

## CHAPTER VII

### CHARLEMAGNE

#### I. CHARLEMAGNE, THE MAN

53. Charlemagne's personal appearance and habits. (From Einhard's *Life of Charles*.)

Charles was large and robust, of commanding stature and excellent proportions, for it appears that he measured in height seven times the length of his own foot. The top of his head was round, his eyes large and animated, his nose somewhat long. He had a fine head of gray hair, and his face was bright and pleasant; so that, whether standing or sitting, he showed great presence and dignity. Although his neck was thick and rather short, and his belly too prominent, still the good proportions of his limbs concealed these defects. His walk was firm, and the whole carriage of his body was manly. His voice was clear, but not so strong as his frame would have led one to expect.

His health was good until the last four years of his life, when he was attacked with frequent fevers, and latterly walked lame on one foot. Even then he relied more on his own judgment than on the advice of physicians, whom he almost hated because they used to recommend him to leave off roasted meats, which he preferred, and to accustom himself to boiled.

He took constant exercise in riding and hunting, which was natural for a Frank, since scarcely any nation can be found to equal them in these pursuits. He also delighted in the natural warm baths, frequently exercising himself by swimming, in which he was very skillful, no one being able to outstrip him. It was on account of the warm baths at Aix-la-Chapelle that he built his palace there and lived there constantly during the last years of his life and until his death. . . .

He wore the dress of his native country, that is, the Frankish; next his body a linen shirt and linen drawers; then a tunic with a silken border, and stockings. He bound his legs with garters and wore shoes on his feet. In the winter he protected his shoulders and chest with a vest made of the skins of otters and sable. He wore a blue cloak, and was always girt with his sword, the hilt and belt being of gold and silver. Sometimes he wore a jeweled sword, but he did so only on great festivals or when receiving foreign ambassadors.

Charlemagne's preference in dress.

He thoroughly disliked the dress of foreigners, however fine; and he never put it on except at Rome—once at the request of Pope Adrian, and again, a second time, to please Adrian's successor, Pope Leo. He then wore a long tunic, chlamys, and shoes made after the Roman fashion. On festivals he used to walk in processions clad in a garment woven with gold, and shoes studded with jewels, his cloak fastened with a golden clasp, and wearing a crown of gold set with precious stones. At other times his dress differed little from that of a private person.

In his eating and drinking he was temperate; more particularly so in his drinking, for he had the greatest abhorrence of drunkenness in anybody, but more especially in himself and his companions. He was unable to abstain from food for any length of time, and often complained that fasting was injurious to him. On the other hand, he very rarely feasted, only on great festive occasions, when there were very large gatherings. The daily service of his table consisted of only four dishes in addition to the roast meat, which the hunters used to bring in on spits, and of which he partook more freely than of any other food.

Tastes and habits.

While he was dining he listened to music or reading. History and the deeds of men of old were most often read. He derived much pleasure from the works of St. Augustine, especially from his book called *The City of God*. He partook very sparingly of wine and other drinks, rarely taking at meals more than three draughts. In summer, after the midday repast, he would take some fruit and one draught,

and then, throwing aside his clothes and shoes as at night, he would repose for two or three hours. He slept at night so lightly that he would break his rest four or five times, not merely by awaking, but even getting up.

While he was dressing and binding on his sandals, he would receive his friends; and also, if the count of the palace announced that there was any case which could only be settled by his decision, the suitors were immediately ordered into his presence, and he heard the case and gave judgment as if sitting in court. And this was not the only business that he used to arrange at that time, for he also gave orders for whatever had to be done on that day by any officer or servant.

Charlemagne's knowledge of the ancient languages.

He was ready and fluent in speaking, and able to express himself with great clearness. He did not confine himself to his native tongue, but took pains to learn foreign languages, acquiring such knowledge of Latin that he could make an address in that language as well as in his own. Greek he could better understand than speak. Indeed, he was so polished in speech that he might have passed for a learned man.

Alcuin.

He was an ardent admirer of the liberal arts, and greatly revered their professors, whom he promoted to high honors. In order to learn grammar, he attended the lectures of the aged Peter of Pisa, a deacon; and for other branches he chose as his preceptor Alcuin, otherwise called Alcuin, also a deacon,—a Saxon by race, from Britain, the most learned man of the day, with whom the king spent much time in learning rhetoric and logic, and more especially astronomy. He learned the art of determining the dates upon which the movable festivals of the Church fall, and with deep thought and skill most carefully calculated the courses of the planets.

Charlemagne never learned to write.

Charles also tried to learn to write, and used to keep his tablets and writing book under the pillow of his couch, that when he had leisure he might practice his hand in forming letters; but he made little progress in this task, too long deferred and begun too late in life.

## II. CHARLEMAGNE AND THE SAXONS

Now the Saxon race was cruel and very dangerous to all, and was much given over to pagan observances. But King Charles, always faithful to God, because he was most Christian, began to take thought how he might seek to win this people for Christ. He took counsel with the servants of God and besought their prayers that they might obtain their desire from God. Then he gathered a great army, and after he had called upon the name of Christ, he marched into Saxony. He took with him a host of priests and abbots, so that this race which, from the beginning of the world, had been bound by the chains of demons might bow to the yoke of the sweet and gentle Christ by believing in the holy doctrines.

54. The abbot of Fulda declares that Charlemagne conquered the Saxons in order to bring them to Christ. (From the *Life of St. Sturm*.)

When the king had come into the land of the Saxons, he succeeded, partly by war, partly by persuasions, partly even by gifts, in turning great numbers of the people to the faith of Christ. And before long he divided the whole province into episcopal dioceses, and gave the servants of God authority to teach and to baptize.

At the beginning of the year [782], when supplies were plentiful and the army could be led into the field, the king decided to go into Saxony and to hold there a general assembly, as he was used to do every year in Francia. He crossed the Rhine at Cologne, and with the whole Frankish army came to the source of the Lippe, where he made a camp and remained for many days. He there heard and dismissed the ambassadors sent by Sigfried, king of the Danes, and those who had come from Caganus and Juggurus, chiefs of the Huns, to seek peace.

55. The rebellion of Widukind. (From the so-called *Annals of Einhard*.)

When the assembly was dissolved, and he had betaken himself across the Rhine into Gallia, Widukind, who had fled to the Northmen, returned to his fatherland, and with vain hopes aroused the Saxons to rebellion. In the meantime it was reported to the king that the Sorabi Slavs, who

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 107.

inhabit the region between the Elbe and the Saale, had invaded the lands of the Thuringians and Saxons, their neighbors, on a plundering expedition and had sacked and burned several places. He immediately summoned his three ministers, — Adalgis, his chamberlain; Geilo, his constable; and Woradus, the head of the palace, — ordered that they should take with them East Franks and Saxons and chastise forthwith the audacity of the unruly Slavs.

When the leaders of this force learned, upon entering the Saxon territory, that the Saxons, by Widukind's advice, were about to wage war on the Franks, they abandoned the campaign against the Slavs, and with the forces of the East Franks pushed forward to the place where they had heard the Saxons were massed. Count Theodoric, a kinsman of the king, hastened to join them in Saxony with all the forces he could collect hurriedly in Ripuaria after news reached him of the Saxon revolt. . . .

Then they all pushed forward to a mountain [situated on the southern bank of the river Weser], called Suintal. The camp of the Saxons lay on the northern side of this mountain. In this place Theodoric pitched his camp, while the leaders of the East Franks crossed the Weser and encamped on the river bank, to the end that they might easily join the forces of Theodoric and so surround the mountain.

Then did the leaders of the East Franks take counsel together: for they feared that the glory of victory might be given to Theodoric, if they had him with them in this battle. So they decided to attack the Saxons without him. They accordingly armed themselves, and each man rushed forward with his utmost speed, as fast as his horse could carry him, as if they were pursuing and plundering a fleeing foe rather than attacking an enemy drawn up in line of battle.

But the Saxons stood before their camp ready to meet the onslaught; and because the attack was ill planned it was ill fought. When they gave battle the Franks were surrounded by the Saxons and almost all of them were slain. Those who made good their escape fled for refuge, not to the camp whence they had gone forth, but to the camp of

Theodoric, which was on the other side of the mountain. The Frankish loss was greater than mere numbers, for two of the ambassadors, Adalgis and Geilo, were killed, also four counts, and twenty other noble and distinguished men, together with those who followed them, because they would rather die with them than live after them.

When the king heard of this disaster he decided not to delay, but made haste to gather an army, and marched into Saxony. There he called to his presence the chiefs of the Saxons, and inquired who had induced the people to rebel. They all declared that Widukind was the author of the treason, but said that they could not produce him because after the deed was done he had fled to the Northmen.

But the others who had carried out his will and committed the crime they delivered up to the king to the number of four thousand and five hundred; and by the king's command they were all beheaded in one day upon the river Aller in the place called Verden. When he had wreaked vengeance after this fashion, the king withdrew to the town of Diedenhofen for winter quarters, and there he celebrated the Nativity of our Lord and Easter as he was wont to do.

The massacre of Verden (782)

### III. HOW CHARLEMAGNE WAS MADE EMPEROR

A.D. 799

As Pope Leo [III] was riding from the Lateran in Rome to service in the church of St. Lawrence, called "the Gridiron," he fell into an ambush which the Romans had set for him in the neighborhood of this church. He was dragged from off his horse and, as some would have it, his eyes put out, his tongue cut off, and he was then left lying in the street, naked and half dead. Afterward the instigators of this deed ordered that he should be taken into the monastery of the holy martyr Erasmus to be cared for. His chamberlain Albinus succeeded, however, in letting him down over the wall at night, whereupon Duke Winigis of Spoleto, who had hurried to Rome on hearing of this deed

56. Circumstances of Charlemagne's coronation as emperor. (From the so-called *Annals of Einhard*.)

Maltreatment of Pope Leo by the Romans.

of sacrilege, took him into his charge and carried him to Spoleto.

When the king [Charlemagne] received news of this occurrence, he gave orders that the Roman pope, the successor of St. Peter, should be brought to him, with all due honor. He did not, however, give up on this account the expedition into Saxony which he had undertaken. He held a general assembly at a place called Lippeham, on the Rhine; he then crossed the river and pushed on with his entire army to Paderborn, where he set up his camp and awaited the pope. In the meantime he sent his son Charles, with a part of the army, to the Elbe to settle certain matters with the Wilzer and Abodrites and to receive into his charge certain of the North Saxons.

Charlemagne  
reinstates  
Pope Leo.

While he was awaiting his son's return, the pope arrived, was honorably received, and remained several days with him. After he had laid before the king all the reasons for his coming, he was accompanied back to Rome by the king's ambassadors and reinstated in his authority there.

After the pope's departure, the king remained several days longer and finished his business with Daniel, ambassador of the Patrician Michael of Sicily. He received also the sad news of the undoing of Gerold and Eric; the one, Gerold, governor of Bavaria, lost his life in a battle with the Huns and was buried in Reichenau; the other, Eric, after many battles and brilliant victories, met his death through the treachery of the inhabitants of Tersat,<sup>1</sup> a town of Liburnia. When affairs in Saxony had been as well ordered as time would permit, the king returned again to Francia.

In the winter, which was spent in Aix-la-Chapelle, came Count Wido, count and governor of the border land of Brittany, who, during this year, and in alliance with other counts, had traversed the whole territory of the Bretons, and now brought to the king the arms of the dukes who had submitted themselves, with their several names inscribed thereon. It appeared at that time as if that whole country

<sup>1</sup> Near Fiume.

was completely subjugated; and so it would have been had not the fickleness of its faithless people soon changed all this, as usual.

Trophies of victory were also brought which had been taken from Moorish robbers killed on the island of Majorca. The Saracen, Azan, governor of Oska, sent to the king the keys of that city, together with other gifts, and promised to give the town over to him whenever opportunity should offer. Moreover, a monk came from Jerusalem, bringing to the king the blessing of the Patriarch and certain relics from the place of the resurrection of our Lord. The king spent Christmas in his palace at Aix-la-Chapelle. When the monk desired to return home, he gave him, as a companion, Zacharias, a priest of his palace, and sent, besides, pious gifts to the holy places.

A.D. 800

When spring came again, about the middle of March, the king left Aix-la-Chapelle and journeyed toward the coast of Gaul. Off this coast, which was being devastated by the piratical Northmen, he built and manned a fleet. Easter he celebrated in St. Riquier at the shrine of St. Richard. From here he traveled along the coast to the city of Rouen, where he crossed the Seine and betook himself to Tours in order to perform his devotions at the shrine of St. Martin. On account of the illness of his wife, Luitgarda, who died and was buried here, he was forced to remain some days in this place; she died on the 4th of June. From here he returned, by way of Orleans and Paris, to Aix-la-Chapelle; early in August he reached Mayence, where he held a diet and announced his intended journey to Italy.

From Mayence he went with his army to Ravenna, where he stayed only seven days and whence he dispatched his son Pippin, with the army, into the country of Beneventum. He and his son left Ravenna together, but at Ancona they parted company and he betook himself to Rome.

On the very day of his arrival Pope Leo went to meet him at Nomentum. He received the pope with great reverence,

and they dined together. Then he remained behind while the pope returned to the city in order that he might be waiting to receive him the next morning on the steps of St. Peter's, together with the bishops and all the clergy.

When he appeared and dismounted from his horse, the pope received him with gratitude and thanksgiving and conducted him into the church, while all the people glorified God in hymns of praise. This was on the 24th day of November. Seven days later, the king publicly proclaimed, in an assembly which he had called together, all the reasons why he had come to Rome, and thenceforth he labored daily to carry out all that he had come to do.

He began with the most serious and difficult matter, namely, the investigation into the offenses of which the pope had been accused. But since no one could be found who was willing to substantiate the charges, the pope, carrying the Gospels in his hand, mounted the pulpit in St. Peter's and before all the people, and in the name of the Holy Trinity, took an oath to clear himself from the crimes imputed to him.

On the same day Zacharias, the priest whom the king had dispatched to Jerusalem, arrived at Rome with two monks sent to the king by the Patriarch. By way of a blessing, they brought with them the keys to the sepulcher of our Lord and to the place of Calvary, together with an ensign. The king received them graciously, kept them as his guests for some days, and when they were ready to return, dismissed them with gifts.

A. D. 801

On the most holy day of the birth of our Lord, the king went to mass at St. Peter's, and as he knelt in prayer before the altar Pope Leo set a crown upon his head, while all the Roman populace cried aloud, "Long life and victory to the mighty Charles, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, crowned of God!" After he had been thus acclaimed, the pope did homage to him, as had been the custom with the early rulers, and henceforth he dropped the title of Patrician and was called Emperor and Augustus. . . .

#### IV. CHARLEMAGNE'S WAY OF RAISING TROOPS

The following provisions are taken from three different capitularies issued after Charlemagne became emperor.

If any free man, out of contempt for our command, shall have presumed to remain at home when the others go to war, let him know that he ought to pay the full *hari bannum* according to the law of the Franks, — that is, sixty *solidi*. Likewise, also, for contempt of single capitularies which we have promulgated by our royal authority, — that is, any one who shall have broken the peace decreed for the churches of God, widows, orphans, wards, and the weak shall pay the fine of sixty *solidi*.

57. The *Heerbann*, or fine for refusing to join the army (801).

If any one shall have shown himself so contumacious or haughty as to leave the army and return home without the command or permission of the king, — that is, if he is guilty of what we call in the German language *herisliz*,<sup>1</sup> — he himself, as a criminal, shall incur the peril of losing his life, and his property shall be confiscated for our treasury.

Concerning deserters.

Every free man who has four *mansi*<sup>2</sup> of his own property, or as a benefice from any one, shall equip himself and go to the army, either with his lord, if the lord goes, or with his count. He who has three *mansi* of his own property shall be joined to a man who has one *mansus*, and shall aid him so that he may serve for both. He who has only two *mansi* of his own property shall be joined to another who likewise has two *mansi*, and one of them, with the aid of the other, shall go to the army. He who has only one *mansus* of his own shall be joined to one of three men who have the same and shall aid him, and the latter shall go alone; the three who have aided him shall remain at home.

58. The wealthier landholders are required to go to the army in person; the poorer, to help equip a soldier (808).

Concerning going to the army: the count in his county under penalty of the ban, and each man under penalty of

59. Nature of the supplies for the army.

<sup>1</sup> This capitulary was addressed to Charlemagne's officials in Italy.

<sup>2</sup> A *mansus* contained about 135 acres.

sixty *solidi*, shall go to the army, so that they come to the appointed muster at that place where it is ordered. And the count himself shall see in what manner they are prepared; that is, each one shall have a lance, shield, bow with two strings, and twelve arrows. And the bishops, counts, and abbots shall oversee their own men and shall come on the day of the appointed muster and there show how they are prepared.

The equipments of the king shall be carried in carts, also the equipments of the bishops, counts, abbots, and nobles of the king; flour, wine, pork, and victuals in abundance, mills, adzes, axes, augers, slings, and men who know how to use these well. And the marshals of the king shall add stones for these on twenty beasts of burden, if there is need. And each one shall be prepared for the army and shall have plenty of all utensils. And each count shall save two parts of the fodder in his county for the army's use, and he shall maintain good bridges and good boats.

60. Charlemagne's letter to Abbot Fulrad, summoning him to join the muster.

*In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Charles, serene and august, crowned by God great and pacific Emperor, and by God's mercy King of the Franks and the Lombards, to Fulrad the Abbot:*

Be it known to you that we have decided to hold our general assembly for this year in the eastern part of Saxony, on the river Bode, at the place which is called Strassfurt. Wherefore we do command thee that thou come to this place with thy full quota of men, well armed and equipped, on the fifteenth day before the Kalends of July, which is seven days before the feast of St. John the Baptist. Then shalt thou come to the aforesaid place, with thy men ready, so that thou canst go in military array in any direction whither our command shall send thee.

Thou shalt have arms and gear, and warlike instruments, and food and clothing. Each horseman shall have a shield, lance, sword, dagger, bow, and quivers with arrows. In the carts ye shall have implements of divers kinds: axes, planes, augers, boards, spades, iron shovels, and other tools of which

an army has need. In the carts you must also have supplies of food for three months, dating from the time of the assembly, and arms and clothing for a half year. We order you to attend carefully to all these things so that you may proceed peacefully to the aforesaid place. For through whatever part of our realm your journey shall take you, you shall not presume to take anything but fodder, food, and water. Let the men of each one of your vassals march along with the carts and horsemen, and let the leader always be with them until they reach the aforesaid place, so that the absence of a lord may not give to his men an opportunity of doing evil. . . .

#### V. CHARLEMAGNE'S INCOME FROM HIS FARMS

We desire that each steward shall make an annual statement of all our income, giving an account of our lands cultivated by the oxen which our own plowmen drive and of our lands which the tenants of farms ought to plow; of the pigs, of the rents, of the obligations and fines; of the game taken in our forests without our permission; of the various compositions; of the mills, of the forest, of the fields, of the bridges and ships; of the free men and the districts under obligations to our treasury; of markets, vineyards, and those who owe wine to us; of the hay, firewood, torches, planks, and other kinds of lumber; of the waste lands; of the vegetables, millet, panic; of the wool, flax, and hemp; of the fruits of the trees; of the nut trees, larger and smaller; of the grafted trees of all kinds; of the gardens; of the turnips; of the fish ponds; of the hides, skins, and horns; of the honey and wax; of the fat, tallow, and soap; of the mulberry wine, cooked wine, mead, vinegar, beer, and wine, new and old; of the new grain and the old; of the hens and eggs; of the geese; of the number of fishermen, workers in metal, sword makers, and shoemakers; of the bins and boxes; of the turners and saddlers; of the forges and mines,—that is, of iron, lead, or other substances; of the colts and fillies. They shall make all these known to us, set forth separately and in

61. Extracts from the *Capitulary de Villis*, issued in the year 800 or earlier.

order, at Christmas, so that we may know what and how much of each thing we have.

The greatest care must be taken that whatever is prepared or made with the hands, — that is, bacon, smoked meat, sausage,<sup>1</sup> partially salted meat, wine, vinegar, mulberry wine, cooked wine, garum,<sup>2</sup> mustard, cheese, butter, malt, beer, mead, honey, wax, flour, — all should be prepared and made with the greatest cleanliness.

Each steward on each of our domains shall always have, for the sake of ornament, peacocks, pheasants, ducks, pigeons, partridges, and turtle-doves.

In each of our estates the chambers shall be provided with counterpanes, cushions, pillows, bedclothes, coverings for the tables and benches; vessels of brass, lead, iron, and wood; andirons, chains, pothooks, adzes axes, augers, cutlasses, and all other kinds of tools, so that it shall never be necessary to go elsewhere for them, or to borrow them. And the weapons which are carried against the enemy shall be well cared for, so as to keep them in good condition; and when they are brought back they shall be placed in the chamber.

For our women's work they are to give at the proper time, as has been ordered, the materials, — that is, the linen, wool, woad, vermilion, madder, wool combs, teasels, soap, grease, vessels, and the other objects which are necessary.

Of the kinds of food not forbidden on fast days, two thirds shall be sent each year for our own use, — that is, of the vegetables, fish, cheese, butter, honey, mustard, vinegar, millet, panic, dried and green herbs, radishes, and, in addition, of the wax, soap, and other small products; and let it be reported to us, by a statement, how much is left, as we have said above; and this statement must not be omitted as in the past, because after those two thirds we wish to know how much remains.

<sup>1</sup> Some of the many names of products here given are of uncertain meaning.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of drink made of salt fish.

Each steward shall have in his district good workmen, namely, blacksmiths, a goldsmith, a silversmith, shoemakers, turners, carpenters, sword makers, fishermen, foilers, soap makers, men who know how to make beer, cider, perry, or other kind of liquor good to drink, bakers to make pastry for our table, net makers who know how to make nets for hunting, fishing, and fowling, and other sorts of workmen too numerous to be designated.

#### VI. CHARLEMAGNE'S IDEALS OF GOVERNMENT

In the elaborate instructions for the *missi* we have the fullest statement of the tasks of government which devolved upon Charlemagne, and of the various offenses which he foresaw and for which he deemed it especially necessary to provide.

The most serene and most Christian lord emperor Charles has chosen from his nobles the wisest and most prudent men, archbishops and some of the other bishops also, together with venerable abbots and pious laymen, and has sent them throughout his whole kingdom; through them he would have all the various classes of persons mentioned in the following sections live strictly in accordance with the law. Moreover, where anything which is not right and just has been enacted in the law, he has ordered them to inquire into this most diligently and to inform him of it; he desires, God granting, to reform it.

And let no one, through cunning craft, dare to oppose or thwart the written law, as many are wont to do, or the judicial sentence passed upon him; or to do injury to the churches of God, or the poor, or the widows, or the wards, or any Christian. But all shall live entirely in accordance with God's precept, justly and under a just rule, and each one shall be admonished to live in harmony with his fellows in his business or profession. The canonical clergy ought to observe in every respect a canonical life without heeding

62. Extracts  
from the  
general  
capitulary  
for the *missi*  
(802).

base gain; nuns ought to keep diligent watch over their lives; laymen and the secular clergy ought rightly to observe their laws without malicious fraud; and all ought to live in mutual charity and perfect peace.

General  
duties of  
the *missi*.

And let the *missi* themselves make a diligent investigation whenever any man claims that an injustice has been done to him by any one, just as they desire to deserve the grace of omnipotent God and to keep their fidelity pledged to him, so that in all cases, everywhere, they shall, in accordance with the will and fear of God, administer the law fully and justly in the case of the holy churches of God and of the poor, of wards and widows, and of the whole people. And if there shall be anything of such a nature that they, together with the provincial counts, are not able of themselves to correct it and to do justice concerning it, they shall, without any reservations, refer this, together with their reports, to the judgment of the emperor. The straight path of justice shall not be impeded by any one on account of flattery or gifts, or on account of any relationship, or from fear of the powerful.

All required  
to take an  
oath of fidel-  
ity to Charle-  
magne as  
emperor.

Concerning the fidelity to be promised to the lord emperor: he has commanded that every man in his whole kingdom, whether ecclesiastic or layman, each according to his vow and occupation, shall now pledge to him as emperor the fidelity which he has previously promised to him as king; and all of those who have not yet taken any oath shall do likewise, down to those who are twelve years old.

What the  
oath to the  
emperor  
included.

And that it shall be announced to all in public, so that each one may know, how great and how many things are comprehended in that oath; not merely, as many have thought hitherto, fidelity to the lord emperor as regards his life, and not introducing any enemy into his kingdom out of enmity, and not consenting to, or concealing another's faithlessness to him; but that all may know that this oath contains in itself the following meaning:

First, that each one voluntarily shall strive, in accordance with his knowledge and ability, to live entirely in the holy service of God in accordance with the precept of God and in

accordance with his own promise, because the lord emperor is unable to give to all individually the necessary care and discipline.

Secondly, that no man, either through perjury or any other wile or fraud, or on account of the flattery or gift of any one, shall refuse to give back or dare to abstract or conceal a serf of the lord emperor, or a district, or land, or anything that belongs to him; and that no one shall presume, through perjury or other wile, to conceal or abstract his fugitive serfs belonging to the fisc, who wrongly and fraudulently claim that they are free.

That no one shall presume to rob or in any way do injury fraudulently to the churches of God, or to widows or orphans or pilgrims; for the lord emperor himself, after God and his saints, has constituted himself their protector and defender.

That no one shall dare to lay waste a benefice of the lord emperor, or to make it his own property.

That no one shall presume to neglect a summons to war from the lord emperor; and that no one of the counts shall be so presumptuous as to dare to excuse any one of those who owe military service, either on account of relationship, or flattery, or gifts from any one.

That no one shall presume to impede in any way a ban or command of the lord emperor, or to dally with his work, or to impede or to lessen or in any way to act contrary to his will or commands. And that no one shall dare to neglect to pay his dues or tax.

That no one, for any reason, shall make a practice in court of defending another unjustly, either from any desire of gain when the cause is weak, or by impeding a just judgment by his skill in reasoning, or by a desire of oppressing when the cause is weak. . . .

The oath to the emperor should include the observance of all those things mentioned above.

Bishops and priests shall live according to the canons and shall teach others to do the same. Duties of the prelates.



Bishops, abbots, and abbesses, who are in charge of others, shall strive with the greatest devotion to surpass those subject to them in this diligence and shall not oppress those subject to them with a harsh rule of tyranny, but with sincere love shall carefully guard the flock committed to them with mercy and charity and by the examples of good works. . . .

Duties of  
the monks

The monks shall live sincerely and strictly in accordance with the rule, because we know that any one whose good will is lukewarm is displeasing to God, as John bears witness in the Apocalypse: "I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth." Let them in no way usurp to themselves secular business. They shall not have leave to go outside of their monastery at all, unless compelled by a very great necessity; but the bishop in whose diocese they are shall take care in every way that they do not get accustomed to wandering outside of the monastery. But if it shall be necessary for a monk to go outside in obedience to a command, this shall be done with the counsel and consent of the bishop. Such persons shall be sent out with a certificate, that there may be no suspicion of evil in them and that no evil report may arise from them.

To manage the property and business outside of the monastery, the abbot, with the permission and counsel of the bishop, shall appoint some person who is not a monk, but another of the faithful. Let the monks wholly shun secular gain or a desire for worldly affairs; for avarice or a desire for this world ought to be avoided by all Christians, but especially by those who claim to have renounced the world and its lusts. Let no one presume in any way to incite strife or controversies, either within or without the monastery. But if any one shall have presumed to do so, he shall be corrected by the most severe discipline of the rule, and in such a manner that others shall fear to commit such actions. Let them entirely shun drunkenness and feasting, because it is known to all that these give rise to lust. . . .

The clergy  
shall not  
hunt.

Let no bishops, abbots, priests, deacons, or other members of the clergy presume to keep dogs for hunting, or

hawks, falcons, and sparrow hawks, but each shall observe fully the canons or rule of his order. If any one shall presume to violate this order, let him know that he shall lose his office; and in addition he shall suffer such punishment for his offense that the others will be afraid to appropriate such things for themselves. . . .

And we command that no one in our whole kingdom shall dare to deny hospitality either to rich or poor, or to pilgrims; that is, no one shall deny shelter and fire and water to pilgrims traversing our country in God's name, or to any one traveling for the love of God or for the safety of his own soul. If, moreover, any one shall wish to serve them farther, let him expect the best reward from God, who himself said, "And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me"; and elsewhere, "I was a stranger, and ye took me in."

All shall provide for the stranger.

Concerning messengers coming from the lord emperor: the counts and *centenarii* shall provide most carefully, as they desire the grace of the lord emperor, for the *missi* who are sent out, so that they may go through their provinces without any delay. The emperor commands all, everywhere, to see to it that the *missi* are not hindered anywhere, but are sent forward with the utmost dispatch and provided with such things as they may require. . . .

The counts to aid the *missi*.

In our forests no one shall dare to steal our game. This has already been many times forbidden; we now again strictly forbid it for the future. If one would keep his fidelity pledged to us, let him take heed to his conduct. . . .

No one to disturb the royal game.

Finally, we desire that all our commands should be made known throughout our whole realm by means of the *missi* now sent forth, whether these commands be directed to those connected with the Church — bishops, abbots, priests, deacons, canons, monks or nuns — with a view of securing the observance of our ban or decrees, or whether we would duly thank the citizens for their good will, or request them to furnish aid, or to correct some matter. . . .

Various purposes of the orders sent out by the *missi*.

## VII. CHARLEMAGNE'S ANXIETY TO IMPROVE EDUCATION

Charlemagne's attitude toward the ignorance of many of the churchmen of his time and his appreciation of the advantages of elementary education are most fully expressed in a famous letter written some time between 780 and 800.

63. Charlemagne's letter on the dangers of ignorance.

*Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans, to Abbot Baugulf, and to all the congregation, also to the faithful committed to you, we have directed a loving greeting by our messengers in the name of omnipotent God:*

Be it known, therefore, to your Devotion pleasing to God, that we, together with our faithful, have considered it to be expedient that the bishoprics and monasteries intrusted by the favor of Christ to our government, in addition to the rule of monastic life and the intercourse of holy religion, ought to be zealous also in the culture of letters, teaching those who by the gift of God are able to learn, according to the capacity of each individual; so that just as the observance of the monastic rule imparts order and grace to moral conduct, so also zeal in teaching and learning may do the same for the use of words, so that those who desire to please God by living rightly should not neglect to please him also by speaking correctly. For it is written, "Either from thy words thou shalt be justified, or from thy words thou shalt be condemned."

Although it is better to *do* the right than *know* it, nevertheless knowledge should precede action. Therefore, each one ought to study what he would accomplish, so that the mind may the better know what ought to be done, if the tongue utters the praises of omnipotent God without the hindrances of errors. For if errors should be shunned by all men, so much the more ought they to be avoided, as far as possible, by those who are chosen for the very purpose that they may be the servants of truth.

Yet, in recent years, when letters have been written to us from various monasteries to inform us that the brethren who dwelt there were offering up in our behalf holy and pious prayers, we noted in most of these letters correct thoughts but uncouth expressions; for what pious devotion dictated faithfully to the mind, the tongue, uneducated on account of the neglect of study, was not able to express without error. We, therefore, began to fear lest perchance, as the skill in writing was wanting, so also the wisdom for understanding the Holy Scriptures might be much less than it rightly ought to be. And we all know well that, although errors of speech are dangerous, far more dangerous are errors of the understanding.

• Therefore, we exhort you not only not to neglect the study of letters, but also with most humble mind, pleasing to God, to pursue it earnestly in order that you may be able more easily and more correctly to penetrate the mysteries of the divine Scriptures. Since, moreover, figures of speech, tropes, and the like are found in the sacred pages, it cannot be doubted that in reading these one will understand the spiritual sense more quickly if previously he shall have been fully instructed in the mastery of letters. Such men truly are to be chosen for this work as have both the will and the ability to learn and a desire to instruct others. And may this be done with a zeal as great as the earnestness with which we command it.

One of the chapters addressed to the clergy in a general "admonition" issued in 789 supplements the preceding letter as follows:

... Let the ministers of the altar of God adorn their ministry by good manners, and likewise the other orders who observe a rule, and the congregations of monks. We implore them to lead a just and fitting life, just as God himself commanded in the gospel. "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven," so that by our

64. Charlemagne commands that schools be established by the bishops and in the monasteries.

example many may be led to serve God. Let them join and associate to themselves not only children of servile condition, but also sons of freemen. And let schools be established in which boys may learn to read. Correct carefully the Psalms, the signs in writing, the songs, the calendar, the grammar, in each monastery or bishopric, and the Catholic books; because often men desire to pray to God properly, but they pray badly because of the incorrect books. And do not permit mere boys to corrupt them in reading or writing. If there is need of writing the Gospel, Psalter, and Missal, let men of mature age do the writing with all diligence.

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## B. Additional reading in English.

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EBERT (see above, p. 34), Vol. II, Book IV, gives an excellent account of the literary activity of Charlemagne's time.

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GEBHARDT (see above, p. 57), where the reader will find references to the abundant literature on this subject in German.

ABEL and SIMSON, *Jahrbücher der deutschen Geschichte*, "Unter Karl dem Grossen," 2 vols., 1866-1883. The most exhaustive technical treatment (see below, pp. 261 sq.).

RICHTER, *Annalen der deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter*, Vol. II, "The Carolingian Period," 1885-1887 (see below, p. 262).

MATHEWS, *Select Mediæval Documents* (1892), pp. 9-14, gives brief extracts from the Latin text of documents important for the history of the Church and the Empire.

C. Materials for advanced study.

In the times of Charles Martel and Pippin a new kind of historical source makes its appearance, — the *annals*. These had a peculiar origin.

The sources.

The day upon which the great Christian festival of Easter fell each year was a matter of the utmost importance to all the monasteries and churches; but the time varies in such a way that it is little wonder that the monks and churchmen of the eighth century were commonly unable to master the rules for determining the recurrence of the festival. Tables of the dates of Easter were therefore prepared and were welcomed everywhere. The wide margins invited a brief record opposite each year, of some occurrence which had made the year memorable in the particular abbey or the neighboring region.

Origin of the annals.

Rude and trivial as these entries often were, they tended to grow fuller as the eighth century advanced, and now serve to establish the dates of many important events. These scanty histories were, however,

often taken from monastery to monastery, copied, combined, and continued in such a way that errors and inconsistencies crept in which have greatly puzzled scholars in our own day.

The annals are sometimes named from the abbey where a copy was found, although, as in the case of the *Greater Annals of Lorsch*, they may not have originated there; or they may be named for the person who discovered a copy, or from the region to which they oftenest refer and where it is assumed that they were written.

The *Royal Annals*.

By far the most important of the annals for Charlemagne's time are the so-called *Royal Annals*. These were apparently drawn up by persons who resided at the king's court; for the writers were evidently devoted to the interests of the reigning family, and were in a position to follow closely the course of public events. The *Royal Annals* cover the period from 741 to 829 and are the work of several chroniclers. In the first place, some unknown ecclesiastic undertook, apparently about 787, to bring together as full an account as he could of the deeds of Charlemagne's house since the death of Charles Martel (741). This was the origin of the so-called *Greater Annals of Lorsch*. These were later brought down to 801. The work was then rewritten in better Latin and considerably modified, and a continuation was added, bringing the history down to 829.

Annals of Einhard.

This revision, together with the continuation, was long attributed to Einhard, Charlemagne's secretary, but many scholars now agree in thinking that if Einhard had a hand in the work at all he was only one of several writers.

See a discussion of the annals in general in WATTENBACH, pp. 154 *sqq.*; for the *Royal Annals*, pp. 210 *sqq.* See also MOLINIER, pp. 211-215 and 224 *sqq.* (The text of the various early annals including the *Royal Annals* is in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. A better edition of the *Royal Annals* in octavo edition (1895); translation in the *Geschichtschreiber*.)

The capitularies.

The laws, the so-called *capitularies*, issued by Charlemagne, are of great importance to one who wishes to form an idea of his government and the conditions within his empire. There is a recent edition of the capitularies in the *Monumenta*, edited by BORETIUS, 1883 *sq.*

EINHARD'S *Vita Caroli* may be found in the octavo edition of the *Monumenta*; also edited by HOLDER, Freiburg, 1882 (60 Pf.). For English translation, see above, section B. "Einhard," says Ranke, "enjoyed singular good fortune in finding in his great contemporary the most worthy subject for an historical work. Out of gratitude he erected a monument to one to whom he was peculiarly indebted for his early education, and thereby provided that he himself should be remembered for all time."

The *Codex Carolinus* is a collection, made by Charlemagne's orders, of the letters addressed to him and his father by the popes. (It may be found in JAFFÉ, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum* and better in the *Monumenta*.)

From the diverting tales of Charlemagne, told by the Monk of St. Gall, seventy years after the emperor's death, we can form an idea of the fabulous proportions which that hero had already assumed in the minds of posterity. (In the *Monumenta*; newer edition in JAFFÉ, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, Vol. IV; translated in the *Geschichtschreiber* and in Guizot's *Collection*.)

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