What did it mean to be a Frankish nobleman in an age of reform? How could Carolingian lay nobles maintain their masculinity and their social position, while adhering to new and stricter moral demands by reformers concerning behaviour in war, sexual conduct and the correct use of power? This book explores the complex interaction between Christian moral ideals and social realities, and between religious reformers and the lay political elite they addressed. It uses the numerous texts addressed to a lay audience (including lay mirrors, secular poetry, political polemic, historical writings and legislation) to examine how biblical and patristic moral ideas were reshaped to become compatible with the realities of noble life in the Carolingian empire. This innovative analysis of Carolingian moral norms demonstrates how gender interacted with political and religious thought to create a distinctive Frankish elite culture, presenting a new picture of early medieval masculinity.

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The series *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* was inaugurated by G. G. Coulton in 1921; Professor Rosamond McKitterick now acts as General Editor of the Fourth Series, with Professor Christine Carpenter and Dr. Jonathan Shepard as Advisory Editors. The series brings together outstanding work by medieval scholars over a wide range of human endeavour extending from political economy to the history of ideas.

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MORALITY AND
MASCULINITY IN THE
CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

RACHEL STONE

Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge
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A NOTE ON TRANSLATION

Names of people and places have been translated into their standard English form, where there is one. Some terms have sometimes been left untranslated where a translation would not convey their full meaning, or they have multiple meanings. These are:

OFFICIALS

dux, patricius, marchio: high secular official, often a military commander.
missus (dominicns): royal commissioner or envoy.
primores: magnates, leading men.
iudex: judge, legal officer, administrator (see Chapter 1, p. 5).

LORDSHIP TERMINOLOGY (SEE CHAPTER 6, PP. 188–9)

homo: human being, man, (military) follower.
miles: soldier, warrior, military follower, later used for knight.
puer: boy, (military) follower.
vassus, vassalus: military followers.
fidelis: faithful man, (military) follower.
Senior: lord, superior, older man, leading man.
dominus: lord, master.

HOUSEHOLD TERMINOLOGY

servus, mancipium, ancilla, colonus, famulus: unfree people (see Chapter 6, p. 177).
domus, familia: family, household, dependants (see Chapter 6, p. 173).
paterfamilias: male head of household.
A note on translation

nobilis: noble, as adjective and noun (see Chapter 1, pp. 22–5).
leges: law codes produced in the post–Roman West.
ordo: order (in sense of rite or ordinance), category of people.
honores: honour, office, dignity, benefice.

All source quotations are given in English and I have also included the Latin of key passages. I have quoted existing translations of two texts throughout the book: Janet L. Nelson, Annals of St-Bertin (Manchester, 1991) and Timothy Reuter, Annals of Fulda (Manchester, 1992). The remaining translations are my own, unless stated otherwise in the footnotes.
ABBREVIATIONS

AB  Annales Bertiniani, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SRG 5 (Hanover, 1883)
Ad Carolum III  Hincmar of Rheims, Ad Carolum III imperatorum ut Ludovici Balbi sobrini sui filiis regibus idoneos educatores et consiliarios constitutam, PL 125, cols. 989–94
Ad episcopos  Hincmar of Rheims, Ad episcopos regni admonitio altera. Pro Carolomanno rege apud Scharncum facta, PL 125, cols. 1007–18
AF  Annales Fuldenses, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 7 (Hanover, 1891)
AF(B)  Bavarian continuation (pp. 107–35)
AF(M)  Mainz continuation (pp. 97–107)
AMP  Annales mettenses priores, ed. B. de Simson, MGH SRG 10 (Hanover, 1905)
ARF  Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 6 (Hanover, 1895)
ARF Rev.  Revised version (facing pages)
List of abbreviations

AV
Annales Vedastini, ed. B. de Simson, Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini, MGH SRG 12 (Hanover, 1909), pp. 40–82

AX
Annales Xantenses, ed. B. de Simson, Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini, MGH SRG 12 (Hanover, 1909), pp. 1–33

BnF
Bibliothèque national de France

CCCM
Corpus Christianorum Series Latina. Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout, 1966–)

CCSL
Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout, 1953–)

CSEL
Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866–)

De cavendis
Hincmar of Rheims, De cavendis vitis et virtutibus exercendis, ed. Doris Nachtmann, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 16 (Munich, 1998)

De coercendo
Hincmar of Rheims, De coercendo et exstirpando raptu viduarum, puellarum ac sanctimonialium, PL 125, cols. 1017–36

De divortio
Hincmar of Rheims, De divortio Lotharii regis et Theutbergae reginae, ed. Letha Böhringer, MGH Conc. 4, Supplementum 1 (Hanover, 1992)

De inuesticis

De ordine
Hincmar of Rheims, De ordine palatii, ed. and trans. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer, MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum separatim editi 3 (Hanover, 1980)

De regis
Hincmar of Rheims, De regis persona et regio ministerio, PL 125, cols. 833–56

DIL
Jonas of Orléans, De institutione laicali, PL 106, cols. 121–278

DIR

DVV
List of abbreviations


EA Paschasius Radbertus, Epitaphium Arsenii, PL 120, cols. 1557–1650


LE Paulinus of Aquileia, Liber exhortationis, PL 99, cols. 197–282


LRC Sedulius Scottus, Liber de rectoribus christianis, ed. Siegmund Hellmann, in Sedulius Scottus, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, Band 1, Heft 1 (Munich, 1906), pp. 1–91

Mansi Giovanni Domenico Mansi et al. (eds.), Sacrorum conciliorum: Nova et amplissima collectio, 53 vols. (Graz, 1960–1)

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica

MGH Cap. Capitularia regum Francorum

MGH Cap. episc. Capitula episcoporum

MGH Conc. Concilia

MGH Dip. Kar. Diplomata Karolinorum

MGH Epp. Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi

MGH Leges nat. Germ. Leges nationum Germanicarum

MGH Poet. Poetae Latini aevi Carolini

MGH SRG Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi

MGH SRG n.s. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series

MGH SRM Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum
List of abbreviations

MGH SS  
*Scriptores in folio*

Nithard  
Nithard, *Historiarum libri IIV*, ed. Ernst Müller, MGH SRG 44 (Hanover, 1907)

Notker  

Novi regis  
Hincmar of Rheims, *Novi regis instructio ad rectam regni administrationem*, PL 125, cols. 983–90

Paraenesis  

PCR  
Peter Godman (ed.), *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, 1985)

PL  

PLS  

Pseudo-Cyprian  

Quierzy letter  
The Council of Quierzy 858, MGH Conc. 3, no. 41, pp. 408–27

Regino  
Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 50 (Hanover, 1890)

Regula pastoralis  

Settimane  
Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo

Thegan  

VA  
Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita sancti Adalhardi*, PL 120, cols. 1507–56

VB  
List of abbreviations


*VK*  Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG 25 (Hanover, 1911)
Map 1 The Carolingian empire (base map © Central Intelligence Agency)
Figure 1 Genealogy of Carolingian rulers (simplified)