

## Royal or monastic identity? Smaragdus' *Via regia* and *Diadema monachorum* reconsidered

### INTRODUCTION

Medieval moralistic-didactic treatises aim at the moral formation of a person or a group. Their main purpose is to create a certain identity, which the reader has to assume. Such treatises can be regarded as manuals of morals. The notion that such manuals are active in shaping identity is the starting point of this contribution. In this article I will focus on the strategies two such manuals use to create an identity.

At the beginning of the ninth century, Smaragdus (ca. 750–826/830), who was the abbot of the monastery St-Mihiel in Lorraine, wrote two didactic-moralistic treatises, the *Via regia* and the *Diadema monachorum*.<sup>1</sup> We know little more about Smaragdus except for some other works which bear his name,<sup>2</sup> and that he was involved in monastic reform.<sup>3</sup> The *Via regia* was meant for a king, probably for Louis the Pious, and was, it is assumed, written before 814. This work is regarded as a *speculum* or *Fürstenspiegel*, a manual specifically meant for a king. A few years later, probably in 816–817, Smaragdus wrote *Diadema monachorum*, a moral manual meant for monks. Both works are catalogues of virtues to which other rules for proper behaviour are added.<sup>4</sup> These works can be considered moral manuals, and I will refer to them as manuals henceforth.

In 1968 Hans Hubert Anton published his monumental study *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, and his interpretation has not been fundamentally challenged during recent decades.<sup>5</sup> In this study on early medieval royal *specula* Anton pays a fair amount of attention to the *Via regia*. The *Diadema monachorum* and its relation to the *Via regia* are analysed as well. Anton put forward two major hypotheses about these works and their relationship, which need some reconsideration.

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<sup>1</sup> Neither text has yet been critically edited. Migne's *Patrologia Latina* will have to do despite its notorious deficiencies: The *Via regia* is to be found in PL 102, 931–970, the *Diadema monachorum* in PL 102, 593–690. Otto Eberhardt, *Via regia. Der Fürstenspiegel Smaragds von St. Mihiel und seine literarische Gattung* (München 1977) 89–97, describes six surviving manuscripts of the *Via regia*; Fidel Rädle, *Studien zu Smaragd von Saint-Mihiel* (*Medium Aevum. Philologische Studien* 29, München 1974) 78, counts over a hundred manuscripts of the *Diadema monachorum*.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the *Via regia* and the *Diadema monachorum*, Smaragdus also wrote a commentary on Donatus, *Liber in partibus Donati* (between 800–809), a commentary on the Psalms, *Filioque* (809), the exegetical *Liber comitis* (810–812), and the *Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti* (817).

<sup>3</sup> Rädle, *Studien* 13–21.

<sup>4</sup> Rädle paid attention to all the works of Smaragdus save the *Via regia*, which he refrained from addressing, in expectation of Eberhardt's study of that work. In 1977 Eberhardt, *Via regia*, an extremely detailed study entirely devoted to the *Via regia*, was published. Since then the *Via regia* and the *Diadema monachorum*, and their mutual connection, do not seem to have been the object of scholarly attention, although several studies have focused on Smaragdus' other works. The entry on Smaragdus in the seventh volume of the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, which appeared in 1995, was written by Rädle as well: Fidel Rädle, *Smaragdus von St-Mihiel*, in: *LMA* 7 (1995) 2011–2012.

<sup>5</sup> Hans Hubert Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn 1968).

Anton's primary intention was to prove that the *Via regia* was written before the *Diadema* was; before Anton published his study scholars assumed that the *Diadema* was older than the *Via regia*. The *Via regia* and the *Diadema* have a number of chapters in common: chapters one to seven of the *Via regia* deal with the same subjects and are presented under the same titles as chapters four to ten of the *Diadema*. Anton compares these chapters to support his thesis that the *Via regia* was written first.<sup>6</sup> He does not, however, compare these parallel chapters thoroughly. He concentrates on the composition (*Kompositionsschema*) of the parallel chapters, but refrains from analysing their contents in detail, nor does he analyse all parallel chapters. Anton restricts himself to the chapters on the love of God and one's neighbour (*dilectio*), wisdom (*sapientia*), and simplicity (*simplicitas*). Anton concludes that these three chapters are similar in composition *and* in contents. Finally, Anton concludes almost casually that the contents of all parallel chapters are similar, without supporting this with any argument.<sup>7</sup> This assertion serves to confirm Anton's hypothesis that the *Via regia* was indeed written before the *Diadema* was.<sup>8</sup>

Anton's second hypothesis concerns the question of the ethics of both manuals. Before Anton published his *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos* scholars generally assumed that the morality of the *Via regia*, although meant for a king, was in essence a monastic one. This hypothesis was especially propagated by Hans Martin Klinkenberg in an article on early medieval *specula* in 1956.<sup>9</sup> Klinkenberg's belief that royal ethics derived from the ethics of a monk, is based on a detailed discussion of three chapters which occur both in the *Via regia* and the *Diadema*. According to Klinkenberg, these chapters on humility, peace and counsel are virtually the same in both manuals.<sup>10</sup> As I will attempt to show, there are some striking differences between the chapters on humility and counsel in both works, while the chapters on peace are indeed almost identical. Since Klinkenberg assumed that the *Diadema* was the older text, and that the *Via regia* was based on the *Diadema*, his hypothesis makes some sense.

Anton changed the chronology of both manuals, but not the understanding of their relationship. According to Anton, in the *Via regia Smaragdus* aimed at turning general Christian virtues and specific monastic virtues into royal virtues. The abbot did so without proper consideration of the difference between general Christian virtues, monastic ethics and royal ethics, but simply put these virtues into a royal context, and connected them with appropriate biblical quotations, without changing them in any fundamental way. Therefore, Anton argues, the *Via regia* does not present an independent royal ethical programme, but uses a monastic moral discourse.<sup>11</sup> So despite the fact that the *Via regia* is the older text and served as a model for the *Diadema*, Anton claims that the ethical programmes of both manuals function, so to speak, the other way around. Anton uses the similarity he detects between the chapters of both manuals to prove that both manuals express the same ethos. He does not, however, substantiate this second hypothesis with any arguments of his own, relying entirely on Klinkenberg's arguments.

Anton's hypothesis that the *Via regia* is older than the *Diadema monachorum* is generally accepted and can be found in all reference books. Anton's assumption that the ethics of kingship in the beginning of the ninth century were essentially monastic, is more problematic, but on some occasions

<sup>6</sup> This dating is confirmed by Rädle, *Studien* 68–69; Eberhardt, *Via regia* 197–205.

<sup>7</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* 138: "Da sich die Kapitel I–VII der *Via* und IV–X des *Diadema* fortlaufend in Überschrift und weitgehend auch im Inhalt entsprechen, was ja auch bei den anderen zu einander in Parallele stehenden Kapiteln der Fall ist, ist der Schluß naheliegend, daß das eine Werk in Anlehnung an das andere konzipiert ist."

<sup>8</sup> Prior to this scholars were still discussing which manual was older: see Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* 136; Eberhardt, *Via regia* 197–205.

<sup>9</sup> Hans Martin Klinkenberg, Über karolingische Fürstenspiegel, in: *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 7 (1956) 82–98; reprinted without alterations in: *Ideologie und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. Max Kerner (Darmstadt 1982) 184–206.

<sup>10</sup> Klinkenberg, *Karolingische Fürstenspiegel* 92f.

<sup>11</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* 176f.

Anton's hypothesis as to the monastic ethos of the *Via regia* seems to be accepted along with, or as a part of, Anton's dating of both works.<sup>12</sup>

Scholars do not seem to have noticed that this second assumption, which Anton himself did not prove, is based on shaky evidence. Moreover, Anton's hypothesis is not confirmed by the sources. The assumption that both works express a similar monastic ethos does not account for the observation that after the first seven chapters of the *Via regia* and the first ten chapters of the *Diadema monachorum* the works diverge. Chapter seven of the *Via regia* and chapter ten of the *Diadema* both discuss the virtue of patience. Chapter eight of the *Via regia* deals with justice, which is one of the most traditional royal virtues. The next two chapters of this work discuss judgment (*iudicium*) and mercy (*miserericordia*), which are clearly connected to the virtue of justice. The *Diadema*, on the other hand, continues with humility, which is a very characteristic monastic virtue. So from this point onwards not only the content, but also the morality of these works starts to differ. Obedience, another primary monastic virtue, is included in the *Diadema* but is absent from the *Via regia*.

Contrary to Anton, Otto Eberhardt argued that the ethos of the *Via regia* was independent of a monastic ethos. He contended that the ethics of the *Via regia* were of a general, Christian kind, applicable to all people, without any specific royal particularities.<sup>13</sup> This view seems to have been less influential than Anton's. A careful reconsideration of the whole matter therefore seems in order. Such a reconsideration of the ethics of the *Via regia* and the *Diadema* might prove useful in another area of expertise as well: the debate on Louis the Pious. For decades Louis the Pious was seen as the weak son of a strong father, who accelerated the collapse of the empire Charlemagne had established. Louis' weakness was partly caused by his supposed great concern for the affairs of the Church. Louis would have made a better monk than emperor, and scholars agreed that his ideas and lifestyle were 'monkish'. During recent years, however, this standpoint has been modified and scholars have begun to appreciate Louis in his own right. Thomas Noble has played a considerable part in this rehabilitation from the 1970s on,<sup>14</sup> culminating in the 1990 volume *Charlemagne's Heir*.<sup>15</sup> The analysis of the *Via regia* and the *Diadema* may help to discover more about the vision of Louis' contemporaries of (his) kingship, and the extent of his 'monkishness'. Even Noble refers to Anton's statement that the *Via regia* was heavily influenced by a monastic ethos, thereby weakening his own point.<sup>16</sup>

First I will discuss a number of chapters appearing in both texts in the same order, the chapters with which Anton has also dealt. Then I will turn to some chapters which only appear in one of the manuals. These chapters will confirm my view of the different identities each individual manual is trying to create. Finally I will investigate some chapters that occur in both manuals but in a different context.

I should mention beforehand that Smaragdus' use of the word '*virtus*' differs from the modern meaning of 'virtue'. He uses it in a much broader sense than we would do nowadays; to him counsel, prayer, and peace, for instance, are 'virtues' as well. Smaragdus seems less strict in qualifying things as virtues than the modern eye would be. But one should consider that the Latin '*virtus*' itself has a

<sup>12</sup> See for instance Thomas F.X. Noble, *The monastic ideal as a model for Empire: the case of Louis the Pious*, in: *Revue bénédictine* 86, 3–4 (1976) 235–250, at 243. John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent. The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term 1970* (Oxford 1971) 136, states that a king's approach to his duties and a monk's are not dissimilar. Rädle, *Studien* 68f., concludes that the *Diadema* must be based on the *Via regia*, for some passages in the *Diadema* are so clearly meant for kings that they are out of place in the *Diadema*. But he does not contradict the interpretation by Anton and Klinkenberg of the *Via regia* as expressing monastic ethics.

<sup>13</sup> Eberhardt, *Via regia* 623–641.

<sup>14</sup> See for instance Thomas F.X. Noble, *Louis the Pious and his piety re-considered*, in: *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 68 (1980) 296–316; id., *The monastic ideal*; Egon Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme* (Darmstadt 1996); or his own summary of this study: *Kaiser Ludwig der Fromme. Überforderter Erbe des großen Karl*, in: *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 102 (2001) 7–27.

<sup>15</sup> *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious*, ed. Peter Godman/Roger Collins, (Oxford 1990).

<sup>16</sup> Noble, *The monastic ideal* 243.

broader meaning than the English ‘virtue’, for it can also mean manliness, fortitude, courage, merit, talent or force. In an effort to stay as close to Smaragdus’ texts as possible, and for lack of an appropriate translation, I will use the term ‘virtue’ for anything Smaragdus calls ‘*virtus*’.

### GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

At first sight there are a number of clear differences between the *Via regia* and the *Diadema*. The first one is obvious: the *Via regia* is more concise than the *Diadema*, which has one hundred chapters, while the *Via regia* has only thirty-two. According to Anton, the chapters of the *Diadema* do not form a coherent whole. The last eleven chapters in particular do not seem to be connected to the rest of the work. In Anton’s opinion these chapters discuss theological themes that are not especially concerned with monastic practice. They are clearly meant, Anton argues, to reach the number of a hundred chapters.<sup>17</sup> Anton displays the modern tendency to regard the medieval fascination with numbers as coincidental or insignificant at best. He seems to forget that for Smaragdus, as for many of his contemporaries, number symbolism was an essential part of his world view. I think one should consider the possibility that Smaragdus felt that the final chapters were as essential for his argument as the first ones.

A second observation concerns the contents of the two manuals. Since the *Diadema* is meant for monks, it mostly focuses on renouncing the world and on *conversio*. A monk should endure the trials of this life for the sake of heavenly bliss. The *Via regia*, in contrast, is much more concerned with earthly affairs. Connected to this observation is the matter of eternal reward. Both texts emphasise that living virtuously on this earth will be rewarded in heaven. The *Via regia*, however, emphasises eternal happiness much more than the *Diadema* does. On the face of it that may not seem logical, for one would assume that monks were much more concerned with contemplating God and eternity than a king would be. However, if the king does not live virtuously, the consequences are much more serious, for he will not only put his own soul in jeopardy, but the welfare of his subjects as well. If he misbehaves, he will cause great misery for his people. If he does not stay on the right path, moreover, he will endanger the continuation of his dynasty. These are common themes in *Fürstenspiegel*.<sup>18</sup>

The *Via regia* starts with the most important commandment: the love of God and one’s neighbour. From this virtue the other virtues follow in a more or less logical way: the love of God is only possible if one upholds his commandments. This has to be done with fear, and fear is the crown of wisdom (Cf. *Ecclesi.* 1, 22). The same goes for the *Diadema monachorum*, but the sequence is preceded by three other virtues: prayer, the psalms, and the reading of the Scriptures. It does not seem without significance that the *Diadema* starts with these subjects, which determine the rhythm of the daily life of a monk.

### CORRESPONDING CHAPTERS

Both manuals emphasise that only God’s love enables men to love.<sup>19</sup> One should love one’s neighbour as oneself, and the *Via regia* explains that every believer is considered a neighbour, for all Christians are brothers according to the faith.<sup>20</sup> The *Diadema* pays more attention to the connection of the love for God and one’s neighbour, which cannot exist separately and follow from each other.<sup>21</sup> One

<sup>17</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* 144.

<sup>18</sup> See, for instance, a recent contribution by Rob Meens, Politics, mirrors of princes and the Bible: sins, kings and the well-being of the realm, in: *Early Medieval Europe* 7, 3 (1998) 345–357.

<sup>19</sup> *Via regia* 1, De dilectione Dei et proximi, PL 102, 935–937; *Diadema monachorum* 4, De dilectione Dei et proximi, PL 102, 598–601.

<sup>20</sup> *Via regia* 1, PL 102, 936: *Nos vero proximum, fidelem omnem dicimus Christianum, qui non solum rationabiliter proximus, sed et fideliter frater vocatur ... ergo generaliter omnis Christianus, Christiano proximus appellatur.*

<sup>21</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 4, PL 102, 599: *Per amorem Dei amor proximi gignitur, et per amorem proximi amor Dei nutritur. Nam qui amare Deum negligit, profecto diligere proximum nescit.*

could argue that the *Via regia* pays more attention to the practical question of identifying the neighbour, while the *Diadema* focuses more on the theological matter of the connection of love for God and love for one's neighbour. But apart from this the approach of both works is similar. One can only agree with Anton that both these chapters are practically the same.<sup>22</sup> This should not surprise us, however, since charity is the supreme virtue, and of central importance for all Christians, regardless of whether they are kings or monks. The fact that the *Diadema* mentions prayer, the psalms, and the reading of the Scriptures before discussing charity in chapter four, whereas the *Via regia* starts with a discussion of the virtue of charity – a fact not taken into consideration by Anton – already hints at the different perspectives in these works.

The next virtue discussed in both works is the observance of the Ten Commandments.<sup>23</sup> Again both chapters are almost the same, although the *Via regia* pays more attention to the consequences of the observance of the commandments.<sup>24</sup> If the king follows the commandments, he will not only receive an eternal reward, but also a felicitous reign and a long life. The peace he will experience on earth will be a reflection of the peace he will acquire in heaven.<sup>25</sup> The *Diadema* mentions nothing of the sort. It only states that the observance of the commandments is not possible without charity, and does not even elaborate on the reward a faithful observance will offer.<sup>26</sup>

We can observe a similar feature in the description of the next virtue, fear of God (*timor Dei*).<sup>27</sup> Smaragdus manages to connect the virtues he discusses in a more or less logical manner and makes one virtue follow logically from the preceding one. This is certainly the case with fear, because, according to the abbot, someone who loves God observes the commandments and does so with fear.<sup>28</sup> If the king acts out of fear, God will guide him. Fear of God will bring fertility, peace, well-being, and fair judgments. If the king acts with fear, the 'sun of justice' (Christ) will enlighten the mind of the king, and therefore wisdom and *discretio* will be his, and he will gain victory over his enemies and defend the realm of faith.<sup>29</sup> This mention of wisdom creates a smooth transition to the next chapter, which focuses on wisdom itself.

The *Diadema* shows a more theological approach.<sup>30</sup> It states that without fear there is nothing but perversity, but that with fear eternity will be the monk's share. It goes on to differentiate between two kinds of fear. Some people fear God because they do not want to go to hell. In that case people fear punishment, and do not love what they fear. Therefore, they do not actively love good things, but only refrain from bad things. But people who avoid evil start longing to do good. In that moment they are filled with holy fear. They long for the presence of the Lord, which they long to enjoy (*frui*) in eternity. Finally, Smaragdus gives fear a function within the monastic context. If someone is humble, and poor, and does not judge others, he possesses fear. According to Smaragdus the life of a monk consists of *operatio*, obedience, *meditatio*, and refraining from condemnation of others, slander, and grumbling. Everything should be done with discernment (*discretio*). As in the *Via regia*, Smaragdus uses a light metaphor, but the content is different. He does not mention the *sol iustitiae*, but instead states that, just as the light literally lights up a dark room, the *timor Dei* metaphori-

<sup>22</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* 139.

<sup>23</sup> *Via regia* 2, De observandis mandatis Domini, PL 102, 937–939; *Diadema monachorum* 5, De observatione mandatorum Dei, PL 102, 598–601.

<sup>24</sup> *Via regia* 2, PL 102, 937–938; *Diadema monachorum* 5, PL 102, 601.

<sup>25</sup> *Via regia* 2, PL 102, 938–939.

<sup>26</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 5, PL 102, 601.

<sup>27</sup> *Via regia* 3, De timore, PL 102, 939–941.

<sup>28</sup> *Via regia* 3, PL 102, 939.

<sup>29</sup> *Via regia* 3, PL 102, 941: *Et tibi ergo timendum est nomen Domini, ut sol iustitiae tibi met oriatur Christus, qui mentis tuae tenebras repellat, ignorantiam cordis auferat, et lucem intelligentiae infundat, sapientiae radios in te dirigat, et discretionis tui memoriam porrigat, inimicorum colla plantis tuis calcanda substernat, et fidelium regna ab inimicorum insidiis te dominante, defendat.*

<sup>30</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 6, De timore, PL 102, 602–604.

cally illuminates all virtues and commandments as it enters the heart.<sup>31</sup> The virtue of wisdom is not mentioned, so the transition to the next chapter is less obvious than in the *Via regia*.

The chapters on fear therefore take a very different approach. The *Via regia* clearly puts fear in a royal context, and explains the ways in which the king needs to act with fear. It pays ample attention to the good things that will come from a God-fearing king. These effects are connected to his kingship, and his behaviour would not be of so much influence if he were not a king. If the king sins, he endangers his people, his kingdom, and his dynasty. That seems to be the reason why a relatively large part of this chapter is devoted to the consequences of royal behaviour. This subject of the wide-ranging consequences of royal behaviour is discernible in other chapters as well. The *Diadema*, on the other hand, emphasises poverty, obedience, and general austerity and moderation in all things. Anton's interpretation that both chapters are "fast gleich" does not appear to take these differences into consideration.<sup>32</sup>

Chapters four of the *Via regia* and seven of the *Diadema* discuss the virtue of wisdom.<sup>33</sup> Wisdom seems a particularly important virtue in the *Via regia*, since the chapter in which it is discussed is by far the longest chapter of the whole work. Although wisdom is not a traditional royal virtue, it is interpreted as such in this chapter.<sup>34</sup> Smaragdus uses a great number of quotations from the biblical book of Wisdom, which is especially concerned with royal wisdom. This already indicates that Smaragdus meant this virtue to be specifically applied to the king's office. The content confirms this. The chapter starts with a(n) (implicit) reference to one of the duties of a king: leading his people to eternal life.<sup>35</sup> So it immediately becomes obvious that Smaragdus means to deal with royal wisdom. Smaragdus lists a number of good things that will happen to the king and his kingdom if he rules wisely.<sup>36</sup> He should esteem wisdom above all earthly riches, for it will lead to eternal happiness.<sup>37</sup> The king can only be wise if God provides him with wisdom, for it is a gift from God. The only way to receive that gift is by prayer, so Smaragdus urges the king to pray (Cf. Wisdom 9, 1–12).<sup>38</sup> With wisdom the king will rule rightly and will keep justice and prudence in mind.<sup>39</sup>

The chapter on wisdom in the *Diadema* has the appropriate addition 'which is of Christ'. This chapter is much shorter and more general in scope.<sup>40</sup> The discussion of wisdom in this work concerns the abstract *sapientia* of Christ rather than the kind of wisdom a king needs in order to rule. The warning that earthly riches should not be valued higher than eternal treasures is lacking, but this is of course not a risk monks usually have to consider.

The *Diadema* cites the same passages from the book of Wisdom as the *Via regia*, which seem less appropriate here than in the *Fürstenspiegel*, where Smaragdus deals extensively with royal wisdom. In the *Via regia* wisdom is an outstanding example of a royal virtue, specifically applied to the king's

<sup>31</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 6, PL 102, 603: ... *ita timor Domini, si venerit in cor hominis, illuminat eum, et docet omnes virtutes et mandata Dei.*

<sup>32</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* 143.

<sup>33</sup> *Via regia* 4, De sapientia, PL 102, 941–945; *Diadema monachorum* 7, De sapientia quae Christus est, PL 102, 604–605.

<sup>34</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* 54, does not consider *sapientia* among the "wesentliche Strukturelementen eines karolingischen Fürstenspiegels". See *ibid.* 89, 107. Nor do Franz Bittner, *Studien zum Herrscherlob in der Mittellateinischen Dichtung* (Inaugural-Dissertation, Volkach 1962); Werner Andreas Schmidt, *Verfassungslehren im 9. Jahrhundert. Die Fürstenspiegel und politische Schriften des Jonas von Orléans, Hinkmar von Reims, Sedulius Scottus, Servatus Lupus von Ferrières und Agobard von Lyon* (Dissertation, Mainz 1961); Josef Röder, *Das Fürstenbild in den mittelalterlichen Fürstenspiegeln auf französischem Boden* (Inaugural-Dissertation, Emsdetten 1933) mention wisdom as a chief royal virtue.

<sup>35</sup> *Via regia* 4, PL 102, 941: *Uberes Deo gratias agere debemus, qui nos ad coelica regna per regiam iubet pergere viam, ut per recta gradientes in terra, ad coelestem feliciter mereamur pertingere patriam.*

<sup>36</sup> *Via regia* 4, PL 102, 943.

<sup>37</sup> *Via regia* 4, PL 102, 943f.: *Thesaurus etenim magnus est sapientia, quam qui invenerit, inveniet vitam, et qui possiderit, immortalis habet coronam; [sapientia] regia sine dubio virtus est, cui non comparatus arum mundum, vel obryzym, nec adaequatibus argentum clarissimum, nec confertur vitrum perlucidum.*

<sup>38</sup> *Via regia* 4, PL 102, 944.

<sup>39</sup> *Via regia* 4, PL 102, 945.

<sup>40</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 7, PL 102, 604.

office, while the chapter on wisdom in the Diadema gives the impression of an adaptation of a royal virtue to monastic practice. As Anton observed, the biblical quotations in the Via regia that concern the king are also employed in the Diadema, but in an abbreviated form: all the passages that concern the king are left out.<sup>41</sup> It seems that in this case the ethics of a king are altered to fit those of a monk, and not the other way around.

The Via regia already mentioned prudence in the chapter on wisdom, and Smaragdus elaborates on prudence in chapter five, following the chapter on wisdom in the *Fürstenspiegel*. According to Smaragdus another name for prudence is providence, and the king should involve both in everything he does for God and men. Whoever is wise, possesses prudence, and if the king rules prudently, his kingdom will be built on fertile soil, and the king will rule over many peoples. In both manuals prudence is a virtue of moderation, which keeps the heart, language, and all words in check, and considers all things.<sup>42</sup> The Diadema mentions the same topics as the Via regia, but leaves out those aspects which are applied to the office of a king.<sup>43</sup> Here too it seems that the ethics of the Via regia are more well-thought out and better adapted to the specific context than those of the Diadema, which seem copied from the Via regia.

Prudence is a major virtue, but Smaragdus considers it necessary for prudence to be tempered by simplicity. Simplicity (*simplicitas*) is a minor but constant theme in monastic literature and is closely associated with innocence and purity, with sincerity and truth. Simplicity opposes cunningness, hypocrisy, pretence, curiosity and other such insincere tendencies, for simplicity signifies the one God. Prayer is only possible from a simple, undivided heart.<sup>44</sup> Chapter six of the Via regia is devoted to simplicity. Holy kings in ancient times held simplicity in high esteem. Job, Moses and the book of Wisdom display simplicity. The book of Wisdom, according to Smaragdus the book *par excellence* concerned with kings and reigns, says: *Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram sentite de Domino in bonitate et in simplicitate cordis quaerite illum* (Wisdom 1, 1).<sup>45</sup> The duty of simplicity is to temper the sharpness of prudence, in order that it will not exceed the measure of sincerity (*rectitudo*) nor stiffen to the pretence of ignorance. If the king acts with simplicity, he will enter the kingdom of heaven, and receive the robe of everlasting peace and glory.<sup>46</sup>

In the Diadema Smaragdus does not make much effort to emphasise the importance of simplicity for monks, which can be explained by the fact that simplicity was held to be a monastic virtue already. The part of the quotation from the book of Wisdom in which kings are urged to love justice, is missing, but otherwise the text in the Diadema is similar to that in the Via regia. Also, according to the Diadema the function of simplicity is mainly to temper prudence. Since this virtue is important for all Christians, monks should honour it even more. If they follow the path of simplicity, they will

<sup>41</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* 141.

<sup>42</sup> Via regia 5, De prudentia, PL 102, 946.

<sup>43</sup> Compare Via regia 5, PL 102, 946: *Dilige ergo, rex, hanc clarissimam regiamque virtutem, quae tibi regni gubernationem disponat et discretionem actionis conferat; quae tibi gressus operas dirigat, et cogitationeius actus disponat; quae tibi regiam prolibusque fecundam aedificet, et aedificatam roboret; quae tibi ornamenta virtutem copiamque ministret et rerum, quae tibi regni cornu sublimet, et brachio fortitudinem donet; quae ori tuo legem veritatis ministret et cordi tuo intellectum sapientiae multiplicet; quae tibi multarum gentium colla subjiciat, et te cunctis amabilem reddat, quae sermonibus tuis aureum ornamentum imponat, et argenteum munus labiis conferat; quae operibus tuis jugem custodiam, congruam ministret et gloriam;* to Diadema monachorum 8, PL 102, 605: *Diligamus prudentiam, quae nobis ornamenta morum et copiam ministret virtutum, quae ori nostro legem veritatis insinuet, et sermonem sapientiae et intellectus multipliciter adornet, sermonibus nostris aureum ornamentum imponat, et labiis nostris munus argenteum conferat: moribus nostris jugem custodiam, congruam ministret et gloriam.*

<sup>44</sup> See the entry on 'simplicité' in Dictionnaire de Spiritualité 14 (1990) 892–921; Jean Leclercq, Sancta simplicitas, in: *Collectanea ordinis cisterciensium reformatorem* 22 (1960) 138–148.

<sup>45</sup> According to: The Holy Bible. A Translation from the Latin Vulgate in the Light of the Hebrew and Greek Originals (London 1955), the translation of Wisdom 1.1 is as follows: "Listen, all you who are judges here on earth. Learn to love justice; learn to think high thoughts of what God is, and with sincere hearts aspire to him."

<sup>46</sup> Via regia 6, PL 102, 946: *Curre ergo, rex, firmiter per simplicitas initera, ut ad perennem citius pervenias vitam, et immortalitatis cito accipias praemia, et stola induaris pacis et gloriae.*

receive the robe of immortality and simplicity.<sup>47</sup> The role the virtue of *simplicitas* plays in both manuals is the same, but the way in which it is described in the *Via regia* takes the specific context of the king into consideration. Smaragdus explains how the king is supposed to integrate simplicity into his royal duties. This suggests that Smaragdus was concerned with adapting this virtue to a royal context, and therefore concerned with creating a specific royal identity.

The next chapter is devoted to patience, which, like *simplicitas*, is regarded as a tempering virtue.<sup>48</sup> Smaragdus does not examine the difference between simplicity and patience. Both chapters start in a similar way, with the same quotations from Paul, James and Proverbs (of which Solomon was considered to be the author), but the *Via regia* has an extra quotation from Proverbs which specifically concerns patience for kings (25, 15).<sup>49</sup> Smaragdus states in both chapters that whoever loves and embraces patience will rejoice in eternity, but again in the *Via regia* a specific royal feature is added: patience leads the royal tasks to perfection.<sup>50</sup> In both manuals patience is presented as the virtue that makes people mild and tempers them. It tempers anger, language, lust, violence, resentment, the power of riches, it guards peace, it refreshes poverty, it humbles in prosperity, it strengthens in adversity, it mollifies in insult and injury, it expels temptations and tolerates persecution.<sup>51</sup> This last capacity might be considered out of place in the *Fürstenspiegel*. Patience, a common virtue for martyrs, which gave them strength to endure persecution, is, *mutatis mutandis*, applicable to the ascetic monastic life as well. For a king this aspect of patience is less obvious. In general, however, these tempering and beneficial influences of patience are applicable to both kings and monks. The *Via regia* chapter ends with another incentive to embrace patience. In the *Diadema* a small collection of examples of (monastic) patience that deserve imitation appears instead.<sup>52</sup> So in both cases the virtue of patience show signs that Smaragdus attempted to adapt patience to the different contexts in which the texts function, although in this case the results might not seem too convincing.

#### DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS

As indicated above, after the chapter on patience both manuals start to move in different directions. The *Via regia* continues with the subject of justice, while the *Diadema* discusses humility. In the following section I will discuss the different approaches both manuals take in some detail.

Chapter eight of the *Via regia* is concerned with justice, while in the *Diadema* justice does not appear until chapter fifty-eight.<sup>53</sup> Justice is one of the most basic royal virtues, which traditionally appear in almost all *Fürstenspiegel*. It has a wide range of meanings: in addition to being a particularly royal virtue, it is also one of the key concepts of the Christian religion; it is one of the cardinal virtues; it is the virtue Augustine equates with charity and which he connects to the harmony and hierarchy of Creation. Both manuals describe a different kind of justice. In the *Via regia* justice is interpreted as a royal virtue only. Smaragdus urges the king to love justice and act accordingly, which will lead him to heaven and bring fortitude to his dynasty.<sup>54</sup> So justice is directly connected to its more practical implementation, judgment. The king should, however, temper his justice, otherwise it will degenerate into cruelty.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 9, PL 102, 606: *Curramus ergo per simplicitas initera, ut ad perennitatis per eam citius mereamur patriam, ubi immortalitatis stolam et simplicitatis recipere mereamur praemia.*

<sup>48</sup> *Via regia* 7, De patientia, PL 102, 946–947; *Diadema monachorum* 10, De patientia, PL 102, 606–607.

<sup>49</sup> *Via regia* 7, PL 102, 946–947; *Diadema monachorum* 10, PL 102, 606.

<sup>50</sup> *Via regia* 7, PL 102, 947.

<sup>51</sup> *Via regia* 7, PL 102, 947; *Diadema monachorum* 10, PL 102, 607.

<sup>52</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 10, PL 102, 607.

<sup>53</sup> *Via regia* 8, De justitia, PL 102, 947–949; *Diadema monachorum* 58, De fructu iustitiae, PL 102, 654f.

<sup>54</sup> *Via regia* 8, PL 102, 948: *Dilige ergo, rex, iustitiam et iudicium, quae est via regia, ... Per eam desiderium bonum iustis dabitur; per eam de angustia iusti liberabuntur; per eam semen eorum in aeternum fundabitur; per illam domus eorum plurimam accipet fortitudinem.*

<sup>55</sup> *Via regia* 8, PL 102, 949: *Temperata etenim iustia regiam tenet viam. Quod si caute non temperetur, in crudelitatem cito dilabitur.*



Justice becomes a *Leitmotiv* in the remaining part of the Via regia. Many of the virtues that follow chapter eight are in some sense connected to justice. In the two chapters that follow immediately, judgment and mercy are discussed. The king should be a fair judge. He should defend the poor and protect the weak.<sup>56</sup> These chapters eight to ten discuss true royal virtues or behaviour, which are only relevant to the office of a king and do not have a general human or monastic use. Chapter twenty-three urges the king not to repay evil with evil, chapter twenty-four discusses the restraining of anger, chapter twenty-five warns the king against liars and flatterers, chapters twenty-seven and twenty-eight focus on bribes, specifically in cases of judgment, chapter twenty-nine deals with false balances and weights, and chapter thirty urges the king to punish his subjects if they do not respect God's laws.<sup>57</sup> All these chapters deal with justice of some sort, and, more importantly, with specific aspects of legal disputes which are highly relevant for a king.

In the Diadema justice is discussed only in chapter fifty-eight, so it seems that justice is of less importance to monks. Moreover, justice is discussed here as one of the key concepts of Christianity – as heavenly justice. The title of the chapter is telling: it is about the fruits of justice more than it is about justice itself. The fruit of justice is the eternal life. So while the Diadema mainly speaks of heavenly justice, in the Via regia justice is presented as a very practical royal virtue, highly relevant for the office of the king. This different treatment of the virtue of justice together with the observation that justice is a recurring motif in this *Fürstenspiegel*, seems to confirm the existence of a particularly royal ethos, which is different from a monastic ethos.

The Diadema does not continue with justice after the chapter on patience, as the Via regia does, but with humility (chapter eleven).<sup>58</sup> It is a long and explicit chapter, and it discusses humility as one of the most important virtues for a monk. Benedict and Gregory the Great both emphasise the virtue of humility, which could be considered one of the most basic virtues for a monk.<sup>59</sup> So it should come as no surprise that Smaragdus pays specific attention to humility in a manual for monks, although his authority on humility is Isidore of Seville.<sup>60</sup> According to Smaragdus, all Christians have to esteem humility, but monks should do so even more. Without humility in their hearts monks will not be elevated by other virtues and will be in danger of decay by sins.<sup>61</sup> Smaragdus also mentions the maxim that anyone who is humble on earth, will be elevated by God (Cf. Luke 18, 14).<sup>62</sup>

Humility is discussed in a very different manner in the Via regia. There is no chapter on humility itself; it is only discussed in the context of other topics. Smaragdus warns the king to watch his steps, for he could easily stray off into pride (*superbia*). As the titles of chapter sixteen, *De non gloriando in divitiis, sed in humilitate*,<sup>63</sup> and twenty-one, *Ut caveat unusquisque superbiam*,<sup>64</sup> show, the emphasis is not on humility itself. It serves as a safeguard against the dangers of earthly riches and pride.

<sup>56</sup> Via regia 9, De iudicio, PL 102, 949f.; Via regia 10, De misericordia, PL 102, 950–952.

<sup>57</sup> Via regia 23, De non reddendo malum pro malo, PL 102, 962–936; *ibid.* 24, De reprimenda ira, PL 102, 963–964; *ibid.* 25, De non consentiendo adulatoribus, PL 102, 964; *ibid.* 27, Ut de impensis alienis domus non aedificetur, PL 102, 965–966; *ibid.* 28, Ut pro iustitia facienda nulla a iudicibus requirantur praemia, PL 102, 966; *ibid.* 29, Ne statera dolosa inveniatur in regno tuo, PL 102, 966–967; *ibid.* 30, Prohibendum de captivitas fiat, PL 102, 967–969.

<sup>58</sup> Diadema monachorum 11, De humilitate, PL 102, 607–609.

<sup>59</sup> Humility was one of the basic features of monastic life; cf. Adalbert de Vogüé, Regards sur le monachisme des premiers siècles. Recueil d'articles (Rome 2000) 26. Regula Benedicti 7 (ed. Philibert Schmitz/André Borias, Règle de saint Benoît, Turnhout 1987) 32–45, concerns *humilitas*. To Gregory the Great humility was of great importance, according to Conrad Leyser, Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great (Oxford 2000) 161.

<sup>60</sup> Diadema monachorum 11, PL 102, 607: *Unde Isidorus ait: Summa monachi virtus, humilitas, summum vitium eius, superbia est.* Cf. Isidore of Seville, Sententiae 3, 19 (ed. Pierre Cazier, CC SL 3, Turnhout 1998) 249: *Summa virtus monachi humilitas, summum vitium eius, superbia est.* The exact same passage (*summa monachi virtus*) is only mentioned in Defensor Locogiacensis, Liber scintillarum 4, 39 (ed. Heinrich M. Rochais, CC SL 117, Turnhout 1957) 21 (ca. 700) as a quotation from Isidore.

<sup>61</sup> Diadema monachorum 11, PL 102, 607: *Qui mundum deserunt, et tamen virtutes praeceptorum sine cordis humilitate sequuntur isti quasi de excelso gravius corrunt, quia deterius per virtutum elationem deiciuntur, quam per vitia prolabi poterunt.*

<sup>62</sup> Diadema monachorum 11, PL 102, 607–608.

<sup>63</sup> Via regia 16, PL 102, 956–957.

<sup>64</sup> Via regia 21, PL 102, 960–961.

Humility does not seem to be something the king should pursue in its own right. In chapter nineteen, humility is inextricably bound up with clemency, but is not discussed separately.<sup>65</sup>

Apparently the king should demonstrate a limited amount of humility, which is appropriate to his position.<sup>66</sup> The humility the monks should uphold has a much more absolute character. A monk should be humble, not only as a counterbalance for pride, but for the sake of humility itself. The humility of a king differs from the humility of a monk. In Anton's view the chapter on humility in the *Diadema* is based on the corresponding chapter in the *Via regia*, but gets more attention in the *Diadema* because of its subject matter and audience.<sup>67</sup> While Anton seems here to concede that Smaragdus did pay attention to the different contexts in which both works were meant to function, this does not change his point of view that the ethics of the *Via regia* are basically monastic.

Both works provide a detailed treatment of the subject of heavenly riches, the *Via regia* in chapter thirteen (*Ut thesaurus in coelo collocetur*) and the *Diadema* in chapter forty-seven (*Ut thesaurus monachi in coelo collocetur*). The first half of both chapters, in which Smaragdus argues that earthly riches are of no avail while heavenly riches never perish, are practically the same.<sup>68</sup> The king needs to distinguish between good and bad treasures (Cf. Luke 6, 45), and avoid such bad treasures as pride, anger, rapacity, cruelty, and ambition. The *Diadema* on the other hand, mentions voluntary poverty as the only treasure of the monk.<sup>69</sup> While the *Via regia* here aims at avoiding sinful behaviour, the *Diadema* aims at renouncing earthly life altogether, something a monk should, but a king cannot do. The *Via regia* is concerned with earthly riches, in which the king – given his position – is likely to place too much trust, which is another *Leitmotiv* in the *Via regia*. A monk, however, vows poverty, so earthly riches are (or should be) beyond his reach. The *Diadema*, therefore, focuses on the treasures in heaven instead.

Obedience, discussed in the thirteenth chapter of the *Diadema*,<sup>70</sup> can be considered another basic monastic virtue next to humility.<sup>71</sup> According to Smaragdus obedience cannot cause any evil, and good can only be done when there is obedience.<sup>72</sup> Smaragdus relates a story about a monk, who was accompanied by his young son in the monastery. This man was so obedient that he threw his own son into the fire when asked to do so by the abbot. When he did so, the fire extinguished on the spot, and the obedient monk acquired glory comparable to that of Abraham when offering his son Isaac. This story shows that obedience is a major virtue and is able to open heaven.<sup>73</sup> This story about obedience to the abbot makes the specific monastic meaning and purpose of this virtue obvious. This is confirmed by the complete absence of the virtue of obedience from the *Via regia*.

The next chapter in the *Diadema*, dealing with the subject of *contemptus mundi*, is again only applicable to monks.<sup>74</sup> Holy men flee from the world and rejoice in the misfortunes of this world, for it will make the desire for heaven even greater. Whoever hates the world, loves God. Being removed from the world is good, but being removed from it in the will is even better. The perfect man is separated in body and heart from the world.<sup>75</sup> Again, this contempt for the world, which is so appropriate for a monk, is absent from the *Via regia*. In the *Via regia* the king is warned not to put his

<sup>65</sup> *Via regia* 19, PL 102, 958–959.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Mayke de Jong, *Sacrum palatium et ecclesia. L'autorité religieuse royale sous les Carolingiens (790–840)*, in: *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales* 58, 6 (2003) 1243–1270, at 1246, 1260.

<sup>67</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* 143.

<sup>68</sup> *Via regia* 13, *Ut thesaurus in coelo collocetur*, PL 102, 953–954; *Diadema monachorum* 47, *Ut thesaurus monachi in coelo collocetur*, PL 102, 644.

<sup>69</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 47, PL 102, 644.

<sup>70</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 13, *De obedientia*, PL 102, 609f.

<sup>71</sup> *Regula Benedicti* 5, ed. Schmitz/Borias 28–31, discusses obedience. According to de Vogüé, *Regards* 13, obedience was one of the most important aspects of monastic communal life.

<sup>72</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 13, PL 102, 609.

<sup>73</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 13, PL 102, 610.

<sup>74</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 14, *De contemptoribus mundi*, PL 102, 610f.

<sup>75</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 14, PL 102, 611: *Bonum est corporaliter remotum esse a mundo, sed multo est melius voluntate. ... Ille autem perfectus est, qui huic saeculo corpore et corde discretus est.*

trust in earthly riches, but not to discard the world altogether. One could even argue that it would be inappropriate for a king to observe the same kind of contempt for the world as a monk.

### INDIVIDUAL CHAPTERS

I will refrain from discussing all chapters of both manuals in detail, but will now focus on three other chapters which occur in both works: the chapters on counsel, peace and prayer.

The importance of counsel (*consilium*) is another common feature in *Fürstenspiegel*, and the *Via regia* deals with this virtue in chapter twenty.<sup>76</sup> In the first sentence Smaragdus urges the king to act with *consilium*. A ruler should listen to his advisors and not rely solely on his own judgement. Although the biblical quotations mentioned here are not specifically meant for a ruler, Smaragdus himself adds that counsel is particularly important and necessary for kings. Its importance cannot be underestimated and it is more magnificent than gold and silver. A king needs counsel to rule well. Then Smaragdus discusses a number of Old Testament rulers who held counsel in high esteem: Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and Samuel.<sup>77</sup> Counsel enabled David to defeat Goliath, and to rule prudently and powerfully. It was because of counsel that Solomon ruled peacefully over many nations and built the temple in Jerusalem. Obviously the king should follow these *exempla*. Smaragdus ends this section with a monastic touch when he says that martyrs, virgins and confessors were guided by counsel when they persisted till the end, and gave up their earthly life and entered heavenly glory.<sup>78</sup>

In the *Diadema* counsel appears as well, but not until chapter forty-eight.<sup>79</sup> Smaragdus does not explain how counsel is to be interpreted. The beginning of the chapter is similar to the one in the *Via regia*. After the same biblical quotations, Smaragdus states that counsel is a major virtue and of great importance for monks. Whereas in the *Via regia* counsel is presented as necessary for a king to rule well, in the *Diadema* it is discussed as necessary for attaining the eternal life. Here too the abbot discusses *exempla*, but he leaves out all the exemplary rulers mentioned in the *Via regia*. He only mentions the martyrs, virgins and confessors who persevered in their faith thanks to counsel. In this way counsel becomes connected to the perseverance of the saints and martyrs, who were not diverted from divine counsel. These *exempla* appeal more to monks than the *exempla* concerning rulers mentioned in the *Via regia*. Smaragdus contrasts this counsel of perseverance with levity and urges his monks to stick to *stabilitas*, which by then seems to have replaced counsel as the subject of the chapter. Smaragdus ends this chapter with some advice on remorse and anger.<sup>80</sup> The abbot does not in any way connect these instructions to the preceding discussion of *consilium*.

In the *Via regia* then, counsel is a practical virtue necessary for the office of a king, and it has a specific function in a specific context. The *Diadema* starts in a similar way, but eventually the emphasis shifts, and counsel is treated as synonymous with perseverance. The *exempla* both manuals mention are specifically applicable to the persons they address, and the identity they attempt to create, except for the more monastic *exempla* of the martyrs and virgins, which occur in both manuals and seem to have been an important consideration for kings and monks alike.

The chapter on peace is different. The corresponding chapters in both works are exactly the same.<sup>81</sup> Despite the (Augustinian) tradition, in which peace is a specific royal virtue,<sup>82</sup> the *Via regia* describes peace in a very general way without applying it to a specific royal or monastic audience. Klinkenberg's conclusion that this is one of the chapters which prove that the *Via regia* expresses a monastic ethos,

<sup>76</sup> *Via regia* 20, De consilio, PL 102, 959–960.

<sup>77</sup> *Via regia* 20, PL 102, 959.

<sup>78</sup> *Via regia* 20, PL 102, 960.

<sup>79</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 48, De consilio, PL 102, 644–646.

<sup>80</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 48, PL 102, 644.

<sup>81</sup> *Via regia* 17, De pace, PL 102, 957; *Diadema monachorum* 12, De pace, PL 102, 609.

<sup>82</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel* 47; Schmidt, *Verfassungslehren* 4–5; Hugo Tiralla, *Das augustinische Idealbild der christlichen Obrigkeit als Quelle der "Fürstenspiegel" des Sedulius Scottus und Hincmar von Reims* (Inaugural-Dissertation, Anklam 1916) 10–16.

seems to miss the point, because this chapter is clearly written from a general Christian point of view.

I have already mentioned that the *Via regia* ends with a short chapter on prayer. Just like David and Solomon, the king has to pray for God's help in ruling his kingdom, for only then will his empire flourish. In addition to the king's prayers for God's help, others should also pray for the king; Smaragdus states that 'we' (probably he and his monks) will pray for the king.<sup>83</sup> Whereas the *Via regia* ends with a chapter on prayer, the *Diadema*, in contrast, starts with such a chapter, which makes sense, for praying is the first duty of a monk. This chapter, which is much longer than the chapter on praying in the *Via regia*, mostly deals with practical aspects of praying, such as its purpose (remedy for sins), its circumstances (silence) and its preconditions (purity of heart). Prayer is also a very personal matter, the way to heaven.<sup>84</sup> In the *Diadema* prayer is an applied virtue, which has an obvious use in the everyday routine of the monks. In the *Via regia*, however, praying is a supporting virtue, assisting other royal duties. It is not a primary activity, as is the case for monks.

### CONCLUSION

Anton concluded on the basis of a comparison of chapters one to seven of the *Via regia* and chapters four to ten of the *Diadema monachorum* that the *Via regia* is older than the *Diadema*. His observation that these parallel chapters are similar in content is actually more a by-product of this conclusion. From this observation Anton argued that both manuals express the same, monastic morality. For this, he relied entirely on the rather incomplete analysis by Klinkenberg. Anton proved that the *Via regia* was older, but still stuck to the original appreciation by Klinkenberg – prompted by his assumption that the *Diadema* was the older manual – of the *Via regia* as an uninspired copy of the *Diadema*. If one assumes that the monastic ethics of the *Diadema* came first, and that the *Via regia* was based on that ethical programme, the conclusion that both works have a monastic identity may not be so far-fetched. Anton, however, did not reconsider the old assumption that the *Via regia* had a monastic ethos in the light of his new hypothesis that the *Via regia* was written first.

Above I have attempted to show the dissimilarities between both manuals. Anton only investigated the first seven/ten chapters of both works, which are similar, although the similarities are only superficial. The virtues discussed are the same, but they are adapted to the specific context of either the monk or the king, and to such an extent that one can indeed distinguish two different identities. I also disagree with Anton's assumption that the *Via regia* employs monastic ethics. Sometimes a monastic ethos is used for the king, as Anton claims, but in other chapters it seems to be the other way around. Virtues which have a specific royal use or meaning are applied – sometimes successfully, sometimes not so successfully – to monks as well, as is the case with prudence, and the pursuit of heavenly riches. In other instances, virtues are adapted more thoroughly to the context in which they are used, and their significance differs. This is the case in the chapters on justice, humility and prayer. The way these virtues are interpreted makes them relevant for one context only. These manuals therefore express two kinds of ethics, which are sometimes interconnected, and are not always mutually applicable.

The extent to which the virtues have been adapted to the specific context of either the king or the monk varies as well. In some instances Smaragdus has made an effort to make a specific virtue useful for the office of a king. When he uses that same virtue in the *Diadema*, he leaves out the references to the royal context, but does not specifically adapt this virtue to the monastic context. In other cases he does adapt the virtue to the context in which it was supposed to play a role. I think it is even possible to make a case for assuming that the *Via regia* displays specific ethics, while the *Diadema* is much more general, abstract, and theological in its scope.

<sup>83</sup> *Via regia* 32, *De oratione*, PL 102, 970.

<sup>84</sup> *Diadema monachorum* 1, *De oratione*, PL 102, 594–596.

I was not able to detect a general mode of operation used by Smaragdus in the corresponding chapters of both manuals. It is obvious that he used and sometimes copied the *Via regia* when he was writing the *Diadema*. Given the period we are dealing with, it would be unusual if he had not done so. The chapters are certainly inspired by one another, but the extent to which this is the case varies. In some chapters it is obvious, while in other chapters the connection is less clear. One should even consider the (theoretical) possibility that Smaragdus based both manuals on a third text, perhaps a collection of virtues and vices. These findings might also give reason to reconsider the dating of both works.

Even if one considers the similarities between the chapters one to seven of the *Via regia* and the chapters four to ten of the *Diadema* as more striking than the differences, the diverging routes both manuals take after respectively chapter seven and chapter ten indicate that we are dealing with two distinctly different works. The virtues discussed from that moment on indicate a difference in the identities these works try to establish. The *Via regia* continues with the traditional royal virtue of justice, while the *Diadema* pays attention to monastic values, such as humility and obedience. Anton does not take this difference into consideration, since he does not pay attention to the remaining chapters of both works. In the case of the *Via regia*, this means that twenty-five chapters are not discussed, and in the case of the *Diadema* no less than ninety-three chapters are ignored. The chapters which Anton did analyse are by no means representative. They make up only a small part of the *Via regia*, while in the *Diadema* they are marginal, although it might be of some significance that Smaragdus put these chapters at the beginning of his manuals. Given the differences in the parallel chapters, and the way in which both manuals diverge after the first few chapters, we should conclude that we are dealing with two different ethical programmes, defining two different concepts of identity, one royal and the other monastic.

These results are in line with revisionist historical research regarding Louis the Pious. Louis was, and was supposed to be, more than a monk wearing a crown. The *Fürstenspiegel* written for him by Smaragdus shows that he was supposed to act differently from a monk, and had different responsibilities. There is no need for Noble to let his statements be weakened by Anton's assumptions.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> See note 12.

