made more difficult to assess by the context of the letter (see n.3). Alcuin's ill-health at this time is described immediately before the phrase so that his description of Theodulf's 'youthful vigour' is perhaps a reference to their relative states of health and not to their ages. It is certainly not a precise indication of Theodulf's age. Dahlhaus-Berg interprets the passage as a reference to a high-point in Theodulf's career. The argument below for the date of Theodulf's earliest poem in Charles' court (c.23) suggests an entry date of 788-789. The tone of the poem is humble and perhaps indicative of youth. If one assumes that Theodulf was twenty years old at the time of his entry, an approximate birthdate of 768-769 is possible.
Theodulf's place of birth

There is more evidence for Theodulf's place of birth than for his date of birth. Theodulf was probably born in Spain and may later have moved to Septimania. The name Theodulf is certainly Visigothic. The most important passage occurs in Theodulf's poem *Parenesis ad Iudices* written after his journey to south-west Gaul as *missus dominicus* in 798, and is at the centre of Adolf Ebert's brief exposition of the evidence. At Narbonne Theodulf is met by a group of people (c.28.137-140 (p.497)):

Mox sedes, Narbona, tuas urbemque decoram
tangimus, occurrit quo mihi laeta cohors,
reliquiae Getici populi, simul Hespera turba
me consanguineo fit duce laeta sibi.

That this *Hespera turba* is composed of Spaniards is not immediately apparent. *Hesperia* from which the adjective is derived is more frequently used of Italy by classical authors. Ebert gives one example of the use of *Hesperia* for Spain by Theodulf himself. There are however precedents for this usage which Ebert makes no mention of. Most influential on Theodulf is Isidore with whom Theodulf was well acquainted. He explains the name of the *Hesperii*, a Spanish tribe, with the statement that *Hispania/Hesperia* are synonymous. Elsewhere Isidore describes Spain as *vera...Hesperia*. Alcuin shows that he is following Isidore when he includes both names in reference to Isidore in a letter, naming him as *sidus Hesperiae, doctor Hispaniae*. Horace and Martial also use...
Hesperia or the related adjective 13.

Ebert completes his argument 14 for Theodulf's Spanish origins with a reference to Theodulf's poem on books he has read, where in the list of authors Theodulf refers to Prudentius:

Diversoque potens prudenter promere plura
metro, O Prudenti, noster et ipse parens 15

Ebert says that parens does not refer to influence of Prudentius because of the actual lack of variety in the metres used by Theodulf, but means that they have a common patria (Prudentius was born c.348 in Catalonia, possibly at Saragossa). But parens is linked with the description of Prudentius' poetic output in the previous line, and while Prudentius is indeed Spanish there does not appear to be a similar use of parens elsewhere to describe the relationship between compatriots. So parens is more likely to refer to Prudentius as 'father' in the sense of a person influential upon the content of Theodulf's poetry.

The relationship between Theodulf and the Gothic people he meets at Narbonne is described by Ebert (pp.96-97) as that of compatriots, each having origins amongst the Goths of Spain 16. This consanguinitas, says Ebert, shows that Theodulf could not have been born in Septimania, but Liutpold Wallach claims that the evidence for Theodulf's origin in Septimania cannot be questioned 17. A line after this same passage does however indicate that Theodulf has previous experience of the area and in particular Carcasonne and the area between Carcasonne and
Narbonne: *Inde revisentes te, Carcasona, Redasque*. If indeed this area is his birth-place he does not make any mention of it.

Further evidence for Theodulf's country of origin can be found in the two extant epitaphs for Theodulf, both of uncertain date and provenance. The first was found by Jean Mabillon in the *Codex Vitonianus*, which Mabillon suggests, on the basis of the hand, is from the ninth century. The final line of the epitaph suggests that it was written in or intended for Theodulf's place of exile, Angers. The second epitaph, which according to Dümmler is later, was found by Nicholas Du Chesne in Brussels, in the Ms. *Bib. Roy.* 9612. Both epitaphs give Theodulf's place of birth as *Hesperia*. The earlier of the two distinguishes between *Speria* and *Gallia* as Theodulf's birthplace and place of upbringing respectively. Although the value of this undated epitaph as an account of Theodulf's early life is doubtful, it is interesting for its implication that Theodulf's early life was spent in Gaul. The verb *nutriit* implies the formative years of his life, and *Gallia* could refer to Charles' territories around Septimania. Such a theory, that Theodulf spent his early life in this area, is however undermined by Theodulf's description of his mission to this area in c.28. Theodulf's reaction to the area does not show the joy of a person returning to what would essentially be his home, and at most he is revisiting the area (see n.18 above). Theodulf however could just be demonstrating indifference or dislike for his homeland.
Ann Freeman in the second of her studies on the Libri Carolini has produced strong evidence to demonstrate Theodulf's Spanish origins. The Libri show on several occasions that Theodulf has based the scriptural citations on the Spanish liturgy. The citation in Book 3.14 repeats the antiphon Ante colles ego parturiebar intended in the Mozarabic liturgy for Matins on Christmas day. Most striking in the same chapter is the verbatim rendering of the citations from Ecclesiasticus and the Old Latin version of Proverbs in the Mozarabic form:

Ego quasi terebincntus expandi ramos meos
Ego feci ut oriretur lucifer in caelo
Ego omnes qui me amant diligo
Exitus enim mei vitae sunt

These citations are shown to be derived from direct experience of the liturgy and not through intermediaries such as Elipand of Toledo. Theodulf's composition of the Libri and the strong Spanish influence on the orthography of the work will be discussed later in the chapter.

Alcuin's address to a rival with the pseudonym Dares Hispanicus is interpreted by Dümler as a reference to Theodulf rather than to Felix of Urgelles and Elipand of Toledo. The date for the letter of early 799 suits the period of keen rivalry between Theodulf and Alcuin and his pupils, manifested in c.III which dates from sometime between June 798 and the winter of 800 (see introduction to commentary for c.III below). Although Alcuin's conflict with Felix of
Urgelles over the heresy of Adoptionism was taking place at about the same time (see n.66 below), the reference to Homer, at the end of the passage quoted from Ep.164 (see n.26 above), links Dares Hispanicus closely with poetry. The arrogant Dares prepares to silence even Homer (possibly a reference to Angilbert but more likely to be the original Homer as the example of the finest poet, heightening the 'young' poet's presumption). The absence of evidence for any poetic activity by either Felix or Elipand makes it likely that Theodulf is referred to here and so provides further evidence of his Spanish nationality.

The circumstances of Theodulf's departure from Spain are not certain. There appear to be two references to it. One occurs in the later of the two epitaphs: deserui patriam gentemque, domumque, laremque. This hexameter, in the place of a pentameter, breaks up the metrical pattern of the epitaph and is perhaps a later interpolation or corrupted line. The other reference, by Theodulf, provides the most significant evidence. In one of his earliest poems, the acrostic c.23, while thanking Charles, Theodulf writes: annuit is mihi, qui sum immensis casibus exul. Exul is used later by Theodulf of himself when disgraced and sent into exile by Louis the Pious, but there is no further evidence that Theodulf suffered a similar condemnation earlier in his life. To judge from this line Theodulf was driven out of Spain by events at home. Ann Freeman with reference to this phrase immensis casibus suggests that Theodulf was driven out of
Saragossa by sporadic fighting that occurred there during the late 770's and early 780's, between the Franks and Saracens. She also shows that Saragossa would, if it had retained the library of the eminent seventh century bishop, Braulio, have been in the forefront of biblical and theological studies, a suitable place for the education of Theodulf.

**Theodulf's entry into the court**

The date and circumstances of Theodulf's entry into the court are as uncertain as his earlier life. If indeed he joined the court at the time of the Frankish army's incursions into the area around Saragossa, then a date between 778, Charles' initial expedition, and 785, when Gerona fell to the Franks, is likely. A *terminus post quem* can perhaps be established by Alcuin's earliest verse-epistle to the court, c.4 (pp.220-223), probably written soon after the meeting with Charles at Parma in 780-781. Alcuin greets in turn the important court officials and scholars, including Peter of Pisa, Paul the Deacon and Paulinus, but no mention is made of Theodulf. This could also be explained if Theodulf was yet to reach the court. Therefore at best a *terminus* of 781 for Theodulf's arrival can be established, or possibly a date just before this. It is known that Theodulf was active as a poet by 791, and apparently established, as his abilities are noted by an unknown poet writing under the pseudonym *Fiducia* in the verse-epistle to Angilram, Charles' chaplain, who died in 791.
Theodulf's first poem in the court appears to be the acrostic c. 23 collected in the *Codex Bern.* 212 along with others by Alcuin and Josephus Scottus, and discussed by Dieter Schaller. The technical demands of the acrostic form indicate that this poem is probably the product of a poet keen to show his abilities to a new patron. The humble tone of the final verses (e.g., *servulus exiguus iussu compulsus erili*) is inconsistent with Theodulf's position elsewhere, in particular in c.I. Indeed Theodulf actually refers two lines later to *versiculos nostros...primos* which strongly supports this as Theodulf's earliest work in the court.

Schaller, having dismissed Liersch's suggestion of 782 as conjecture (p. 390) concludes that the poem must be before 790, and following Rieber states that there is an allusion in lines 30-32 to the commencement of the palace at Aachen, indicating a date soon after the winter of 788-789 when, as Fichtenau has revealed, building at Aachen commenced.

Theodulf's authorship of the *Libri Carolini* shows that he must have quickly established a reputation as a theologian of sufficient calibre to work on such an important document. Work on the *Libri* was begun on receipt of the Latin translation of the Acts of the Nicene Council, probably in 789. Schaller's date (see above) is compatible with this and although Theodulf's advancement is rapid it is quite possible that he arrived at the court as an able theologian. The circumstances of Theodulf's introduction to the court are also uncertain. It is his abilities as a theologian that probably attracted
Charles' interest in Theodulf. That Theodulf was invited into the court by Charles seems likely from the evidence of other scholars' experiences.

**Libri Carolini**

The *Libri Carolini* or *Carolii Magni Capitulare De Imaginibus*, the title given to the work by Bastgens in his edition, was a reaction to the ideas set out in the Acts of the Second Nicene Council, called by the Empress Irene and Constantine VI in 787. The transmission of the Council's resolutions to the Carolingian court was not however without problems. The translation of the Acts from Greek to Latin, made by Pope Hadrian at Rome and sent to Charles about two years after the Council, was poor and led to confusion and misunderstanding.

The importance of this treatise lies both in its political implications and as a demonstration of the theological strength of the court. Elisabeth Dahlhaus-Berg sees the need to avoid an agreement between the Papacy and Byzantium as the motivation for such a vigorous denunciation of the Eastern use of images. Such an agreement would place the Frankish church out on a political limb within the existing allied power blocs. A strong condemnation of the Council's proposals would show an uncertain Papacy the strength of the Frankish Church. The treatise was probably not intended for anyone other than the Pope and his theologians and certainly did not receive a wider readership at the time.
The work was probably referred to at the Synod of Paris in 825, when the subject of images was raised again (Freeman p.667).

From a theological point of view the Libri give an insight into the methods of the Court theologians. A working copy, Ms. Vaticanus Latinus 7207, shows, by its numerous alterations, that the work was discussed and revised by other theologians in the court. Charles' direct involvement in this revision has been suggested by Von den Steinen on the basis of the marginal notes in this manuscript, but this theory has been brought into doubt by a later study.

The case for Theodulf rests firmly on the form of the scriptural citations in the work and the orthography still evident in the Ms. Vat. Lat. 7207 despite corrections, and his authorship of the Libri has been conclusively proved by Ann Freeman in her three articles on the treatise. Alcuin was long assumed to be the author, and one scholar, despite Ann Freeman's evidence, still maintains this opinion.

The scriptural citations in the Libri are in part directly derived from the Spanish Mozarabic Liturgy, and in particular from the antiphons. There is a single complete extant example of a Mozarabic Antiphonary, at Léon, and in that the similarities can be seen. In the Libri 1,25 the passage quoted from Isaiah 61.7-8 follows the form found in the Léon Antiphonary rather than the Vulgate. Evidence perhaps that these citations are being taken from memory is the passage beginning: Ante colles ego parturiebar (L.C.3.14). It
is strongly influenced by the Spanish form, in the antiphon for Matins on Christmas day, but the omission of occasional words perhaps betrays the fact that Theodulf did not have the text to hand. One of the clearest 'Spanish' citations comes again in 3.14 (quoted above in the section on Theodulf's birthplace). The first three lines differ significantly from the Vulgate form 50 while the fourth line is not found in the Vulgate. The passage reproduces the text of the antiphon In carnes tollendas from the Léon book, including the final line. These examples are only a small sample of the very many passages common to both the Libri and the Spanish Liturgy. Ann Freeman lists these in the first of her studies 51.

The orthography of the Libri betrays its Spanish roots only in the working copy (Vat. Lat. 7207), in which the original form has been corrected, and it is this corrected form, as Ann Freeman points out, (p.691) that Bastgens uses in his edition (see n.41). The clearest orthographical parallel with Theodulf's own usage is the old Spanish form cerubin which is changed to cerubim by the correctors. Cerubin can be found under the inscription by the mosaic of the Ark along with cherubims in the church of St. Germigny-des-Prés, placed there by Theodulf in 806 and inscribed with his name. Other Spanish forms can be seen to have been corrected: qu for c; ae for e; b for v and g for c.

The fact that Theodulf was chosen as author of this statement of Western doctrine and the standard of the work shows Theodulf's standing as a theologian. The argument of the
work is strongly supported by biblical and patristic examples and its length and thoroughness is impressive.

**Theodulf as Bishop of Orléans**

Theodulf appears to have been a deacon on his arrival at the court and refers to this in his fragmentary poem *Paraenesis ad Episcopos*. When Theodulf actually became bishop of Orléans is not certain. The earliest contemporary reference to Theodulf as a bishop is in a letter from Alcuin to Charles dated July 798, in which Alcuin asks Charles to pass on a work by Felix of Urgelles to Theodulf. This can therefore be established as a firm *terminus ante quem*. A biographical outline in the *Gallia Christiana* indicates that Theodulf was bishop in 788, coinciding with the death of the Abbot of Fleury, Manasse, but this date cannot be proved and indeed is contradicted by the evidence for Theodulf's entry into the court (see above). A date earlier than 798 would seem likely on the basis of a reference in Theodulf's poetry. C.I dated about 795-796, shows that he is absent from the court but this cannot establish an exact date.

With the bishopric of Orléans came the responsibility for the abbeys of Aniane, Micy and Fleury. Of these the most important was Fleury. The monastery was an important *scriptorium* and appears to have been responsible for the production of Theodulf's Bibles; its library contained a collection of patristic texts of great variety. The abbey of St. Maximinus at Micy however suffered a collapse of -13-
discipline. The discipline in this Benedictine foundation was restored by Theodulf by the import of monks from Benedict of Aniane's monastery in Septimania (see c.30 (pp.520-522)).

Theodulf's mission to Gaul

Theodulf's role as a missus dominicus in Southern Gaul with Leidrad, bishop-designate of Lyons, is clear evidence of his rank and importance. It was necessary that the missus, who in effect was an extension of the king's authority administering justice and making known the king's rulings on local issues (contained in the Capitularies), should be above bribery. That Theodulf was chosen as a missus says much for the king's estimation of his integrity and ability. An example of his integrity is shown in his rejection of the petitioners' bribery 57.

The mission of 798 58 is shown to be mainly concerned with the administration of justice by the introductory discourse on the benefits for a just man and the biblical models of piety and justice 59. Theodulf appears to have taken his duties seriously and the poem is more than an account by a royal official and has a strong vein of moral-didactic advice for other judges within it. Theodulf's exhortation to moral rectitude 60 includes a sharp attack on the dangers of overindulgence in alcohol. From the examples used by Theodulf it is reasonable to assume that the blandishments against which Theodulf warns were part of his own experience during his mission. Although we have no Capitulary that would have
outlined the specific aims of Theodulf's and Leidrad's mission, the poem shows from the variety of the people trying to bribe them 61 that they probably acted as magistrates settling cases in the towns listed earlier in the poem, from Vienne to Cavaillon 62. Even if the poem reveals more about Theodulf's ideas about justice and the qualities essential for a judge than about the work of a missus, it reveals a sharp and perceptive man 63.

Dispute with Alcuin

Although elements of a rivalry between Theodulf and Alcuin can be seen in Theodulf's poetry 44, only two documented examples of rivalry exist. One of these concerns the composition of Pope Hadrian's epitaph 45, and will be discussed later; the other is the acrimonious dispute concerning a fugitive priest from Orléans sheltering at Tours in about 801-802 and Alcuin's refusal to return the priest to Theodulf. The episode provoked several letters by both Alcuin and Charles 44, but unfortunately although we know that Theodulf wrote at least two to each of these men about this matter, none has survived 47.

The facts of the matter are confused. Alcuin admits in the first of these letters (see n.66) that the priest had indeed escaped from prison (but had confessed his sins) and Hauréau points out that the acceptability of asylum was declining with Charles' reform of the rights of appeal 48. However the same letter goes on to describe the retaliatory
actions taken by Theodulf, who according to Alcuin sent eight armed men to seize the priest in church itself during a Sunday service. Following this sacrilege the soldiers were then expelled by members of the abbey. Alcuin defends his right to grant asylum and reiterates this in his letter, and the violent popular reaction to the men from Orléans apparently supports the right of Alcuin's case. There is in fact an inconsistency in Alcuin's accounts of the ejection of the men. In his letter to his pupils (Ep.245) he mentions only the monks' involvement, while in his letter to Charles (Ep.249) the extent of the violence is exaggerated and he states that a mob of citizens of Tours had gathered to attack Theodulf's men. The dispute was settled by the intervention of Charles who sent a representative, Theodbert (Teotbert) to settle the matter and bring the priest back.

Treatise on the Holy Spirit 809-810

In 809-810 Theodulf became involved in the dispute concerning the use of filioque in the Creed and the question of whether the Holy Spirit proceeded 'from the Father' or 'from the Father and the Son'. The practice in the Frankish church had been to include the filioque and the use of the extended formula spread to the East. The formula was used by the monks of Mount Olivet and created a controversy between these monks and John, a monk at St.Saba in Jerusalem. The Pope's intervention resulted in the question being debated at the Synod of Aachen in November 809, and a legation comprising
Bernhar, Bishop of Worms and Adelhard, Abbot of Corbie, was sent to Rome to continue the debate with the Pope. At what point during these events the *Liber De Spiritu Sancto* was composed is not certain, but as no mention of the Pope or Rome is made in the prefatory verses it is probable that the Treatise was prepared for the Synod.

In his work in favour of the extended formula Theodulf expounds the argument with the support of a great number of biblical and patristic quotations. Thyodulf declares the value of such examples for the case of the Frankish Church in what is probably a rather warlike allusion to the Synod.

After the *Libri Carolini* in 787-789 (see above), this work is Theodulf's next theological work for Charles. It is interesting that twenty years should pass before Charles commissioned this work. Although not evidence for Charles' dissatisfaction with the *Libri*, it is due at least in part to Alcuin's supremacy as a theologian during the last decade of the century and until his death in 804. This supremacy can be seen in Alcuin's involvement in the campaign against the Adoptionist heresy in 798-799 as a personal adviser to Charles and as a spokesman for the Frankish church.

**Synod of Chalon 813**

Theodulf was also involved in some capacity in the Synod of Chalon, one of five regional Synods convened for church reform in 813, and in particular the form of penitence. Theodulf's authorship of the Council's canons is shown by
Dahlhaus-Berg with examples of parallels between the canons and the prose and poetry of Theodulf. The dissemination of these canons is shown by the R.F.A. for 813 which shows that copies were kept in each of the towns and also in the palace. It seems unlikely that Theodulf presided over the Synod itself as this was the responsibility of the Archbishop of the see. The Acts of three of the other Synods (at Arles, Reims and Mainz) record the names of these archbishops, but not Tours and Chalon. Dahlhaus-Berg (p.222) suggests that Magnus of Sens and Leidrad of Lyons, the archbishops with responsibility for Tours and Chalon, are the most suitable.

Exile

Theodulf's career ended in Louis the Pious' reign in disgrace and exile. Theodulf was implicated in the plot by Bernard of Italy against Louis towards the end of 817, and in 818 (after Easter) Theodulf was punished, his see was taken from him, and he was exiled to St.Aubin in Angers. Theodulf's guilt is in doubt and there is reason to believe that he was the victim of personal grievances. During his exile Theodulf denied his guilt and indeed in 820 he refused to accept a pardon on Louis' terms, which appear to have included the condition that Theodulf should confess his guilt. Theodulf's satirical style cannot have made many friends amongst the Frankish aristocracy if his attack on Count Wibod in c.I is an example. The hostility of one nobleman, Matfrid, Count of Orléans is important in explaining...
Theodulf's exile. Matfrid's strong position in the court meant that he was able to influence Louis, and the ways in which Theodulf's secular rivals benefited from his removal, as Dahlhaus-Berg describes, indicates a conspiracy to remove Theodulf. References in the *Catalogus Abbatum Floriacensium* and the late tenth century *Miracula S. Maximini* by Letaldus indicate the possibility of a conflict of interest and of the benefit gained from Theodulf's disgrace. That Louis should be prepared to believe Theodulf's guilt is perhaps explained by Theodulf's support for Charles' eldest son, Charles, who in fact died young, in 811. Theodulf's loyalty to Louis was therefore in doubt.

Theodulf's death

Theodulf's death, like his birth, is shrouded in some mystery. The date appears to have been around 821. After Moduin's verse-epistle of 820 (see n.81) no further correspondence appears to exist, and 821 is the year of the accession of Theodulf's successor, Jonas, as Bishop of Orléans. The only reference to the circumstances of Theodulf's death is to be found in the same passage from Letald's *Miracula* quoted in n.85. Letald, a Benedictine monk at Micy near Orléans active around the end of the tenth century, asserts, without further proof, that he was poisoned. This is not corroborated, but if rivalries with the secular authorities such as the Count of Orléans were running high, and Theodulf's standing with the Emperor was weakened by the
refusal to accept Louis' terms of pardon, then murder is a possibility.
Notes


2. c. 68.16: iucundum cum aetas florida ver ageret.


6. c. 28 (pp. 493-517).


8. Cf. for example: Verg. Aen. 1.530; Hor. c. 3.6.8 and 4.5.38.

10. Etym.9.2.126.


13. c.1.36.4: Hesperia...ultima; Epig.13.40.2: Hesperius...liquor (referring to a Spanish fish sauce).

14. op.cit. p.67 (n.7).

15. c.45.15-16 (p.543).

16. Theodulf makes reference to his own Gothic roots in c.I.


18. c.28.141 (p.497).


21. PLAC. p.444. No evidence is given to support this assertion.

22. Epit. 1,4: *protulit hunc Speria, Gallia sed nutriit.*


26. Ep. 164 (p.266): *Tunc habet Flaccus omni laetitia gaudere et more senis Entelli saltare tripudiare totis viribus et Daretem Hispanicum vincere, qui gloriatur in fortitudine iuvenilis aetatis Homerumque versificantemque conticescere facit.*

27. M.G.H. *Epist.* II p.266 n.6. Felix is suggested by Jaffé in his edition of the letter, while the theory that this refers to Elipand is taken from a later marginal note in the 11th Century Ms. *Cotton. Tiber*. A 15.

29. line 28 (p.481)


31. Freeman (as n.23 above) pp.276-277.

32. c.4.41-42 (p.222) (Paulinus and Peter); c.4.57 (p.222).

33. Paul and Peter c.44.16 (p.77): *Teudulfus rutilat mire de arte Iuvenci.*


35. c.23.40 (p.481).

36. The tone of the panegyric in c.I, as will be discussed in the next chapter, is respectful but not obsequious.

37. c.23.42-43 (p.481).


40. Alcuin's biography reports that Alcuin was invited by Charles at Parma in 781: Vita Alcuini 6.

41. Cf. title page of his edition (as n. 25 above).


43. Cf. Lib. Car. Praefatio (Bastgens) p. 51,2; p. 61,10. The author is reduced to saying that he simply does not understand particular citations in the text. (For other similar references cf. A. Freeman Speculum 32 (1957), p. 656).

44. E. Dahlhaus-Berg, pp. 187-188.


48. For the discussion of the supporters of Alcuin's case see Freeman (1957), pp. 669ff.

49. L. Wallach, 'Charlemagne's Libri Carolini and Alcuin', Traditio 9 (1953), pp. 143-149 and Diplomatic studies in Latin and Greek documents from the Carolingian Age (Ithaca, 1977), chs. 1-7 and 15-16. Wallach appears to have changed his mind in the period between these two works (work cited in n. 17). An uncompromising contradiction of Wallach's views, in particular those in the second of these works, and a defence of Freeman's arguments are provided by Paul Meyvaert in 'The Authorship of The Libri Carolini: Observations prompted by a recent book', Revue Benedictine 89 (1979), pp. 29-57.
50. Eccles. 24.22: *Ego quam terebinthus extendi meas ramos*

Eccles. 24.6: *Ego feci in caelis ut oriretur lumen indiciens*

Proverbs 8.17: *Ego diligentes me diligo.*


52. c.2.31 (p.453): *parva sed in magna cum sim levitide turba.*

The use of *levita* to refer to a deacon is paralleled in some of the *salutationes* of Alcuin's letters cf. Ep.120 (p.175), *diaconus* appears to be more commonly used.

53. Ep.149 (pp.243-244): *sed obsecro si vestrae placeat pietati: ut exemplarium illius libelli domno dirigatur apostolico; alid quoque Paulino Patriarchae; similiter Richbodo, et Theodulfo episcopo doctoribus et magistris.*

Alcuin here refers to the work of Felix of Urgelles (see also Ep.145 (p.233) and Ep.148 (p.241)) and the martial allusion earlier in the letter is to the Saxon campaign of 798.


55. c.1.11-12 is probably the clearest indication of this.

57. c.28.163-254 (pp.499-500) and rejected with a forceful tricolon crescendo in 1.256 (p.500): O scelus, O furor, O res truculenta nimis.

58. The year is shown by a reference to Theodulf's fellow missus Leidrad's forthcoming accession to the bishopric of Lyons: c.28.119-120 (p.498). Leidrad was made bishop of Lyons in 799 (Gallia Christiana IV.52).

59. c.28.1-95 (pp.495-496).

60. ibid. 354ff (pp.503ff).

61. ibid. 163-166 (p.498).

62. ibid. 125-152 (p.497).

63. Such comments as at line 203-204 concerning the title given to him by a flatterer:

Hoc ego sum domino - dominum me forte vocabat -

laturus...

Theodulf sees through the flattery and uses forte ironically, as if the title was used casually.
64. c.I.191ff (gentle irony at Alcuin's expense); c.III (pp.490-493) (criticism of Alcuin's pupils).

65. c.II (see below: introduction to commentary); Tituli Saec. Oct. c.9 (p.113).

66. Alc. Ep.245 (pp.393-398) (from Alcuin to his pupils Nathanael and Candidus); Ep.246 (pp.398-399) (Alcuin to an unknown Bishop); Ep.247 (pp.399-400) (Charles to Alcuin); Ep.249 (pp.401-404).


69. Reference to this missus is made indirectly by Charles in his letter to Alcuin (Ep.247) and he is named by Alcuin in Ep.249.

70. John's involvement in the debate is mentioned in the Royal Frankish Annals for 809.

71. Th.36 (pp.527-528).

73. c. 36.29-34 (p. 528):

Is tibi si dicat: 'Dextram impositure duello exere virtutis iam modo, si quid habes',
tu mox: 'Arma patrum vasto de gurgite sumpta cernito, quos docuit lex nova sive vetus.
His dum nostra acies munita fatescere nescit,
cum vero vinces, cuius es ipse sequax.

74. The letters of Alcuin show his involvement: *Epp.* 148 (pp. 237-241); 149 (p. 242-245); 166 (pp. 268-274) (to Elipand); 171 (pp. 281-283); 172 (pp. 284-285).

75. *Ep.* 136 (pp. 205-210); *Ep.* 144 (pp. 228-230) dated March 798.

76. *Ep.* 137 (pp. 210-216) to the Goths, dated c. 798.


78. *M.G.H. Conc.* II.1.34-36.


80. c. 71.71-76 (p. 562) (Verse-epistle to Aiulf bishop of Bourges. Theodulf's guilt is asserted in two articles: W. Mohr,

81. Moduin (c.73.85-92 (pp.571-572)) in reply to Theodulf's verse-epistle (c.72), relates Louis' terms. P.Godman feels that these are terms known to Theodulf already: 'Louis the Pious and his Poets', Frühmittelalterliche Studien 19 (1985), p.252.

82. c.I.205-212.

83. As n.4 pp.18 and 19 respectively.

84. M.G.H. SS.15, p.507: 

Sed quia semper sapientibus invidetur difficileque est in prosperis invidia carere, apud Imperatorem Ludovicum ab emulis accusatus conjurationis adversus eum facte conscius fuisse Andegavis exiliatus...est.

85. 3.13, Migne P.L.137 col.802: 

Fertur enim vi veneni ab his extinctus qui dum exularet, libertate potiti, bona eius invadendi iam hauserant cupiditatem.

86. c.35 (pp.526-527) of uncertain date. Godman (n.81) p.245 feels that it may date from the time of the Ordinatio Regni in
Theodulf addresses the younger Charles in much the same affectionate terms as for his father.
CHAPTER 2

Theodulf and the Court

Charles' recruitment of scholars to his court, amongst whom came Theodulf, was in part motivated by a desire to fulfil the qualities of an ideal ruler 1. He wished to be seen to be associated with learning if not as an exponent. Theodulf's abilities as a theologian and a poet appear to make him an ideal member of the court. Theodulf's relations with the court and his position within the court however differ significantly from the other important members 2. This chapter will show the difference between Theodulf and Alcuin's positions in the court, and their interactions there. A comparison between these two key figures in the court and the differences it reveals give an insight into the nature of the court and how Theodulf fitted into it.

Theodulf's Relationship with Charles

Theodulf does not appear to have had a close relationship with Charles. In the more settled period for the court, at Aachen after 794, Theodulf in common with Alcuin spent little time at the court. Personal contact with Charles was therefore sporadic and in the case of Alcuin was maintained by frequent letters. No correspondence between Theodulf and Charles has survived, and the only evidence for any epistolary contact is the letters referred to by Alcuin, written in complaint to Charles during a dispute with Alcuin
in 802. Alcuin's letters show a personal relationship of sorts with Charles; on the other hand the tone of Theodulf's letters to Charles must have been very different. Many of Alcuin's letters were written in reply to questions from the king on various subjects (see below) and indicate the value placed by Charles on Alcuin's opinion. Alcuin's presence at the court was valued by Charles and his requests for Alcuin can be inferred from Alcuin's replies. The intimate tones found in Alcuin's letters to Arno are not however repeated in those to Charles. A letter of consolation sent on the death of Queen Liutgard contains much spiritual advice through scriptural references.

Theodulf's poems to Charles reveal no close relationship between them. These are complimentary but formal and have little in common with the personal poems from Alcuin to Charles, which convey their compliments on an intimate scale. Alcuin's praise of Charles is on the same level as his personal letters, unlike the larger scale of Theodulf's poems to Charles. The tone of Alcuin's poems to his friends places his poems to Charles in perspective and they demonstrate a greater intimacy as the opening lines of Alc. c.18 (pp.239-240) show. In particular line 3 cuius amore caient patris praecordia tota and lines 7-8 Quem mea mens ardet. sacris religata catenis. ambit et exquirit. diligit et memorat.

Alcuin's relationship therefore still retains the distance necessary between a ruler and a dependant.

Charles' role as patron underlies his relationship with
Theodulf. Theodulf's advancement in the Church (outlined in ch.1 above) was the reward for ability, in particular as a theologian, and at the king's discretion. These were rich rewards. Orléans and the abbeys, in particular Fleury, were rich, as shown by the quantity and quality of the manuscripts kept and produced there. Such patronage expected some return and Theodulf's panegyric for Charles (c.I) is motivated in part by gratitude for these gifts. References to the king at line 33 (largitor honorum) and line 36 (sit tua larga manus) look back to the honours received and forward to future rewards. Ability is important but the path to patronage, as Godman notes, can be smoothed by skilful poetry. Although Godman restricts his observations here to the poetry of Alcuin and Paul the Deacon, Theodulf also demonstrated his skills as a poet with his first poem for the court, c.23 (see above ch.1 n.34). The use of an acrostic to convey simple prayers and good wishes to Charles shows a self-conscious wish to impress. Charles' position as a patron is emphasised further in Theodulf's dedication to Charles, referred to as nobilis...lector (line 41), at the end of the poem. In a line echoing Eugenius (line 40) Theodulf describes himself as a mere servulus writing the poetry at the instigation of Charles.

With the exception of the above poem Theodulf fulfils his 'duties' as a court poet without emphasis on the poet-patron relationship. Charles is praised by Theodulf in poems such as c.I and V in anticipation of, or out of gratitude for,
patronage. This praise is itself adequate for Theodulf without need of further self-abasement. Alcuin is more open about his dependence. He thanks Charles for gifts (c.38 (p.252)), while in c.40 (p.253) Charles' and Delia's lack of concern for Alcuin's poetry (line 9) is seen as the cause of Alcuin's deprivation (line 5): tristis abit senior ieiuno ventre poeta.

The puer in Moduin's Ecloga, when asked by the senex why he wants to become a poet (lines 60ff) first of all cites the restoration of Virgil's fortunes through his poetry (lines 71-75). This, along with the subsequent references to the rewards received by both Classical and contemporary poets, implies that Moduin himself was hoping to receive patronage and as the senex implies earlier (lines 28-37), the way to such patronage is to compose publica carmina. In the second part of the Ecloga praise of Charles and of the peace achieved by him is voiced by Micon (lines 58ff). The epithets heaped on Micon by Nectylus in lines 27-28: Fortunate Micon, locuples, formose, venuste,/ Deliciose, potens, opibus cumulate superbis show a poet who has clearly benefitted from patronage. Moduin, if he is represented by the puer, has perhaps been excluded by Charles 13 and is looking to return to favour.

Theodulf's Panegyrics

Theodulf's relationship with Charles remained essentially formal as is indicated above. As part of this relationship two occasional poems were written to celebrate Charles' successes (c.I and c.VI). Of the two c.I fits the
phrase *publica carmina* used by Moduin (see preceding paragraph) and taken from Ovid 14. Godman translates this phrase as 'poem-epistles for "general consumption"' 15.

The incorporation of praise within a poem-epistle follows the panegyrics of Venantius 16. In comparison with Theodulf Venantius was a prolific panegyrist and was associated with a variety of courts producing works for kings and nobles in both Austrasia 17 and Neustria 18 moving easily between the courts. The scale of Theodulf's panegyrics matches those of Venantius. The praise of Charles in c.I is achieved in 114 lines, comparable in size with Venantius' 'royal' panegyrics (6.1 (143 lines); 6.2 (114 lines); 9.1 (148 lines); 9.2 (140 lines). Venantius' approach to the panegyric was one of directness and succinctness. The term 'miniaturist' is used elsewhere to describe Venantius, not however with any implication that his value is lessened 19. Theodulf follows Venantius in abandoning much of the elaboration and decoration found in the late Latin panegyricists, although Theodulf does not ignore these poets 20. The *formulae* of Menander Rhetor have not been followed and were probably not known at first-hand although similar subjects occur in c.I 21. The more intimate setting of Theodulf's panegyrics makes any rhetorical embellishments unnecessary. As an example, the physical attributes of the honorand are a common subject for the panegyricist and are often treated at length. Claudian for example allows 21 lines to describe Honorius' physical
appearance (IV Cons. Hon. 11.518-538). Charles' physical attributes are dealt with in four lines (c.I.17-20).

The content of Theodulf's panegyric and in particular c.I is the most comprehensive and far reaching of the contemporary praise of Charles, and refutes completely the label of 'standard stuff' given to it by Witke 22. The King is at once set in a worldwide context, both in the implied scope of his power (line 3) and as the object of universal approval (lines 1-2). Theodulf is here more closely following Venantius in looking outwards. The universal dissemination of Chilperic's reputation and renown is described at length by Venantius 23 and Sigibert and Charibert are treated in a similar manner 24. None of Theodulf's contemporaries were writing in this style and it is perhaps, as Godman implies, that Theodulf is writing such panegyric as a reaction to the more muted and confined panegyric of Alcuin and Angilbert 25. His expansive approach is shown in lines 25-26:

Latior est Nilo, glaciali grandior Histro
Maior et Euphrate est, non quoque Gange minor.

Such a comparison has a model (see commentary) but the result is to associate Charles with distant places and although Theodulf is only describing Charles' prudentia the suggestion is that the scope of Charles' role could extend to these places. The extent of Charles' power actual and imagined is shown through the peoples who pay their respects (lines 37-45). Charles had subjected the Avars and the Huns but the
portrayal of the Arabes and Nomades as subject races is entirely fanciful.

Theodulf's treatment of Charles in this panegyric follows the late Latin models in its concentration on his *virtutes*. An example of Venantius' treatment of his honorand's virtues, in this case Chilperic's, is shown in c. 9. 1.95-104:

Erigit exiguos tua munificentia cunctos,
   et quod das famulo credis id esse tuum.
Qualiter hinc itidem tua se praecopia tendunt
   laudis et hoc cumulo concutit astra fragor.
Cui simul arma faveat et littera constat amore:
   hinc virtute potens, doctus et inde places.
Inter utrumque sagax, armis et iure probatus
   belliger hinc radias, legifer inde micas.
De virtute pater, reparatur avunculus ore,
   doctrinae studio vincis et omne genus.

Venantius' succinct summary of Chilperic's qualities has points in common with Theodulf's treatment of Charles. The generosity of Chilperic (lines 95-96) is matched by the description of Charles: *Aureolasque manus, pauperiem quae abolent.* (c.I.18) and later Theodulf exhorts Charles (line 36): *sit tibi larga manus.* The emphasis on Chilperic's abilities in both war and learning (99-102) is paralleled by Theodulf. Charles' intellectual and martial capacities are emphasised by the comparisons with Solomon and David (c.I.29-30). The pairing of these contrasting qualities is also used
of Charles in Paul the Deacon c.14.51-52 (p.52) written on the occasion of the defeat of the Danish King Sigfrid:

Nam cupio vester, cunctos ut vincis in armis,
sic mentis superet lumine celsus apex.

Charles' prudentia has already been described as beyond compare (lines 23-24) and elsewhere he is shown to be the intellectual superior of all in the court except for Alcuin (lines 139-140). The subjection and conversion of the Avars (lines 37-48) support the claims for Charles' abilities as a warrior-king.

The name David, although symbolic of courage (see above) is also used to represent Charles' role as a rex doctus. This role, rooted in classical models 27, and followed by Venantius, is part of both Theodulf's and contemporary panegyrics. Angilbert extols Charles as the cultivator of both sacred and profane knowledge in the court: c.2.15-21:

David amat veterum sacratos noscere sensus,
divitiasque senum gnaro percurrere corde,
scrutarique sacræ gestit secreta sophiae.
David amat vates, vatorum est gloria David.
David habere cupit sapientes mente magistros,
ad decus, ad laudem cuiuscumque artis in aula,
ut veterum renovet studiosa mente sophiam.

The narrow scope of Alcuin's panegyric in comparison with those of Theodulf has been noted above. The basic subjects of both authors are broadly similar and it is in the
area of style that they differ. Theodulf describes the
minutiae of appearance and addresses his praise to the
particular successes of Charles; the sack of the Avar camp in
c.I and his 'rescue' of Leo in c.VI. Alcuin restricts his
praise to the use of imprecise epithets. Alcuin frequently
describes Charles as lux, spes, salus and decus 28, and uses
these again for his praise of Hadrian and Leo 29. Alcuin
achieves the effect of praise with these phrases, often
arranged in an asyndetic tricolon (c.28.27: Aurea lux mundi,
terrae sal, porta salutis; Epit. 1) but with little force.
This style is regarded as bland by Theodulf and he rejects it
with a food metaphor and follows it with a wish for more
exciting fare, probably a reference to his own poetry 30.
Theodulf himself employs these epithets: c.35.1 O mea magna
salus, O spes, O gloria regni. This poem addressed to Charles'
son Charles however moves back to the style of the other
panegyrics and of the epitaph for Hadrian 31. These poems both
avoid the bland generalities of Alcuin's verse 32. The
clearest example of Alcuin's more pedestrian style are the
verses sent to Charles at Rome 33. The directness of Theodulf
in the opening lines of c.I contrasts with Alcuin's opening
(lines 1-2):

Carmina dilecto faciat mea fistula David
laurigero David carmine dignus erit.

In contrast to the content and force in Theodulf's
verses Alcuin's verses seem only to be for effect. On the one
hand Theodulf attempts to define Charles' greatness (c.I.3-8)
whilst Alcuin falls back on the stock epithets to describe Charles (c.35.3-4):

David amor populi, David laus, gloria plebis
atque decus regni spesque corona suis.

As Godman notes 34 this use of David 35 is surpassed by Theodulf (c.I.29-32), who adds the examples of Solomon and Joseph, the paragons of wisdom and beauty, to David as the ideal of strength. The most effective comparison of styles is between c.I and Alcuin’s court poem c.26 (pp.245-246). Similarities of date and setting emphasise the restrained style of Alcuin. Charles is briefly praised (lines 2-6) with stock epithets and although Charles is placed at the head of the court hierarchy the whole poem lacks dynamism and force 36.

Panegyrics and Patronage

One view of the motivation for writing panegyrics on Charles is given by Vivian Smith Saunders:

Busy proud men write - with apparent sincerity - poems comparing their ruler with God and asserting his primacy over even the Pope. Power and luxury are described not longingly nor enviously, but joyfully because the writer shares the power and luxury, and also because the owner deserves it. 37.

According to Smith Saunders the poets are writing from a settled position of privilege and are writing genuine praise of Charles. This view of the poets as altruists fails to
consider the fact that they must maintain this position in the
court. Whilst the poets may believe what they write to be true
the facts do not match the ideal picture that is painted.
Einhard's *Vita Karoli* describes a king who is far from
physically perfect 38. The sincerity of Theodulf's description
of Charles' physical perfection is weakened by the hyperbole
39. The attribution and praise of virtues not possessed by
Charles is noted by Wallace-Hadrill 40. It is clear from
Einhard 41 that Charles' real intellectual attainments do not
match the qualities implied by his nickname *David* and stated
by Theodulf (c.I.29; 114 ; 139-140). The exaggeration however
is part of Theodulf's desire to demonstrate his superior
command of the genre and there is no indication that he wishes
the praise to be taken lightly. The question of the
insincerity of the panegyricist and in particular Venantius is
raised by Godman 42. The artificiality of the poet-patron
relationship underlies any criticism of the insincerity of
Theodulf's praise of Charles. Patronage was completely in the
hands of Charles, so that material support and advancement
depended upon the state of the relationship with Charles.
Fleckenstein has outlined the central position of Charles in
the court 43 and it is clear from the entries in the Annals
that the court met in the breaks in the king's campaigning.
The court was completely centred around the king and the only
source for patronage is the court, so that continued success
in the court is dependent on the king. The king had recruited
the scholars to the court and it would appear that the
development of the court school was also assisted by Charles. Fleckenstein ** supports the basis of the story in Notker's *Gesta Karoli Magni* ** that Charles had personally chosen the pupils for the school. The influx of pupils however is more likely to be a corollary of the arrival of the scholars to the court who are able to carry out the teaching. Charles seems to have taken a personal interest in the school and Alcuin refers to the pupils at the court school as *pueri vestri* **. Whatever Charles' actual intellectual capacities his interest in learning of all kinds is clear from his many questions in his letters to Alcuin.

Theodulf's varied roles in the court are outlined in the previous chapter. Theodulf was clearly valued by Charles both as a theologian as his work on the *Libri Carolini* and Treatise on the Holy Spirit demonstrate and as an administrator, as a judge/magistrate in the mission to Narbonne in 798. Intellectual rigour and a strong forthright character however combined to make Theodulf a difficult person to assimilate into the inner circle of the Court. It is impossible to be certain about the exact personnel of this inner circle but Alcuin was certainly the key figure. The important early members of the court are described by Fleckenstein ** and he sees the impact of Alcuin from 782 onwards as beginning a new phase in the court. Theodulf's position in the hierarchy of the court is however difficult to establish. Wallace-Hadrill suggests that although Theodulf is atypical of the court in
the early part of his career he is not in an "outer circle" 49 and it is only later that his transition to this circle takes place. Theodulf, however, was never part of the inner circle of the court centred around Alcuin, and Godman sees the unctuous tone of the beginning of c.I as consistent with the tone of a "poet denied the entrée" 50. The attacks on Alcuin later (in c.I.131-140 and 191-198) and on Alcuin's pupils in c.III suggest a strong rivalry and Theodulf's exclusion is probably due to Alcuin. The importance of this circle is difficult to assess but it would appear that exclusion from this circle did not hold back Theodulf's career.

**Theodulf and Alcuin**

This rivalry between Theodulf and Alcuin was that of the new blood with the old. This is shown in Alcuin's letter to one of Charles' daughters, not addressed by name, written in early 799 51. Alcuin pictures himself as the old Entellus victorious against the young Dares Hispanicus. This rivalry underlies some pointed remarks in a letter to Theodulf dated probably between 796-800 52. The context of the remarks in c.I lends a singular sharpness to the lines at the end of this letter.

Et hoc servandum est, ne mittatur vinum novum in utres veteres. "Et nemo bibens vetus, statim vult novum; dicit enim: Vetus melius est".
Theodulf is indeed a relatively new force in the court with a new distinctive poetic style and here Alcuin rejects the new in favour of the old. This letter could indeed be taken as a straightforward request for wine from Theodulf. Alcuin, however, is using wine as a metaphor for learning. Evidence for this comes at the beginning of the letter:

Quem (Zabdias) ordinata caritate introduxit rex in cellam vinariam, ut scolastici floribus fulcirent eum et stiparent malis amore languentium, illius qui laetificat cor hominis.

If this nobilior Zabdias is Theodulf, as Dümmler states (Ep.iv p. 318 n.6) and the cella vinaria is the court school then this is the only reference to Theodulf's activity as a teacher in the court. Such complimentary remarks are inconsistent with the relations between Alcuin and Theodulf in this period. Alcuin's activities in the palace school make his identification with Zabdias more likely. The source for much of the passage above is the Song of Songs (see Dümmler) and the metaphorical allusions of the source suggest a metaphorical interpretation of this letter. Alcuin indeed could be reacting to the Speisemetaphorik used by Theodulf to disparage Alcuin (c.I.197-8).

Theodulf never achieved the status of Alcuin and although he reached a high position in Carolingian society he always remained distant from the centre of the court. The rivalry between them and Alcuin's pre-eminence in the court
suggest that Alcuin was either directly or indirectly the cause of this.
Notes

1. The models are outlined in Godman *Poetry*, p. 5.

2. The careers and positions of these other members are described in W. von den Steinen, 'Karl und die Dichter', *K.d.G.* ii, pp. 67-80.

3. Cf. ch. 1 n. 67 above.

4. For example Ep. 145 (pp. 234-235) (invitation to Saxony); Ep. 177 (p. 293); Ep. 178 (pp. 295-296) (both invitations to Rome).

5. Cf. Ep. 179 (p. 297); Ep. 193 (pp. 319-320); Ep. 194 (p. 322).

6. Ep. 197 (pp. 325-326) dated June 4th 800.

7. Th. c. 23 (pp. 480-481): c.I; c VI; c. 36 (pp. 527-528).

8. Alc. c. 13 (p. 237); c. 27 (pp. 246-247); c. 38 (p. 252).

9. *Codices Latini Antiquiores* VI ed. E. A. Lowe (Oxford, 1953) VI, pp. 29-35. Most of the mss. listed here have a Fleury provenance, having been either written there or brought in.


12. *Iussu compulsus erili* is the phrase used by Theodulf. See J. Griffin, 'Caesar qui cogere posset', *Caesar Augustus - Seven Aspects* edd. F. Millar and E. Segal (Oxford, 1984), pp.189-218 who discusses the elements of compulsion on the Augustan poets (pp.189-193).


15. Godman *Poets*, p.11.

16. In particular Books 7 and 9 (M.G.H. *A.A. IV* pp.153ff and 201ff).

17. 7.1 (to King Sigibert and Queen Brunichild (561-575)); 7.1; 7.2; 7.4 (to Duke Gogo (Mayor of the Palace)); 7.7; 7.8; 7.9 (Duke Lupus).

18. 6.2 (to King Charibert (561-567); 6.3 (Queen Theudechild); 6.4 (Queen Bertichild); 6.5 (Queen Gelesvinta); 9.1; 9.2; 9.3 (King Chilperic (561-584)).

20. The language of Theodulf, as shown in the commentary for c.I has been influenced by Sidonius (line 3); Dracontius (lines 17, 20, 101); Claudian (line 117); Corippus (line 117).

21. For example mention of the subject's exploits (πράξεις) and the virtues of bravery, justice, moderation and wisdom is suggested by Menander (Rhetores Graeci 3.373 (Leipzig, 1856)). These four cardinal virtues are however quite common.


24. C.6.1a.1-2 (Sigibert); 6.2.7-8 (Charibert).

25. Poets p.68.

26. Ebert states that these virtutes are essential elements in Venantius' praise: cf. Das Preisgedicht des Mittelalters bis zum 12 Jahrhundert, p.47. For further discussion of Venantius' concentration on Charibert's virtutes see Godman Poets, pp.26-28.

27. See Godman Poets, p.26 n.127 for bibliography.
28. Cf. Alc. c. 7.16; 21; 26; c. 26.5-6. He also uses rector, defensor and amator.

29. Cf. c. 28.4: Lux decus ecclesiae, Romanae gloria gentis, and c. 28.27. For Hadrian decus is used in his epitaph: Tit. Saec. Oct c. 9.1 (p. 113).

30. C. I. 197-198: Este procul pultes et lactis massa coacti / sed pigmentati sis prope mensa cibi. Godman sees the blandness of the porridge as a metaphor for Alcuin's mind compared with the spice of Theodulf's intellect: Poets p. 68. But Theodulf clearly sets the metaphor in the context of the feast (c. I. 199-200) and therefore is more likely to be referring to the performance of his own poetry and the rejection of Alcuin's. In fact Theodulf goes on to demonstrate the 'spice' of his poetry with the sharp caricature of Wibod.

31. C. II. 5 (specimen; lux; norma).

32. A lack of conviction does however enter the style of the welcoming poem for Louis (c. 37).

33. Alc. c. 45.31 (p. 258): Roma caput mundi, primi quoque culmen honoris; and line 63: Ipsa caput mundi spectat te Roma patronum, indicate that Charles is at Rome.

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34. Poets, p.68.

35. See also Ang. c.2.

36. The 'heated enthusiasm' of Alcuin for the cooks noted by Godman (Poetry, p.11) is not present. Alcuin's praise of Thyrsis and Menalcas, although cut short certainly falls short of the level of praise for Charles.


38. Vita Karoli c.22.


41. Vita Karoli c.25.

42. Poets pp.6-7.

44. Fleckenstein (as n. 43) supports the story in Notker Gesta Karoli Magni.

45. Gesta 3 and 4.


47. This can be seen in his condemnation of bribery (c. 28.163ff pp. 498-499) his later refusal to admit complicity in the plot against Louis (see ch. 1) and in his criticism of the other court members.

48. Fleckenstein (see n. 43), pp. 32-35 covering the years 772-782.


51. Ep. 164 (p. 266). The appellation nobilissima puella supports this identification.

52. Ep. 192 (p. 319).
CHAPTER 3

The Poetry of Theodulf

The six poems under discussion here represent only two of the types of poem written by Theodulf: verse-epistles (III; V; IV) and occasional poems (see n.5) (I; II; VI). These generic designations do not show the diversity of form within each genre. In the group of verse-epistles the mordant poem to Rabanus is very different from the other more respectful poems to Liutgard and Gisla. The group of occasional poems, diverse by nature, contains two poems to Charles and Pope Hadrian's Epitaph. The last of these differs from Theodulf's other poetry in that here Theodulf is writing in another persona, in this case Charles'. ¹ No particular persona is adopted in his other epitaphs. These six poems do not include either exegetical or theological works, that make up half of his work, although there are moral/didactic elements in this group ².

The genres that make up Theodulf's poetic output are little different from those of his contemporaries, and appear to differ only in their distribution. Theodulf and Alcuin both composed verse-epistles, moral/didactic poems, exegetical and occasional poems. In style Theodulf's may differ from Alcuin's. Witke ³ has stressed the satirical features of c.28 and c.III,1, but the basic forms within which these features occur are not satirical. The demands on Theodulf of the court and his responsibilities as a cleric, already discussed, have
dictated the types of poem written by Theodulf. Poems are written on Charles or Louis on instruction or out of duty as a court poet.

Moral/didactic poems constitute about half of the 5000 lines of Theodulf's poetry, while occasional poems (19%), verse-epistles (17%) and exegetical poems (9%) make up the rest. Alcuin's output of a little over 6000 lines contains a very different distribution of genres. Theodulf's emphasis on the moral issues, on the basis of these figures, appears to be in sharp contrast with that of Alcuin, but many of Alcuin's verse-epistles contain moral/didactic elements.

A comparison of both poets' output of verse-epistles is of interest. As a percentage of each poet's output on the basis of the number of lines there is little difference between them (17% of Theodulf's, 19.2% of Alcuin's). The number of letters these figures actually represent are very different. Alcuin composed 42 verse-epistles, compared with 12 by Theodulf. The former is preoccupied with the maintenance of communication with a variety of friends, pupils and contacts, both as a court poet/teacher and as an Abbot. Theodulf is more limited in his epistolary output. No collection of letters by him exists and there appears to be only a single surviving letter. There is little evidence that Theodulf was a frequent letter writer. The dispute with Alcuin over the fugitive cleric in 801-2 provides the only other evidence of Theodulf's letter writing. The large number of letters written by Alcuin is extraordinary for the time.
One genre in which Alcuin seems to surpass Theodulf and his other contemporaries on the basis of volume, is in his composition of inscriptions, in fact about 1500 lines 10. Theodulf produced only a handful of inscriptions and amongst those is the epitaph for Hadrian, rejected in favour of Alcuin's (see introduction to c.II).

Theodulf is unique amongst his contemporaries in including satirical elements in his poetry. There are no poems however that can be described as satires. Witke in his chapter on Theodulf (see n.3) outlines the elements of satire in c.1 and c.28 and the influences that classical satirists have had, although the comparisons with examples in Horace's writing are of doubtful validity since Theodulf was almost certainly unacquainted with this poet's work. Witke however rightly states that Theodulf does not pass beyond these elements into writing full satire. The respective laudatory and didactic subjects of these poems dominate the satirical elements 11.

The classical satirist in his dissatisfaction with society's vices does not usually attack named contemporaries, whereas Theodulf names the Scottus in his vilification and directs a more gentle irony at the other court members. Witke makes no mention of c.III and yet this contains satirical elements. The poem contains many of the same elements and 'targets' as c.I. Theodulf's dissatisfaction with his surroundings, in this case the court and young court poets, is not diluted by the needs to praise Charles. Unlike classical satirists, whose basic intention was to bring their dissatisfaction to a wider
audience, Theodulf was not attacking society as a whole, and directed his attack on the specific abuses of Rabanus and the other young poets.

**Style**

In terms of style Theodulf is probably the liveliest of the court poets. Theodulf felt himself to be in a position to criticise Alcuin for being somewhat bland. He also appears to parody Alcuin's deferential tones in the praise of Charles at the beginning of c. I (see discussion in previous chapter).

One striking stylistic feature of Theodulf's poetry is the grouping of three phrases in a line, for example c. I. 87: *Larga manu, clemens animo, blandissima verbis.* (also c. I. 97; 141; 216. c. II. 5-6. c. IV. 19; c. VI. 5 and 48). *Homoioteleuton* (c. I. 31; 75. c. II. 7) and also *anaphora* (c. II. 6 and c. VI. 48) occur within such lines. Theodulf is here influenced by the form used by Prudentius (*Contra Symm.* 2. 435) and Venantius: V. M. 4. 709: *arva capax, pelagus intrans, super astra coruscans.* As in Venantius the phrases involved usually describe complimentary characteristics or contain laudatory epithets. Theodulf's use of Venantius as a model for panegyric will be discussed below.

The coincidence of ending between the third foot and final foot, where there is a morphological agreement between them, occurs frequently and almost exclusively in the pentameter: (see c. I. 20; 80; 85; 218; 230; c. II. 8; c. III. 86; c. V. 16; c. VI. 2; 16). The same coincidence occurs less
frequently where there is a grammatical agreement (see c.I.78; c.III.72 and 76). Other forms of homoioteleuton also occur but with less frequency and not with agreement (see c.I.74; c.II.7; c.III.63; c.IV.15; 25). Agreement does not occur often and Theodulf's use of balanced lines (c.I.20 and 218) and groupings of three phrases (c.II.7) contribute to this feature. The frequency of homoioteleuton in poems 1, 2, 8 and 28 of Theodulf is noted by Strecker 14, although he does not distinguish internal rhyme without grammatical agreement.

The amount of alliteration used by Theodulf appears to be similar to that of his contemporaries. As Godman notes, the alliteration within Virgil has influenced Alcuin 14, and it is likely that Theodulf was so influenced as well. All the poems here display this feature. It is most frequent in c.III. Alliteration occurs here in the following frequencies. Four times in a line: lines 9 and 105 (see below). Two and three letters alliterated: line 99, two pairs: lines 41 and 64, three: lines 38, 40, 99 and 106, and most commonly two alliterations in a line in about 35 of the 112 lines: for example lines 4 (sacra sedet) and 81 (crimina corvi).

Theodulf uses an extreme form of alliteration at c.III.105: nos nostros nobis nonstra teneamus in aula, and multiple alliteration also occurs in c.I.8: Tantillus tantam temno tacere tamen. The model for this figure appears to be verses assigned to Venantius, but which are probably spurious. A couplet is made up almost completely with this figure Appendix c.5.9-10:
digne nec indignans dignos dignatio dignans,
florum flos florens, florea flore fluens.

This poem occurs in a codex from Verdun dated c.800, also containing verses by Theodulf 15. So that although Venantius' authorship is spurious, it is possible that Theodulf read the verses.

In the first of these examples Theodulf is not using this figure merely for display, as a demonstration of virtuosity. He is emphasising by the repeated personal pronouns and possessive adjectives the separation of Rabanus and the group of young poets from the other pupils in the court. In the second example an element of display appears, undermining the humility expressed.

Other stylistic devices are used: asyndeton (c.I.80; 142; 215-218; 221-222; c.II.25; c.VI.14; 47), anaphora (c.I.217-218; c.II.6; c.IV.24; c.V.1-2; c.VI.11-15; 48). The effect of these two devices will be discussed below. Tmesis and epanalepsis also occur but do not constitute a significant feature. Tmesis is used only once by Theodulf in c.IV.29: Suave-que, Gisla, tuo feliciter utere -rico. Examples of proper names subjected to tmesis by earlier and near contemporary poets are noted below in the commentary for c.IV.29. Theodulf's variation of the epanaleptic couplet at c.I.22-23 is noted below in the commentary. Theodulf exploited this form less frequently than his contemporaries. He composed only one complete poem of these couplets, addressed to Louis 17. In comparison Alcuin composed three poems made up of 27
Another feature of Theodulf's style is the use of chiasmus and balanced lines. The second of these features includes examples of both reiteration and contradiction of the first half in the second. For reiteration see: c.I.20; 124; 218 and c.II.8. For contradiction see: c.I.120; 176; 230; c.III.47; 86; c.V.16 and c.VI.21; 23. Chiasmus occurs infrequently (c.I.126; c.II.22).

The vocabulary of the poems contains only a few peculiarities. Some unusual words occur which have recognisable sources (see commentary): c.I.8 tantillus; 181 pomiflua; c.III.33 vinnula. Other words and forms appear to be unique to Theodulf: c.III.63 cottus; 64 gentilupum; 78 bacchipotens; 97 Polyphemius; 106 trispedicos; c.V.17 balsameum. There is often a specific purpose. Cottus is used to sustain the homoioiteleuton, gentilupum, a translation of Theodulf's name, follows the latinizing of Rabanus in this poem. Theodulf's invention of the adjective bacchipotens is perhaps a parody of this form of compound adjective found in epic (Verg. A.II.8: bellipotens).

Theodulf's skills as a poet are clearly demonstrated by his integration of style and content, especially in the case of invective. He represents his anger against the Scottus with anaphora and asyndeton, emphasised by a balanced line with internal rhyme: c.I.217-218:

Res fera, res turpis, res segnis, resque nefanda,
Res infesta piis, res inimica bonis.
Again when attacking the *Scottus* three lines later in the same poem, he uses *asyndeton* in his description of the Irishman, as if he cannot fit enough words of contempt into a line: *anceps, attonitus, tremulus, furibundus, anhelus, stet levis aure manu lumine, mente pede*. *Asyndeton* is again used at c.III.63 in Theodulf's vilification of the *Scottus*, but further emphasised by *homoioteleuton*: *Hic Scottus sottus cottus*...

The satirical elements in Theodulf are conveyed by understatement and vivid character sketches. Other than the direct vilification of the Irishman (see above) and *Wibod* (c.III,1.205-212), Theodulf's style of satire is subtler. The description of the 'tireless' *Thyrsis* at first appears sincere, however the final couplet shows Theodulf's real purpose: *Regalique throno calvus hic impiger adstet / cunctaque prudenter, cuncta verenter agat*. To describe *Thyrsis* as *calvus* undermines the preceding description. Theodulf infers that the activity of *Thyrsis* is rather tiresome and that he has a hand in everything is emphasised by the repeated *cuncta...cuncta*. The message to *Rabanus* in c.III is clear, that he is not welcome in the court. Theodulf conveys this message not by understatement but by caricature. *Rabanus* and his friends in this poem have taken on the form of birds. The style as Godman notes is allusive, and the significance of some of the references has now been lost. Caricature is used frequently in Theodulf's poem on the court. Alcuin is shown as somewhat of a gourmand, always ready to preach to the rest of
the feast, but always too busy consuming food and drink. Einhard is caricatured as a scurrying ant. Theodulf makes fun of both his size and ceaseless activity.

Style and content work together also in Theodulf's panegyrics. The hyperbole of the language in the first lines of c.I matches the scope of this panegyric. Charles' praise is measureless (lines 3-4) and Theodulf, following Venantius, emphasises this by the list of rivers. This list of long rivers is itself contained within a line that extends beyond the others in the poem. Theodulf declares his own modest abilities as a poet and his unworthiness to write about Charles. This modesty is undermined by a line that includes sustained alliteration and asyndeton. Theodulf, as is noted above, uses in this poem and others groups of three phrases containing complimentary epithets or qualities. This technique is used to best effect in the epitaph for Hadrian: c.II.5-8:

Pontificum specimen, lux plebis, norma salutis
Vir pie, vir sapiens, vir venerande satis
Mente nitens, formaque decens, sensuque renidens
Inclyto amore vigens, speque fideque cluens.

The cumulative effect of this is emphasised by anaphora (line 6) and homoioteleuton of -ens (lines 7-8), with final syllable rhymes in each of the couplets.

**Metre**

As Strecker notes (as n.16 p.222) Theodulf uses the
elegiac couplet almost exclusively 24, and in Strecker's opinion bis zur Ermüdung. Theodulf's model is more likely to be Venantius rather than Ovid, but both could have had an influence. With the exception of the Vita Sancti Martini Venantius wrote in elegiacs. Theodulf does however demonstrate an acquaintance with Ovid (see below), so that the problem of deciding the main influence is hard to solve. Theodulf certainly does not follow Ovid in the form of the pentameter ending, since Ovid invariably uses a disyllabic ending for the pentameter 25. Theodulf however ends the pentameter on occasions with a three-syllable word (c.I.18; 30; 134 (with elision); 138; 204; 212; c.III.12; 42; 52.), a four-syllable word (c.I.140 Flaccidica; c.III.24 aurisonum) and on a single occasion a five-syllable word (c.I.172 amiciis).

Theodulf's use of metre generally follows classical conventions but there is one common variation. Theodulf frequently treats short syllables in the third foot of the pentameter as long when followed by a vowel: c.I.12 (celer ipse); 64 (redeat atria); 86 (ducibus omnibus); 94 (Carolus, et); 120 (dissimulet, audiat); 180 (dedit altior); 242 (infensus est); c.II.2 (fulvus et); c.III.30 (pariter organa); 80 (maneat inter); 94 (Christus auxilietur); 98 (nequeat effugere); c.VI.30 (sedis officiique). This practice is consistent with that of the elegists, see Platnauer (below n.26) p.59-61 and is also found in Venantius: 1.15.28 (praecedis amplificando); 3.20.4 (magis ars) and 5.5.82 (morimur et).
Closely related to the above practice is the lengthening of short syllables before 'h-'. Examples of the treatment of 'h-' as a consonant have been noted from Virgil (A.9.610) onwards (Norberg p.7-8). Theodulf is here clearly not treating 'h-' in this way, as the elision at c.I.6 (atque homini) and 105 (apta huic) show. Examples of this lengthening in the pentameter are at: c.I.122 (intus hunc); c.II.40 (omnis hoc); c.III.12 (rutilat hic); c.IV.16 (divinus hinc), and in the hexameter: c.I.11 (simul hunc); 103 (componit hanc); 119 (susci piat hic); 123 (calvus hic); 161 (fuerit haec).

Other anomalies are few. A few quantities are incorrect: in c.I.100 the final syllable of varia has been lengthened before sp in c.I.233 the final syllable of multa has remained short before sc and in c.III.71 and c.IV.3 the long second syllable in psalterium is treated as short, anomalies generally avoided by classical poets, with exceptions 24. In c.I.116 comple re, c.II.4 Hadriane and c.II.10 egregie, the naturally short final syllables are lengthened. Synizesis (tenuior) occurs at c.I.179, and Theodulf on occasion fails to elide dominum in c.VI.41 and 46 and strophium in I.106. There is hiatus between viduae and Hiram at c.III.93 and at c.IV.7 (bene Hieronymus).

On occasion Theodulf does use metre to create an effect. At the end of c.III two uses of spondees for effect are apparent. The asyndetic outburst of lines 221-222: Anceps, attonitus, tremulus, furibundus, anhelus/ stet levis aure, manu, lumine, mente, pede, with its dactylic pattern is
followed by a calmer, more rational tone, created by the use of four spondees in line 225: *Nunc ad lectorem nunc se convertat ad omnes*, before building up to a further outburst in lines 229-234. A sonorous tone is created by the spondaic hexameter in the last couplet of the poem, as Theodulf pronounces Charles' divinely given right to rule:

\[
\text{Qui te mundani regni rex extulit arce,} \\
\text{praemia perpetui det meliora tibi.}
\]

Influences of earlier writers on the poems

The works of Virgil and to a lesser degree Ovid were important. Virgil, as is shown elsewhere \(^2\), was widely disseminated by the 8th-9th centuries. Direct contact with Virgil by the court poets is clear from the frequent quotation from Virgil in their poetry. There is less evidence that Theodulf and his colleagues had direct contact with the works of Ovid. There are no manuscripts of the three works most influential on the poets at this time (*Amores*, *Ars Amatoria* and *Metamorphoses*) earlier than the 9th century \(^2\). Alcuin may have known Ovid only at second-hand, as Manitius has stated \(^2\), but the quantity of references to Ovid in Theodulf indicates that he had first-hand knowledge.

Although we have no manuscripts of Ovid from the Carolingian court or indeed Orléans, Theodulf indicates that he has read the texts of Ovid, and not just extracts. Theodulf's record of his reading matter \(^3\) shows from the first line that he is dealing with at least a substantial
amount of each author: Namque ego suetus eram hos libros legisse frequentem. No distinction is made between the amounts of Virgil and Ovid read by Theodulf in his reference to these authors and examples from their works 31. It is not known how complete Theodulf's reading of Ovid was, Manusius states that in the 9th century the only manuscripts of Ovid were at Konstanz and Murbach 32. Theodulf however, as is stated above, appears to have had access to Ovid and Spain is a likely source for this.

The evidence for the availability of other classical authors at the court can be seen in the list of notable classical works recorded by an unknown scholar at the end of the eighth century 33. The list contains between Tibullus and Claudian a reference to the Ars Poetica of Horace. B.L. Ullmann interprets this unique record of Horace in the court as a reference to the work being bound up with the other works and not to the works of Horace as a whole 34. No significant amount of Horace appears in the works of either Theodulf or Alcuin. A single and distant allusion to the Ars Poetica appears in Theodulf 35. Alcuin's letters and poems contain a few more allusions, but their sources are likely to be second-hand 36.

The most important evidence for Theodulf's attitude towards his classical sources is to be found in c. 45 37. The value of Virgil and Ovid, for the Christian reader, rests on their interpretation: lines 21-22: Falsa poetarum stilus affert, vera sophorum / falsa horum in verum vertere saepe.
solent. Although their verses are frivolous they are open to other interpretations. The classical mythical characters are shown by Theodulf to symbolise virtues and faults. Theodulf carries on to equate *Proteus* with truth 38, *Virgo* with justice 39 and Hercules and *Cacus* with courage and deceit respectively 40 . The classical portrayal of *Amor* also provides Theodulf with the basis for an outburst of moral indignation at immorality.

The actual ways in which lines of Virgil and Ovid are used by Theodulf do not really match the moralising ideals set out in c.45 (see above). The use of Virgilian or Ovidian language is not accompanied by justification or qualification, but rather they are integrated into the verse. Such references would be clear to the reader and it is perhaps the desire to demonstrate his learning that overrides Theodulf's reservations about the value of Virgil.

Alcuin's attitude is similar to that of Theodulf. Alcuin also looks for philosophical or moral value from their verses. Alcuin, however, while using Virgil himself as a source for his verse, on occasion warns others of the limitations and even dangers of reading Virgil. In prefatory verses for his exegesis on the Song of Songs, Alcuin warns of the deceptions in Virgil:

*Cantica sunt nimium falsi haec meliora Maronis.*

*Haec tibi vera canunt vitae precepta perennis,*

*Auribus ille tuis male frivola falsa sonabit.*

Alcuin is scathing about the value of Virgil again, in a letter of moral advice to Gundrada: *Ep. 309* (p.475): *Haec in*
Virgiliacis non invenietur mendaciis. An earlier letter, to Ricbod, concerns itself not with the innate lack of worth in Virgil's verse, but with an excessive amor Maronis on Ricbod's part, the study of this poet is a distraction. Ironically Alcuin has amalgamated two lines of Virgil as a proverb to relate his feelings at regaining Ricbod's attention.

Of the poems under study here c. III shows the greatest degree of influence by Virgil, approximately 14 of the 144 lines contain allusions to or quotations from Virgil. This frequency appears to match Alcuin's own use of Virgil. In the 1658 lines of Alcuin's poem on York, 167 quotations and allusions have been noted. Theodulf's use of Virgil ranges from close quotation (c. I. 60 of A. 4.438 and c. III. 15 of Georg. 1.388) to a similar idea or use of verb (cf. c. III. 16 - Ecl. 9.36 and c. VI. 24 - A. 11.126). Unlike Alcuin, who wrote poems in Virgilian genres (c. 57 (pp. 269-270), c. 58 (pp. 270-272) (both pastoral dialogues) and c. 59 (p. 273)), Theodulf limits his dependence on Virgil to language and ideas. C. III. 3, with a high percentage of references to the Eclogues shows some pastoral colouring but no more than that.

Theodulf's use of Ovid as a source is exceptional amongst his contemporaries, as is noted elsewhere. As a comparison Alcuin's poem on York contains only a single quotation from Ovid. The quotations from Ovid in Theodulf's poetry match those of Virgil in their extent if not their frequency. Complete phrases are taken from Ovid (c. I. 219 - Ars. Am. 3.779), while some lines contain only similar ideas (c. I. 162-
The context of some of the references taken from Ovid are sexual, and in view of Theodulf's outburst in c.45 the use of these references is surprising, in particular see c.III.19 - Am.1.5.23 and c.I.219 - Ars Am.3.779. Theodulf has possibly derived these from a secondary source where the original context has been lost. He is relying on his readers' ignorance of Ovid or he is ignoring their context.

Although there is evidence that Theodulf came into contact with pagan authors such as Claudian and Ausonius, no reference to their work appears to exist in Theodulf's poetry. Claudian is listed in the catalogue of Court books in Berlin Diez B Sant. 66 (see n.32). The evidence for Theodulf's contact with Ausonius is his association with the manuscript Leiden Voss. Lat. F11 (dated c.800), found on the Île Barbe, near Lyon. According to Della Corte Theodulf was the scribe of this manuscript.

Late Latin Christian authors, as the list of Theodulf's reading matter indicates, were important to him and his work shows their influence. Venantius' influence is clear. Theodulf's poetry contains frequent use of phrases from Venantius, particularly in the panegyrical elements (see below). The short poem c.V contains a striking amount of references (lines 1, 2 and 6). Venantius' influence extended throughout the Court. Alcuin's poem on York contains about 90 lines influenced to some degree by Venantius.

As is noted above (text and n.13), the triple phrase is
used by Theodulf in his praise of Charles and his family (c.I; c.VI), Hadrian (c.II) and Gisla (c.IV). In the opening line of c.I Theodulf modifies a topos of Venantius (6.1a.1; 6.2.4) to show the variety of people who praise Charles. The form of the panegyric, as will be discussed elsewhere, is not directly influenced by Venantius but the language is.

Theodulf is more influenced by Spanish authors than his contemporaries. Theodulf's reading of Prudentius, noster et ipse parens "", is likely to have occurred in Spain, and certainly the poetry of others in the court does not show the same level of references. Although this level is not as high as of Virgil, Ovid and Venantius, there are several phrases taken from Prudentius. The line Tutor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum (Prud. Contr. Symm. 2.435) is reused by Theodulf (c.I.31; c.II.28) and has influenced c.VI.5. Another example is found in c.I.98 taken from Contra Symmachum 1.276: nectaris ambrosii sacrum potare Lyaeum. The use of the phrase nectaris ambrosii in the same position is striking.

Theodulf's use of Martial is limited to two references (c.I.234 - Epig. 8.20; c.III.28 - Epig. 10.64.4). Although the first of these may be a commonplace the latter is a close echo of Martial's line. Eugenius has not extensively influenced Theodulf's poetry. Only four examples appear to exist (c.I.8 - Eug.c.5.13; c.I.33 - Eug.c.21.13; c.I.210 - Eug.c.14.56; c.III.5 - Eug.c.49). Isidore's influence on the language of Theodulf's poetry is restricted to unusual words at c.I.164 musio) and c.III.33 (vinnula).
A source for much of Theodulf's moral-didactic poetry and Alcuin's poetry and letters is the Bible. These six poems however contain little biblical material and when there is an allusion the original context is lost. Biblical names are taken by members of the Court as nicknames and in c.III.89 the eunuchs' names are derived from the Book of Judith and Esther. Nembroth in c.III.95 is taken from Gen.10.8. Phrases from the Bible are used: Huc illuc discurrent (Judges 15.5) is used with a slight change in c.I.155, but no biblical context has accompanied it.

The influence of earlier sources is easier to establish than the interconnections between the contemporary poets. They are on the whole using the same sources and therefore words and phrases found in both could have been derived independently. An example of this can be found at c.I.181. This has parallels with Angilbert c.2.68 (p.362): Uvidus imbrifero veniet de monte Menalcas. However, the likely common source for these references is Virgil Ecl.10.20: Uvidus hiberna venit de glande Menalcas. The use of a compound adjective by Theodulf (pomiflua) indicates however that he is aware of Angilbert's poem. A clearer example of a common Virgilian source is for the unusual adjective velivolum (Aen.1.224) used by Theodulf: c.III.97 and Alcuin c.I.1311, 1407; c.3.9; c.15.15 and c.26.18. Positive direct influences on Theodulf by contemporary poets are very few. The rare adjective aurisonum in Paulinus (Ep.15 (p.518) dated 791) is used by Theodulf in c.III.24 and the opening line of c.II
(epitaph for Hadrian) has followed the prefatory verses for a psalter sent to Hadrian: Vers Lib. Saec. Oct. Adiect. 4.i.i.1 (p.92). Examples of Theodulf's influence on other poets are similarly scarce. The idea of c.III.1-2, if the date of the poem is correct (winter 798-9 cf. Intro. c.III below), appears to have influenced the idea but not the language of a letter of Alcuin.
Notes

1. Other epitaphs are not written in a particular *persona*: cf. c.24 (p.483) (To Fastrada); c.40 (p.532) (To Helmengald); c.49 (pp.549-550) (to St.Nazar).

2. Cf. c.III.4.17-30 (p.541).


4. Cf. c.I; c.II; c.28 (pp.493ff); c.V; c.VI; c.36 (p.527); c.37 (p.529) (to Louis); c.39 (p.531) (to Louis).

5. Including panegyrics, epitaphs and inscriptions.

6. 31% Historical (two poems), 24% Inscriptions, 19% Verse-epistles, 8% Hagiographical, 4% Exegetical, 4% Moral-didactic, 2% Liturgical and 1% Occasional.

7. Alc. c.24 (*ad gentem Gothorum*); c.44 (pp.255-257) (to Candidus); c.46 (pp.259-260) (to Friducinus) and c.48 (pp.260-261) (to Bishop Arno).

9. Alc. Ep. 245 (p. 394): \( ... et plurima addere quae gesta non erant, sicut in eius legebatur litteris. \)

10. Alc. c. 88 (p. 305) - c. 114 (p. 345).

11. (See n. 3) p. 177 (on c. III, 1); p. 191 (on c. 28).

12. See food metaphor in c. I.191-198 (p. 488) (see commentary below).

13. Also Venantius 2.11.19; 3.8.17, 19; 4.3.9; 4.11.5; 4.11.11; 5.3,5; 6.8.11; 7.14.11; V.M. 1.27; 1.126; 1.490; 2.9; 4.578-581; 4.709 (H).


17. C. 39 (p. 531) 13 couplets.
18. Alc. c.34 (pp.250-251); c.35 (p.251); c.37 (p.251-2).


22. c.I.155ff.

23. Ven. V.M.2.78.

24. The exceptions are the Sapphic metre: c.37 (p.529); c.70 (p.560); c.77 (p.578), (all dated 814 and after and addressed to Louis the Pious) and hexameter: c.68 (p.557).


28. ibid. pp.260ff. These manuscripts do not in fact contain Ovid's complete corpus.


31. c. 45. 18ff (pp. 543-544).

32. (As n. 28) p. 540.


35. Horace *Ars Poetica* 476 alluded to by Theodulf c. 28. 351-2.

36. Alc. c. 9. 23 - Hor. c. 2. 10. 11 (perhaps from Jerome *Hebraicae Quaestiones In Libro Geneseos* 1. 19; c. 1. 784; Ep. 11 (p. 163); Ep. 83 (p. 363); Ep. 126 (p. 385) - Hor. *Serm.* 1. 10. 34; Ep. 163 (p. 265) quotes Hor. *Epist.* 1. 10. 41, but Alcuin does not name the author of the quote, referring only to *quidam poeta*. This indicates perhaps that the quote has been taken from a secondary source.
37. as n. 31.

38. Georg. 4.387ff.

39. Aen. 4.6.

40. Aen. 8.209-211.

41. C. 72.6-8 (p. 299).

42. Ep. 13 (p. 39).

43. Tunc felix nimium quo non felicior ullus, formed from Aen. 4.657 and 769.

44. P. Godman (as n. 14) pp. 152-3.

45. Noted by Manitius (as n. 30) p. 540 and Godman Poetry p. 8 and p. 169n.

46. S. Tafel, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 69 (1914) pp. 630-641.


48. C. 45.11ff (p. 543).
49. C.45.16 (p.543).

50. Judith 12.11; 12.3; 14.14; Esther 2.15.

Notes on the Text

Jacob Sirmond's (S) edition of 1646 is the editio princeps, but with the attendant reservation that with no remaining manuscripts we cannot be certain that Sirmond has faithfully represented his sources. Between Sirmond's first edition and the most recent, of Ernst Dümmler (D), several scholars have provided alternatives, as the apparatus criticus in Dümmler shows. In the seventeenth century Joannes Mabillon (M) and in the eighteenth Nicholas Du Chesne (Du C). Contributions to the work on Theodulf were made in the nineteenth century by Philip Jaffé (J), Wilhelm Wattenbach (W) and Karl Liersch (L) and culminating in the edition by Dümmler, most important, despite the limited notes and references, as the only complete edition since Sirmond. Dieter Schaller (SC) and Peter Godman (G) in this century have commented upon some of these poems. Full details of these editions and studies can be found in the bibliography.
<table>
<thead>
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<td>CCSL</td>
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RFA
Royal Frankish Annals, M.G.H. Scriptores 1, ed Pertz, (Hanover, 1826), pp.134-215.

Schaller

Schaller

Schaller
Introduction to c.I (c.25 (Sirmond III.1))

This poem-epistle was composed away from court (cf. lines 11-12) and was intended to be passed amongst select members of the court and then given a public reading. Schaller (M.I.6 (1970),16) groups c.I together with Angilbert c.2 (pp.360-363) and Alcuin c.26 (pp.245-246). C.I is comparable with these poems of Angilbert and Alcuin in that they all give an insight into, if not a description of, life at court, both of the royal family and of the court members. Theodulf however has written a work distinctive from the others in its variety and scope.

The first 114 lines of c.I are a panegyric for Charles and his family which in length and content surpasses the panegyrical elements of Ang.2 and Alc.26. There is little similarity between Alcuin's and Angilbert's lifeless pictures of Charles and that given by Theodulf. In the others Charles is restricted to the confines of the court setting and praised with stock epithets (Alc.26.5-6). Theodulf, however, treats Charles as a world ruler receiving world-wide acclaim. The celebrations for the capture of the Avar treasure highlight Charles' expansionist policies, while Charles' praise is measured against the rivers of his kingdoms (lines 3-4) and his wisdom against the rivers of the world (lines 23-26). This opening section (lines 1-50) must have had a tremendous impact upon the court and in particular on Alcuin and Angilbert. Theodulf's sweeping panegyric has the effect of making their poems all but irrelevant in the minds of Charles and the members of the court. Only one poem of this period can match the
scale of this panegyric, the 'Paderborn Epic' (PLAC i pp.366-379). This later epic poem is a little over twice as long as c.I, contains encomiastic elements and also sets Charles in a broader context, showing Charles as the ruler of Europe (line 12).

One of the significant features of c.I is that the panegyric is followed by sections of ribaldry and invective. Such satirical elements are not found in any of his contemporaries' poetry. The inclusion of mockery of various members of the court (lines 117-158, 175-212) and invective against the Irishman (lines 159-174, 213-234) along with the panegyric raises the question of the sincerity of Theodulf's praise. The panegyric section could be seen as just another part of the mockery, belittling Alcuin and his circle by showing up their blinkered view by the expansive scope of his own poem. It is only with hindsight that such associations become apparent. Insincere praise of one's patron, even if it is not blatant, is clearly unacceptable. The panegyric is sincere and although he may be consciously trying to better his rivals his treatments of King and Court are kept distinct.

The date of the poem is easily established by the context. C.I describes the court celebrations for the arrival of the Avar treasure, captured by Eric Duke of Friuli in 796 (cf. R.F.A. for 796). Theodulf describes the treasure (lines 33-34) and the tribute of the subject Avars (lines 39-42). Godman is imprecise about the particulars of the poem's date. In Poetry (p.11) and Poets (p.68) he states that the poem is written sometime in 796.
and incorrectly adds that the poem is set in 795. The most likely date for the poem is the Easter of 796, the first meeting of the court after the victory over the Avars and a date supported by the description of the advent of spring (lines 51-56). Angilbert had left the court (lines 145-146) and, as Schaller has shown (as above pp. 17-18), this absence, on an embassy to Pope Leo III at Rome, carrying part of the treasure, was in the early part of 796. Schaller shows that by the latter part of the year Angilbert was back in Gaul when he composed a poem of welcome for Pippin on his return from Pannonia (Ang. c.I).

Like Theodulf's other poems c.I draws on many periods for its language. Classical and christian writers are both represented in the allusions without any apparent preference. This contrasts strongly with c.III with its proportionally greater number of allusions to Virgil (cf. introduction c.III below). The influence of two poets, Ovid and Venantius, does, however, stand out. Theodulf's knowledge of Ovid is outlined above in chapter 3 and it would appear that Theodulf had extensive knowledge of Ovid. C.I has ten clear quotes from and allusions to Ovid, taken from the Fasti, Metamorphoses, Amores, and Ars Amatoria. Theodulf twice uses phrases (lines 19 and 219) taken from sexual contexts (Ov. Am. 1.5.23 and Ars Am. 3.779). Theodulf makes no reference to the original contexts and as the commentary notes below it has to be assumed that his audience was ignorant of them. That Theodulf knew these amatory poems at first hand is unlikely on the basis of both propriety and availability. A lost compilation is a more
likely source for these quotations, and given Theodulf's exceptional use of Ovid, a source known to him alone. Spain is therefore a possible origin for this.

Theodulf's reading of Venantius is not in doubt and there are various allusions to Venantius in 15 lines of c.I, a significant if not large contribution. This contribution ranges from the use of a similar idea (lines 1, 7, 18 and 87) to a strong influence on the language (lines 3, 13, 25, 35, 49, 97, 113 and 221). Venantius in particular is an important influence upon the panegyric section of the poem. Godman in his timely and able analysis of Venantius' panegyrics (Poets ch.1 pp.16ff.) highlights particular topics in Venantius's panegyrics that have their parallels in c.I, for example the emphasis of the geographical scope of the ruler's fame (ibid. pp.32-33).

Although Theodulf has been influenced in the language and form of his panegyric the political expediency of much of Venantius' poetry was irrelevant to him. Venantius, as Godman frequently states in his assessment, often used his panegyrics to smooth the political paths between the Frankish nobility and the Merovingian court. Venantius shows a keen perception of the political situation and how best to support the King's and his own cause. C.6.2 (Godman Poets pp.23-24) supports Charibert's claim to Paris after a certain amount of fraternal strife. Any political manoeuvring that can be seen in c.I is within the court, for example in Theodulf's rivalry with the other poets. Charles' rule
is firm and uncontested and Theodulf is writing within a secure and settled court. Venantius had been spurred on by the necessity of seeking patronage and his itinerant lifestyle suggests an interrupted flow of favours. Theodulf on the other hand is writing out of gratitude for the king's support rather than the hope of support to come. Theodulf is celebrating and not defending Charles' rule.

Structure

1-8: The king's greatness is stated. The scope of his praise is outlined and Theodulf's unworthiness to voice it.

9-12: The style of the poem is outlined and also the nature of its circulation.

13-22: Praise of the physical and intellectual qualities of Charles.

33-50: The scene at court with the actual and imagined tributes of the subject nations.

51-56: Charles' military dominance brings peace just as spring renews the earth.

- 88 -
57-66: Scene at court as ambassadors arrive and report to the king. The buildings at Aachen are briefly described and the people waiting to see the king.

67-114: All the royal family in turn are described and praised in hierarchical order.

115-160: Notables of the court, including those who are absent (141-146), are greeted and flattered, in particular Alcuin (131-140).

161-174: First attack on Scottus ridiculing hope of any reconciliation and mocking Irishman's incapability to pronounce the letter 'c'.

175-200: Teases other members of the court both scholars and domestic. Ends with humorous sketch of Alcuin eating.

201-212: Feast ends and Wibod reacts to the insults of Theodulf.

213-220: Main attack on Irishman; he is described in terms of the greatest contempt. Irishman is dehumanised and fiercely insulted.

221-228: Irishman's frustrated and animated reaction to Theodulf's insults.
229-234: Final attack on Irishman. Against his ignorance and belligerence.

235-244: Poem returns to the king. Wishes for his continued happiness. Theodulf asks for forgiveness through Christ for any offence in the poem and asks finally for God to grant rewards in heaven for Charles.
C. I (c. 25)

Te totus laudesque tuas, rex, personat orbis,
Multaque cum dicat, dicere cuncta nequit.
Si Mosas, Rhenus, Arar, Rodanus, Tiberisque, Padusque
Metiri possunt, laus quoque mensa tua est.

Res satis inmensa est tua laus, inmensa manebit,
Dum pecori atque homini pervius orbius erit.
Quam bene si nequeo studiis explere loquendi,
Tantillus tantam temno tacere tamen.

Ludicris haec mixta iocis per ludicra currat,

Saepeque tangatur qualibet illa manu.
Laude iocoque simul hunc illita carta revisat,
Quem tribuente celer ipse videbo deo.

O facies, facies ter cocto clarior auro,
Felix qui potis est semper adesse tibi

Et diademali sat dignam pondere frontem
Cernere, quae simili cuncta per arva caret,
Egregiumque caput, mentum, seu colla decora,
Aureolasque manus, pauperiem quae abolent.
Pectora, crura, pedes, est non laudabile cui nil,

Omnia pulchra vigunt, cuncta decora nitent.
Atque audire tui perpulchra affamina sensus,
Quo super es cunctis, est tibi nemo super.

10. illa L ille S. 22. super es D; superes G.
All of the world resounds your name and your praises 0 King,
And although it says many things, it cannot say everything.
If the Meuse, Rhine, Arar, Rhône, Tiber and Po
Can all be measured, then your praise also can be measured.
Your praise is quite measureless, and will remain measureless,
For as long as the earth is open to beast and man.
If I cannot sufficiently do justice to this praise by way of speech,
I, so small as I am, however scorn to be silent about so great a praise.
Let this praise run through the festivities mixed with playful jests,
And let it often be touched by every hand.
Let this scrawled letter revisit this man along with praise and jests,
He whom, God willing, I will soon see myself.
O face, face brighter than thrice smelted gold,
Happy is he who can always be with you
And see that brow worthy of the weight of the crown,
Which has no equal in all the lands.
And see that noble head, and chin or handsome neck,
Those golden hands, which abolish poverty.
Your chest, legs and feet, all of you is worthy of praise,
All is beautiful and in good health, handsome and radiant.
And happy is he who hears the most beautiful words of your intellect
In which you are superior to all and no-one can better you.
Est tibi nemo super, sollers prudentia cuius
    Tanta cluit, nullus cui puto finis inest.

25 Latior est Nilo, glaciali grandior Histro,
    Maior et Euphrate est, non quoque Gange minor.

Quid mirum, aeternus si talem pastor alendis
    Pastorem gregibus condidit ipse suis?

Nomine reddis avum, Salomonem stemmate sensus,        

30 Viribus et David, sive Ioseph specie.

Tutor opum es, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,
    Atque ideo dantur haec bona cuncta tibi.

Percipe multiplices laetanti pectore gazas,
    Quas tibi Pannonico mittit ab orbe deus.

35 Inde pias celso grates persolve tonanti,
    Cui, solet ut semper, sit tua larga manus.

Adveniunt gentes Christo servire paratae,
    Quas dextra ad Christum sollicitante vocas.

Pone venit textis ad Christum crinibus Hunnus,

40 Estque humilis fidei, qui fuit ante ferox.

Huic societur Arabs, populus crinitus uterque est,
    Hic textus crines, ille solutus eat.

Cordoba, prolixo collectas tempore gazas
    Mitte celer regi, quem decet omne decens.

45 Ut veniunt Abares, Arabes Nomadesque venite,
    Regis et ante pedes flectite colla, genu.

45. Abares S; Arabes C.
No-one can better you; whose shrewd wisdom
   Is famed as being so great, and which I think has no limit.
25 It is broader than the Nile, and greater than the icy Danube,
   Larger than the Euphrates and as great as the Ganges.
What wonder is it if the eternal Shepherd himself has placed
   Such a shepherd to tend his flocks.

Your name recalls your grandfather, the nobility of your intellect, Solomon,
30 Your strength recalls David and your beauty Joseph.

You are the protector of riches, avenger of crimes, bestower of honours,
   And for these reasons all these good things are given to you.
See with joyful heart the many treasures,
   Which God sends to you from the land of Pannonia.
35 So give due thanks to Heavenly God,
   To whom, as it always is, may your hand be generous.
The peoples arrive ready to serve Christ,
   Whom you call to Christ with an encouraging hand.
The Hun comes to Christ with his hair bound up behind,
40 And he who was once fierce, is humble in his faith.
Along with him may be the Arab, both a long haired people,
   Let the one go with hair bound up, the other with it loose.
O Cordoba, send swiftly the treasures amassed over many years
   To the King whom every decent thing becomes.
45 Just as the Avars come so must you Arabs and Nomads come,
   And bend your neck and knee before the feet of the King.
Nec minus hi, quam vos, saevique trucesque fuere,
   Sed hos qui domuit, vos domitus erit:
Scilicet in caelo residens, per Tartara regnans,
   Qui mare, qui terras, qui regit astra, polum.
Ver venit ecce novum, cum quo felicia cuncta
   Teque, tuosque adeant, rex, tribuente deo.
En renovatur ovans aeternis legibus annus,
   Et sua nunc mater germina promit humus.
Silvae fronde virent, ornuntur floribus arva,
   Sicque vices servant, en, elementa suas.
Undique legati veniant, qui prospera narrent,
   Praemia sint pacis, omnis abesto furor.
Mox oculis cum mente simul manibusque levatis
Ad caelum, grates fertque refertque deo.
Consilii celebretur honos, oretur in aula,
   Qua miris surgit fabrica pulchra tholis.
Inde palatinae repetantur culmina sedis,
   Plebs eat et redeat atria longa terens.
Ianua pandatur, multisque volentibus intrent
   Pauci, quos sursum quilibet ordo tulit.
Circumdet pulchrum proles carissima regem,
   Omnibus emineat, sol ut in arce solet.
Hinc adstent pueri, circumstent inde puellae,
Vinea laetificat sicque novella patrem.
Stent Karolus Hludowicque simul, quorum unus ephebus,

47. saevique W; saevi S.
Nor were these any less savage and fierce than you,
And he who has subdued these is about to subdue you:
Namely residing in Heaven and ruling Hell,

Who rules the sea, earth, stars, heaven.

See the new spring has come with which, O king, God willing,
May all happiness come to you and your family.
So the year rejoicing in the eternal laws is renewed,
And now Mother Earth pushes forth her shoots.

Trees flourish with leaves and fields are adorned with flowers,
In this way the elements keep to their order.
Let ambassadors come from all sides to tell their good news,
Let there be the rewards of peace, and away with all anger.
Soon he gives thanks again and again to God
With eyes, mind and hands raised to heaven.
Let the honour of his counsel be celebrated, and prayed for in
the palace,
Where a beautiful building rises up with its wondrous dome.
Then let them seek again the heights of the palace quarters,
And may the congregation pass up and down the long halls.

May the door open and may a few enter, though many wish to
Who have risen from all ranks.
May his most dear children surround the handsome King,
And may he outshine all, just like the sun in heaven.
May the boys stand by him here, and the girls there,
Like the young vine, and may they bring joy to their father.
Let Charles and Louis stand together, of whom one is a youth,
Iam vehit alterius os iuvenale decus.
Corpore praevalido quibus est nervosa iuventa,
Corque capax studii, consilique tenax.

Mente vigent, virtute cluunt, pietate redundant,
Gentis uterque decor, dulcis uterque patri.

Et nunc ardentes acies rex flectat ad illos,
Nunc ad virgineum flectat utrimque chorum,
Virgineum ad coetum, quo non est pulchrior alter,

Veste, habitu, specie, corpore, corde, fide.

Scilicet ad Bertam et Chrodtrudh, ubi sit quoque Gisla,
Pulchrarum una, soror, sit minor ordo trium.

Est sociata quibus Leutgardis pulchra virago,
Quae micat ingenio cum pietatis ope.

Pulchra satis cultu, sed digno pulchrior actu,
Cum populo et ducibus omnibus una favet.

Larga manu, clemens animo, blandissima verbis,
Prodesse et cunctis, nemini obesse parat.

Quae bene discendi studiis studiosa laborat,

Ingenuasque artes mentis in arce locat.

Prompta sit obsequio soboles gratissima regis,
Utque magis placeat, certet amore pio,
Pallia dupla celer, manuum seu tegmina blanda
Suscipiat Carolus, et gladium Ludoich.

81. Chrodtrudh Du C; Rodtrud S.
The other's face already bears the grace of manhood.
Both are vigorous youths strong in body,
With minds full of enthusiasm and fixed in their purpose.

75. They are strong in mind, famed for their courage, and abound with piety,
   Each the pride of their family, each dear to their father.
And may the King direct his burning eyes now towards them,
   Now towards the groups of girls on both sides,
   A group of girls which no other exceeds in beauty,
80 In dress, manner, appearance, in body, mind, and faith.
   Certainly he looks to Berta and Rotrud, where Gisla may be also,
   Their sister, one of the beautiful girls, though she may be the youngest of the three.
   Joined with these is the beautiful maid Leutgard,
   Whose mind radiates with an abundance of piety.
85 She is most beautiful in appearance but fairer still in her worthy conduct,
   She alone is favoured by all people and nobles.
   Open-handed, kind hearted, very gentle in her speech,
   She is ready to help all and hinder none.
   This studious lady works hard in the study of learning well
90 And stores up the noble arts in her mind.
   May the beloved offspring of the King be swift to obey,
   And may they compete in kindly love to give more pleasure.
   Let Charles swiftly take up the double cloak or soft gloves
   And let Louis take up the sword.
Quo residente, suum grata inter basia munus

Dent natae egregiae, det quoque carus amor.

Berta rosas, Chrodtrudh violas dat, lilia Gisla,
Nectaris ambrosii praemia quaeque ferat;
Rothaidh poma, Hiltrudh Cemerem, Tetdrada Liaeum,

Quis varia species, sed decor unus inest.

Ista nitet gemmis, auro illa splendet et ostro,
Haec gemma viridi praenitet, illa rubra.
Fibula componit hanc, illam limbus adornat,
Armillae hanc ornant, hancque monile decet.

Huic ferruginea est, apta huic quoque lutea vestis,
Lacteolum strophium haec vehit, illa rubrum.
Dulcibus haec verbis faveat regi, altera risu,
Ista patrem gressu mulceat, illa ioco.

Quod si forte soror fuerit sanctissima regis,

Oscula det fratri dulcia, frater ei,
Talia sic placido moderetur gaudia vultu,
Ut sponsi aeterni gaudia mente gerat,
Et bene scripturae pandi sibi compita poscat,
Rex illam doceat, quem deus ipse docet.

Adveniant proceres, circumstent undique laeti,
Complere studeat munia quisque sua.

97. dat, lilia D; et lilia S.
When he sits let his noble daughters give him their gift,
Along with kisses as dear love requires.
Gertha gives roses, Rotrud violets and Gisla lilies,
Let each bear their rewards of ambrosial nectar;
Rothaid gives apples, Hiltrud corn and Thodrud wine,
Which differ in appearance, but have their beauty in common.
The one shines with jewels the other radiant in gold and purple,
The one glowing with an emerald, the other with a ruby.
The one wears a clasp, while belts adorn the other,
One wears bracelets, and one is graced by a necklace.
One suits a dark red dress and the other a yellow,
One wears a milk-white bodice, and the other a red bodice.
Let one favour the King with sweet words, and the other with a smile,
Let one charm her father by her movement, the other with a joke.
And if perhaps that most holy sister of the King should be there,
May she give sweet kisses to her brother, and her brother to her.
Thus she may restrain her joy behind a calm face,
To remain mindful of the joys of her eternal husband,
And should she call for the ways of the Scriptures to be explained,
Let the King, whom God himself teaches, teach her.
Let the nobles come forward, and surround him with happy faces,
And let each be careful to fulfil his duties.
Thyrsis ad obsequium semper sit promptus herile,
    Strenuus et velox sit pede, corde, manu.
Pluraque suscipiat hinc inde precantia verba,
120  Istaque dissimulet, audiat illa libens:
    Hunc intrare iubens, hunc expectare parumper
    Censeat, hunc intus, hunc tamen esse foris.
Regalique throno calvus hic impiger adstet,
    Cunctaque prudenter, cuncta verenter agat.
125 Adsit praesul ovans animo vultuque benigno,
    Ora beata ferens, et pia corda gerens.
Quem sincera fides, quem tantus culminis ordo,
    Pectus et innocuum, rex, tibi, Christe, dicat.
Stet benedicturus regis potumque cibumque,
130  Sumere quin etiam rex velit, ille volet.
    Sit praesto et Flaccus, nostrorum gloria vatum,
    Qui potis est lyrico multa boare pede.
    Quique sophista potens est, quique poeta melodus,
    Quique potens sensu, quique potens opere est.
135 Et pia de sanctis scripturis dogmata promat,
    Et solvat numeri vincla favente ioco.
    Et modo sit facilis, modo scrupea quaestio Flacci,
    Nunc mundanam artem, nunc redibens superam:
    Solve re de multis rex ipse volentibus unus
140  Sit bene qui possit solvere Flaccidica.
Voce valens, sensuque vigil, sermone politus,
    Adsit Riculfus, nobilis arte, fide.
May Thyrsis be always swift to his master's service,
And be active and swift of foot, heart and hand.
Let him accept many entreaties from all sides,
And ignore some, and listen willingly to others;
Ordering this one to enter, let him decide that another,
Should wait for a moment with one inside and one outside.
Let this tireless bald man stand by the royal throne,
And act always wisely, always reverently.
May the bishop be present rejoicing in mind, and kind expression,
With a happy face and pious heart.
Whom a sincere faith, the greatness of his high rank,
And his spotless heart dedicates to you Christ the King.
Let him stand on the point of blessing the King's food and drink,
And let him fly if the King were to even wish to eat.
Let Flaccus be present, the glory of our poets,
Who is able to sound forth many verses in the lyric measure.
He is at once a powerful thinker, and a melodious poet,
Masterful in his understanding and masterful in his work.
Let him propound the pious doctrines from the Holy Scriptures,
And with an encouraging laugh release the chains of meaning of a number.
Let Flaccus' question be now easy, now difficult,
Now on a secular subject now a sacred subject:
But may the King, among the many who wish to
Be the only one able to solve Flaccus' problems.
Let Riculf be present, with strong voice, alert mind
And polished speech, noble both in skill and faith.
Qui et si longinquaque fuerit regione moratus,
    Non manibus vacuis iam tamen inde redit.

145 Dulce melos canerem tibi, ni absens, dulcis Homere,
    Esses, sed quoniam es, hinc mea Musa tacet.
Non Ercambaldi sollers praesentia desit,
    Cuius fidam armat bina tabella manum.

Pendula quae lateri manuum cito membra revisat,

150 Verbaque suscipiat, quae sine voce canat.
Lentulus intersit, laturus dulcia poma,
    Poma vehat calathis, cordis in arce fidem.
Cui sunt arguti sensus, alia omnia tarda:
    Ocior esto, probus Lentule, voce, pede.

155 Nardulus huc illuc discurrat perpete gressu,
    Ut formica tuus pes redit itque frequens.
Cuius parva domus habitatur ab hospite magno,
    Res magna et parvi pectoris antra colit,
Et nunc ille libros, operosas nunc ferat et res,

160 Spiculaque ad Scotti nunc paret apta necem.
Cui dum vita comes fuerit, haec oscula tradam,
    Trux, aurite, tibi quae dat, aselle, lupus.
Ante canis lepores alet aut lupus improbus agnos,
    Aut timido muri musio terga dabit,

157. ab add. D. 159. operosas J; operosus S.

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And who even if he lingers in a far off country,

He does not however now return with empty hands.

145 I would sing sweet verses for you, sweet Homer, if you were not away,

But since you are away then let my Muse stay silent.

May the skilful presence of Ercambald be in attendance,

Whose faithful hand is armed with his double tablet.

Which hanging at his side may come quickly back into his hands,

And let it take the words which he speaks silently.

Let Lentulus be among them, who will bear sweet apples,

Carrying apples in his basket and faith in the citadel of his heart.

His mind is shrewd but everything else is slow:

So good Lentulus be quicker in speech and step.

150 May Nardulus scurry unceasingly here and there,

Just like your step, ant, he comes and goes,

A great guest lives in his small dwelling,

And a greatness lives in the caves of a small heart.

Now let him carry books, now more weighty matters,

160 Now let him prepare weapons right for the death of the Irishman.

To him I shall give these kisses as long as I live,

Which the fierce wolf gives to you, long eared little ass.

Sooner would the dog feed the hare or the wicked wolf the lamb,

Or the cat run away from the timid mouse,
165 Quam Geta cum Scotto pia pacis foedera iungat,
    Quae si forte velit iungere, ventus erit.
   Hic poenasve dabit fugietve simillimus Austro,
    Utque sit hic aliud, nil nisi Scottus erit.
   Cui si litterulum, quae est ordine tertia, tollas,
170   Inque secunda suo nomine forte sedet,
    Quae sonat in 'caelo' prima, et quae in 'scando' secunda,
     Tertia in 'ascensu', quarta in 'amicitiis',
    Quam satis offendit, pro qua te, littera salvi,
     Utiltur, haud dubium quod sonat, hoc et erit.
175   Stet levita decens Fredegis sociatus Osulfo,
     Gnarus uterque artis, doctus uterque bene.
    Nardus et Ercambald si coniungantur Osulfo,
     Tres mensae poterunt unius esse pedes.
    Pinguior hic illo est, hic est quoque tenuior illo,
180    Sed mensura dedit altior esse pares.
     Pomiflua sollers veniat de sede Menalcas,
      Sudorem abstergens frontis ab arce manu.
     Quam saepe ingrediens, pistorum sive coquorum
      Vallatus cuneis, ius synodale gerit.
185    Prudenter qui cuncta gerens, epulasque dapesque
     Regis honoratum deferat ante thronum.
    Adveniat pincerna potens Eppinus et ipse,
     Pulchraque vasa manu, vinaque grata vehat.

167. fugietve W; fugietne S. 178. esse S; ecce Du C 181. sollers
     D; solers S.
65 Than the Goth make a pious treaty of peace with the Irishman,
   If he should wish to make one it would be all wind.
   He will be punished or he will flee like the South wind,
   And though he tries to be different, he is nothing but an Irishman.

   If you take away the letter, which is the third in the alphabet,

70   And which happens to be the second in his name,
   Which is the first in 'caelo', and the second in 'scando',
   The third in 'ascensu' and the fourth in 'amicitiis',
   Which he gets wrong, and instead pronounces you, letter of the avour,
   Certainly he will be what he pronounces.

75 The honorable deacon Fredegis stands next to Osulf,
   Both knowledgeable on grammar, both very learned.
   If Nardus and Ercambald were to be joined to Osulf,
   They could make up the three legs of a table.
   One is fatter than the other and one is also thinner than the ther,

80   But a higher measure has made them equal.
   Let skilful Menalca\d desc\d from his home abundant with apples,
   Wiping away the sweat from his brow with his hand.
   Often entering flanked by rows of bakers and cooks,
   He carries out his law as in a synod.

85 In all things he acts wisely, and may he set out
   Banquets and feasts before the honoured throne of the King.
   And let Eppinus himself the strong cup-bearer approach,
   Let him carry beautiful vessels and pleasing wines.
Iam circumsedent regalia prandia iussi,

Laetitiae detur munus ab axe poli.

Et pater Albinus sedeat pia verba daturus,

Sumpturusque cibos ore manuque libens.

Aut si, Bacche, tui, aut Cerealis pocla liquoris

Porgere praecipiat, fors et utrumque volet,

Quo melius doceat, melius sua fistula cantet,

Si doctrinalis pectoris antra riget.

Este procul pultes, et lactis massa coacti,

Sed pigmentati sis prope mensa cibi.

Pabula, vina bibant stansque sedensque simul.

His bene patratis, mensis dapibusque remotis,

Pergat laetitia plebs comitante foras.

Hacque intus remanente sonet Theodulfica Musa,

Quae foveat reges, mulceat et proceres.

Audiat hanc forsan membrosus Wibodus heros,

Concutiat crassum terque quaterque caput.

Et torvum adspiciens vultuque et voce minetur,

Absentemque suis me obruat ille minis.

Quem si forte vocet pietae gratissima regis,

Gressu eat obliquo vel titubante genu.

Et sua praecedat tumefactus pectora venter,

Et pede Vulcanum, voce Iovem referat.

Haec ita dum fiunt, dum carmina nostra leguntur,
Now let the summoned guests sit down around the royal feast,

And may the gift of happiness be granted from heaven.

May Father Albinus sit ready to speak pious words,

And to take food freely with mouth and hand.

He may order glasses of wine or beer to be brought,

And perhaps he might want both.

That he may teach all the better, and his pipe may play sweeter

If he should water the caverns of his learned heart.

Begone porridge and mass of curd,

But let the table of spiced meat be close by.

Let them take part in the feast at table and eat sweet foods

And let them drink wines as some stand and some sit.

With this feast concluded satisfactorily, and the tables and dishes removed,

Let the people with accompanying joy go out of the doors.

Within with this happiness remaining let Theodulf's Muse sound forth,

Which may cherish Kings and flatter nobles.

Perhaps that long limbed hero Wibod might hear these verses,

He might strike his thick head three or four times.

And casting a stern look he might threaten with face and voice,

And heap threats upon me in my absence.

If perhaps the King with gracious piety may call him,

He may go with sideways step or tottering knee.

And go forth his swollen stomach preceding him,

And recall Vulcan with his walk and Jove with his voice.

So while these things happen, while my poem is being read,
Stet Scottellus ibi, res sine lege furens,
215 Res dira, hostis atrox, hebes horror, pestis acerba,
Litigiosa lues, res fera, grande nefas,
Res fera, res turpis, res segnis, resque nefanda,
Res infesta piis, res inimica bonis.
Et manibus curvis, paulum cervixe reflexa,
220 Non recta ad stolidum brachia pectus eant.
Anceps, attonitus, tremulus, furibundus, anhelus,
Stet levis aure, manu, lumine, mente, pede.
Et celeri motu nunc hos, nunc comprimat illos,
Nunc gemitus tantum, nunc fera verba sonet.
225 Nunc ad lectorem, nunc se convertat ad omnes
Adstantes proceres, nil ratione gerens.
Et reprehendendi studio ferus aestuet hostis,
Cui sit posse procul, iam quia velle prope est.
Plurima qui didicit, nil fixum, nil quoque certum,
230 Quae tamen ignorat, omnia nosse putat.
Non ideo didicit, sapiens ut possit haberi,
Sed contendendi ut promptus ad arma foret.
Multa scis et nulla sapis, plura, inscie, nosti,
Quid dicam inde magis? non sapis atque sapis.
235 Rex sua fulcra petat, habeat sua mansio quemque,
Rex bene laetus eat, plebs bene laeta meet.
The little Irishman may stand there, a thing raging without check,

215 A foul thing, a black enemy, a dull horror, a bitter disease,
    A quarrelsome plague, a wild thing, a great wrong.
A wild thing, wicked thing, lazy thing, and unspeakable thing,
    A thing hostile to the dutiful, a thing hateful to the good.
And with bent hands and his neck bent back a little,

220 Let him go with arms bent over his stupid chest.
    Uncertain, astonished, trembling, furious, breathless,
    Let him stand uncertain of hearing, hand, eye, mind, foot.
And with rapid movement let him now restrain these, now those,
    Now issuing only groans, now wild words.

225 Now he may turn to the reader, and now
    To all the nobles standing by him, doing nothing rationally.
    Let this wild enemy rage with the wish to criticize,
    Let the ability to criticize be far off, because the wish to
    is now nearby.

    This man who has learned much, has learned nothing fixed, nothing certain,

230 But he thinks he knows all the things which he does not know.
    He did not learn such things to be considered wise,
    But so that he would be quick to arms in an argument.
    You know many things and are wise about none of them, you are a
    learned ignoramus,
    What more can I say, you know and you do not know.

235 Let the king seek his couch and let all go home,
    Let the king go suitably happy and the people too.
At tu posce pio reditum mea fistula regi,
    Et cunctis veniam, quos ciet iste iocus.
Qui ne quem offendat, placeat dilectio Christi,
240    Omnia quae suffert, cui bona cuncta placet.
Hac ope qui vacuus, qui tanto est munere nudus,
    Sit licet infensus, est mihi cura levis.
Qui te mundani regni rex extulit arce,
    Praemia perpetui det meliora tibi.

238. iocus S.
But you my pipe ask the holy king if you may return,
   And ask for pardon from all whom this humour disturbs.
May the love of Christ, which bears all things, which all good things please.

Grant that it offends no one,
   If anyone lacks this wealth and is bereft of so great a gift,
   Although he be hostile it is no matter to me.
May the King who has raised you to the rule of the earthly kingdom,
   Give you the better rewards of the eternal kingdom.
Commentary

1. Te...rex: Charles is placed in an emphatic position at the beginning of this panegyric.

totus...orbis: the completeness of this exaggerated statement has the effect of strengthening Theodulf's praise, and of emphasising the boundlessness of Charles's worth. A modified version of this topos is shown in Venantius Fortunatus: 6.1a.1, where Venantius uses the phrase ab occasu...in ortum.

personat: Theodulf here employs this verb with just a single object, though in classical Latin it is more commonly used with the accusative and ablative; to make 'a' resound with 'b': cf. Verg. A. 6.171; 418.

2. cum: the whole world voices Charles' praises, but despite that it cannot do justice to it.

nequit: this word is not used frequently in the poetry of the contemporary poets, though it does occur: cf. Th.10.19 (p.464); Alc.c.98.inscrip.ii.5 (p.323); Hibernicus Exul 17.28 (p.407).

3. Mosa: Venantius has a similar list of rivers: cf. Vita S. Mart.

2.78: Rhenus, Atax, Rhodanus, Tibris, Padus, Hister, Orontes.. This is more extensive in its geographical scope than that of Theodulf, as indeed the context demands. A similar list within
Sidonius c. 5.208-9 is correspondingly narrower in its scope:

Rhenus, Arar, Rhodanus, Mosa, Matrona, Sequana, Ledus,
Clitis, Elaris, Atax, Vacalis, Ligerimque...

Clearly Theodulf has used these lists as models, choosing only those rivers that suit his purpose. These are almost all the major rivers of Charles' kingdoms, so that not only their respective sizes are significant, but they also emphasise the extent of Charles' dominions approximately from North to South, though the Tiber is placed before the Po, which seems to follow the order of Venantius' list. Theodulf does omit the Seine and the Loire, in order to keep within the single line. Theodulf elsewhere goes further with a list of rivers that obey Charles, c. 28.103-106 (p. 496):

Cui parent Walis, Rodanus, Mosa, Renus et Henus,
Sequana, Wisurgis, Wardo, Garonna, Padus,
Rura, Mosella, Liger, Vulturnus, Matrona, Ledus,
Hister, Atax, Gabarus, Olitis, Albis, Arar.

4. metiri: if the rivers can be measured then Charles' praise can also be measured, but as the former is impossible then the greatness of Charles is inexpressible. Such hyperbole is common in panegyrical for example Venantius c.10.8.1-2, and by it Theodulf achieves the effect of praise without being specific. The topos of inexpressibility is discussed in Curtius (European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages) pp. 159-162.

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7. nequeo: cf. above line 2. Theodulf now begins the common theme of stating his own unworthiness to speak the praise of such a great man. This declared modesty, that he does not have the skill necessary to express Charles' praise, is shown false by the elaborate construction actually used in the next line. By this sustained alliteration Theodulf in fact shows that he is a poet worthy of such a subject. Such a statement of modesty is common in a recusatio: cf. Ven. Fort. Vita S. Mart. 1.34ff; Corippus In Laud. Just. 1ff; Sid. Ep. 4.18.3-4.

8. tantillus: this diminutive is not common and Theodulf has almost certainly taken this from Eugenius c.5.12 (M.G.H. A.A.14 p.235): Dum petis tantilla lucra, dona perdis maxima. The form is found elsewhere in Plautus and Terence in particular and occasionally in Catullus, Lucretius and Apuleius. Theodulf maintains the alliteration for a complete line: cf. below c.III.105, for a similar but shorter example.

temno: 'disdain', 'scorn': Verg. A. 1.542; Lucr. 3.957; Stat. Theb. 2.570. The use of temno with an infinitive, an uncommon construction, is influenced by the similar use of the related verb contemnere in the Vulgate and Patristic writers: Iud. 2.20; 11.17; Deut. 21.18; Aug. Ep.104.1; Hier. In Jerom. 8.6; In Is. 64.4-5. This construction only appears to be found in in Horace, again with contemnere: Ep.1.1.29 ; 50.
9. *ludicris...iocis*: 'with sportive jests'. These jests are the gibes at the expense of the court members.

*per ludicra*: the festive mood of the court is shown by this reference, that the recitation would be accompanied by much hilarity.

*currat*: the jussive subjunctive is used, as in the next line, to indicate Theodulf's wish.

11. *simul hunc*: on the metrical point see p. 65 above.

*illita*: with this deprecating reference to the roughness of his letter-poem Theodulf continues the theme of his own modest abilities: cf. also Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.36.

*carta*: for such addresses to the poem itself, a technique derived from the classics, cf. Ang. 2.72; 80; 93 (p. 362); Alc. 4.1 (p. 220); Alc. 35.1 (p. 251); Alc. 46.1 (p. 259); Alc. 74.25 (p. 296); Alc. 75.1.3 (p. 296).


*celer ipse*: on metrical point see p. 64 above.
13-20. The physical appearance of Charles. This section is almost ironic in its attention to every physical feature of Charles. Though Theodulf shows later that he is capable of irony about others (cf. lines 115ff), the use of irony here would not be compatible with the deference demanded of Theodulf as a court member. By the comprehensiveness of the praises Theodulf aims to rival and overtake both his contemporaries and predecessors.

13. *ter cocto*: as is noted by Dümmler, the image of resmelted gold is also used by Venantius *Vita S. Mart.* 1.127: *pulchrior electro, ter cocto ardentior auro.* and Virgil *Aen.* 8.624: *Tum levis ocreas electro auroque recocto.* The first of these lines has strongly influenced Theodulf in its language, but is used of the spiritual passion of Hilary of Poitiers. Theodulf has in fact moved a step further on from the original image of Venantius by comparing Charles' appearance to gold rather than to a silver-gold alloy. The line by Virgil, which has influenced Venantius, describes the greaves of Aeneas and not his appearance. Charles' appearance is compared with and indeed surpasses a material that is both bright and precious. Images of brightness to describe the king and the royal family occur elsewhere in Theodulf's poetry, to represent both physical beauty and material wealth: cf. below lines 68, 85, 101; c.V1.5. The same line is used of Charles, the king's second son: cf. Th.35.5 (p.527). The image of gold is also used by Modoin to describe Aachen the new 'golden Rome': cf. 1.27 (p.385); 2.7ff (p.388).
14. potis: Dümmler notes the passage: 3 Reg. 10.8: *Beati viri tui, et beati servi tui, qui stant coram te semper, et audiunt sapientiam tuam*, but its significance is only in the idea of 'happy the men who are with you', and it does not influence the language of Theodulf. This adjective, though by no means uncommon in classical poets, is not used by contemporary poets. Godman has removed Dümmler's comma at the end of this line, which is preferable to Sirmond's full-stop. There is no need of a pause here.

15. diademali: an uncommon word, Dracontius uses it of the brow, meaning 'crowned': *Orestes*.260 (of Orestes killing Aegisthus): *Diademalem frangit cum vertex frontem*, and *Satisf.. 33: Diademalem turpem cornua frontem*.

diadema is used frequently in the Bible: cf. 2 Sam. 1.10; 12.30; 4 Reg. 11.12; cf. also Alc. 43.15 (p.255); Alc.45.47 (p.257); Alc. 47.3 (p.260); *et saepe*.

17-18. *Cernere* is understood for this couplet, Theodulf is stretching the construction over six lines. This is uncommon, as the sense usually lies in a single couplet. The overflowing construction represents the overflowing greatness of Charles.

mentum: Theodulf could be aware of the connotations of strength and determination the chin has. In Virgil *Aen.* 4.246-251, the description of *Atlas* is completed by the mountain / Giant's icy fringe / beard. J.H.W. Morwood (*J.R.S.* 75 (1985), p.57) states that this represents his character of dogged determination with the chin jutting and unmoved. That Theodulf uses the chin does not necessarily signify that he has employed this passage as a model, but such an interpretation would be most suitable for his panegyric.

colla: this idealised portrait of Charles does not agree with Einhard's description in the *Vita Karoli* ch.22. The conventions of panegyric demand the unswerving praise of the honorand, unflattering aspects are glossed over. The line of Dracontius: *Hexaem* 279: *omnia pulchra gerens, oculos, os, colla manusque,* noted by Dümmler, is relevant only in that it is a list of physical features, and has not influenced Theodulf's language here.

18. aureolas: this adjective is diminutive in form but not in sense, and is synonymous with *aureas*: cf. Exodus 25.25; where it is used of a crown over the Ark of the Covenant:

> Et ipsi labio coronam interrasilem altam quattuor digitis:
> et super illam alteram coronam aureolam.

abolent: the concept of renown through generosity is shown elsewhere: cf. *Suet. Vita Aug.* 75; *Ven. Fort.* 9.16.11-14, and it
is also shown in the vernacular tradition: Beowulf ch.1.20ff.

Theodulf has been the recipient of gifts as part of the patronage of Charles, other manifestations of which are referred to by Alcuin and Modoin: cf. Alc.38.1-3 (p.252); Mod.1.87-90. Einhard: Vita ch.27, recounts Charles' generosity to those abroad, but the reference by Theodulf here is to the anticipated prosperity through the distribution of the booty from the sacking of the Avar camp: cf. R.F.A. for 796, and below line 36.

19. pedes: Theodulf by his anatomical pedantry is gently mocking the somewhat unctuous tones of Alcuin and Angilbert, while at the same time showing that all of Charles is praiseworthy. Similar lists of parts of the body occurs in Venantius V.M.1.375: pes manus ora genae recubabat imago sepulta and K.L.P.254: pes, manus, ora, genae, cervix radiata nitescit.

non laudabile cui nil: it would be surprising if there is a conscious reference here to Ov. Am.1.5.23: singula quid referam? nil non laudabile vidi, where Ovid is describing the charms of Corinna. The contexts of both passages are similar, but Theodulf is unlikely to have run the risk of seeming improper or of insulting Charles. Given the infrequency of references to the Amores, Theodulf could have been unaware of the original context himself, though where he came upon this line is uncertain.

20. A well balanced line, each half of which carries synonymous words in a similar order, so that the point is reiterated. For a
similar construction but with the second half contradicting the first: cf. Dracontius Satisf. 28: aspera cuncta petat, prospera cuncta negat.

21. audire: this infinitive should be taken with line 14.

perpulchra: not commonly found in the classical writers, though it does occur in Terence: Eun. 468.

affamima: this word is not used before Apuleius (Met. 11.7; 11.30). The only other examples of its use are Venantius 5.1.3 and Juvenicus 1.91. The last of these is the only to use the plural form.

sensus: used again below line 29.

22. superes: Godman's reading superes gives the same meaning and is acceptable. To the ear these two versions would have been indistinguishable. The compound verb with the dative is more commonly used than the preposition with ablative, but this does not conclusively support Godman.

est tibi nemo super: Theodulf here varies the form of the epanaleptic couplet by repeating the second half of the pentameter in the first half of the following hexameter. The original form is the first half of the hexameter echoed in the second half of the following pentameter. Theodulf and his contemporaries, in
particular Alcuin, exercised their skills with this form, composing complete poems from these couplets, only occasionally defective: cf. Paul the Deacon 2 (pp.36-41); Alc.34 (pp.250-251); Alc.35 (p.251); Alc.37.1-8 (pp.251-252); and Th.39 (p.531). The inverted epanaleptic couplet using the same phrase is repeated at Th.76.32-33 (p.577).

23. sollers: the use here with prudentia produces an awkward tautology. But as is shown above: line 20, the reiteration is an accepted part of the panegyric.

prudentia: considering Charles' emphasis on education, both of his clergy and of himself, this quality must have been important to him. It is a quality that is shown in other panegyrics to be necessary for a ruler: cf. Claud. Paneg. Man. Theod. 143; Paneg. Lat. 7.5.2. For the associated description of Charles as a doctor: cf. Alc. Ep.257 (p.415); Cathwulf Ep.7 (p.503).

25-26. As Dümmler notes (p.484 n.4), Theodulf has based the first of these lines on Venantius: Vita S. Mart. 1.129: uberior Nile, generoso sparsior Histro.

Theodulf has a different reason for using these rivers, for him their size and the contrast between them of south / north, hot / cold are the most important factors. Theodulf in fact goes beyond Venantius' line and includes the Euphrates and the Ganges. Their significance is again in their size, but they also give Charles
associations with exotic and unknown places that fit the *topos* of boundlessness and inexpressibility: cf. Sid. *Carm.* 7,44. For a discussion of this *topos*: cf. E.R. Curtius *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* pp.159-162.

27. *aeternus...pastor*: God must institute Charles' kingship. For reference to God as the Shepherd: cf. Ps.23; Zach.10.2-3; Micah 7.14.

*alendis*: Theodulf uses the simile of the shepherd feeding his flock, by which he is representing Charles the provider, not just of food on this festive occasion, but of wealth for his kingdoms: below line 33.

28. *condidit*: to call Charles a shepherd established by God, seems at first to recall Christ. Although the images of light hint at Christ in Majesty, they go no further, since to equate Charles with Christ would be unthinkable. It is the *cognomen* David, used below line 30 and elsewhere, which is most significant here. Ezechiel 34.23-24 shows God, the *optimus pastor* establishing *David* as the shepherd to guide his sheep: cf. Alc.45.27; 57-58 (p.258).

*avum*: Theodulf returns to the foundations of Charles' present power, Charles Martel. But it is to the biblical types that he passes for Charles' personal qualities. This shows the restrained nature of Theodulf's panegyric, for there would be scope to recount the military victories of Charles Martel and to dwell upon
Charles' ancestors, as occurs elsewhere in Late Latin panegyric: cf. Ven. Fort. 9.1.104 for a cursory treatment of this *topos* *vivit*. For a more extended treatment cf. Claudian IV Cons. Hon. 18-121.

Salomon: though more usually represented as being *pacificus*: cf. Wigbold 86.19 (p.96); Josephus Scottus 5.11 (p.156); Alc.68.6 (p.287); Alc.69.17 (p.290). Theodulf alone of all the poets uses the epithet *sapiens* of Solomon: cf. Th.21.41 (p.478); Th.76.13 (p.577).

30. *viribus*: Theodulf appears to be alluding to the meaning of the Hebrew name *David*: cf. Hier. Lib. Interpr. Hebr. Nom. 35.11. But he may have derived this epithet from his reading of the Vulgate. For example his defeat of the Ammonites in battle: 2 Reg.10.17-19.

*Joseph*: as Godman notes (p.151n), the association of Charles with the beauty of *Joseph* is rare, if not unique. The beauty of *Joseph* is shown in his story by his attractiveness to *Potifar's* wife: cf. Gen. 39.11-15. In a poem to Louis the Pious Theodulf reworks this line: Th.76.14 (p.577).

31. *tutor*: these titles for Charles are taken from Prudentius, used about Augustus: Contr. Symm. 2.435: *tutor* *opus*, *vindex scelerum*, *largitor honorum*, and are repeated elsewhere by Theodulf. They are used again in full about Charles: c.VI.5 (see below) and this first epithet is used of Pope Hadrian: c.II.28 (see below).
vindex: cf. Corippus In Laud. Just. praef. 28. Justice is a quality often associated with Charles: cf. Alc. 45.22 (p.257); Alc. 75.iii.14 (p.297).

largitor: cf. above line 18.

33. percipe: the vividness of the imperative focusses the attention on to the scene at court, with the booty of war and possibly prisoners of war present.

multiplices: the emphasis is on the size of the booty rather than its variety. This adjective is used in the same way in Eugenius c.21.13 (p.248) <non sibi mult> ticiplices auri congrissit acervos (completed by Vollmer).

gazas: Einhard in the Vita justifies the looting of the Avar Ring by claiming that the Avars had themselves unjustly taken the riches from others: cf. Vita Karoli ch.13. Alcuin discusses the campaign and justifies the taking of booty: Alc. Ep.107 (pp.153-154); Alc. Ep.110 (pp.157-159).

34. Pannonico: Pannonia, the territory of the Avars, which is situated to the north of Dalmatia and which is approximately equivalent to modern Hungary.

ab orbe: for a similar usage meaning 'land': cf. Ov. Fast. 3.466.
deus: that God should send rewards to a ruler is a conventional motif. Here Theodulf makes no mention of Charles' general, Eric Duke of Friuli, who as the Royal Frankish Annals record, actually plundered the Ring. Nothing is allowed to distract the attention from Charles.

35. tonanti: Theodulf uses a synonym for deus by way of variety. Tonans is commonly used in classical poetry as an epithet of Jupiter, in late antiquity it was taken over by the Christian poets and used of God: cf. Dracontius De laud. Dei 1.1.19; Ven. Fort. 4.14.15; Vita S. Mart. 1.126; 1.323; 2.231. The Carolingian poets following them seem to move between deus and tonans without scruple. Though it is not a common word in their poems it does occur: Alc.23.15 (p.243); Ang.2.26 (p.361). Similarly these poets have no scruple about referring, on occasion, to heaven as Olympus: Alc.56.ii.1 (p.268); Hib. Exul 5.15 (p.401).

36. larga: the motif of generosity is used above: line 18.

37-50. In the following section fact is mingled with panegyrical licence to show the extent of Charles' domination. This reiterates what Theodulf has shown in geographical terms above: lines 3ff, 25ff.

Christo: the baptism of subjected races was seen as the duty of the ruler and a necessary requirement of the ruled. Alcuin
discusses the subjection of the Saxons and the Avars in several of
his letters: Epp. 110, 111, 113 and 174.

38. *solicitante*: Theodulf intends the meaning 'with encouraging
hand'. This ignores the violence that has proceeded this
conversion.

textis: the Avars' long hair is here bound, in contrast with
Corippus' description: *In Laud. Just.* 3.262-263. Here the bound
hair is symbolic of their captive state and the restraint put upon
them. Theodulf does not expound further upon their long hair,
which does not seem to have had the same impact as in the
Byzantine court of the 6th century.

Hunnus: the Avars were baptized in early 796. Alcuin discusses the
process of baptism: Ep.113 (pp.163-165), and justifies the act


41. *Arabs*: Theodulf now passes to a section of dubious factual
basis, presenting these peoples as following the Hun. Elsewhere he
describes them as fierce: Th.28.212 (p.499).

42. *hic...ille*: the metaphor of the hair is used again, here to
show the freedom when baptized, the Arab is free to bind his hair
and the Avar to loose his.
43. **Cordoba**: the personified city is addressed. The Emirs of Cordova had in 778 established themselves as the rulers of Spain, through the independent Caliphate of Umayyad. It is likely as a direct consequence of this Muslim rule that Theodulf himself was driven from his homeland. Theodulf uses this city-state elsewhere, as an example of a place of wealth: Th.7.56 (p.462); Th.28.245 (p.500).

**prolixo**: this adjective is not used by the Augustan poets in this temporal context, though it is used in this way by later classical writers: Apul. Met.5.25.

44. **decet...decens**: the use of two etymologically linked words ends the line neatly: cf. also Alc.69.117 (p.290): *pacificus post quem Salomon rex regna regabat*.

45. **Abares**: the Avars or Huns. Alcuin notes the etymological links of the name with *avarus*: Alc. Gramm. 10 (Keil Vol.7 p.297); Isidore Etym.9.2.66. This form of the name appears in two Spanish manuscripts of Isidore: Leiden Voss. Lat. F.74; and Toledo 15,8. W.M.Lindsay in his edition corrects the spelling. Sirmond avoids the repeated *Arabes*, as Dümmler notes (p.484n). This is consistent with the context of the victory celebrations and the baptism of the Avars.

**Nomades**: the generic name for wandering tribes in Africa, Scythia, Arabia and India. The last of these is the most likely, having
already referred to the Ganges: line 26 above. That the most distant tribe should end Theodulf's catalogue is fitting: cf. Pliny N.H. 6.55. Such catalogues showing the geographical or ethnographical scope of the honorand's power occur often in panegyric: Corippus In Laud. Just. 3.88-91; Ven. Fort. 9.1.15; 10.7.7-9.

46. flectite: the third imperative in as many lines gives a strong sense of urgency that jussive subjunctives would fail to convey.

47. hi: the Avars. In fact captives could have been present at the recital, the emphatic pronouns indicate this. The rhetorical apostrophe to the other tribes in the next line continues with the emphasis, giving a very vivid effect.

genu: this is used frequently in the Bible: cf. Gen.41.43; Esther 3.2; Math.27.29; Rom.14.11; Eph.3.14.

48. domiturus erit: a periphrastic future tense: 'he will be about to vanquish you', which has less certainty than a straightforward future tense. This form could also be used for metrical reasons.

49. Theodulf makes it clear by this line that it is God who has vanquished. But the ambiguity of the previous line allows the listener to think of Charles as the conqueror of these peoples. Theodulf does not name God, but simply refers to ille.
Tartara: again a classical term is used, without scruple, of a
Christian concept. Venantius, amongst others in late antiquity,
provides a Christian link with the classical usage: Vita S. Mart.
1.168; Carm. 3.9.33; 3.9.78; 4.26.88. Elsewhere Theodulf refers to
the Stygian shades: Th.8.i.ii.16 (p.463); Th.11.28 (p.466);

51. ver: ecce emphasises that spring is the time of the
recitation. Metaphorical interpretations are possible and Alcuin
uses winter to illustrate his own disfavour with Charles and
Delia: cf. Alc. c.39 (pp.253-253); Alc. c.40 (p.253).

felicia: Alcuin's three poems on the cuckoo (Alc. c.57-59 (pp.269-
273)) are partly a celebration of the joys of spring.

52. tuos: the most likely meaning is 'your family', though Theodulf
leaves a certain ambiguity that could embrace the rest of the
court too.

53. ovans: the personification of annus is made more vivid by the
uncommon use of this verb with an inanimate subject or abstract
concept and is found elsewhere: cf. Mart. 8.65.3 (arcus); Ven.
Fort. V.M.4.708 (cf gratia). For a parallel example of the year
displaying human emotions: cf. Claud. IV Cons. Hon.1-2:
Auspiciis iterum sese regalis annus
induit et nota fruitur iactantior aula.
54. mater...humus: Theodulf personifies the earth using the classical designation mater. Though a vivid image of the ground bearing the crops, the classical associations of the cult of the Magna Mater are incongruous here. A classical goddess may be alluded to here but there is no evidence that this is anything other than a natural force created by God: cf. Ov. Fast 6.735, Lucr. 2.993. For a further example of Earth personified: Th.47 (pp. 547-548).

55. ornantur: the idea of ornare is common amongst contemporary poets: cf. Alc.c.1.1487-8 (p.202); Alc.c.14.12 (p.238); Th.42(a).7 (p.540); Th.71.4 (p.560); K.L.P. 11; 191; 226; 228; 257 (pp.366-372). This parallels the repeated images of gold and jewels: cf. above line 13 and below line 101.

56. elementa: this probably refers to the four natural elements. Jerome (Quaest. Ad Hedybiam 4) and Lactantius (Instit. Divin. 2.6) use this word to indicate the sun, moon and other planets. The former is more appropriate with vices the changing elements representing the seasons.

57. legati: the subjunctive indicates that Theodulf is not directly relating events, but expressing his wishes, now that the spring weather will allow travel. These legati do not refer to the missi dominici but to nuntii. This could refer specifically to Angilbert's mission to Rome returning with relics: cf. Alc. Ep.97 (pp.141-142).
prospera: predictable optimism on Theodulf's part in the context of these victory celebrations. Theodulf may have in mind the continuing war with the Saxons.

58. praemia: the spoils from the Avars were of course present at the court cf. above line 33, so that the wish would be most apposite.

pacis: the importance of peace is reflected in Charles' titles used on his Capitularies and in the salutationes of Alcuin's letters: pacificus (used in particular after 800) Cap. 1.45 (p.126) dated 806); no.125 (p.246); no.103 (p.219). As a concept of kingship: Alc. Ep.198 (p.327).

60. fertque refertque: Theodulf uses this phrase from Virgil Aen.4.438 without reference to the original context which is the description of the pleadings of Anna to Dido.

61. consilium: Godman's translation as 'wisdom' is perhaps too loose. Not here the official consilium: cf. Ganshof Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne pp.21-22, as this does not fit the context.

62. surgit: it seems that the building of the chapel in progress. The King's Hall would have been the first priority of the builders when Aachen became a more regular residence for the court after 794. We have no completion dates, but the chapel must have been at
least partly complete by 798, according to Alcuin's description of the columns: Ep. 149 (p. 244). The use of the present tense may refer to this.

tholis: this could be a reference to a cupola, which used with aula refers to the palace as a whole as distinct from the King's Hall. For further study of the palace: cf. Leo Hugot Die Pfalz Karls des Großen im Aachen, K. d. G. iii, pp. 534-572. These tholi could be roofs or vaults, since the only cupola is that of the chapel. It is more likely however that Theodulf is referring to this dome as a striking feature of the palace. There is a parallel example when a plural is used for a single dome: K. L. P. 96; 105 (p. 368). Cf. also Sedulius Carm. Pasch. 1.269: emicat aula tholis.

63. palatinae...sedis: periphrasis for palatium, here used to emphasise the stature and importance of the palace. Aachen is also referred to as caput mundi: cf. Naso Ecl. 1.15 (p. 385).

redesat atria: on metrical point see p. 64 above.

longa: this may well refer to the long connecting building between the palace on the north of the site and the chapel on the south.

terens: 'tread often': cf. Verg. Georg. 1.380; Ov. Ars Am. 1.52; Mart. 2.11.2; idem 10.10.2.
65. *multis:* the number of petitioners is growing, a consequence of a more settled base of government, and this may well refer to these people. For the later trouble and disruption caused by these petitioners: cf. *Capit.* 1.62.2; 64.4.

67. *circumdet:* Theodulf's memory of previous occasions means that he can describe, even when absent, the progression of such an occasion, though shying from direct narrative by the use of subjunctive.

69. *sol:* to compare Charles directly with the sun is an accepted part of the panegyric form: cf. above line 13; *K.L.P.* 14 (p.366).

69. *adstent...circumstent:* the boys stand closest, then next the girls, Theodulf is suggesting that they 'radiate' out from Charles.

70. *novella:* 'young' Ps. 127.3: *Filii tui, sicut novellae olivarum,* is the probable source for the use of this word.

71-76. Theodulf introduces Charles' sons. He describes them in order of seniority and mentions their military, physical and mental qualities, paralleling Charles' own qualities.

71. In 784 Charles (772-811) reportedly led troops against the Saxons while in 794 he led a section of the army in the bloodless subjection of the Saxons at Sindfeld, south of Paderborn. He acted
as general for his father in later campaigns against the Slavs in 805. As prospective heir, he died on December 4th 811. Other mentions by Carolingian poets: Ang.1.13; 49; 65; (pp.358-360); K.L.P.198 (p.371); Th.35 (pp.526-7).

Hludowicque: (776-840) the son of Hildegard, he was annointed in 781 at Rome as King of Aquitaine: cf. also Ang. 1.19; 49; 66 (p.359). Significant here are the two sons not mentioned, both Pepins. The elder, another of Hildegard's sons, was born about 774, and was king of Italy 781-810. At this time he was in Pannonia: cf. also Ang. 1,1 (p.358). The other, known as Pepin the Hunchback, had been tonsured and confined to the monastery of Pruem after his unsuccessful conspiracy of 792: cf. R.F.A. and Einhard Vita Karoli ch. 20.

ephebus: 'a boy'. This word is rare at this time. Theodulf may have derived the word from Isidore: Etm. 8.11.54; 11.2.10. Isidore suggests an etymology from Phoebus.

72. alterius: this refers to the eldest son, Charles, aged 24 years.

73. He is here altering a line by Prudentius: Contra Symm. 2.320: sanguine praecalido fervet nervosa iuventa, using a word with a similar sound and identical scansion, but not synonymous. The last phrase is used in a metrically identical position.
74. A well balanced line (see also line 20 above).

77. *ardentes acies*: the closest parallels for this use are in Virgil: G.3.505; 4.451; A.2.210 and the Bible: Esther 15.10. Each uses the phrase *ardentes oculi*. Virgil A.12.670: *ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit* also provides the use of this adjective with eyes, although in periphrasis. A.6.788 uses a form of *flecto* with *acies*: *huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem*. None of these lines provide a direct parallel with this line.

*illos*: refers to his sons, Charles and Louis.

78. *chorum*: it is used to mean simply a 'group' and is found in classical and late Latin: cf. Verg. Georg. 4.460; Ov. Fast. 4.451; Claud. Rapt. Pros. 2.239; Iuvencus 4.465. In particular used with *virgineus*: Hier. Ep.22.41.

79. *coetum*: Theodulf varies the figure found in lines 22-23 above, using a synonym rather than repeating the phrase. Used again with *virgineus*: Ov. Fast.2.173-174:

> cui dea 'virgineos, periura Lycaeoni, coetus desere, nec castas pollue' dixit 'aquas'.

80. Such *asynthetic* lists are common in Sidonius, for example: c.1.10; c.2.413-415; c.5.474-477; c.9.90-92; c.15.141-143; 243-244; c.23.300-302.
81. **Bertam**: (also found in the form Berchta). The eldest daughter of Charles and Hildegard. She was the mother in the 790's by Angilbert of two sons, **Nithard** and **Hartnid**, and the omission of such details is not surprising here due to the clandestine nature of their liaison.

In K.L.P.220ff there is a description remarkable in its sumptuousness. Angilbert refers to her beauty only briefly: Ang. 1,51 (p.359); Ang.2,48-54 (p.361). Alcuin makes no mention of her in his poetry and he mentions her only once in his letters: Ep.72 (p.115).

**Chrodtrudh**: (forms Rodtrud and Hrodtrudh also found) next daughter of Charles by Hildegard. Given the nickname **Columba** by Alcuin: cf. Ep.84 (p.127); Epp.195-196 (pp.322-324). In about 781 she became engaged to Emperor Constantine VI (780-797), but despite negotiations in 787 no marriage resulted. She is mentioned in the same poems as Berta above.

**Gisla**: the third of Hildegard's daughters, not the sister of Charles. She is nicknamed **Delia** by Alcuin.

83. **Leutgardis**: (Liutgarda) the fourth wife of Charles, married after the death of Fastrada in 794, she herself probably died in early 800: cf. Alc. Ep.197 (p.325) (dated Jun 4th 800).
virago: a possible meaning is that of a woman capable of man's actions but here it seems to just mean a 'maiden'. The use by Theodulf, of what is today an uncomplimentary word, seems influenced by Isidore: Etym. 11.2.22. Theodulf uses virago elsewhere in the same way: Th. c.1.299-300 (p.451):

prisca virago viro letum fert, at nova Christum vivere discipulis nuntiat ecce piis.


84. pietatis ope: a phrase used by Venantius Fortunatus in metrically identical places: cf. Carm. 6.3.15; 9.12.6.

86. ducibus omnibus: on the metrical point see p.64 above.

favet: Theodulf's pointed assertion of Liutgard's universal popularity may seem superfluous, but when one considers Charles' previous Queen, the assertion is justified. Einhard Vita 20 and the R.F.A. for 792 say that the conspiracy of Pippin was caused by the cruelty of Fastrada, and it is against this background that Theodulf is describing Liutgard. This is not to say that Theodulf is misrepresenting Liutgard or at least exaggerating her qualities, but the contrast between the women would have been clear. Fastrada is mentioned only once in Alcuin's letters, and Theodulf's epitaph for her: c.24 (p.483), the only reference to her in the poems, is singularly neutral in its tone.
87. *larga manu*: Theodulf himself re-uses this phrase in the poem to Liutgard: c.V.6 and of Gisla in c.IV.19. The quality of generosity of a queen is also shown in Ven. Fort. c.6.3.19-22 (on Theudechild).

89. *studiis studiosa*: the play on words with similar roots, the *figura etymologica*, giving an assonant effect, is favoured by the Carolingian poets: cf. Alc. c.76.11 (p.297); Alc. c.44.49 (p.257).

90. *ingenius*: a word synonymous with *liberalis* in Cicero, and used with *artes*: Cic. Fin.5.18.48; De orat.3.6.21.

91. *obsequio*: used below line 117, though there it has the meaning of 'service'.

93. *pallia dupla*: such a cloak must have been a symbol of authority and wealth: cf. Alc. Ep.100 (pp.145-6) (from 'Charles' to Offa King of Mercia) dated post April 796. Where the gifts offered to Offa are strikingly similar, two Syrian cloaks and a Hunnish sword.

94. *Carolus, et*: on the metrical point see p.64.
95. suum: emphasises the personal nature of the gifts: cf. line 97.

basia: Theodulf uses basia here in preference to oscula for the sake of the metre.

munus: the context of lines 97ff support the translation as 'gift', though it is more commonly found in the plural: Verg. Aen 5.532; Tib. 1.8.29. Munus is used: Ov. Am.1.8.67; Verg. Georg.3.39.

97. Berta: once again the daughters of Hildegard: cf. above line 81.

rosas...violas...lilia: in fact when the actual gifts are listed, their significance lies in their symbolism, rather than that they are actually given to their father. These flowers, as well associations with spring, have Christian associations. Roses are linked with the Virgin Mary in later iconography, as is the lily, but the Carolingian poets, although they have models to work from in Venantius, do not follow the cult of the Virgin Mary. But these flowers most likely represent the virginity and pureness of spirit of the girls. The violets represent humility in later iconography (the 13th Century story of Fina). There is no source for such an idea before this time. Theodulf seems to work directly from the line of the Anth. Lat.. Apart from Dümmler's reference to the Anth. Lat., these three flowers are frequently grouped together in
later poets: Ven. Fort. 4.26.125; 8.3.237; 7,12,41; Dracontius Epith.45. An interesting insight into one significance of these flowers is in Ambrose In Luc.7.128: ubi claritas angelorum est, illic confessorum violae, lilia virginum, rosae martyrum sint.

98. nectaris ambrosii: not as Godman translates it, the adjectival form is being used here. Similarly used by Prudentius Contra Symm. 1.276: nectaris ambrosii sacrum potare Lyaeum. Theodulf reuses this phrase, albeit reversed: c.30.52 (p.521).
From the context this must refer to wine.

99. Rothaid...Hiltruh...Tetdrada: only Tetdrada of these three is, according to Dümler, addressed by Alcuin in the letters: Ep.279 (p.435) also Dungal Scottus Ep.7 (p.582). She was the daughter of Fastrada, and abbess of Argenteuil by 814: Mabillon Annal. Ord. Bened. 2.348. The others are only mentioned in K.L.P. 242-250 and 263-267. Both were the daughters of Charles by concubines.

Poma...Cererem...Liaeum: these more lowly gifts reflect the relative positions of these daughters at this time. Between these three gifts there is also an hierarchical distinction, the two daughters by concubines bear simple gifts while Tetrada bears wine, a comparatively more elaborate gift.
Liaeum: this is used in the line of Prudentius: cf. above line 98. Theodulf uses it again elsewhere: Th.48.8 (p.549).

100. varia: it is not made clear to whom the variations of appearance listed below refer. The richness of the daughters' appearances diminishes as the list progresses, determined by their age and importance. On metrical point see p.65 above.

101. Once again the image of brightness is used: cf. Dracontius c.7.46: purpuret et niteat gemmæ pallente rubore. The line previous to this in Dracontius also parallels the list of flowers above: c.7.45: Lilìa mixtæ rosis socians violasque hyacinthus.

102. gemma viridi: This green gemstone must refer to emeralds rather than to sapphires, as Godman translates this phrase (Poetry p.155). The periphrastic form is preferable to the metrically unwieldy smaragdus.

103. componit hanc: on the metrical point see p.65 above.

105. ferruginea: this sombre dark purple directly contrasts with the descriptions of purple and gold that have proceeded, and the bright colours that follow.

est apta: the colours for each of the girls' attire are suited to their personality. The first in dark purple is more serious, while
the yellow matches the bright personality of the other. The colour simile is also extended to the next line.

106. lacteolum: this reflects the purity of the wearer, just as Theodulf uses the lily as a symbol of the purity of Gisla: cf. above line 97.

strophium: the context indicates that this is the bodice, a more substantial piece of clothing than the classical undergarment. Theodulf's purpose is to represent the bottom of the hierarchy by the most basic of garments. The long first syllable is made short by the following consonant.

109. si forte: doubt creeps into Theodulf's picture of the people present at court.

soror: Charles' sister Gisla born in 757 (Sirmond p.1064), she later became abbess of Chelles. She appears to have been on friendly terms with Alcuin, who gave her the nickname Lucia: cf. Alc.c.12.4 (p.237). Several letters from Alcuin to Gisla have survived: (Epp.15, 32, 84, 154, 195, 213, 214, 216). The only other mention of her in contemporary poetry is Ang.1.55 (p.360). In this line, Theodulf conveys Gisla's sense of propriety and dignity by her reaction to the temporal pleasures.

112. sponsi: as today nuns become 'brides of Christ', so that Gisla should only take pleasure in spiritual joys. Alcuin gives
similar advice elsewhere: cf. Alc. Ep. 15 (pp. 40-42). This letter is dated 793, and to judge from the manner in which Alcuin gives advice on the ways to act piously and his emphasis on sponsa and sponsus Gisla's entry into the order was in this year. Godman's punctuation for this line is superior to Dümmel's: a comma here continues the sense of the line. Et at the beginning of the next line does not suggest a break and the replacement of the full-stop with the comma allows the description of Gisla's qualities to continue.

113. compita 'ways': for a similar sense of 'meaning': cf. Ven. Fort. 3.4.praef.3: feceratis ignorantem per sermonum compitos.... Such an unusual use of this word by Theodulf suggests both the sense of the scriptures as a path to salvation and of the difficulty in teaching the scriptures.

114. rex: there is no evidence to suggest that Charles would have been able to produce any exegesis on the scriptures, but this does not detract from the flattery that is intended. Alcuin actually did explain Biblical texts to Gisla. In a letter dated sometime after April 19th 800 he writes about sending part of a commentary on the Gospel of John: cf. Alc. Ep. 195 (pp. 322-323); Ep. 213 (pp. 354-357).

116. complere: the short last vowel is lengthened by its position before studeat.
munia: in the next 88 lines Theodulf gives short portraits of the members of the court and their duties on this occasion, which would probably relate to their normal functions in the court.

117. Thyrsis: this nickname, taken from Verg. Ecl. 7, refers to Meginfrid, Charles’ camerarius: cf. Alc. c. 26.47 (p. 246); Ang. 2.63ff (p. 362) and Th. III. 49. But he is mentioned only in passing, although the scope of this poem allows for a more extensive treatment. Thyrsis is placed here first as he is the controller of the court organization.

promptus: Theodulf emphasises in this couplet the alacrity and keenness of Meginfrid, with the implied suggestion that he is overkeen in his service.

herile: this is used here as a synonym for principis: cf. Stat. Silv. 5.1.122; Claud. IV Cons. Hon. 614; Corippus In Laud. Just. 2.296.

119. suscriplet hinc: on the metrical point see p. 65 above.

precantia verba: either of two classical usages of this phrase could have influenced Theodulf: Ovid Met. 7.590: pro gnato genitor, dum verba precantia dicit and Virgil A. 7.236–7: ... nec temne, quod ulterior praefetimus manibus vittas ac verba precantia. Theodulf has placed the phrase in the same metrical position as Virgil, suggesting perhaps that this is the line that has
influenced Theodulf. Meginfrid's duty is to act as the intermediary between Charles and those coming to the court with requests and petitions for the King: cf. above line 65 for the scene describing the crowd of petitioners. His task is to decide on who should see the king or who should not.

120. dissimulet: Theodulf is following a biblical usage in using this verb with the meaning 'ignore': cf. Gen.19.16 when Lot is advised by the Angels to leave: Dissimulante illo apprehenderunt manum eius et manum uxoris... and Job 3.26: Nonne dissimulavi ? nonne silui ? nonne quiev ?. On the metrical point see p.64 above.

122. intus hunc: on the metrical point see p.65 above.

123. regalique throng: Theodulf emphasises Meginfrid's status by his proximity to the throne.

calvus hic: on the metrical point see p.65 above. Angilbert makes reference to the 'shining white head' of Thyrsis: Ang.2.64 (p.362) and Theodulf himself refers elsewhere to his baldness: c.III.49. But here Theodulf abandons circumlocution and is almost insultingly personal as a result.

impiger: by overstressing the vigour of his action Theodulf employs litotes to suggest that he is overzealous in carrying out his duties.
124. The ambiguity of this line that ends this description of Meginfrid relies on the manner in which it is recited, either with a tone of sincerity or with deep irony. The irony of the previous line suggests that the latter manner is the more suitable.

*verenter*: 'with reverence'. This adverb appears to have been used by only Sedulius before this: *Carm. Pasch.* 1.8; 1.24.

125. *praesul*: this word for the dancers at festivals was reused by Christian writers to refer to clerics: cf. Greg. of Tours *Hist. Franc.* 1.36; 5.46; Ven. Fort. *Vita S. Mart.* 1.25; Jonas *Vita Columb.* 2.8. Other uses contemporary with this poem is in Alcuin of bishop Arno of Salzburg: Alc.c.48.39 (p.261); Alc. *Ep.* 113 (p.163). Theodulf does not name this bishop who presides at the court, but it is certain that this is Hildebald, both archbishop of Cologne and arch-chaplain to Charles from 794 onwards. Theodulf elsewhere in a court poem, referring to him as *Aaron*, describes him carrying out a similar duty at the feast, though with a certain amount of irony: c.III.75-76 (p.492). An inscription written by Alcuin uses the same adjective of Hildebald as here: Alc.c.107.11.8 (p.334): *Hildebaldus ovans Agrippina praesul in urbe*. Hildebald's appearance and manner must have been sufficiently well known and Theodulf has no need to name him, although in the later poem: c.III.75, he uses his court title. Alcuin in his court poem of 796 also avoids the nickname, referring to him as *presbyter egregius*: Alc.c.26.30 (p.246), suggesting that he has not yet received this name. The name is used by Angilbert: Ang.2.57 (p.361), which gives
a precedent for the usage if the poem is dated correctly by Schaller to 794/5. This indicates that either Theodulf and Alcuin have ignored the name or that the date of Angilbert's poem is later.

126. A well balanced line with chiasmus of *ora beata, pia corda* and each half of the pentameter ends with a present participle preceded by a neuter plural noun with adjective. Such internal rhyming occurs elsewhere in Theodulf's poetry: c.III.6; 38; 76. See introduction.

127. *culminis ordo*: the circumlocution has the effect of further elevating Hildebald's rank. Theodulf appears sincere in this and in the listing of Hildebald's qualities.

130. *volet*: this could be the future of *velle* and the interplay of *velit* and *volet* is attractive. More likely is the iussive subjunctive of *volare*, that at the king's slightest wish he will 'fly' into action.

131. *sit praesto*: Theodulf varies the introduction for the court members. Here he uses a phrase synonymous with *ad sit* but with the associations of high rank through its etymological connection with *praestare*, and which may be apt as an introduction for such an important court member as Alcuin.
Flaccus: this is the pseudonym taken by Alcuin in the early 790's: cf. Alc.c.13.3 (p.237) dated 792 by Mabillon: Ann.2.304, and it is the earliest usage of the pseudonym. Though Alcuin was not acquainted with the poems of Horace in any quantity, the poetic ability implied by the name would have pleased Alcuin. This is the first of two references to Alcuin in this poem, each contrasting with the other. This reference, using the court nickname, is not accompanied by any irony and contains complimentary references to his abilities as a poet and a teacher. Theodulf later (lines 191-198 below), can make fun of Alcuin's liking for food, having fulfilled his obligations of complimenting one of the most important scholars in the court and a good friend of Charles.


lyrico... pede: Alcuin did not write often in a lyric metre: cf. Alc.121 (p.349), and so a literal interpretation is not appropriate.

133. sophista potens: this phrase is used elsewhere by Theodulf: Th.c.17.55 (p.473). Theodulf is here using sophista in reference perhaps to Alcuin's teaching of rhetoric. This word is, however, used at this time not simply as a teacher of rhetoric but as a synonym for doctor, following the meaning given by Isidore: Etm.8.6.2: doctores sapientiae in an account of the early Greek philosophers. Cf. also Alc.c.1.845 (p.188); K.L.P.70 (p.368);
Alc. Ep. 307 (p. 470), and so a less specific interpretation is better.

**melodus:** This adjective occurs only in late antiquity: cf. Aus. 16.16.8: *Ulixes...liquit canentes qui melodas virgines,* and Prud. Cath. 9.2: *dulce carmen et melodum, gesta Christi insignia.*

135. **dogmata:** Alcuin's teaching of the scriptures in the court school is an aspect of his role as a biblical exegete. His letters are punctuated frequently by biblical references, most often for the purpose of advice, particularly in letters predating and contemporary with this poem: Alc. Ep. 81 (p. 123); Ep. 105 (pp. 151-152); Ep. 114 (pp. 167-170). Alcuin's exegetical works are listed by the anonymous biographer of Alcuin: *Vita Alcuini* 24.

136. **numeri:** the interpretation of numbers was of special interest to Alcuin and was a corollary of his scriptural studies. Alcuin corresponded on this subject on several occasions: cf. Alc. Ep. 81 (p. 124); Ep. 133 (pp. 200-201); Ep. 143 (pp. 226-227). Godman's association of this line with the *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* is of less certain relevance than the references above.

137. **scrupea:** this adjective is used by Ausonius of *difficultas:* 27.2.2.

**quaestio:** as Godman notes (p. 157n), this refers to the dialogue form of teaching employed by Alcuin in the *Disputatio de rhetorica*
et de Virtutibus. The date of this work is disputed, Manitius Geschichte der Lat. Lit. des Mitt. 1, p.283, places the work in 796, while Howell The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne, p.7 prefers 794. The reference to the return of Alcuin in the text is taken by Howell to be his return from England in 794. This reference could also support Manitius' date, as Alcuin moved between Tours and Aachen. In this work Alcuin states the importance of questioning and the value of the questioner: ch.35.

139. rex...unus: the king is once again flattered and is shown to head the court in answering such questions. This does not refer to the Disputatio, where Charles is the questioner.

140. Flaccidica: Theodulf has invented this adjective and uses it only on this occasion. The form used elsewhere by Theodulf and Alcuin himself is Flaccinus: Th.c.III.29; Alc.Ep.143 (p.225); Ep.145 (p.232); Ep.162 (p.260). Such a form here may be necessary for the metre, but the extended and unexpected form perhaps reflects the extended and unexpected form of the questions themselves.

141. These qualities that Theodulf attributes to Riculf are notable for their restraint, suiting the neutral picture given of Riculf.
sensuque vigil: this adjective is also used with a form of sensus in Statius: Silv. 5.1.78: et vigiles sensus et digna evolvere tantas, however Theodulf is not describing sensus.

142. Riculfus: this is the later of the two clerics named Riculf associated with the court as Riculf Bishop of Cologne had died in 794. Riculf by this time had served Charles in the court as chaplain since 781 and was made Bishop of Mainz in 787. His friendship with Alcuin is shown by the nickname Damoetas given to him: Alc.c.5.8 (p.223); Alc.Ep.25 (p.67). The use of this nickname certainly pre-dates this poem, Alcuin's letter and accompanying verses referred to above are dated by Dummler to about 794, though in his note on Alc.c.5, made earlier, he suggests a date between 783-786. That Theodulf does not use this nickname here, although he does use it in the later poem: c.I.58, suggests that Theodulf is not aware of the name at this time.

longinqua...regione: Riculf had in 787 been sent on a mission to Tassilo Duke of Bavaria, but the reference here must be to the region of Pannonia, where Charles had recently campaigned against the Avars. Riculf had also accompanied Charles on the Saxon campaign of 794, as Alcuin's correspondence with him shows: Alc. Ep.25 (p.66). No correspondence between Alcuin and Riculf exists for the period 795-800.
144. There is a reference to one of the gifts brought back by Riculf from his travels in 794, an intricately carved ivory comb, shaped like a strange beast: cf. Alc. Ep.26 (p.67).

145. *melos*: the adjective *dulce* that accompanies *melos* creates tautology. A play on words can be seen when the etymology of the word given by Isidore is understood: cf. Isid. *Etym.* 3.20.5.: *haec et melos a suavitate et melle dicta*. *Dulce* is found with this word elsewhere in Theodulf: Th.79.2 (p.579). It is common in late antiquity (Venantius uses it 9 times) but does not appear in the work of Theodulf's contemporaries. Theodulf employs it frequently and it seems to be a favourite usage: Th.43.13 (p.541); Th.69.10; 54 (p.559); Th.72.2 (p.563); Th.79.2 (p.579); Th.79.68 (p.581).

145. *absens*: Dümmler notes the other references in the poetry to Angilbert's absence from court in early 796: Alc.26.45-46 (p.246); Ang.1.47 (p.359). But Alcuin in his letters also makes reference to this mission: Alc. Ep.95 (p.140); Alc. Ep.97 (p.141). Alcuin also wrote, in Charles' name, a letter to accompany Angilbert: Alc. Ep.93 (pp.136-138).

146. The unctuous tones of the previous line, with repeated use of *dulce*, raises the expectations that Theodulf will in fact expound the virtues of Angilbert, by stating what would have been said had he been present at court to hear it. But unexpectedly and with intended humour he states bluntly that since Angilbert is not here there is no point in writing about him. Angilbert receives only a
single couplet, which for such an important figure in the court is unusually scant. Theodulf intends to focus his attention on only those present at court.

147. Ercambaldi: from 797-812 Ercambald acted, as Dümmler notes, as cancellarius or notarius for Charles. The following lines show that he is at this time a secretary, taking down notes: cf. below lines 148-150. Another fact is revealed below line 177, that he was of diminutive stature. Ercambald's size leads Alcuin to name him Zacheus in his court poem: cf. Alc. 26.25 (p. 246), as Schaller notes: M.J. 6 (1970) pp. 24-25.

148. Theodulf in this line uses stock terms of the epic to describe Ercambald's work, such as 'arming' and 'trusty hand'.

bina tabella: such wax-covered writing tablets, for taking notes on are referred to by Einhard Vita Karoli 25. Once again Dümmler's punctuation is corrected by Godman. The relative pronoun in line 149 links with this line and the continuity of the couplets is also indicated by the agreement of pendula with tabella.

149. armat: the use of this verb with tabella seems to have no other direct parallels. The use of armare with non-military articles is common.

150. sine voce canat: this oxymoron could refer to the tablet which takes the words and 'renders them tonelessly' (Godman). A
more vivid meaning is that this refers to Ercambald mouthing the words as he writes them down.

151. Lentulus: Godman (p.158n), notes the difficulty in naming this member of the court. This name is certainly a pseudonym, a pun on this man's slowness. There are parallels with the description of Drances in Alcuin: Alc.26.23-24 (p.245-6):

Quid faciet tardus canuto vertice Drances
consilio validus gelida est cui dextera bello.

Both references are to men who are physically slow but who are mentally quick: cf. below lines 153-154. Theodulf makes no reference to old-age, indicating perhaps that the nickname Drances given by Alcuin is a joke at the expense of a young man.

poma: the reference to apples has no parallel in Alcuin's poem, and here does not help to identify Lentulus.

155. Nardulus: the diminutive form is also used by Alcuin: Alc.30.ii.6-7 (p.248). Theodulf does not use Einhard's nickname Beleel/Beselel: cf. Alc.26.21 (p.245); Alc.Ep.172 (p.255). See also above lines 142 and 147 where he also avoids the nicknames of Riculf and Ercambald.

huc illuc discurrat: this phrase is directly influenced by one from the bible: cf. Iud. 15.5. Speaking of the frantic movement of
the wolves to whose tails Samson had tied lighted torches: *quaes igne succendens, dimisit, ut hac illucque discurrent.*

perpete gressu: cf. Statius *Ach.*2.113: *teleg sequi saepe ipse gradum praepete.* The use of *perpete* is most effective.

Godman ends this line with a colon, which is an unnecessary change of Dümmler's comma. The simile in the next line is dependant on this line.

156. *formica:* Godman follows Schaller (*Interpretationprobleme im Aachener Karlepos*, p.164) in placing *formica* within commas, as Theodulf addresses the ant, referring to *tuus pes.*

*redit itque:* cf. Ovid *Ars Am.*1.93: *Ut redit itque frequens longum formica per agmen.* Ovid is also using the ant in a simile for the ladies descending *en masse* on the games. The idea of the ant tirelessly marching about is shown also in Virgil *Georg.*1.380. The phrase is also used again in Ovid *Met.* 2.409: *redit itque frequens* but not in a similar context.

157. *parva domus:* this line parallels Alcuin's description of Einhard: Alc.30.ii.1 (p.248): *Ianua parva quidem et parvus habitator in aede est.* Dümmler associates these verses with line 155 (p.487 n.4). The parallel is of the idea of a small body, using the metaphor of the small house. The small size of Einhard is again referred to below line 177.
158. Theodulf reiterates the idea conveyed in the previous line. In this and the next line Theodulf makes a similar statement to that made by Alcuin in his epigram on Einhard: Alc.30.i1 (p.248), that although Einhard is small he is no less capable because of that. Alcuin takes his analogies from nature, the bee carrying honey, the pupil in the eye, while Theodulf does not elaborate his theme. Godman's comma at the end of this line is preferable to the full-stop of Dümmler. The description of Einhard is continued in the following line and the commencement of a sentence with et is unsatisfactory: cf. line 112 above.

pectoris antra: Theodulf, as Godman notes: p.158n, has taken this phrase from Prudentius Psychomach.6: mens armata quaeat nostri de pectoris antro.

159. operosas...res: this refers perhaps to Einhard's work as a craftsman.

160. spicula: the metaphor of sharp weapons is used by Theodulf elsewhere, of the words with which the Scottus will attack Rabanus: c.III.55. There are no references elsewhere to any hostility between Einhard and the Scottus. Theodulf is making a veiled reference to Einhard's skill as a metal-worker, as parem emphasises. But there may not have been any actual hostility between these two men.
Scottus: the true identity of this Irishman has been established by Bischoff through 34 lines of verse by a follower of Theodulf found in an early ninth century manuscript: MS. Paris Bibl. Nat. Lat.7490. There the Irishman Cadac-Andreas is attacked with language similar to this poem and c.III.63-67: cf. Mittellat. Stud. ii (1967), pp.21-22 (text of poem) and pp.22-32.

161. The biblical quote elevates the style, to increase the barb of the next line.

dum vita comes fuerit: Theodulf has taken this phrase directly from the Bible, altering only the conjunction: cf. 4 Reg.4.16: In tempore isto et in hac eadem hora, si vita comes fuerit, habebis in utero filium.

fuerit, haec: on the metrical point see p.65 above.

162. aselle: the epithet auritus used with this word has probably been taken from Ovid: Ars Am.1.547; Am.2.7.15; Fasti 6.469. These lines provide no other influences on the language used here. Theodulf intends to portray the Scottus as slow and stupid: cf. below lines 169-174. The ass is shown to be slow elsewhere: Verg. Georg.1.273; Isid. Etym.12.1.38.

lupus: Theodulf continues the animal pseudonyms with a word play on part of his own name: cf. Godman p.158n.
163-164. The model for the idea rather than the language of this statement of impossibility is Ovid Ars Am.1.271-2, where Ovid speaks of the likelihood of a girl refusing a man's advances:

> vere prius volucres taceant, aestate cicadae,
> Maenalius lepori det sua terga canis.

The context has changed and although the dog and hare are used as an example in both couplets, the situations differ. For similar adynata see Verg. E.1.59-63; Moduin 1.48ff.

**musio:** this rare word has its origins in the language of children. There is no hint of this sense in Theodulf's use of the word, and is used as he would use *feles.* The only use of the word elsewhere is by Isidore: *Etym.*12.2.38: *musio appellatus quod muribus infestus sit.* Isidore is also unaware of the word's associations with children, and he naturally emphasises the etymology of the word in *mus,* which indicates that Theodulf has used Isidore as his source. Theodulf uses this word twice, here and Th.28.442 (p.505), in a different context. These usages are unique amongst his contemporaries.

167. *similimus Austro:* this phrase is taken directly from Prudentius *Apoth.*611 and is used in a metrically identical position: *Quis tam pinnatus rapidoque similimus austro.*

168. An unusual line. *Nil nisi* is an awkward phrase to use of a person. It is more usually found with an inanimate subject: Ov.
Ep.13.22: *quod spectarem, nil nisi pontus erat*. The outburst at lines 215ff explains the use of this phrase, where there is repeated reference to the *Scottus* as a *res*.

169. *litterulam*: this refers to the letter 'c', as Godman correctly asserts (*Poetry* p.159n), and which when removed from *Scottus* makes the Irishman a *sottus* or 'idiot': cf. also c.III.63; Bischoff P.21.11. But Godman deduces incorrectly that the *littera salvi* (line 173) also refers to the letter 'c'. Though Godman notes Schaller's article (*Fs. Bischoff* p.129 n.3), he does not show that Schaller states that the *littera salvi* is the *littera salutis*, the 'χ' or Christ-symbol. Schaller shows that the lenition of the Irish phonology changes the 'plosive' consonants (c,t,b,d,g) into an aspirant (ch,th etc.).

174. *hoc et erit*: though Theodulf states that the Irishman saves himself from being a *sottus*, the insult against him has been made, over his peculiarity of pronunciation.

175. *levita*: this title is equated with *diaconus* by Isidore: *Etym.*7.12.22 and is so used in early Christian writers. A biblical reference to those in the second rank, after *sacerdotes*, in the hierarchy of the Temple officials, originally drawn from the tribe of Levi: cf. Num.18.2-7; 1 Chron.23 (on their duties in the temple). The word is also used by Alcuin of himself: Alc. *Ep.*49 (p.93); *Ep.*51 (p.94).
Fredegis: the form of this Anglo-Saxon name is variable: cf. index in Dümmel Epp. IV p.622 v. Fredegisus. This pupil of Alcuin was given the cognomen Nathanael by Alcuin: Ep.251 (p.406) dated 801-802; Ep.261 (p.419-420). Fredegis kept in close contact with the court, taking gifts and messages from Charles to Alcuin: Alc. Ep.148 (p.237) and vice versa: Ep.261 (p.418); Ep.262 (p.419-420). There is only a single reference to Fredegis' rank as a deacon: Ep.251 (p.406) dated 801-802, though elsewhere in a letter dated two years earlier he is an archdeacon: Ep.210 (p.351). Theodulf shows here that Fredegis is already a deacon, and in 804 he was in fact to follow Alcuin as abbot of Tours. From the evidence of the letters his important years of service appear to start in 798, and his status within the court at the time of the recitation is shown by the brevity of the address here.

Osulfo: Osulf was also an Anglo-Saxon and a pupil of Alcuin and the close parallels with Fredegis are emphasised by sociatus. He was in addition a famulus to Charles' eldest son. Osulf may be the pupil nicknamed Dodo and Cuculus, who is reproached by Alcuin for his poor behaviour and slack morals: Alc. Ep.65 (pp.107-8); Alc.62 (p.269), and by Arno: Alc.Ep.66 (pp.110-111). There is no evidence for association in the court poetry or the letters of Alcuin, but the Vita Alcuini ch.15 does refer to Alcuin reprimanding Osulf for his behaviour, though this could be an erroneous interpretation, by the author of the Vita, of Alcuin's letters referred to above. One fact that is certain is that Osulf was physically small: line 177 below.
178. The meaning of this line is obscure. Theodulf has emphasised that if the three are joined together, that is to say standing together, then he humorously describes these three short men as looking like table legs. Godman's translation is not clear in its meaning.

179. tenuior: Theodulf employs synizesis here.

180. The 'higher measure' refers to that of God. The use of altior immediately following the previous remarks on their height, creates a humorous contrast. Theodulf has here modelled this line on Venantius c.10.11.22: *quos deus omnipotens his dedit esse pares*

The sense of the two lines is the same, that in the sight of God all men are equal whatever their size, and although Theodulf does not use deus, he does re-use the phrase *dedit esse pares* in almost the same position. This line seems to show Theodulf softening the force of his criticism. On the metrical point of *dedit altior* see p.64 above.

181. This line is closely based in structure on Ang.2.68 (p.362) dated to the Christmas of 795 by Schaller (M.L.6 (1970) p.36): *uvidos imbrifero veniet de monte Menalces*. Ultimately this is taken from Verg. E.10.20, although Theodulf does not follow Virgil as closely as Angilbert. The adjective *uvidos* in Virgil and again by Angilbert is replaced here by line 182. In both lines a compound adjective is used, but Theodulf uses *de sede* in place of
de monte. The uniqueness of Theodulf's compound adjective leads to the proposal of replacing pomiflua with pomifera, an alternative that causes no difficulties with the metre, and would draw the line closer to Angilbert's original. This description of the kitchen again uses a description of apples: cf. above line 151. This fruit by virtue of its scarcity may be used here to emphasise the wealth of the palace, but the image of apples 'flowing' seems incongruous. A possible interpretation, if unsubstantiated, is that this is a reference to cider. The reference to apples in connection with Menalcas has no parallel. The lack of manuscript evidence calls for caution in making such a change, and Sirmond as our earliest source has to be accepted.

Menalcas: this cognomen was the name given to Audulf, Charles' Chief-Steward, and there is no reference to him by his vernacular name in contemporary writings.

182. frontis ab arce: this grand phrase heightens the mockery when describing the perspiring Audulf.

184. vallatus cuneis: Theodulf uses military imagery to describe Audulf's entry. Audulf has become a general directing his troops. We have evidence of his strict control over the kitchens, where he seems to rule with a firm hand: Alc.26.48-9 (p.246). The key to this imagery is Audulf's successful military campaign of 786, leading Charles' army against the Bretons: cf. R.F.A. for 786.
ius synodale: Theodulf gently mocks the imperiousness of the
seneschal. His orders are 'law' and are given in the tone of a
synod. The reference to the synod does not match the military
image that precedes it.

187. Eppinus: Eberhard the chief of the cupbearers, is also named
Nemias by Alcuin and by Theodulf in a later poem: cf. Alc.26.50
(p.246); c.III.79. This biblical name refers to Nehemias, the
cupbearer to Artaxerxes King of Persia. Eberhard holds a similar
position in the court, having served the king for a long time as
cupbearer, but also acting as an emissary, on a peaceful mission
to Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria in 781.

potens: this adjective is echoed in bacchipotens: c.III.79,
indicating that Eberhard has influence in the court, but also with
the idea of the power of the wine.

191. Cf. above line 131 where Alcuin is referred to by his other
nickname. Theodulf describes Alcuin with a gentle irony. He is
pictured as being somewhat over eager in his eating, with food in
his hand while he is still eating: line 192. He is shown to take
not just wine or beer but both.

192. libens: Dümmler's full-stop, which Godman replaces with a
comma, completes a couplet unified in style by the repeated future
participles, while the aut of line 193 indicates a fresh start.
193. Bacche...Cerealis: the pious words of line 191 contrast strongly with this description of eagerly taking alcoholic drinks. Alcuin in several letters dated before 796 shows that he is strongly against drunkenness: cf. Alc. Ep.20 (pp.57-58); Ep.21 (p.59); Ep.38 (p.81); Ep.42 (p.86); Ep.114 (p.168): and also in his poetry: Alc.59,22-23 (p.273). Theodulf shows Alcuin's fondness for wine and beer, so gently showing Alcuin to be rather a hypocrite: cf. below line 195.

195. This line perhaps echoes the words of justification spoken by Alcuin himself: 'so that he may teach and sing poems all the better'.

196. pectoris antra: cf. line 158.

197. este procul: this phrase is taken from Ovid and used in a metrically identical position, but these lines of Ovid do not refer to food: Ars Am.1.31 (of vittae); Ars Am.2.151 (of lites and proelia). As Schaller states (Poetic Rivalries p.156), Theodulf dismisses such food as Alcuin prefers: Alc.26.49 (p.246): Ut calidos habeat Flaccus per fercula pultes. Theodulf includes white cheeses as well. This food is contrasted with spiced meats in a metaphor for the insipid 'pale' poetry of Alcuin compared with the more 'fiery' poetry of Theodulf himself.

lactis massa coacti: this is again taken from Ovid Met.8.666 where it also forms the last three feet of the hexameter.
198. **pigmentati**: this rare adjective in the two recorded uses means simply coloured, in Tertullian and particularly of hair in Prudentius *Hartigenia* 315: *quas pigmentato meretrix icit improba crine*. The description of spiced food with this adjective is unique but apposite.

200. **stansque sedensque**: a reference to the differing ranks at the feast, the higher ranks sitting and the lower ranks standing as they drink.

201. **patratis**: this word is more usually found in classical Latin in the context of the completion of a war or the ratification of a treaty. Theodulf is perhaps intending to convey the formal manner in which the feast is concluded, although there are no parallels for the use of *patrare* in the context of a feast.

**mensis...remoti**: Theodulf here echoes the phrase in Virgil *Aen.* 1.216: *postquam exempta fames epulis mensaeque remotae*, and 1.723: *postquam prima quies epulis mensaeque remotae*. In both Theodulf and Virgil the phrase completes an hexameter and the contexts are both of feasting, followed by speeches or recitations.

202. **plebs**: Einhard records Charles' fondness for great numbers of people at his feasts: *Vita Karoli* c.24. *Plebs* is used above at line 64 for the petitioners present at the court.
204. *foveat...mulceat*: Theodulf is referring directly to the subject of the poem. Schaller has linked *foveat reges* to lines 1-114 and *mulceat proceres* to lines 115-200 (M.J. 6 (1970) p.23). This line sums up the preceding lines but makes no reference to the subject of the rest of the poem. The listener is not prepared for the contrasting vehemence of Theodulf's attack upon the Irishman.

205. *membrosus*: this word is found elsewhere only once: *Priap.1.5*, with specific reference to the particular physical attribute of the *Priapus*. Godman, following Schaller p.23, translates this word as 'brawny': p.161, which corresponds to the further description of Wibod below line 211. There is no reference to support such a translation of this rare word. Given the ironic use of *heros* for a man he insults, the translation as 'long-limbed' is literal and more suitable. There is also no manuscript evidence for the circulation of the *Priapea* in the 8th-9th centuries: cf. *Texts and Transmission* ed. Reynolds pp.322-323, and so Theodulf's source for this word is unclear. Even in the context of these insults Theodulf would not use this adjective if he was conscious of the original context.

*Wibodus*: there is no other mention at this time of this warrior who interrupts the recitation. The description of Wibod's hostile reaction to Theodulf's poetry is presented humorously and acts as
a contrasting prelude to the more dangerous Irishman: cf. Schaller (as note for line 204 above) p.23.

206. Theodulf has closely based this line on Ovid: *Met.*1.179: *terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque*. The subject is the same, the striking of a head, and Theodulf uses the same phrase and verb. Another line of Ovid provides the same phrase in the same context: *Met.*2.49-50: *...qui terque quaterque / concutiens illustre caput*...

210. *titubante genu*: Dümmler's reference to Prudentius Contra Symm.2.319: *infirmus titubat pueri gressusque animusque*, is not directly relevant to this phrase used by Theodulf. *Titubare* is used in both, but Prudentius uses it of *gressus*. Theodulf has based this phrase on Eugenius 14.56: *et titubante genu proruit ante thronum*. Theodulf has used the phrase in a context similar to Eugenius, Theodulf is also emphasising the humility of Wibod, with the additional humour of his physical appearance.

Godman's comma here is preferable to the full-stop of Dümmler. The description of Wibod's departure is continued with further humorous description of his physical appearance.

212. *pede Vulcanum, voce Iovem*: Theodulf uses these figures to insult Wibod, inferring that he limps and bellows. This is a humorous reversal of the paradigms in lines 29-30 above.
214. **Scottellus**: Theodulf commences his attack with the diminutive form of *Scottus*, belittling the Irishman in a patronising tone: cf. also c.III.102 (of Rabanus). Godman's translation conveys the wrong tone, emphasising the wretchedness of the Irishman and not the patronising tone of the diminutive.

215-219. These two couplets are similar in language. The phrase *res fera* is repeated and phrases in the first couplet have companion phrases in the second that reiterate the sense: *hostis atrox/res inimica; hebes horror/res segnis; grande nefas/res nefanda*

216. Again Godman's comma is preferable to Dümmler's full stop. The invective is continued in lines 217-218 using the same asyndetic structure, though with more sustained anaphora.

219. **Paulum service reflexa**: this complete phrase has been taken from Ovid: *Ars Am.*3.779: *strata premit genibus paulum service reflexa*. It is used by Theodulf in a metrically identical position. The context of this line from Ovid is again of a sexual subject: cf. also line 19 above. There is no reference to this in Theodulf, who is intent on describing the bent and twisted appearance of the Irishman. Godman notes (p.161n) a line of Virgil as being relevant: *Aen.*8.633. This line also ends with *service reflexa* though the context is of the she-wolf bending her neck to lick the young Romulus and Remus, and *paulum* is not found here. The phrase *service reflexa* also ends a line in the *K.L.P.*116
(p.369), but again the context is complimentary, of men working hard carrying heavy weights on their shoulders, and not an insulting personal description.

220. *stolidum*: Theodulf is reiterating the invective, which is implied above: lines 169ff.

221. Theodulf here employs *asyndeton*, as above lines 215-218, to convey his anger. This line has been based on Venantius V.M. praef.23: *Attonitus, trepidus, hebetans, vagus, anxius, anceps*. This line is used by Venantius as part of a prolonged simile representing his poetic work as a boat on the sea. Theodulf has used the same structure, and *anceps* and *attonitus* appear in both lines. Venantius' simile also contains the next two words in Theodulf's line: V.M.praef.17: *furibunda ruina*; praef.21: *tremulis... undis*. Theodulf has been influenced by his reading of this preface.

223. Godman notes Virgil Aen.8.20 as relevant to this line: *atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc*. The structure of this line has similarities to Theodulf's line. Two alternatives are given, each with the conjunction *nunc*: 'now here...now there'. Aeneas' mind is vacillating between different ideas, and there is no mention of any suppression of emotions. Godman's translation of *hos...illos* is unsatisfactory. The line that precedes this has described the jerky movements of the Irishman and so it is these movements that he is suppressing. To curb feelings: *celari motu*. 

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is incongruous and an ill-suited phrase, and in fact vividly describes the effort to curb his angry trembling.

228. Theodulf uses infinitives as nouns.

232. The reference to Sedulius noted in Dümmler should read: Carm. Pasch. 1.328-330. These lines have influenced the idea of Theodulf's line rather than the language, that those learned in secular studies only use their learning to fight. Sedulius goes further than Theodulf in dismissing the sapientia mundi as irrelevant to God. The arma here are the metaphorical 'arms' of intellectual debate: cf. also line 160; c.III.61. Theodulf's declamation against intellectual back-biting appears hypocritical in the context of his own contribution to this field against the Irishman.

233. Dümmler's comma at the end of this line is preferable to Godman's full-stop. The stylistic unity of this line and line 234, with scis repeated does not suggest a break and it is unusual to begin a sentence at the pentameter line.

multa scis: the short last vowel of multa is made long by position.

234. magis: this has the sense of Theodulf not wishing to waste words on the Scottus. Godman's translation: p.163, does not sufficiently emphasise this.

-171-
non sapis atque sapis: this paradoxical statement is taken directly from the two line epigram of Martial: 8.20:

cum facias versus nulla non luce ducenos,

Vare, nihil recitas: non sapis atque sapis.

Theodulf has used the phrase in a metrically identical position and also in the same context of a questioning of abilities.

236. Dümmler's full-stop is preferable to Godman's comma. Theodulf now moves on to address the poem and a break here is more satisfactory.

237. reeditum: this refers to the text of the poem returning to Theodulf, Godman's translation does not convey this point, saying only that the poem wishes to withdraw.

238. dilectio: 'love'. This word is used in the Bible by Christ as a synonym of caritas: cf. Jo.15.9.

240. omnia quae suffert: the phrase omnia suffert is taken directly from 1 Cor. 13.7. In this passage it is used of caritas, and as is shown above: line 239, Theodulf uses a synonym of this word.

242. infensus est: on the metrical point see p.64 above.

est mihi cura levis: Godman's translation does not emphasise the point that Theodulf is dismissing as unimportant any man who lacks
caritas: even though he may be his enemy, this missing quality of Charity is the most important fact.
This poem is one of two epitaphs extant for Pope Hadrian I, who died on December 25th 795. The other epitaph (Tit. Saec. Oct. 9 (p.113-114)) is carved on Hadrian's tomb in Rome. The language of this other epitaph indicates that Alcuin was the author, with phrases echoed in other works of Alcuin (cf. Wallenbach pp.182-191). As there are two epitaphs for Hadrian it is likely that these two poets seem to have competed against each other to write the official epitaph for Hadrian's tomb, although no other references exist to support this. This epitaph shows clearly the personal relationship between Charles and Hadrian indicated in Einhard's Vita Karol.19. Both this and Alcuin's epitaph are written in the person of Charles and lines 13-16 of this poem and lines 17-18 of Alcuin's show Charles' grief at Hadrian's death. Godman asserts that c.II was written at court (Frühm. Stud. 19 (1985), p.285).

A terminus post quem for this poem is clearly December 25th 795, the date of Hadrian's death, and this poem must date from soon after this and before the name of Hadrian's successor, Leo III, had been announced. Theodulf does not name Hadrian's successor in line 29, but it would perhaps be inappropriate to name Leo in this context; so a date after the announcement is possible. Early 796 is the most likely date for the poem.

The style of this poem is derivative. Theodulf has taken several of the phrases and stylistic features from epitaphs of Venantius
This derivative style is common at this time and it is impossible to assert why Alcuin's epitaph was preferred to Theodulf's. This poem is well structured.

Structure

1-10: Introduction to the epitaph. The purpose and object of the poem are set out (lines 1-4) and then follow words of praise for Hadrian.

11-18: Charles reflects on Hadrian's death (lines 11-12) and recalls his own grief for his parents' deaths.

19-22: The gifts made ready for Hadrian by Charles have now become the marble for the tomb and the epitaph itself.

23-34: At this half-way point Theodulf moves to a request for all who pass by the tomb, including his successor, to say a prayer for Hadrian. He goes on (lines 25-34) to develop the theme. The epitaph exhorts all to pray for Hadrian.

35-42: Reflection on the transience of the flesh and the life after death. The poem ends with words of advice to any who read the epitaph, that they are only mortal and should prepare for death themselves.
C. II (c. 26)

Aurea funereum complectit littera carmen,
Verba tonat fulvus et lacrimosa color.
Promere quae Carolum compellit amorque dolorque
Me tuus, Hadriane praesul amate nimi,
Pontificum specimen, lux plebis, norma salutis,
Vir pie, vir sapiens, vir venerande sati.
Mente nitens, formaque decens, sensuque renidens,
Inclyto amore vigens, speque fideque cluens.
Tu decus ecclesiae, fax splendens urbis et orbis,
Carior, egregie, tu mihi luce, pater.
Quem cum dira dies non exhibitura sequentem
Eripuit vivis, res patuitque mihi,
Protinus agnovi veteris vestigia luctus,
Morsque parentum oculis est revocata meis.

Taedia Pippini sensi venientia morte,
Bertradamque dolor, pro dolor,iste refert.
Cumque tui aspectus, sanctissime papa, recordor,
Corque oculosque meos nil nisi luctus habet.
Munera grata tibi incolumi mittenda parabam,
Tristia nunc maesto pectore dona paro.
Marmora pro tunicis, proque auro flebile carmen,
Quae gerat urna capax iam tua parva domus.
Quam quis ab occasu properans vel quisquis ab ortu
Conspicis, hic munus quod venereris habes.

Sexus uterque, senex, iuvenis, puer, advena, civis,
Quisquis es, 'Hadriano', dic, 'sit amoena quies'.

-176-
Golden letters make up this funeral poem.

The golden colour sounds out the tearful words.

Words which love and sadness for you, O Hadrian much loved pontiff,

have compelled me, Charles, to write,

You, the model for bishops, light of the people, and pattern of salvation

O holy man, wise man and truly venerable man.

Brilliant in mind, fine in appearance, and resplendent in intellect.

Flourishing with a renowned love and famed with hope and faith.

You are the honour of the church, shining torch of the city and world,

You, noble father, are dearer than light to me.

Whom when the awful day that will present no following day

Snatched away from the living, the reason became clear to me,

Forthwith I recognised the traces of an old grief

And the death of my parents was recalled before my eyes.

And I felt the approaching loathing over the death of Pippin

And the grief, alas the grief, brought back Bertrada.

When I remember your face, most holy father

Only grief fills my heart and eyes.

I was preparing pleasant gifts to be sent to you when you lived,

Now with a mourning heart I prepare sad gifts.

Marble instead of clothes and a song of grief instead of gold.

Which your spacious tomb, now your small home, may bear.

Which any of you can see as you come from East or West

There you have a gift which you may venerate.

Man and woman, old man, youth, boy, foreigner, citizen,

Whoever you are, say 'let there be a delightful rest for Hadrian'.

-177-
Praesulis istius semper, tu Roma, memento,
   Qui tibi tutor opum, murus et arma fuit.
Tu quoque successor residens in sede sacrata,
   Sis memor, oro, huius, si deus ipse tui.
Huic prece grata quies detur Paulique Petrique,
   Hunc quoque caelicolum cuncta caterva iuvet.
Huic lucem concede piam, concede quietem,
   Rex deus, atque operis tu miserere tui.
En est quod fuerat: pulvis de pulvere sumptus,
   Sed putres cineres tu reparare vales.
Credo, quod hic pulvis transacta morte resurget.
   Nec iam post tumulum sic moriturus erit.
Hos apices quicumque legis, te nosce futurum
Hoc quod hic est, omnis hoc caro pergit iter.
Inde tuam mentem venturis casibus aptans
   Oratu et precibus sis memor huius, ave!
You, Rome, always call that Pope to mind

Who was the guardian of your wealth and who was your wall and
arms,
Also his successor sitting in the sacred seat
30 You should, I pray, be mindful of him, just as God is of you.
May pleasant rest be given to this man by the prayer of Peter and
Paul,
Also the whole host of heaven help him.
O God our King, grant him pious light, grant him peace,
And take pity on what you have created.
35 So he is now what he once was, dust from dust.
But you are capable of reviving the putrid ashes.
I believe that this dust will rise again when death is passed
And that he will not thus die again after the grave.
You whoever read these words, be mindful that you
40 Will be just the same as this man, all flesh passes this way.
Then shaping your mind to your own coming death
Be mindful of this man in your intercessions and prayers,
farewell.
Commentary

1. Theodulf has based this line on Vers. Lib. Saec. Oct. Adiect. 4.ii.1 (p.92): *Aurea Daviticos en pingit littera cantus*. These verses preface a richly decorated psalter sent to Pope Hadrian sometime before his death (cf. Dümmler p.91n.). The context in Theodulf is different, but he has imitated the structure of the line, using *aurea...littera* in a metrically identical position, and ending the line with a synonym of *cantus*.

2. *fulvus et*: on the metrical point see p.64 above.

4. *Hadriane praesul*: the final short 'e' is made long at the caesura of the pentameter before two consonants. This is similar to the practice outlined above in the introduction (p.64). Theodulf is aware of the quantity of the final 'e' in the vocative as his practice elsewhere shows: c.2.1; 10.37; 17.71 et al. For similar lengthening see line 10 below.

5. *norma salutis*: Theodulf repeats here a phrase used by Venantius: 10.13.7: *exulis auxilium, errantis via, norma salutis*. It is used by Theodulf in the same position. Although the original context is not an epitaph, Theodulf has also imitated the *tricolon* construction used by Venantius elsewhere, for example: 4.11.5: *religionis apex, vitae decus, arma salutis*. The phrase is useful at the end of the hexameter.
This phrase is used in an epitaph for Archbishop Chrodegang of Metz in 766 (Tit., Saec. Oct. 4.18 (p.109)). It is in a different position in the metre, but does refer to the life of the archbishop as in Venantius. This epitaph for Chrodegang also imitates in the first line Venantius 4.11.1-2, used by Theodulf in this poem: cf. below lines 23-4. The phrase is used by Theodulf elsewhere: Th.2.67 (p.453) in the context of condemnation and not praise, also: Th.17.6 (p.472); Th.28.32 (p.494).

7. This line is a tricolon structure with homoioteleuton.

formaque decens: this phrase is perhaps based upon a line of Venantius: 4.7.11: forma venusta decens, animus sine fine benignus. Venantius includes a second adjective but the context of the line is also an epitaph. Theodulf however has the ablative formā.

9. urbis et orbis: this phrase is used first by Ovid, referring as here to Rome: cf. Fast.2.684: Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem. It is used later by Corippus: In Laud. Just.1.181: aspice quanta fuit nostrae simul urbis et orbis. Theodulf uses the phrase in the same position as Corippus, but does not stress the size of the city. Dümler's text of Alcuin's epitaph for Hadrian contains this phrase: Tit., Saec. Oct. 9.14 (p.113): urbis et orbis honor, inclyta Roma, tuas. Wallach in Alcuin and Charlemagne (p.181) points out the discrepancy between Dümler's text and the actual inscription, which reads: Urbs caput orbis honor inclyta Roma -181-
This shows that Dümmler has followed a manuscript containing a revision of the inscription influenced by Theodulf's text.

10. *egregie*: Theodulf incorrectly treats the naturally short last syllable as long, perhaps confusing the quantity of the vocative with the adverbial form. The absence of a main verb indicates that Theodulf intended the vocative. See note on line 4 (*Hadriane*) above.

11-12. This sonorous ecphrasis describes with a stylish flourish the day of Judgement. The last day is described with the same adjective in a fragmentary inscription from near Padua: cf. C.I.L.XI fasc. 2.2 no.6926:

> O genesis, O dira dies
> suprema iacenti...

13. This line is similar to Virgil *Aen*.4.23: *agnosco veteris vestigia flammae*. Dido is here speaking of the 'flame' of love not grief. Theodulf has followed Virgil closely, the phrase *agnovi veteris vestigia* differs from Virgil only in the tense of the verb.

15-16. Pippin died on September 24th 768 at St.Denis (cf. *R.F.A.* for 768) and was buried there (Einhard reports that he died of dropsy: *Vita Karol.* 3). Bertrada died on July 12th 763 and was buried with Pippin at St.Denis. Einhard notes Charles' particular fondness for his mother: *Vita Karoli* 18.
19. munera grata: a letter from Charles to Leo shows that these gifts, prepared for Hadrian, were subsequently sent to his successor Leo: Alc. Ep.93 (p.137): sed et hoc vestrae sanctissimae benivolentiae innotescimus, quod cum dilectionis munera patri meo dulcissimo, praedecessori vestro, dirigere paraveram... These gifts included treasure from the Ring of the Avars, recently sacked by Eric Duke of Friuli: cf. R.F.A. for 796; c.I.33, and were conveyed by Angilbert on behalf of Charles as the letter goes on to show. Theodulf makes no reference to this fact, nor does he name Leo as Hadrian's successor (cf. below line 29), which may indicate that this epitaph was written close to the date of Hadrian's death, December 25th 795 and before his successor was named.

21. flebile carmen: this phrase is used by Ovid of his own poetry: Trist.5.1.5: flebilis ut noster status est ita flebile carmen. Theodulf has used the phrase in the same position. The original context in Ovid is not however that of death or an epitaph, but of his own exile. The phrase is also used in an epitaph for Romuald, son of Arighis Duke of Benevento, written in 787: Tit. Saec. Oct. 8.27 (p.112): hoc lacrimans cecini David ego flebile carmen. Chiasmus is used here.

22. A well constructed line also with chiasmus and accentuating the contrast between capax and parva. This line implies at first sight the cremation of the Pope, through the use of urna and later cineres (line 36). Urna is however used elsewhere to mean a

In the epitaph for Alcuin cineres is used even though Alcuin was certainly buried (line 13 of this epitaph), implying that this word is synonymous with pulvis: cf. Alc.123.8 (p.350): nunc cinis et pulvis verminibus atque cibus.

23-24. This couplet is closely based on Venantius c.4.11.1-2:

Quisquis ab occasu properas huc, quisquis ab ortu
munus in hoc tumulo quod venereris habes.

These lines have similar contexts as both are epitaphs and Theodulf has followed the construction of the original. The verb properare is used in the same position, although it is in the present participle form. The phrases ab occasu and ab ortu are similarly used and munus and the phrase quod venereris habes are repeated. Theodulf's lines differ in that he uses quis to mean 'whoever' and that he goes on to elaborate upon the variety of visitors to the tomb.

25. A line of Venantius has similarities: 4.9.6 (an epitaph for Leontius, bishop of Bordeaux): hinc puer, hinc iuvenis deflet, et inde senes. The similarity is however only in the variety of ages of the people listed.
27. *tu Roma*: a personification of Rome also occurs in Alcuin's epitaph on the tomb.

28. *tutor opum*: this phrase is taken from Prudentius *Contr. Symm.* 2.435 (see c.1.31).

29. *successor*: Hadrian's successor Leo is not named: cf. above line 19.

35. *fuerat*: this pluperfect is best translated as an imperfect.

36. *reparare*: no other use with *cineres* appears to exist.

40. *omnis hoc*: on this metrical point see p.65 above.

42. *ave*: this use has no contemporary parallel. Catullus does use it in a similar context at c.101.10: *atque in perpetuum, frater, ave et vale* and is found in a few classical funerary inscriptions cf. *C.I.L.* 6.23297.5. These examples could not have influenced Theodulf and it is not clear where he has taken this form instead of *vale* the usual word for 'farewell'.

-185-
Introduction to c. III (c. 27 (Sirmond III,3.))

This letter-poem, probably composed at Orléans (see note on line 2), concerns itself not with the praise of Charles and his court, as the earlier c.I had done, but with the poetic rivalries within the court. There is a change of mood as Schaller points out (Der Junge 'Rabe' p.132), from euphoria in c.I to the realism of this poem. The reality is not however to Theodulf's liking. A group of young poets (corvi line 1), comprised at least in part of pupils of Alcuin, seems to be lowering the standard of poetry within the court. This is commented on by Wallace-Hadrill (Frankish Church p.199), who stresses that these poets irritated the older poets and adhered strongly to the Anglo-Saxon tradition. The poem is an attack on these poets and one member of the group in particular.

This is a difficult poem with many allusions that today are hard to decipher. The problems in c.III are in Schaller only touched upon and have perhaps caused Godman to avoid the poem. Theodulf's humour is in part a cause of the difficulties. In two humorous remarks, linked by the theme of hair, on Thyrsis (lines 49-50) and on Rabanus himself (lines 111-112), a knowledge of their appearance is the key to the 'joke'. The reference to members of the court by nicknames or epithets causes further difficulties. The identification of the birds at the beginning of the poem is uncertain and it is unclear whether the references to eunuchs (87-92) and pygmies (101-106) are literal or metaphorical. Certain trains of thought in this poem are hard to follow. The
connections between Delia and Beselel are not apparent and the meaning of this section (44-54) is not at all clear. Theodulf is not I think deliberately obscuring the meaning and it is our own lack of information that causes the problems.

The main addressee of the poem remains obscure until line 56, and there as later (lines 102, 107, 112) he is addressed with a pseudonym. The Corvinianae and Corvule of these lines are both Rabanus Maurus, at this time a pupil of Alcuin. Although Rabanus is not named, Theodulf points to the identification by his allusion to the etymology of Rabanus' name (old German hraban is a raven). As well as the clear associations in the pseudonyms Theodulf gives to Rabanus, the corvus itself is mentioned frequently (lines 1, 54, 57, 79, 81, 96, 100). Rabanus' dark colouring, hinted at perhaps by Alcuin by the nickname he gave to Rabanus (Maurus), is referred to by Theodulf (line 79 corvo...nigre; line 102 Corvule...nigre), and is the basis of the 'joke' in lines 110ff. Schaller (p.134) shows that Rabanus had by this time already received this nickname. Maurus, derived ultimately from the name of St.Benedict's servant (Greg. Dialog.2.3) ties in with an obscure reference in the poem (line 62: Getulumque caput). This is not Theodulf's head, as Dümmler states (p.492 n.7), the Getulus ('little Goth') would in that case have a short 'e'. Schaller (pp.126-130) argues convincingly that Getulum is derived from the North African tribe the Gaetuli, the neighbouring tribe of the Mauri (Isid. Etym.9.2.118). The two names were apparently interchangeable (Schol. In Juv. c.5.59),
and indeed Schaller suggests that it is possible that Theodulf was acquainted with this *scholion* (p. 127 n. 21). The colouring of the *Gaetulus/Maurus* parallels the appearance of the *corvus* and indeed a form of *niger* (see above) is used with *Maurus* in Theodulf (c. 34.17 (p. 526) *Maurisque nigellis*). Rabanus was born in about 780 at Mainz (M.G.H. P.L.A.C. II c. 97.3 (p. 243)), educated at Fulda and came to Alcuin sometime before the end of 799 (see paragraph below for the date of poem).

The date of this poem is not certain, but can be narrowed down to between June 798 and the winter of 800. The *terminus post quern* is established by line 7. A letter of Alcuin dated c. June 798 (Ep. 146 (p. 235)) has influenced these lines. Theodulf plays upon Alcuin's words as he has done previously (c. I, 197 on Alc. 26, 49). Meginfred's presence at the court (lines 49-50 *Thyrsis*) indicates that the poem is before August 800, when Meginfred left the court with Pippin on an expedition against Benevento and died before the end of the year (his death is referred to in Alc. Ep. 211 (p. 351); *R.F.A.* for 800 describes the expedition). The poem shows that Alcuin has left the court for the winter (lines 35-36), so that discounting the winters of 797/798 when Charles was on campaign in Saxony (*R.F.A.* for 797) and 800/801 when Charles is at Rome, the most likely dates for composition are the winters of 798/799 or 799/800. The fact that Liutgard is not mentioned points towards the earlier of these two dates. Charles' family receive scant attention in this poem, and only one of his children is named, and then under a pseudonym (*Delia* lines 29 and
44). Liutgard's absence is explained by the fact that from 794-799 she was Charles' concubine and not technically Queen until her marriage (see introduction to c.V). Theodulf makes some passing references to Charles, but there would be less compulsion in 798/799 to mention Liutgard than a year later. That her absence is due to her death, which occurred on June 4th 800, is not possible as the presence of Meginfred shows (see above).

Of this group of poems under study here c.III and c.I are the most closely involved with the court. The following are mentioned in both poems: Charles, Alcuin, Gisla, Einhard, Scottus, Riculf, Meginfred, Audulf, Hildebald and Eberhard. This poem however is specifically directed at Rabanus and although the poem has a limited circulation in order to make Theodulf's grievances public, the members of the court mentioned above are not necessarily part of that circulation, as they clearly are in c.I. Theodulf does not praise Charles or his family in any way, and the complimentary and humorous vignettes of the court members are omitted. This along with the allusive style of the poem indicates that this poem was not intended for public recitation.

Virgil has made a significant contribution to the language of the poem. There are fourteen lines influenced by Virgil, Delia and her poetry appear to have associations with Virgil (line 44) and the work of the poet seems to be popular within the court, either in the original text or in imitation (line 52). The reason for so many references to Virgil is not clear. Theodulf may be alluding
to this rival group's fondness for Virgil, but there is no evidence to support this. Virgil's work was widely read at this time and had been treated for a long time as allegories. It is possible that once Theodulf had equated Rabanus with corvus the use of pastoral references from Virgil naturally followed. Theodulf shows elsewhere (c.45.18-24) that he finds worth in Virgil (and Ovid) for the meaning beneath the surface of the text (line 20: Plurima sub falso tegmine vera latent).

Structure

1-12: The rival poets, in the shapes of birds, are criticised for their pretentions.

13-20: The harsh sounding birds are shown as prevalent, silencing the sweeter sounding birds.

21-30: Examples of reversed or unlikely situations are used to show that the rival poets are unsuited to the court.

31-34: Delia's musical activities are described.

35-42: Alcuin leaves the court with his pupils teaching them to compose poetry.

43-52: Delia's effort at poetic composition.
53-59: A reference to Lucius as a poet leads into an attack on the Corvus.

60-68: The Scottus is attacked and vilified.

69-82: The actions of the court members at the feast. The passage then leads into the absolute exclusion of the raven.

83-86: The brewer Hardberd.

87-92: The role of the three eunuchs in the court.

93-102: Authority within the court.

103-112: Inverted form of greeting is sent to Rabanus, who is then dismissed and shown to be dependent on Alcuin. Then a subtly insincere farewell.
C. III (c. 27)

Quid cycni faciunt, resonant dum talia corvi,
   Et tectis strepitant carmina multa meis?
Nunc fallax simulat hominis rea pica loquelam,
   Despiciens volucres, fercula sacra sedet.

Psittacus et varias imitatur voce camoenas,
   Commaculans musas, vatis Homere, tuas.
Mergulus atque niger Ligeri piscator in undis,
   Brigenses silvas nunc habitare solet,
   Et pennis pulchrum sese putat esse pavonem.

Quae laudes, Lamuel, addidit ecce tuas,
   Vox, reor, aequa sonat, fallit sed penna colorem,
   Nec varium rutilat hic decus in specie.
Nunc monstrat cuculus vernalis lumina Phoebi,
   Balbula vox resonat gutture raucisono.

Nunc pluviam pendens ramis vocat improba cornix,
   Se fallax vitas iactat habere novem.
Vox merulae taceat,quatit anser plectra palustris,
   Vertice submerso sordida quaeque vorans.
Vernalis sileat dulces acredula cantus,

Nocturnos reboat bubo inimica sonos.
Increpat en iterum vates Balensis asellus,
   Insuetosque ciet voce rudente sonos.
Vertitur et subito studia in contraria rerum,
   Rideat Orpheum Tityrus aurisonum.

Orpheus in silvis putridas tu pasce capellas,
What do the swans do while the ravens sound forth such poems
And so many poems chatter around my roofs?

Now the guilty Magpie deceitfully imitates human speech,
And looking down on the birds sets out the sacred vessels.

5 The parrot imitates various poems with its cry,
Defiling your Muses, poet Homer.

The black cormorant, that fisher in the waters of the Loire,
Is now accustomed to live in the forests of Brie,
And thinks himself a handsome peacock because of his plumage.

10 That voice, Lamuel, which, see, has added your praises, sounds right,
But the colour of his feathers is wrong,
Nor does a varied splendour shine here in his appearance.

Now the cuckoo of spring reveals the rays of Phoebus,
And his stuttering call sounds from his harsh sounding throat.

15 Now the persistent crow, hanging from the branches, calls the rain,
And the deceitful bird boasts that it lives for nine lifetimes.

Let the blackbird's song stay silent, the goose in the marsh strikes the lyre,
And with head submerged devours all the filth.

So the spring nightingale must silence its sweet songs

20 The unfriendly Owl booms out its nocturnal calls.
And again Balaam's ass berates the bards,
And produces unaccustomed words with his braying voice.

Suddenly all is turned round to the opposite,
So let Tityrus mock golden voiced Orpheus.

25 You, Orpheus, feed the stinking goats in the woods,
Tityrus aulenses delicias sequitur.
David in arce manet paucis cum forte puellis,
Pieria sufflat carmina quaeque tuba.
In primis rutilat Flaccinas Delia Musas,
Post aliae pariter organa sacra boant.
Delia Threiciam iam pangit pollice chordam,
Floribus atque ornat tempora sacra novis.
Vinnula mellifluas rimatur fistula Musas,
Gutture ter quinos personat ecce tonos.

Flaccus abit senior pueris comitatus ab urbe,
Dum lux plena redit, tunc redit ipse domum.
Ille habet aetatem, pro se respondeat ille,
Pro se proque suis verba dabit pueris.
Aut inflare leves calamos mandaverit illis,
Vertice Sileni aut serta ligare senis.

Has paucas David cernit psalmista camoenas,
Regales inter iam resonans epulas.
Subiciens paucos inter quoque licia tela
Delia femineos Virgiliana pedes,
Beselel atque Lupum subito respexit inertem,
Quapropter tacuit suavia verba timens.
Dum Lupus aufugiet, redit in praecordia sensus,
Carminibus complet flumina, rura, domos.
Et quocumque die crescent in vertice Thyrsi

Iam rutilae crines, tunc canet ipse quoque.
Dum Lupus in scriniis quaerit sua carmina canus,

28. Pieria...tuba W; Pieriam...tubam S. 51. scriniis D; scrinis S.
While Tityrus goes in pursuit of the delights of the Court.

David stays in his stronghold with perhaps just a few girls,

Each of these plays their songs on the Pierian trumpet.

Delia in particular makes the poems of Flaccus bright,

30 Afterwards the others in unison sound forth their sacred instruments.

Now Delia plucks the Thracian lyre with her thumb,

And adorns her sacred brow with fresh flowers.

Her sweet pipe explores the honeyed poems

And (listen!) she sings the fifteen notes.

35 Old Flaccus leaves the city accompanied by his boys,

He returns home when the full light of day returns.

He is old enough, let him reply for himself

And he will speak for himself and for his own boys.

He will have ordered his boys to either blow upon the gentle reed

40 Or to bind the garlands around the head of the old man Silenus.

The Psalmist David listens to these few verses,

Echoing forth amidst the royal feast.

Delia, as she is interweaving a few feminine verses

Amongst Virgil's threads on the loom,

45 Suddenly looked towards Beseleel and the motionless Lupus.

For this reason fearing their tactful words she fell silent.

When Lupus leaves her wits return to her

And she fills the rivers, fields and houses with her poems.

On the day that shining red hair grows on Thyris's head,

50 Then he will sing too.

When Lupus as an old man searches in the book chests for his own poems,
Inveniet forsan, ut Maro tunc resonat.
Lucius ipse brevi depingit carmina notus,
Talia nec corvus discere forte valet.

Scottulus accinctus gladio te spectat acuto,
Perforet ut pectus, Corviniane, tuum.
Non timet hic corvos, volucris nec parceret ulli,
Si modo Damaetam sperat abesse procul.
Non pius est Scottus noster, Damaeta, poeta,
Vertitur in luctum ludus ab ore procax.

Attamen arma minans Scottus iam proelia temptat,
Getulumque caput ense ferire volens.
Hic Scottus sottus cottus trinomen habebit,
Gutture gentilupum clamat et ipse cavo.

Carmine versifico fumoso et distichon ore,
Hoc cecinit nobis ecce, Menalca, suo.
Exanimis vivum risu percussit iniquo,
Sed tamen haec pueris praelia proficiunt.
Tres pueri circum Danielis fercula gaudent,
Qui superant flammis nobilitate, fide.

Nunc Iob inmensi numero fulgescit honoris,
Psalteriumque oculis fulget amore piis.
In medio David sceptro regit omnia, largas
Disponens epulas ordine pacifico.

Et pius Aaron benedicit cuncta per aulum,
Sanctificans verbis fercula cuncta sacris.
Et Nemias, Solymam qui iam renovaverat urbem,
Perhaps he will find that Virgil sounds forth there.
That renowned Lucius himself quickly composes verses,

But perhaps not even the Raven can master ones such as these.

55 The little Irishman, with his sharp sword by his side,

Is watching you Corvinianus, intending to pierce your heart.

This man has no fear of ravens, nor would he spare any bird,
If he only hopes that Damaetas is far away.

Our Irishman is not a respectful poet, Damaetas,

60 The insolent jest that he speaks turns to unhappiness.

However now the Irishman brandishing his weapons is attempting battle,

Wishing to strike the Gaetulan's head with his sword.

This 'Scottus', a 'sottus' and a 'cottus', will have this triple nickname,

And he shouts at Gentilupus with his cavernous throat.

65 See Menalcas, in this song in verse he has
Sung this couplet for us with his smoky mouth.

This lifeless man struck the living with his malevolent smile.
Yet nevertheless these battles benefit the boys.

The three boys, who overcome the flames by nobility and faith,

70 Rejoice around the vessels of Daniel.

Now Job is resplendent with a great number of honours,
And the psalter shines with the love from his pious eyes.

At the centre David rules all with his sceptre,
Arranging generous dishes in a pacifying order.

75 Holy Aaron blesses everything in the court,
Sanctifying all the vessels with holy words.

Nehemiah who had already restored the city of Jerusalem,
Bacchipotens calvus dulcia vina feret.
Qui locus est corvo haec inter convivia nigro?

80 In silvis maneat inter et ipse lupos,
Ni tamen Helias depurget crimina corvi,
Convocet atque iterum ad fercula sacra sibi.
Hispani potus Hardberd servator avarus,
Armatus Cerere totus in aede sua.

85 Et calidum sceptro versat caldare culinis,
Ut bibat hoc gelidum, quod movet hic calidum.
Graeculus et Putifar invisus forte puellis,
Armatus frustra praelia nulla gerens,
Quem socii pariter Bagao comitantur et Egeus,

90 Ex tribus his truncis non erit unus homo.
Hi, reor, in camenis non sunt iam sponte fideles,
Saeva manus medici cogit habere fidem.
Filius et viduae Hiram bene constructum aedem
Altithrono: Christus auxilietur opus.

95 Hos inter Nembroth gigas venabula quassat,
Qui telis corvum fronte ferire parat.
Et mare velivolum turbans Polyphemius ingens,
Mergulus ut nequeat effugere aut pelago.
Hi duo dispariles membris, sed mente minaces,

100 Ille pedes corvi franget et iste caput.
Pygmaei tantum cupientes quaerere pacem,

85. caldare L; callare S. 94. Christus D; Christi S. 101.
pygmaei L; Pygmaei S. 89. Bagao S; Bagatha L.
That bald 'Lord of the wine' will bring sweet wines.

What place is there for a black Raven amongst these festivities?
80  Let him also stay in the forests amongst the wolves,

Unless Elijah were to absolve the Raven of his crimes,
    And again invite him to his sacred feast.

Hardberd, that greedy keeper of the Spanish brew,
    Is completely 'fortified' with beer in his own home.

85  With his ladle he stirs the warm cauldron on the stove,
    So that which he stirs when hot, he might drink when cold.

That little Greek Potifar, perhaps hated by the girls,
    Is armed in vain and takes no part in any battles,

Whom Bagao and Egeus accompany as his allies,
90  And amongst these three emasculated people there is not a single man.

They are, I think, not trustworthy of their own free-will in the chambers,

    But the savage hand of the doctor forces them to be faithful.

Hiram, the son of a widow, constructs the temple
    Well for God: may Christ help the work.

95  Amongst these the giant Nimrod shakes his spear,
    Who prepares to strike the raven on the brow with his weapon,
    and huge Polyphemus stirs up the sail-flecked sea
    To prevent the cormorant from escaping by that way.

These two are unequal in their limbs but both have a hostile attitude,
100  The one will break the Raven's feet and the other his head.

Only the pygmies wish to seek peace for you,
Propter bella gruum, Corvule nigre, tibi.
Haec tibi sufficiant venienti, trispeda tantum
Verbis sufficiant hiems, sitis, atque fames.
105 Nos nostros nobis nostra teneamus in aula
   Trispedicos fratres, sit tibi turba brevis.
 Hos tantum teneas, acerrime Corvule, versus,
   Saepius atque legens pectore conde tuo.
 Dum veniet Flaccus pueris comitatus et odis,
110 Tunc sperare licet iam potiora tibi.
 Nunc tibi tot salve, quot sunt in vertice crines
   Albentes, sic tu, Corviniane, vale.
Black Corvulus, because of the wars with the storks.

For you let these words be sufficient for your arrival,

Let the three-legged words, cold, thirst and hunger be adequate as these words.

105 Let us keep our own small brothers in our court to ourselves,

And you can have your small-sized gathering.

So, fierce Corvulus, you should keep these verses,

And reading them often lodge them in your heart.

When Flaccus comes back accompanied by his boys and poems,

Then you may hope for better things.

Now I send as many greetings to you as there are white hairs on your head,

And in the same spirit, farewell Corvinianus.
Commentary

1. The rival swans and ravens, representing respectively the accomplished and inferior poets in the court, introduce the motif of birds that forms the basis of the first twenty lines. Persius in the choliambic verses prefacing his satires has a similar motif of birds attempting to be poets, birds also found in Theodulf: the parrot (Pers. Prol.8), magpie (Prol.9), ravens and magpies (Prol.13). If this has indeed been followed by Theodulf it is a borrowing from this poet unique for this period and there are no clear parallels of language. The earliest manuscript for Persius is early ninth century, but this lacked the choliambics until the tenth century. Other manuscripts are from the end of the ninth century onwards (see Texts and Transmissions, pp.293-294). The swan is found elsewhere as an example of a sweet voiced bird: Lucr.3.6-7; 4.181; Verg. Ecl.8.55, and the poor quality of the raven's voice is referred to in Pliny N.H.10.33. This line imitates the structure of Virgil Ecl.3.16: Quid domini faciant, audent cum talia fures ?. The contrast in Virgil's line is used by Theodulf to suggest the relative positions of the swans and crows.

2. strepitant: this frequentative form of strepo is used of corvi by Virgil: cf. Verg. Georg.1.413: inter se in foliis strepitant. A forceful word, it suits the description of the cacophony of the group of ravens.
it is not clear where Theodulf was living when this poem was written. Schaller (p.133) has established a terminus post quem of June 798 and a terminus ante quem of 800 (see introduction). Alcuin twice uses tecta to refer to Aachen: c.23.22: nec pueri musas per tua tecta canunt and c.26.20: qui daret egregias pueris per tecta camenas. Theodulf is perhaps emphasising with the possessive adjective that this refers to Orléans. By the earlier date Theodulf was certainly Bishop of Orléans and is referred to as a bishop in a letter by Alcuin dated 798 (Ep.149 (p.243)). This could possibly be a reference to Theodulf's otherwise unknown quarters in the palace. It is more likely that the poetry of this court group has perhaps come to Theodulf, than that the group itself is at Orléans. A letter of Alcuin has a very similar idea to these first two lines: Ep.181 (p.299) (dated Sept. 799): corvi volitantes per cacumina tectorum clamant et columba in pavimentis nutrita ecclesiae tacet.... The same suppression of the birds' song occurs in Theodulf (lines 17-20). This letter can be firmly dated to September 799, after the meeting between Charles and Leo III and before Alcuin goes to Tours for the winter. The composition date of c.III (see introduction) indicates that Alcuin is here imitating Theodulf.

3. The magpie's ability to imitate human speech was noted by earlier writers: cf. Ov. Met.5.299, 676; Pliny N.H.10.121; Isid. Etym.12.7,46. The metaphor of the 'guilty magpie' is used by Theodulf to imply that the unnamed poet commits plagiarism. Fallax and simulat show that the magpie has the same
characteristics as the birds that follow in the poem (line 5 (psittacus); lines 7-12 (mergulus)), wishing to be something they can never be.

4. Theodulf reference to the fercula sacra shows perhaps that this pseudonym belongs to a cleric.

5. psittacus: the parrot is also noted for its ability to imitate man: cf. Ov. Am. 2.6.1; Isid. Etym. 12.7.24. The parrot is a more accomplished imitator than the magpie: cf. Stat. Silv. 2.4.2: humanae sollers imitator psittace linguae. A list of birds in a short poem of Eugenius parallels Theodulf's, with identical birds: Eug. Tol. 49 (M.G.H. A.A.14 (p.259)): 

Psittacus et corvus cornix et garrula pica
   graculus et sturni verba referre solent.

With the exception of the jackdaw and the starlings Theodulf uses all these birds, but only describes the magpie as imitating human speech.

6. commaculans: cf. Alc.42.15-16 (p.254): 

In hoc se studio sapientes esse putantes
   vatorum valeant si maculare melos.

The context here is also the threat of younger poets. Alcuin uses the same image of somehow spoiling the poetry. The manner in which the 'parrot' spoils the poetry is not clear. It is most likely that this is by reciting them badly or by copying them badly.
vatis Homere: this poet in the context of the court must be Angilbert: cf. Alc. Ep. 164 (p. 266). The 'parrot', a member of the court, is spoiling the poetry which cannot be either the Odyssey or the Iliad. This phrase vatis Homerus is used by Angilbert of himself: cf. Ang. 2.9; 102 (p. 360-362). Theodulf even repeats this form, while elsewhere in the poem he uses vates (line 21). Sirmond has wrongly identified Angilbert as the addressee of this letter-poem, making no reference to Corvule (line 107) or Corviniane (line 112).

7. mergulus: the identification of this bird is difficult. The mergulus is listed as one of the birds unfit for human consumption in Levit. 11.17; Deut. 14.17. The mergus is usually identified as the gull (Verg. Georg. 1.361) but a reference in Ovid (Met. 11.753) and Theodulf's description of the bird as niger and a piscator indicates that this bird is the cormorant. Alcuin's poems and letters help to identify the person to whom this pseudonym is given. The mergulus is probably Adelbert, a pupil of Alcuin and at this time chaplain to Arno, bishop of Salzburg. The fact that the cormorant is black helps the identification. Adelbert received the nickname Magus from Alcuin and is addressed with this name in a letter to Bishop Arno from Alcuin: Ep. 260 (p. 418): Hortare, pater sanctae, filios nostros communes Adhelricum levitam, Adalbertum Magum, et Guntarium pedisecum pietatis vestrae, huic se praeparare dignos caritati. The adjective niger is used in conjunction with this nickname in another letter from Alcuin to Arno: Alc. Ep. 193 (p. 320): Benefac.
obsecro Mago meo nigro, erit enim utilis in domo dei. This adjective seems to be used in this letter of his physical appearance as in Theodulf. The description of Adelbert and his position as a pupil of Alcuin, as Rabanus was, support this identification of the mergulus. The identification is however made harder by the use of niger by Alcuin on other occasions: c.31.4-5 (p.249): et tu nigre meus candidus esto dei

Cur, mi nigre, taces? De te nunc nescio quidquam.

and c.56.iii.1 (p.269): O plurimum niger, propera ad documenta magistri. No clear identification of the addressee or addressees of these lines can be made. However lines later in the first of these two poems convey the same idea as here in Theodulf: Alc. 31.7-8 (p.249):

Sit cibus et potus clipeus rex vita salusque
laus cuius resonet semper in ore tuo

These are perhaps commonplace sentiments but they can be compared with line 10 below, where the mergulus praises King Lamuel (Charles).

8. Brigenses: the significance of the forests of Brie, a region to the east of Paris between the Seine and the Marne, is not clear. Theodulf is perhaps representing the disparity between Adelbert's poetry and that of the major court poets, by showing that the mergulus, a river bird, is out of place in the forest.

silvas...habitare: Verg. Ecl.6.2 nostra neque erubuit silvas
habitare Thalia. The idea of less exalted poetry in Virgil has
not influenced Theodulf. The *silvae* represent exclusion from the
court for the *corvus* elsewhere (cf. line 80), but here appear to
be somehow better than the 'waters of the Loire'. Sirmond ends
this line with a full-stop, but the next line continues the idea
of disparity and still refers to the *mergulus*. Dümmer's comma is
necessary.

9. Such sustained alliteration is found elsewhere in Theodulf:
cf. below line 105; c.1.8. The repeated 'p' effectively conveys
the contempt of Theodulf for such pretence.

10. *quae*: this refers forward to the *vox* in line 11. There is no
feminine noun or pronoun, so a change in the punctuation for
lines 8-12 is necessary.

*Lamuel*: Schaller (p.137) concludes that the typology of Lamuel as
the 'ideal king' in *Proverbs* 31, and the etymological links
between *Lamuel* and *Solomon* point toward Charles. There are no
other uses of this name by the other Carolingian poets, but the
language of the line shows that Charles is the addressee. The
apostrophe has been introduced by Dümmer, who places the commas
around *Lamuel*. Dümmer in his index (p.646) mistakenly refers to
*Lamuel* as *Samuel* (nickname of Beornrad, Archbishop of Sens). The
same confusion is found later in Chaucer, in the *Pardoner's Tale*
lines 583-587 (in the context of the warning given to Lamuel
concerning drunkenness).
11. This line is structured so as to delay the full force of the jibe until the second half of the hexameter.

12. rutilat: On metrical point see p. 65 above.

13. cuculus: This pseudonym was given by Alcuin to one of his pupils, also known as Dodo as is shown by the similarities between Alc. 57.1-2 (p. 269):

   Plangamus cuculum, Dafnin, dulcissime, nostrum
   Quem subito rapuit saeva noverca suis.

   and Alc. Ep. 65 (p. 107) (The opening lines after the dedicatory verses addressed to Dodo): Carissimo filiolo meo, quem et sero genui et cito dimisi: nec bene ablactatus raptus est ab uberibus meis. Inmitiorque noverca tam tenerum de paterno gremio per libidinum vortices caro rapuit.

   Like Rabanu and Adelbert, pupils of Alcuin, this cuculus is perhaps shown by Alcuin to be a poet: c. 57.5 (p. 269): Heu, cuculus nobis fuerat cantare suetus. Later in this same poem Alcuin appears to refer to Rabanus: c. 57.19-20:

   Si vivat, redeat, nidosque recurrat ad almos
   Nec corvus cuculum dissecet ungue fero.

vernis: the purpose of this adjective, at first sight tautological and more likely to agree with Phoebi, is made clear by line 19 below. Theodulf again uses this adjective of a bird, the acredula, and again in the context of a contrast between
light and dark, the spring lark and the nocturnal owl. Here the comparison is between the **cuculus** and the **cornix**, between the bringer of sunshine and the bringer of rain, so that the emphasis is on the **cuculus** as a *vernalis avis* as Alcuin describes this bird in Ep. 226 (p. 370).

**Phoebus**: Alcuin, having shown the cuckoo in the first line to be the herald of spring, also associates the cuckoo with the return of **Phoebus**: c. 59.7 (p. 273): *et Phoebus vicit tenebrarum regna refulgens*.

14. **balbula**: the only other use of the diminutive form is in the name of Notker Balbulus (c. 840-912), biographer of Charlemagne. Theodulf is probably employing this form for the sake of the metre.

**guttura raucisono**: such a description is inappropriate for the cuckoo and is more suited to the **cornix** in the next line. The parallel structure of the two couplets, lines 13-16, each beginning with *nunc* makes a change in the punctuation impossible. The compound adjective **raucisonus** is rare in classical and late Latin: cf. Lucr. 2.619; 5.1084; Catullus 64.263; Ven. Fort. V.M. praef. 3: *raucisono latrante salo cum perstrepat aequor* and V.M. 2.248: *murmure raucisono frangente lepore loquellas*.

15. Theodulf has closely imitated and combined lines from Virgil and the **Anthologia Latina**: cf. Verg. *Georg.* 1.388: *Tum cornix*
plena pluviam vocat improba voce. and Anth. Lat. 71.53 (the
Epistula Didonis ad Aeneam, Shackleton-Bailey 1.1, p. 70 from
codex Salmasianus mid- to end eighth century): ...ramis quoque
garrula pendens. The greater influence has come from Virgil.
Theodulf uses vocat improba in a metrically identical position
and the alliteration of plena pluviam is imitated by Theodulf. To
achieve this alliteration, when the phrase plena...voce has been
made unnecessary by the preceding line, Theodulf employs the
phrase pendens ramis from Anth. Lat. 71.53, and uses it to
maintain the imitation.

16. Theodulf has taken the idea of the crow's longevity from Ovid
Am. 2.6.36: (cornix) illa quidem saeclis vix moritura novem. Pliny
also records that the crow lives for nine human lifetimes: cf.

17. quatit: Theodulf uses an verb more commonly used of violent
striking or shaking to describe the goose's clumsy attempts at
poetry: cf. Verg. Georg. 4.64 (cymbals). The same isolation of
the goose as being out of place because of the quality of its singing
occurs in Virgil Ecl. 9.36: ...sed argutos inter strepere anser
olores.

19. acredula: the sweet voice and association with spring
indicates that this bird is the nightingale: Isidore
Etym. 12.7.37. He equates the acredula with the luscinia and goes
on to quote Cicero Arat. Prognost. 220, who gives acredula as the
translation of Aratus' άλογανν (An unknown creature). Theodulf has probably followed Isidore in the use of this rare noun. The acredula is also a bird of spring in the Carmen Philomelae.15 (P.L.M. 5 (p.364)): vere calente novos componit acredula cantus.

20. bubo: this masculine noun is said by Pease (p.375) to be first used in the feminine by Virgil (A.4.462). After Virgil the noun appears to be predominantly masculine.

22. The story of Balaam's ass occurs in Numbers 22.21-33. The use of vates merges the biblical story and contemporary references; the ass speaking to the prophet Balaam and criticism of the poets in the court by the 'ass'. Lines of Ovid have a similar idea in a different context: Ov. Fast.1.433-434:

Ecce rudens rauco Sileni vector asellus
intempestivos edidit ore sonos.

23. The subject of the verb is not immediately obvious. The reversal of roles in line 24 shows that Tityrus is the subject of vertitur.

in contraria rerum: of the two models for this phrase: Verg. A.2.39: scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus and Prud. Contr. Symm.2.307-308: et quae/ pridem considerat iura in contraria vertit. Virgil's line seems to have had the greater influence on Theodulf since only the phrase in contraria is shared with Prudentius. The phrase studia in contraria is
repeated by Theodulf in a metrically identical position, in a
different context. These reversals of the accepted situation are
incorrectly described by Curtius (pp. 95-96) as adynata. They are
not however impossibilities and the basis of the poem is that
these situations exist.

24. Such a reversal of roles of these pastoral characters comes
directly from Virgil Ecl. 8.55: certent et cycnis ululae, sit
Tityrus Orpheus.

aurisonum: this is the only occurrence of this compound adjective
other than in a letter from Paulinus of Aquileia to Charles

25. This line has also been influenced by lines from the
Eclogues: E. 8.56 Orpheus in silvis, inter delphines Arion and
E. 9.23 Tityre. dum redeo (brevis est via) pasce capellas. The
phrase Orpheus in silvis is used by Theodulf in a metrically
identical position and he has used a line similar in idea and
context, the line from Eclogue 8 is preceded by adynata taken
from nature. Theodulf then completes the line with a phrase
associated with Tityrus in Eclogue 9, used in the same position.
26. *aulenses*: this adjective appears to be unique to Theodulf.

27. The first of only two references to Charles, which pictures the king in a reversal of the expected situation, as he is in a citadel rather than campaigning and is accompanied by girls rather than soldiers. Charles' almost constant campaigning during his reign (cf. Einhard *Vita Karoli* 5-15) shows the strangeness of this description.

28. *Pieria...tuba*: this phrase has been taken directly from Martial Epig.10.64.4: *Pieria caneret cum fera bella tuba*. The girls are writing and performing an unexpected type of poetry, which is shown to be epic by the context of Martial's line. Sirmond's reading *Pieriam...tubam* creates a second object for *sufflat* and is impossible.

29. *Flaccinas*: this form of the adjective is otherwise only used by Alcuin: *Ep*.143 (p.225); *Ep*.145 (p.232-4); *Ep*.149 (p.242).

*Delia*: this nickname was given to one of Charles' daughters, either Bertha or Gisela. Delia is closely associated with Charles and appears to have been as much a patron of Alcuin's poetry as Charles: cf. c.39.1 (p.252); c.40.9 (p.253).

30. *pariter organa*: on the metrical point see p.64 above.
boant: Theodulf employs this verb, more often used of loud noises, in an unfamiliar context. No parallel usage appears to exist.

31. Threiciam: Theodulf elaborates upon Delia's abilities as a composer of poetry. He associates Delia with Orpheus through this reference to the Thracian harp. The adjective Thracius is used of Orpheus himself in Virgil E.4.55. The paradoxical situations in lines 23-28 that precede this cast doubts upon Theodulf's sincerity. Theodulf intends to show that Delia now writes poetry on classical themes.

pangit: this verb is associated with the physical act of writing the poetry in Festus' epitome of De Significatu verborum (Lindsay p.235), but is not used of the lyre in Festus: pangere; figere; inde plantae pangi dicuntur, cum in terram demittuntur, inde etiam versus pangi vel figi in cera dicuntur. This verb is used by Ennius of performing on the pipe (Ann.299). Tangit is perhaps a more suitable verb to be used with chorda. Ovid uses this verb with chordas Rem. Am.336: non didicit chordas tangere, posce lyram.

pollice chordam: a similar phrase, pollice chordas, occurs elsewhere: cf. Ov. Met.10.145; Am.2.4,27; Stat. Silv.5.5.31; Ven Fort.7.1.1: Orpheus orditas moveret dum pollice chordas.

33. vinnula: this rare adjective occurs only once in classical latin: cf. Plaut. Asin.222-223
The form \textit{vinnola} is used by Isidore of a voice, meaning \textit{mollis et flexibilis}: \textit{Etym}.3.20.13. Theodulf's use of this adjective with \textit{fistula} is unique. Theodulf is describing \textit{Delia} as the complete antithesis of the young poetasters.

\textit{mellifluas}: this compound adjective occurs only in late Latin onwards, but never with \textit{Musas}. cf. Boeth. \textit{Cons. Phil.} 5. \textit{carm}.2,3 (of \textit{oris}); Cassiod. \textit{Var}.1.31.4 (of \textit{clamores}); Ven. Fort. \textit{Appendix} 11.9; Alc.c.1.87 (p.171); 1410 (p.200) (of \textit{pectore}).

34. The line of Virgil noted by Dümmler: \textit{Georg}.1.410 \textit{tum liquidas corvi presso ter gutture voces} has not influenced Theodulf at this point. The context is very different and only \textit{gutture} and \textit{ter} coincide.


35-36. These two lines of Theodulf are similar in idea and language to lines of a poem of Alcuin. Delia is shown above (lines 29-31) to have turned away from Alcuin's poetry, a situation also described by Alcuin himself: cf. Alc.39.1 (p.252); Alc.40.9
Theodulf echoes the language of Alcuin and line 35 has parallels with Alc.40.5: *Tristis abit senior ieiuno ventre poeta*. The contexts of both lines are similar, and the phrase *abit senior* is found in the same position in both lines. Alcuin's association with his pupils (*pueri*), shown here by Theodulf (line 35) is paralleled in Alcuin's next line: *Et pueri tristes planxerunt carmine Flaccum*. The boys are not however described by Alcuin as leaving with him. Alcuin's return to the court in the summer is also described by Alcuin c.40.10: *dum redeunt iterum calidi bona tempora Phoebi*.

37-38. This couplet contains two veiled insults against Alcuin. In the first half of the couplet Theodulf refers to Alcuin in a manner more suited to a much younger person, and he follows this by implying that Alcuin is not short of words.

39-40. The meaning of this couplet is unclear. Alcuin has possibly instructed some of his pupils to write poetry, imitating the pastoral form. The couplet itself is closely based on two lines from Virgil's pastoral poetry cf. E.5.2: *tu calamos inflare levis, ego dicere versus*. Theodulf has altered the order of the original phrase, but uses it in the same position in the hexameter. The idea but not the language of line 40 is based on Verg. E.6.13-16. The outcome of this episode, however, has been reversed. Instead of the boys attacking and immobilising Silenus with his own garlands, Alcuin here instructs his pupils to bind up Silenus' garlands around his head again. Dümmler notes another line: Ov.
Fast. 6.339, which is however relevant only for its reference to *senex...Silenus*.

39. *mandaverit*: Theodulf is describing the events in the court, the present tense in line 40 clearly shows this. This is therefore a future perfect rather than a perfect subjunctive.

41. *David...psalmista*: Charles' qualifications as a judge of the boys' poetry are emphasised by this form of address. Theodulf has already shown Charles as *David* the soldier-King (line 27) so that here *psalmista* is needed to show Charles as *David* the poet and singer.

42. *regales...epulas*: Theodulf succinctly describes the scene at court with a phrase from Ovid *Met.* 6.488-489 *regales epulae mensis et Bacchus in auro / ponitur*.

43-46. The replacement of the full-stop at the end of line 44 with a comma provides a main verb for the sentence (*respexit*) and links the subject of the two couplets, *Delia*. Einhard, under his nickname *Beseleel*, and the unidentified *Lupus* seem to be overseeing *Delia* as she copies out or perhaps reads aloud verses of Virgil. She adds to these verses her own poetry but this is stopped by Einhard and Lupus. That *Lupus*' words are *suavia* seems appropriate for *Delia*'s rank. *Lupus* is possibly more usually busy and active and his inactivity is noted by Theodulf to indicate that he has stopped to watch *Delia*. 

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3. inter...licia tela: for this metaphor Theodulf has imitated the art of Virgil *Georg.* 1.285-286: *licia telae/addere*, changing the construction. Theodulf refers to Gisla working with wool in his poem to her: c.IV.21.

5. Beselel: this nickname is used of Einhard in the court (Alc. 26.21 (p.245); Ep.172 (pp.284-5)), and has been derived from *Exodus* 31.3-4; 35.32. Beselel, the craftsman who embellished Moses' tabernacle, is a most suitable sobriquet for Einhard who was responsible for the metal-work in the chapel at Aachen K.d.G.iii, p.198-199)

espexit inertem: Theodulf has taken this phrase from Virgil *cl.* 1.27 libertas quae sera tamen respexit inertem. He has changed the context but has reused this phrase in the same position in the exameter.

7-48. The subject of this sentence is made clear by line 46. elia has been silent but is now released from her constraint.

9. Thyrsi: this is the court name of Meginfrid, Charles' amerarius: cf. Alc. c.26.47 (p.246); Ang. 2.63-66 (p.352); h.c.I.117. Meginfrid's baldness is noted by both Angilbert Ang.2.64: *canuto vertice* and Theodulf (c.I.123: *calvus hic mpiger*).
ipse: the subject of this sentence is probably Lupus. Thyrsis (see note below) is important in this adynaton for his baldness and not his poetic abilities. That Lupus does not wish to or mot write poetry is shown in lines 51-52.

scriniis: the books in Charles' court were stored in chests! the classical word for the container for papyrus rolls was the classical word for the container for papyrus rolls was ained. John the Deacon in about 780 uses scrinium with this meaning: cf. Vita Greg. Magn. 4.71 (P.L. 75 p. 223):

...quorum videlicet tot libros in scrinio dereliquit, quot annos advixit.

ius: the age of Lupus is as obscure as his identity. Theodulf is never imagining Lupus going to look for his poetry when an old man.

Mero: the reference here is probably to the verse of Virgil her than the imitations (lines 39-40).

Lucius: this member of the court is not mentioned elsewhere. is apparently a poet and is well known.

corvus: this raven, unable to emulate Lucius' poetry is anus, the leader of the rival poets (corvi line 1) (see production).
Scottulus (Scotteulus: c.I.214). This Irishman has been antified by Bischoff as Cadac-Andreas cf. above on c.I.160. The minutive serves here to belittle and patronise the Scottus.

adio...acuto: this metaphorical sword (cf. also c.I.160 icula...apta (which are used against the Irishman)) represents e sharp words of the Irishman. A similar phrase in a different ntext occurs in the Bible: cf. Ps.56.5:

Filii hominum dentes eorum arma et sagittae

Et lingua eorum gladius acutus.

rviniane: the etymology of this fictitious name and of Corvule low indicate that Theodulf is addressing Rabanus.

Damaetam: this Virgilian name (E.2.37; 39; E.3 passim) was ven to Riculf, earlier deacon in the court and then Archbishop Mainz (787-813). His absences from court are well documented. 781, acting as a missus, he was sent to Duke Tassilo, and his avels in the early to mid-790's are shown in Alcuin's correspondence with him: cf. Alc. Ep.4 (p.29); Ep.25 (p.66); Ep.26 .67); Ep.35 (p.77).

non pius: 'disrespectful'. The Irishman's style of poetry can inferred from line 55 above (gladio...acuto). This phrase also ries the idea that the Irishman lacks piety too.
0. *ab ore procax*: this phrase is altered and reused elsewhere of
crow: Th.52.5-6 (p.552):

Dura satis rostro ceu pulsat pectora cornix
Imbriferos fluxus cum vocat ore procax.

The authorship of this poem is doubted by Schaller (*D.A.E.M.
1962*) (p.86)), but no alternative identification is made.

1. *arma*: these are the 'weapons' of intellectual debate: cf.
line 55.

*roelia*: this word is used elsewhere of intellectual and verbal
onlicts: cf. Lucr.1,638 (of Heraclitus' argument that fire is
ot the original substance) and Ov. *Ars Am.* 2.151: *amarae proelia
inguae.*

2. *Getulumque*: Dümmler identifies this person with Theodulf,
resumably on the grounds of Theodulf's racial origins. Schaller
owever argues convincingly that Theodulf is addressing *Rabanus
Maurus* (*Der Junge Rabe* pp.126-130). The *Gaetuli* were an African
ribe referred to frequently by Virgil in the *Aeneid* (4.40;
326; 5.51; 5.192; 5.351). Isidore suggests the racial
onnection between the *Gaetuli* and the *Mauri* (*Etym.*9.2.118), and
scholion on the phrase *Gaetulum Ganymedem* in Juv. 5.59
escibes him as a *Maurum pincernam* (Schaller p.127 and note).
ümmler's assertion that *Getulum* ('little Goth') refers to
heidulf is proved wrong by line 64. The Irishman has already
reatened violence against Theodulf (line 63), so that to then put at Theodulf is an unlikely progression. If this referred to 'Goth' a short first syllable would also be expected, rather than a long syllable.

see: Theodulf is perhaps aware of the note on usage in Isidore: v.M.18.6.1: gladius generaliter dicitur ensis in proelio. Now at battle has commenced Theodulf uses ensis rather than gladius (line 55 above).

Sottus: Dümmler (p.487 n.9) repeats Sirmond's note that this nickname means bardus et stolidus. This meaning is contradicted by the anonymous verses discovered by Bischoff written in support of Theodulf against the Irishman which show that it means a sot: 81.11-13 (Mittlatt. Stud. ii (1967), pp.21-22):

sed maneat Scottus Cottus trinomine sottus
sot Cadac usque caper Silenico Bacco sacratus
ambronum sotius ac ebrietatis amator.

eodulf mocks the Irishman elsewhere: c.I.169-174, saying that the Irishman, who cannot pronounce the letter 'c', would speak his own nickname.

ttus: the meaning of this word is unclear. It completes the variations on the name Scottus and probably has a derogatory or insulting meaning. There is a later reference to cottus meaning a sot, in particular for a cleric (canons of Synod of Metz ch.3
dated 888 (Niermeyer Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus c.v. cottus)). This could however be used as a nickname for a cleric, although there are no examples of its use in a derogatory context.

**trinomen**: this noun appears to have been invented by Theodulf, and appears elsewhere only in the above mentioned passage, an imitation of Theodulf: Bischoff v. 11. The adjective **trinominis** is used by Jerome, describing Jerusalem: Ep. 108.9.

64. **Gentilupum**: this is a translation of the Gothic components of Theodulf's name (Thiuda = gens; wulf = lupus). Alcuin latinizes the vernacular root of Bishop Arno's name, nicknaming him **Aquila**. Theodulf does the same for **Rabanus** in this poem, nicknaming him **corvus**.

65. **versifico**: this is a rare word in late Latin, but not in Alcuin: c.1.1311 (p.198); c.1.1407 (p.200); c.3.9 (p.218); c.14.15 (p.238); c.26.18 (p.245). There is no clear influence on Theodulf's use of this adjective.

**fumoso**: this adjective is used by Jerome as equivalent to **vaniloquus**: Epist. Adv. Ruf. 31 (C.C.S.L. 79 (p.102)): nos fumosos arguis.... The use here with **ore** shows that Theodulf intends the meaning 'boastful'.
66. **Menalca**: this nickname is given to Audulf, the chief steward in Charles' kitchens: cf. Alc. c.26.48 (p.246); Ep. 45 (p.233); Ang.2.68 (p.362). Audulf is perhaps also a target of the Irishman's scorn but his relevance is not made clear.

67. **exanimis**: this adjective is strikingly juxtaposed with **vivum**: 'spiritually alive'. The targets of the Irishman are contrasted with their attacker.

68. Theodulf employs the alliteration of 'p' frequently in this poem: cf. lines 9, 15, 17, 25, 31 and 56.

69. The three young men: Shidrach, Mishach and Abednego, who survived the flames of the furnace (**Daniel** 3.93), are equated with unidentified members of the court. The reference to sharing the feast with Daniel is not part of the Biblical story and relates to the feast at court.

**Danielis**: there is only one contemporary reference to a Daniel. In 799, during the Saxon campaign, an ambassador named Daniel was sent by Michael Ganglianos, Governor of Sicily, and came to the king at Paderborn, but left the court before it departed for Aachen (**R.F.A.** for 799) so that it is unlikely to be him.
71. Job: the significance of Job, as of the tres pueri, lies in his triumph over adversity. The reference to the psalter (see next note) indicates that this is a real person.

psalterium: the reward to Job here is connected with either the production of the psalter or the psalter itself. In the story of Job the gifts from God are long-life, many descendants and great prosperity.

The long 'e' is here made short, as in Venantius 2.9.53 stamina psalterii lyrico modulamine texens and 4.7.15: organa psalterii cecinit modulamine dulci. Elsewhere also in Theodulf this 'e' is shortened cf. c.IV.3.

73-74. The description of Charles setting out dishes at the feast is made humorous by the incongruous use of pacifico. The adjective is used in laudatory verses to Charles, to indicate Charles' pacification of his kingdoms: cf. Fardulf 1.11-12 (p.353)

...rector ut aulae fieret, indulsit pacificus Carolus


Theodulf is perhaps alluding to Charles calming the troubles within his court, shown in the previous lines, by his arrangement of the places at the feast.
75. **Aaron**: Theodulf is comparatively reserved in his description of Hildebald, bishop of Cologne and Charles' Archchaplain after 794. Angilbert is more effusive: Ang. 2.56-58 (p. 361):

Cur te non memorem, magnae primicerius aulae,
Aaron quippe prius magnus sub Mose sacerdos
In te nunc nostra subito reviviscit in aula.

77. **Nemias**: this name, referring to Nehemiah the cupbearer of King Artaxerxes I and restorer of the walls of Jerusalem (2 Ezra 1-3), is appropriately given to Eberhard (Eppinus: c. I. 187, who is shown to be the chief steward of Charles in the R.F.A. for 781. Theodulf combines the biblical story with the contemporary details to contrast the achievements of his namesake with the unflattering portrayal of the Carolingian 'Nehemiah' in the next line. Eberhard is the object of Alcuin's humour: Alc. c. 26.50-51 (p. 246):

Et Nemias Graeco infundet sua pocula Bacho
Qui secum tunnam semper portare suescit.

78. **Bacchipotens**: this adjective is probably unique, a parody of this form of compound adjective. Theodulf juxtaposes this adjective with calvus. Potens is used elsewhere by Theodulf to describe Eberhard: cf. c. I. 187.

**calvus**: Eberhard's baldness is not referred to elsewhere.

80. **maneat inter**: on the metrical point see p. 64 above.
lupos: the change from a full stop to a comma after lupos clarifies the adynaton in the next line (see note).

81. Helias: Theodulf is alluding to the feeding of Elijah by the ravens in 1 Kings 17.4-6. Theodulf however elaborates upon the story in order to relate it to the events in the court. This name is not found elsewhere of a member of the court and the significance of this reference is that Elijah's absolution of the corvus is an impossibility and that Rabanus is excluded, in Theodulf's eyes anyway, from the court. The court context is alluded to by the sacra fercula (line 82).

depurget: purgare is more commonly used of crimina: cf. Cic. Clu.1.3 (with the specific legal sense of 'disprove') and it is also used with peccata: Eccl.47.13. Depurgare is apparently used elsewhere only once to mean 'absolve': cf. Commod. Instr. Adv. Pag. 2,20,17-18 (C.C.S.L. 128 p.59):

     Aut si fenerasti duplicem centesima nummum

     Largiri vis inde, ut te quasi malum depurges.

83. Hispani potus: this is a type of beer, as is shown by Cerere (line 84). Isidore describes the brewing of beer in Spain: Etym. 20.3.18:

     Caelia a calefaciendo appellata; est enim potio ex suco tritici per artem confecta. Suscitatur enim igne illa vis germinis madefactae frugis ac deinde siccatur et post in farinam redacta molli suco admiscitur, quo fermentato
sapor austeritatis et calor ebrietatis adicitur. Quae fit in his partibus Hispaniae cuius ferax vini locus non est.

**Hardberd**: our knowledge of *Hardberd* is confined to this single reference. He is the 'keeper of the Spanish brew' and is a keen drinker. These lines (83-86) do not apparently relate to those before or after and seem to have little relevance other than as a humorous interlude.

84. The comma at the end of this line in Dümmler's text should be replaced by a full-stop. The next line moves on from the description of Hardberd to his activities in the brew-house. *Est* is omitted by Theodulf.

*armatus...totus*: Theodulf euphemistically refers to Hardberd's drunken state.

*in aede sua*: the irony is that Hardberd is drunk even before he leaves the brewery.

85. *sceptro*: Hardberd's 'domain' is the brewery and Theodulf ironically refers to his ladle as his 'sceptre'.

*caldare*: Carl Liersch in his dissertation has thus emended Sirmond’s apparently meaningless *callare*. Taken as an infinitive Liersch's emendation *caldare* is an unusual construction and the verb itself is rare. In its uncontracted form it occurs only

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twice, in two fourth century veterinary writers, Pelagonius and Claudius Hermerius Chiron. Pelag 132: post clysterem ambulans satis quiescet sed prius ventrem calidaveris. (This reading is changed by Ihn to calida fovebis). Chiron 381: Cum bene calidaverit pecus ad pedes caput copulato. It is unlikely however that Theodulf was aware of these works. A sixth century Italian copy of Pelagonius now exists only as a fragmentary palimpsest (Naples Lat. 2 (Vindob. 16) ff. 37-41) and may have been at Bobbio in the 7th-8th centuries (Texts and Transmission ed. Reynolds, p. 147 n. 7). The complete text survives only as a 15th century copy (Florence Ricc. 1179) of a 7th-8th century text. Theodulf could possibly have formed the verb himself. In this poem words such as aulenses (line 25); bacchipotens (line 78) and trispedicos (line 106) show an innovative streak in Theodulf. The infinitive however is hard to justify. More acceptable however is to take caldare as a neuter alternative form of caldaria 'cauldron'. This form is rare and is not found in earlier writers. It is found in the 14th century Chronicon Sublacense (c. 1380) col. 1052 (Murator Antiq. Itali. Med. Aev. Tom. 4), referring to a bronze container for holy water. This alternative makes the best sense, avoiding the tautological use of it as a verb and any change in the text. A possible alternative is to change caldare to caldore, a rare noun but slightly more common than caldare (Varro De Ling. Lat. 5.59; Gellius Noct. Att. 17.8.10; 19.4.4-5; Arnobius 2.21). This would however create three independent ablatives in this single line.
86. This line is carefully divided into two equal halves, the 
gelidum of the first contrasting with the calidum in the second. 
The two clauses follow the same pattern and the use of 
homoioteleuton (gelidum...calidum) emphasises the contrast.

87. There is no contemporary evidence from the court itself for 
the presence of eunuchs but the contemporary Byzantine chronicler 
Theophanis (born 760) records a eunuch staying in Charles' court 
in 787: (Theophanis Chronographia Vol 1, p.456 (De Boor, Leipsig, 
1885 (facsimile Hildesheim 1980)); vol.2 p.302 (Latin translation 
made by Anastasius in the middle of the 9th century)). This 
eunuch, Elisaeus, had accompanied the embassy from Constantine V 
sent to negotiate marriage with one of Charles' daughters. He 
stayed on at the court and taught Greek to the prospective bride, 
and though this is not recorded he probably left when marriage 
negotiations broke down. Byzantine embassies visited Charles at 
Aachen and Paderborn in 798 and 799 respectively (R.F.A. for 
these years) in order to negotiate peace treaties. This is 
apparently a unique reference to eunuchs who had probably been a 
part of an earlier embassy. Their role in the court is not 
certain. They may have been teachers as Elisaeus had been, or 
intermediaries or interpreters in dealings between the Greek and 
Frankish courts. Theodulf does imply that they acted as some kind 
of guards for the women in the court. Potifar is described as 
invisus puellis (line 87) and the three eunuchs are in 
cameras...fideles (line 91). The adjective truncis (line 90) 
supports the assertion that they are actual eunuchs.

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Graeculus...Putifar: this name refers to the chief eunuch of the Pharaoh in the story of Joseph: Gen.37ff. The contemptuous name graeculus does not correspond with the Biblical story, and probably does indicate the actual nationality of the addressee. This term of contempt is used in Cicero: De Orat.1.47; 1.102 and in Juvenal 3.77 Graeculus esuriens.

88. Theodulf mocks the physical state of Potifar and his impotence. Taken with the reference in line 87 to puellis, these praelia are likely to be amatory exploits, in which Potifar, although armatus, cannot take part.

89. socii: the language of war is continued (praelia line 88). These men are allies both in the sense of sharing a common enemy and of sharing a common condition.

Bagao: Bagao refers to the eunuch of the Assyrian King Holofernes cf. Judith 12.11; 13.3; 14.14. A similarly named eunuch, Bagoas is addressed by Ovid in Am.2.2.1. Ovid describes him as a custos (line 9) and he seems to be guarding a young girl. Confirmation of this eunuch's role comes in Am.2.3.1-4. A eunuch in the Persian court, named Bagou is referred to by Pliny the Elder N.H. 13.41.

Egeus: the third eunuch is given the same name as the eunuch in the court of the Persian King Xerxes: Esther 2.15. He is
scribed there as a custos virginum, reflecting his role in the

3. filius et viduae Hiriam: Hiram is similarly described in 1

ṣag. 7.13-14: Misit quoque Solomon et tulit Hiram de Tyro filium

lieris viduae de tribu Nephtali patre Tyrio artificem

ūram. .

Leoulf distinguishes this Hiriam, who embellished Solomon's

emple with bronze-work, from Hiriam, King of Tyre, who sent

aterials to David for the construction of the temple: cf. 2

am. 5.11; 1 Chron. 14,1. The significance of Hiriam is that

though compelled by Solomon to carry out the work, the quality

f the work is not affected. There is a hiatus between viduae and

iram.

4. Altithrono: this compound adjective is first used by Juvenicus

Lib. Evang. præf.24; 2,62), and is used frequently of God by

entius (V. M. 2.263; 328; 3.482). It is found elsewhere in

olingian verse: cf. Paul the Deacon 39.42 (p.73); Alc.c.3.60

220); Alc.32.2 (p.249); Alc.46.23 (p.260); Th.28.339 (p.502);

.e. 3.

ristus: Dümmler has changed Sirmond's Christi. This emendation

oids the hiatus of Christi auxilietur. On the metrical point of

ristus auxilietur see p.64 above.
95. **Nembroth**: Liersch (p. 11) equates this biblical hunter with Wibod (Duke of Perigueux) but does not support this claim. This reference to Wibod does not resemble that at c.I.205-212. The strength of this hunter, a descendant of the sons of Noah, is shown in Gen. 10.8: porro Chus genuit Nemrod, ipse coepit esse potens in terra et erat robustus venator coram domino. The association with this name of strength suggests a soldier, but this is not enough to confirm that this is Wibod.


gigas: this is an elaboration upon the description of Nembroth in both Genesis and Micah. The stature of Nembroth here is intended to contrast sharply with the stature of Rabanus. Theodulf, probably unaware of the natural length of the first syllable (cf. Stat. Theb. 4.176; Ov. M. 10.150; Pont. 2.10.24), mistakenly treats it as long.

97. **velivolum**: a vivid compound adjective used by Virgil Aen. 1.224 dispiciens mare velivolum terrasque iacentis. and also Ovid Ex. Pont. 4.16.21 and Prud. Contr. Symm. 2.801. Alcuin also uses the adjective: Ep. 311 (p. 481) v. 33 (verses to Aethelherd); Alc. 50.33 (p. 263) nos nunc velivoli pelagi spectamus in horis.
Polyphemius: there are apparently no other examples of this form of the Cyclops' name.

98. mergulus: cf. note on line 7 above.

nequeat effugere: on the metrical point see p. 64 above.

pelago: 'over the sea'. Theodulf is perhaps alluding to missions abroad such as those carried out by Alcuin, Angilbert and Arno.

99. dispersiles: this adjective is used of limbs by Claudian Carm. Min. 4.9: Ipse et dispersiles monstro commissus in artus. There are however no clear parallels between Claudian and Theodulf. The disparity of the giants' limbs is in comparison with each other.

101. Pygmaei: the story of the pygmies' repeated defeats at the hands of the storks occurs in Ovid M.6.91-92 and in Pliny N.H. 10.23. Rabanus is shown here to be under attack from the storks, just as above he is under attack from the 'Giants'. That the pygmies are suing for peace on behalf of Rabanus shows that that peace is an impossibility. The story shows that peace only comes to the pygmies when the storks leave.

103. Trispeda: more usually tripes,-edis, this form is not found elsewhere. It is used by Theodulf to emphasise the appropriateness of the words. The words are shown in line 104 to be both short and unpleasant (hiems, sitis, fames), the complete
opposite of the words of welcome and hospitality which might be expected.

104. **hiems**: the misery of winter is referred to by Alcuin in c.39 (pp.251-2) and c.40 (p.253).

105. Theodulf produces an even more extreme example of alliteration elsewhere cf. c.I.8: *Tantillus tantam temno tacere tamen*.

106. **Trispedicos fratres**: (lit. three foot brothers). This adjective is not found elsewhere. The inferior members of the court are kept within its confines.

108. **pectore conde tuo**: the context of the line from Ovid imitated here shows that there is a more malicious aspect to this statement. These verses are like a weapon to be used against Rabanus cf. Ov. *Met.*13.458-459:

> ...aut tu iugulo vel pectore telum
> conde meo.

111. **tot salve**: the use of *tot* as an adverb is both unusual and awkward Latin. This clumsiness may be deliberate in order to imitate the spoken Latin. *Quot...tot* is used in valedictory verses of a letter by Alcuin *Ep*.172 (p.285):

> Quot habeas apices, sanctas, mea carta, salutes
dicito tot dulci David amore meo.

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112. Albentes: the joke is clear when one considers Alcuin's nickname for Rabanus (Maurus) and the adjective nigre (line 102). Theodulf has no wish to send any greetings to him. Albentes is used elsewhere to describe hair, (Ov. Ars Am. 2. 666; Met. 13. 534; Ex Pont. 4. 12. 30 and Drac. Romul. 8. 589).
This poem is a verse letter sent with a psalter to Gisla. The reference to marriage (line 29) excludes Charles' sister Gisla, Abbess of Chelles who though betrothed twice, was never married. The Gisla addressed in the poem is his daughter, born in 781, eighth child and third daughter by Hildegard. The sumptuousness of the gift and the reference to servants (line 22) indicate a recipient of importance, and a line in Theodulf addressed to Gisla (under the nickname Delia) also contains references to the playing of musical instruments: c.III.31 as in lines 11-15 below.

The date of this poem is not certain. Sirmond states that the title pater (line 2) indicates that Theodulf is already a bishop, showing that the poem would date from sometime after 798, the first reference to Theodulf as a bishop (Alc. Ep. 148 (p. 243-4)). However the same title is given to Alcuin as an abbot in Th.c.I.191, so that an earlier date is possible. The minimum age for marriage is accepted as twelve years in this period (Stafford p. 55) so that the poem could date from 793 onwards.

The psalter these verses accompanied has not survived, but its form is of interest. The psalter contains two of Jerome's Latin translations of the psalter facing each other (lines 5-7), with the 'Hebrew' psalter on the verso and the 'Gallican' psalter on the recto. This form of the psalter, the psalterium dupium, is rare. Wilmart (R.B. 28 (1911), p. 356) states that he knows of
only four examples, including this psalter. The surviving example closest in period to this psalter is the subject of Wilmart's article referred to above (Vat. Reg. Lat.) 11; cf. also Lowe C.L.A. 1 no.101). This psalter was prepared sometime between the end of the eighth century and beginning of the ninth, and is written in square capitals and uncial. The texts however are placed in the reverse order and are not written in gold and silver lettering. Another, Rouen Ms.24 (A.41) (Omont 1, p.7) dates from the tenth century and follows the Gallican and then Hebrew psalter.

**Structure**

Theodulf divides the poem into approximately four equal sections.

1-8: Theodulf dedicates and describes the psalter.

9-16: Exhortation to use the psalter.

17-25: Exhortation to Gisla to pray and to be morally upright.

27-34: Wishes for Gisla's happiness in marriage and for the future.
C. IV (c. 43)

Gisla, favente deo venerabile suscipe donum,

Quod tibi Theudulfus dat pater ecce tuus.

Nam tibi psalterium praecipi scribier istud,

Argento atque auro quod radiare vides.

5 Quo prior Hebraeo concordat pagina vero,

Editio ut prisca est mox habet inde sequens.

Quas bene Hieronymus hanc transfert, corrigit illam,

Sensibus egregii utraque, crede, micat.

Adsidua quod tu et studiosa mente frequenta,

10 Sensibus atque eius strenua subde tuos.

Organum hoc in gremio, modulamina mente teneto,

Hoc plectro, his sistris sit tua plena manus.

Hoc te dulce melos recreet, haec tympana plecte,

Haec sonet harpa tibi, perstrepat ista lyra.

15 Hoc modo cantando, modo pertractando recurre,

Quo mage divinus hinc tibi crescat amor.

Adsidue si ores, tibi sit si lectio crebra,

Ipsa deo loqueris, et deus ipse tibi.

Sit tibi larga manus, mores comti, actio prudentis,

20 Unde creatori rite placere queas.

Sit lanae studium, sit cura domestica semper,

Mens tua quo famulos mulceat, atque virum.

Actibus in cunctis teneat discretion regnum,
Gisla take this venerable gift with God's blessing,
Which Theodulf your father now gives to you.
For I commanded this Psalter to be written for you
Which you see shining with silver and gold.

5 In which the first page conforms with the original Hebrew
The page following directly is as in the older edition.
Of which Jerome translates the one, and corrects the other.
Truly they both shine with noble ideas.
Which you must repeat in your persistent and studious mind.

10 And your nimble mind must place your own ideas below those of
that man.

Hold this instrument in your lap and the notes in your mind
Let your hand be filled with this plectrum and with these rattles
Let this sweet music restore you, strike these drums,
Let this harp sound for you and that lyre rings out.

15 Run through this gift now by singing, now by studying,
By which may divine love for you henceforth grow more greatly.
If you pray diligently, if you read frequently
You speak to God and God to you
May you have a generous hand, becoming morals, and a prudent action,

20 Through which you may be able to duly please the creator.
You should always spin wool and take care of the household,
So that your mind may soothe servants and your husband,
May propriety hold sway in all you do,
Hac ornare libens, hac duce vita manet.

25 Sperne malum, sectare bonum, gere cuncta decenter,
    Efferat ut prorsus te generosa salus.

Casta vige coniux longum cum coniuge casto,
    Et vos effectus laetificet sobolis.

Suave-que, Gisla, tuo feliciter utere -rico,

30 Cumque illo felix dante senesce deo.

Sitis avi et proavi, petat ut vos turba nepotum,
    Det donum hoc vobis, qui dedit hoc patribus.

Spes, decus, ordo, fides, pietas, concordia, virtus,
    Gratia, paxque dei sint tibi semper, ave.

25. malum W; mala S.
Furnish yourself willingly with this and life continues with this as a guide.

25 Shun wickedness and follow good, always act decently
   So that forthwith noble salvation may carry you forward.
   Long may you flourish, a chaste wife, with a chaste husband,
   And may the birth of children bring joy to you both
   And may you, Gisla, live happily with your Suavericus

30 And God willing may you happily grow old with him
   May you be grandparents and great-grandparents and be sought by a horde of grandchildren
   May he who gave this to your parents give this gift to you.
   Let hope, honour, order, faith, piety, harmony, virtue,
   Grace, and the peace of God be always with you, farewell.
Commentary


3. *psalterium*: the references in lines 11-14 below to musical instruments show that Theodulf is conscious of the origins of this word, as the instrument used by the psalmist *David*: cf. Isid. *Etym.* 6.19.11-12.

*scribier*: this form of the ending for the present passive infinitive is found frequently in classical epic.

4. *argento atque auro*: the rich decoration of this psalter, either of the lettering or the covers, shows by the expense involved that the psalter is being sent to a person of importance. This gives further support to the identification of Gisla as the daughter of Charles. There is an example of a psalter of this period which contains lettering in gold and silver, a *psalterium Romanum cum interpretationibus*: ms. Montpellier Bibl. Univ. (Med.) 409 (Lowe *C.L.A.* 6. no.795). The
alternate lines of gold and silver letters however occur only in the incipit of fol.3. A psalter written in gold letters only was presented to Pope Hadrian by Charles, as is described in the dedicatory verses: cf. Vers. Saec. Oct. Adiect. 4.11.1 (p.92).

5-6. The description here is of a parallel text of Jerome's translations: cf. introduction and below line 7.

7. The reference to Jerome's Contra Rufinum in Sirmond's footnotes, concerning the translation of the Septuagint and Hebrew versions of the Psalms, is wrongly numbered by Sirmond. The passage is said to be sub finem Libri I, whereas in fact it is found at the end of book 2: Apol. Contr. Ruf. 2.30 (the text I have followed is in C.C.S.L.79 (p.64)):

psalterium quod certe emendatissimum iuxta Septuaginta interpretes nostro labore dudum Roma suscepit, rursum iuxta Hebraicun vertens, prefatione munivi...

The two translations in Theodulf are the 'Gallican' Psalter and the translation from the Hebrew, second and third respectively of Jerome's translations of the psalms.

Hieronymus: Theodulf treats the short first two syllables as a single long and hiatus occurs between bene and Hieronymus.

11-14. Some lines of Venantius contain a variety of instruments similar to those listed by Theodulf, not however in the context
of a psalter: cf. Ven. Fort. 2.9.53-60:

stamina psalterii lyrico modulamine texens
versibus orditum carmen amore trahit.
hinc puer exiguis attemperat organa cannis,
inde senis largam ructat ab ore tubam;
cymbalicae voces calamis miscentur acutis.
disparibusque tropis fistula dulce sonat;
tympana rauca senum puerilis tibia mulcet
atque hominum reparant verba canora lyram.

That Gisla is skilled in such a wide variety of instruments is possible but their inclusion is more likely a self-conscious effort by Theodulf to impress and flatter Gisla.


13. dulce melos: this same phrase is used elsewhere by Theodulf, in a different position in the metre: cf. note on c.I.145 where the significance of the etymology of melos is noted.

14. harpa: this is an unusual word that occurs only in late Latin, and is found only in three places: cf. Ven. Fort. praef. 5; 7.8.63 and Mart. Cap. 2.197. The word is Teutonic in origin and refers to the sickle shaped harp, the harapha in Old High
German and harpa in Old Norse. In Venantius this harpa is contrasted with the Roman lyre: 7.8.63: Romanusque lyra, plaudat tibi barbarus harpa. Theodulf distinguishes these instruments from each other, but there is no intention to compare the two as in Venantius. Again Theodulf wishes to list a great variety of instruments.

16. divinus hinc: on a metrical point see p. 65 above.

18. ipse: Dümmel wrongly prints ipsi, whilst ipse can be found in Sirmond.

19. larga manus: elsewhere Theodulf associates the quality of generosity with other members of the Royal family, both male and female: cf. c.I.18 (of Charles); and c.I.87. This is describing Queen Liutgard and has a similar tricolon structure, with each clause containing a personal quality, although with a different grammar from this line.

21. lanae studium: the daughters of Charles were taught to spin and weave wool: cf. Einhard Vita Karoli 19: (fecit)...filias vero lanificio adsuescere coloque ac fuso.. This passage in Einhard is an imitation of Suetonius: Aug. 64.2. c.III.43 alludes to Gisla's practice of weaving.

ornare: this is the alternative form of the second person singular present indicative passive.
25. *malum*: Wattenbach replaces Sirmond's *mala* with the singular, as is required by the contrast with *bonum* and by metre: cf. also Th.17.43 (p.473): *hi bona iactanter peragunt, mala multa latenter*.

26. Dümmler's full-stop is preferable to Sirmond's comma, as Theodulf makes a transition here from general advice to advice on marriage.

28. *effectus*: 'birth'. Literally the 'bearing forth' of children, no other use of this word for childbirth appears to exist.

29. *Suave-que...-rico*: Sirmond, as his footnote shows, has replaced *Erico*, and identifies Gisla's husband as *Suavericus*. He goes on to associate, without certainty, this *Suavericus* with an earlier bishop of Orléans, although the source for this assertion is not given. This *tmesis* of a proper name that Sirmond's change brings about is supported by several other examples. The most prolonged example of *tmesis* is a poem by Eugenius of Toledo: c.70 (M.G.H. A.A.14 (p.262)), in which nine of the ten lines contain *tmesis*. The first line contains a proper name: *O Jo-versiculos nexos quia despicis -hannes*. Such a striking use of the figure and Theodulf's familiarity with Eugenius suggest that the idea has come from here. Proper names are modified in this way in earlier writers: Martial 1.117.9: *Argi-nempe soles subire -letum* and the same name in 2.17.3.
Ausonius also divides a proper name in *Ep. 5.36* (M.G.H. *A.A.* 5 (p.163)): *villa Lucanio- mox potieris -aco*.

Contemporary examples of this form of *tmesis* also occur. *Langobardus* is treated thus on two occasions: cf. Peter and Paul 41.10 (p.74) and *Tit. Saec. Non. Ineunt. 1.9* (p.430). Neither are similar in context. *Ianuarii* is subjected to *tmesis* in Bernowin 32.10 (p.425).

33-34. An exceptional example of asyndeton, with a line made up of seven nouns.
Introduction to c.V (c.31 (Sirmond III,5)):
This poem is a request to Queen Liutgard to send balsam essence, to be used in the making of *chrisma* in the rite of baptism, and can be dated to between 799 and the death of Liutgard on June 4th 800. Charles sometime after the death of the unpopular Fastrada in 794 took Liutgard, a native of Alamannia, as a concubine, and the official marriage did not take place until early 799, before the visit of Pope Leo in that year (Stafford p.61).

Liutgard's status as a legitimate wife of Charles is shown in this poem. She is addressed as *regina* (lines 1 and 17), the only occasions that she is thus addressed by the poets of this time, and Theodulf praises and flatters her using phrases similar to his earlier reference to her (c.I.83-92) but at greater length. The flattery that precedes the request develops but does not add to the qualities listed by Theodulf in this earlier poem, the qualities of piety, beauty and intelligence, and raises Liutgard to a standing almost equal to that of Charles himself.

Liutgard's standing is in marked contrast to that of Fastrada, Charles' previous wife. Theodulf's bland epitaph for Fastrada (Th.24 (p.483)), the only poem addressed to her, reflects Fastrada's lack of favour in the court, caused by tensions amongst her step-sons over potential rival heirs. Einhard accuses her, without substantiation, of provoking by her cruelty the revolt of her step-son Pippin in 792 (*Vita Karoli* 20). By the time Liutgard
replaced Fastrada the tensions had subsided, and this poem shows Liutgard to be popular.

Structure

1-6: Liutgard is addressed and praised in non-specific language.

7-10: Theodulf praises Liutgard's relationship with the king and the help she gives him.

11-14: Theodulf singles out more specific qualities to be praised, her beauty and intelligence.

15-16: pious wishes that God may favour her.

17-20: request for balsam.

21-22: more pious wishes and farewell.
O regina potens, o magni gloria regis,
O populi, o cleri luxque decusque vigens:
Te pater altithronus longum conservet in aevum,
Et prosis populis ecclesiaeque dei.

Tu lux et splendor, tu regni insigne decusque,
Tuque decore cluis cum pietatis ope.
Et sociata pio et meriti data munere regi,
Quem deus exaltat, cui bona cuncta parat.
Eius in auxilium tu nocte dieque laboras,
Illius et semper nomen ad alta levas.

Corpore pulchra manes, mente es sed pulchrior ipsa,
In dubio est hinc sis prorsus an inde prior.
Pulchra es verborum sensu, sed pulchrior actu,
Tu tamen es victrix sola in utroque tui.

Qui bona velle tibi concessit tanta creator,
Perficere hic donet, te et sine fine iuuet.
Balsameum, regina, mihi transmitte liquorem,
Quo bene per populos chrismatis unguen eat.
Inde seges crescit tibimet mercedis opimae,
Christicolum nomen cum dabit unguen idem.

Det tibi cunctipotens vitam et pia dona salutis,
Utque memor nostri sis sine fine, vale.
O powerful Queen, O glory of the great King,
O light and great splendour of people and clergy.

May God the father, enthroned on high, keep you safe for ever
And may you be a benefit to the people and church of God.

You are a light and splendour, the eminent honour of the kingdom,
You are esteemed for your splendour, with an abundance of piety.
You have been joined in marriage to the holy King through merit,
The King whom God exalts, and for whom he prepares all good things,
And to help him you labour night and day,
Always raising his name to the heavens.

You remain fair in body while your mind is fairer still,
And so it is in doubt whether you are clearly superior in this or the other.

You are beautiful in the meaning of your words, but more beautiful in the deed,

May you be, however, the sole victor of yourself in both.

May the Creator who has granted you to wish for such good things.
Enable you to achieve it and may he help you for ever.

Send me, O Queen, some balsam liquid,
By which the unguent of the chrism may pass to all the peoples.
Then the harvest of a rich reward will grow for you,
When that same ointment will give a christian name.

May all-powerful God grant you life and the holy gifts of salvation
And grant that you will forever be mindful of me, farewell.
Commentary

1. O regina potens: this phrase is taken directly from Venantius: 8.8.1: O regina potens, aurum cui et purpura vile est. This phrase also begins the hexameter and the context of the line is similar, a personal poem to Queen Radegund, but the subject matter of the poem is not the same. The phrase is also used by Paul the Deacon in the epitaph of Duke Arichis of 787: c.33.51 (p.68): O regina potens, virgo genitrixque creantis. The phrase again begins the hexameter, the context is however very different from Theodulf's. This is a prayer to the Virgin Mary on behalf of Arichis at the end of his epitaph. Sirmond states that the queen from whom Theodulf requests balsam is Liutgard (796-800). No corroborating evidence is given to support this identification but as the court poems show Theodulf was strongly associated with the court during this period. The most important pieces of evidence are the parallels of language between this poem and references to Liutgard in c.I.6; 7; 13. This strongly indicates that Theodulf is here addressing Liutgard.

2. populi...decusque: this phrase is similar to a line of Venantius: 4.3.9: summus amor regum, populi decus, arma parentum. The phrase is used by Venantius in an epitaph for Bishop Tetricus of Langres.

lux: this is the first of two references to Liutgard as lux (cf. line 5). Theodulf uses such images of brightness elsewhere to describe the Royal family: cf. above c.I.13.

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3. altithronus: see commentary on c.III.94.

6. cum pietatis ope: Theodulf has based this phrase on similar phrases in Venantius 6.3.16: tantum alias superas et pietatis ope also in a poem of praise to a queen, Queen Theudechild, and 9.12.6: et referas grates pro pietatis ope. Theodulf has altered the form of the phrase, using the preposition cum, but pietatis ope occurs here in the same position in the pentameter. Theodulf refers to Liutgard with the same phrase in the same position: c.I.84, and the phrase et pietatis ope is used by Theodulf again: Th.28.68 (p.495). Alcuin uses the phrase cum pietatis ope: Alc.c.109.iii.22 (p.336). The context is however different - the poem is an inscription from St.Peter's Strasbourg - but the phrase is identical to Theodulf's in form and position.

7. 'And you have been joined in marriage to the pious king through merit': the reference to marriage helps to date the poem to between early 799 and June 4th 800: cf. introduction.

et sociata: a very similar phrase is used of Liutgard by Theodulf: c.I.83: est sociata quibus Leutgardis pulchra virago. The meaning is different, 'has been joined' rather than 'married', but both phrases are in the same position.

13. This line is similar to c.I.85 also referring to Liutgard: pulchra satis cultu sed digno pulchrior actu. The structures of both lines are similar. Each line is divided into two clauses.
the first stating that Liutgard is pulchra and the second that she is pulchrior. Both lines end with the phrase pulchrior actu.

17-18. This request is for the balsam (line 17 balsameum...liquorem) required to make up the chrisma (line 18) used in the ceremonies of baptism, confirmation and ordination. The chrism, made up of olive oil and balsam, would have been consecrated by a bishop on Maundy Thursday. The request is made to the queen here probably because of the expensiveness of the balsam. The procedure of baptism in the Roman rite is described by Alcuin in a letter to Oduin (c. 798): Alc. Ep. 134 (pp. 202-203). The anointing occurs towards the end of the ceremony after the person to be baptised is dressed in a white robe:

Tunc sacro chrismate caput perungitur et mystico tegitur velamine ut intellegat se diadema regni et sacerdotii dignitatem portare...

balsameum...liquorem: the adjective balsameus is found only once elsewhere, in the anonymous De Phoenice 119, but the phrase there, unguine balsameo, provides neither the context nor the language for Theodulf and it is conceivable that Theodulf has invented this form of the adjective from the noun with some influence from Prudentius. Liquor with an adjective is used in the same way by Prudentius Contra Symm. 1, praef. 42: vipereus liquor, and Cath. 3.23: liquor...ambrosius.
21. cunctipotens: this compound adjective used of God is less common than its synonym omnipotens. It is found only in Late Latin onwards, and is used of Jesus and God: cf. Ambrose Hymn.2.81.37 (of Jesus); 8.2.25 (of God); Prudentius Peristeph.7.56 (of Jesus); Eugen. Monost.8; carm. app.9.4 (of God). Elsewhere in Carolingian verse this adjective is used in the same position and also of God: cf. Alc.45.83 (p.259): hoc mihi cunctipotens donet clementia Christi, and Th.41.1.229 (p.538): nam tibi cunctipotens actus non verba requirit.
Theodulf in this poem is praising Charles for the aid sent to Pope Leo III after he was attacked in Rome on April 25th 799 and imprisoned. On Leo's escape Charles received Leo at Paderborn later the same year (R.F.A. for 799) and emissaries were sent to Rome, arriving on November 29th, to prosecute Leo's assailants.

It is known from the Annals that during the days following Liutgard's death on June 4th 800 Charles visited Orleans on his return to Aachen from Tours, so that Theodulf's request for Charles to visit him at Orleans (line 46) and the absence of any reference to the queen's death show that the poem was written prior to these events. Theodulf does not address Leo directly, and such negligence would not be acceptable if Leo were indeed present. The date of the poem is probably Christmas of 799 when Leo had returned to Rome and Charles had returned to Aachen.

Theodulf glosses over the facts of the attack and rescue, either through lack of information or to avoid detracting from the main purpose of this poem, the praise of Charles. The attack is described in a few lines (11-12; 15-16), and Leo's rescue, in fact carried out by Albinus, the Pope's chamberlain, and Duke Winigis of Spoleto (R.F.A. 799), is referred to in passing and the rescuers are not named (lines 25-26). Theodulf demonstrates by his vagueness about events and his reliance on the stock phrases of panegyric, that he has little detailed information to hand. The emphasis of the poem, as is expected from a court poet
writing for his king, is given to Charles. The poem, however, addresses both Charles and Leo, yet Leo is not praised and receives only an affirmation of his supremacy over the church (lines 32-34).

Structure

1-8: Charles is first greeted then praised; the section ends with an affirmation of Charles' role as defender of the church, and rule over it.

9-10: Pope Leo is introduced; Theodulf excuses his own brevity.

11-16: The attack on Leo and his subsequent rescue are briefly described.

17-24: Comparison of Peter and Judas changing to a comparison between Leo's attackers and Judas (line 19). Theodulf wonders at the miraculous rescue.

25-38: With St. Peter's help Leo is saved and is sent to Charles to be cared for. Theodulf establishes Leo's credentials as a spiritual and temporal ruler.

39-44: Wishes for Charles' salvation and the intervention of the Saints on his behalf.
45-48: Hope expressed that Charles might come to Orléans, and final good wishes and praise of Charles.
C. VI (c. 32)

Rex benedicte vale, valeas per tempora longa,
Detque tibi summus prospera cuncta bonus.
Nam tua prosperitas decus est et gloria plebis
Christicolae, cui tu tutor es atque pater.
Tutor opum es, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,
Quaeque facis fiunt haec moderante deo.
Arma es pontificum, spes et defensio cleri,
Per te pontifices iura sacra tenent.
Mentior, expertus si non Leo praesul id ipse est,
Quod recinet modulo fistula nostra brevi.
Quem male deiecit sua gens urbe atque cathedra,
Quem leto potius quam tibi, vita, parat.
Quem bene suscepit tua, rex, miseratio clemens,
Solatur, mulcet, perfovet, ornat, alit.
Quem furibunda manus spoliavit lumine, lingua,
Vestibus et sacris, ordinibusque piis.
Reddidit haec Petrus, quae Iudas abstulit ater,
Hic quia confessor, proditor ille dei est.
Seditiosa cohors Iudam est hac parte secuta,
Ille necem domini, praesulis ista volens.
Reddita namque negat, negat haec ablata fuisse,
Haec auferre tamen se voluisse canit.
Reddita sunt, mirum est, mirum est auferre nequisse,
Est tamen in dubio, hinc mirer an inde magis.

leto D; letho S. 18. quia D; qui S.
lessed King, good health to you and long may you stay well,
And may God the good on high give you all prosperity.
For your prosperity is the honour and glory of the christian race,
For whom you are the guardian and father.
You are the keeper of riches, avenger of wrongs and giver of honours,
All that you do is achieved with the direction of God.
You are the strong defence of bishops, hope and defence of the clergy,
Through you the Bishops maintain the sacred laws.
Believe if Pope Leo has not experienced that which
My pipe will resound in a brief tune.
Hom his own people wickedly cast out of the city and throne,
Whom the mob prepares for death rather than for you, life.
Hom your kind mercy, Majesty, has supported well,
And solaces, soothes, cherishes, dresses and feeds.
Whom the raging mob has deprived of his eyes, his tongue,
His holy vestments and his pious rank.
Peter has restored these things which dark Judas took away,
For the former is the confessor of Christ and the latter his traitor.
This seditious horde in this way has followed Judas,
One wishing the death of Christ, the other that of the Pope.
The mob denies these have been returned or were taken away,
However it celebrates that it wished their removal.
These have been returned, a wonder, and a wonder they could not remove them.
Yet it is uncertain which is the greater miracle.
Nam salvare Petrus cum posset in urbe Quirina,
        Hostibus ex atris insidiisque feris,
Hunc tibi salvandum, rex clementissime, misit,
        Teque sua voluit fungier ille vice.
Per se reddit ei membrorum damna pavenda,
        Et per te sedis officiique decus.
Caeli habet hic claves, proprias te iussit habere,
        Tu regis ecclesiae, nam regit ille poli.
Tu regis eius opes, clerum populumque gubernas,
        Hic te caelicolas ducet ad usque choros.
Ergo sede tuta, sanate, in sede sacerdos,
        Et regi a domino posce libenter opem,
Ut det ei Christus vitam, tribuatque salutem,
        Illius et regnum semper ad alta levet.
Te pater altithronus, rex, salvet tempore longo,
        Et tibi det vitam sive salutis opem.
Pro vobis sancti dominum orentque, petantque,
        Quorum animas caelum, corpora terra tenet.
Te plebs, te clericus sitiunt in partibus istis
        Cernere, sum voti compos et ipse mei.
Atque utinam dominus te istas deducat ad arces,
        Et videat dominum urbs Aureliana suum.
Sit tibi vita, salus, pietas, benedictio Christi,
        Rex pie, rex sapiens, rex satis apte deo.

27. hunc D; hoc S. 33. gubernas D; gubernat S. 34. caelicolas S; caelicolos L.
For although Peter could save him in Rome

From evil enemies and wicked tricks,
e sent this man to be saved by you, most clement King,
And wished you to perform his function.

Through himself he returns to him the fearful loss of his limbs,
And through you the honour of his see and office.

He has the keys of Heaven and has requested you to have your own keys,
You guide the keys of the church but he guides the keys of heaven.

You command its wealth and govern the clergy and people,
Peter will lead you right to the heavenly choirs.

So, pontiff, now you are cured take your place in your safe
tace,
And gladly ask for help from the Lord for our king,
That Christ may give him life and bestow health,
And always raise his kingdom to the heights.

May God the Father enthroned on high give you salvation, O King,
And give you life or the succour of salvation.

By the saints pray and petition the Lord for you,
Those whose souls heaven holds, and whose bodies the earth holds.
The people and the clergy thirst to see you in these places,
And may I myself also accomplish my wish.
Would the Lord might bring you to these citadels
And that the city of Orleans may see its Lord.

May you have life, salvation, piety and the blessing of Christ,
O holy King, wise King, a king most fit for God.
Commentary

2. *prospera cuncta*: this phrase occurs elsewhere in Carolingian verse, there are however no parallels of context: cf. Alc.24.11 (p.244); Alc.44.51 (p.257); Alc.50.2 (p.262).

*summus...bonus*: such an address for God does not occur elsewhere.

5. Theodulf uses these titles elsewhere: c.1.31. They have been taken directly from Prudentius *Contr. Symm.*2.435: *tutor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum*.


7. *arma es pontificum*: this phrase is used elsewhere in a poem attributed to Theodulf: c.76.7 (p.577). This poem is also one of praise, in this case of Emperor Louis the Pious, and the phrase is placed in an identical position in the poem, indicating perhaps the structural dependance of this later poem on c.VI.

*spes...cleri*: Theodulf has taken this phrase from Venantius 4.7.13: *spes cleri, tutor viduarum, panis egentum*. The context of this line is however different. The poem is the epitaph of Bishop
Chalactericus, and Theodulf does not place the phrase in the same position in the metre.

9. mentior...si non: this somewhat circulocutory affirmation seems to occur only in Late Latin, several times in Tertullian and once in Augustine, in different contexts: cf. Tert. De Bapt. 2.2; De Anim. 19.7; 58.5; De Ieiun. 6; 17; Praescript. 42.1; Aug. In Psalm. 126.13.

10. Theodulf refers here to the brevity of his poem, but does not apologise to the king for such brevity concerning such an important subject. Theodulf may be comparing his own work with more extensive poems on this episode which are unknown to us. Although the dating of the poem K.L.P. (p. 366-381) is uncertain, it is likely to be after this poem.

14. Theodulf employs asyndeton here for a whole line, with verbs progressively more specific in their meaning. For such asyndetic lines in Sidonius see references in commentary for c.I.80.

perfovet: this verb appears to be used elsewhere only by Sedulius Carm. Pasch. 4.25: solatur nexos in carcere perfovet aegros. The context of this line is also of caring for the needy.

17. Judas: the comparison between the betrayal of Judas and the attack by the mob in Rome is made clear in line 19 below.
18. **confessor**: the associations with martyrdom that this word has, that the martyr confesses his faith before dying, are not relevant here. Theodulf is emphasising the contrast between the follower of Christ, Peter, and the betrayer of Christ, Judas. This epithet is used in reference to St. Peter by Paulinus of Aquileia, in a hymn on St. Peter and St. Paul: cf. Paulin. 4. v. 2.1-2 (p. 136):

> Tu es Petrus qui fidei confessor es: primus dei

Peter's activities as a *confessor*...*dei* are recorded in the Acts of the Apostles 2.14-36; 3.12-26; 4.8-12 etc.

19. **cohors**: this word is used by Cassiodorus of the group of people who accompanied Judas (Matt. 26.47): cf. Cass. In Psalm 87.9: *traditus est Christus a Juda cohortibus insanorum*. There is no indication that Leo's attackers were soldiers.

20. This clause does not contain a main verb, the participle *volens* acts as the verb.

21-24. Theodulf with considerable circumlocution is referring to the attempt by Leo's captors to deprive him of sight and speech and his subsequent recovery.

21. 'The mob denies that these things have been returned, and denies that they were taken away'. The contemporary uncertainty concerning the true facts of the attack are shown here, and reflect the report in the annals (R.F.A. for 799) where the
qualifying statement 'as it appeared to some observers' is added to the description.

22. The supposed attackers, guilty or not of the attack, are condemned anyway because of declaring their wish to attack Leo.

23. Theodulf with these contradicting statements is clearly unsure of what actually happened beyond Leo's present good health, with eyes and tongue intact.

*mirum est, mirum est:* this striking stylistic feature does not appear to be used by Theodulf elsewhere. Alcuin notes the miraculous nature of the Pope's recovery: cf. Alc. Ep.178 (p.295)

*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 conspescuit manus a pravo voluntatis effectu; volentes caecatis mentibus lumen suum extinguere et se ipsos impio consilio proprio privare capite.*

27. **hunc:** this is a reference to Leo being sent to Charles for safety, which is the reason for Dümmler's emendation of Sirmond's **hoc**.

30. **sedis officiique:** on the metrical point see p. 64 above.

33. **gubernas:** Sirmond has **gubernat** here. The **tu...ille** comparison does not continue into this line. Theodulf is showing here that Leo rules over the clergy and people as well as the church's wealth.

34. **caelicolas:** Dümmler notes and disregards Liersch's suggestion of **caelicolos**. The usual form of the adjective is **caelicola**.

35. Commas should be inserted either side of **sanate** and before **sacerdos**. With the alliteration of 's' Theodulf includes the word play of **sēdē** and **sēdē**, between the imperative and the ablative.

40. A different point is emphasised in the following couplet, and so Dümmler's comma at the end of the line is insufficient and Sirmond's full-stop is to be preferred.

41. On metrical point see p. 65.

42. Theodulf has followed a line of Venantius 9.2.36: **quamvis celsae animae, corpora terra tegit**. Theodulf uses the phrase **corpora terra** in a metically identical position. The meaning and
context of Venantius' line are similar. The line refers to St. Peter and St. Paul, indicating that their souls are 'on high' while their bodies remain on earth, and the poem itself is addressed to King Chilperic and Queen Radegund.

44. *sim voti compos*: Theodulf uses this phrase elsewhere in his poetry, in various positions in the couplet: cf. c.28.231 (p.499): *voti compos ero, tibi si mea vota placebunt*; c.28.706 (p.511): *voti nullius as t compos eo*; c.36.36 (p.528): *et voti sancti, rex pie, compos eris*.

46. *urbs Aureliana*: R.F.A. for 800 record that Charles, after the death of Queen Fastrada on June 4th, passed through Paris and Orléans on his way to Aachen from Tours. This phrase also occurs in this position in Th.30.34 (p.521).

48. A similar *tricolon crescendo* with repetition occurs elsewhere in reference to Pope Hadrian: c.II.6: *vir pie, vir sapiens, vir venerande satis*.
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