

University of Central Florida

STARS

Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2020-

2023

The Bishop and the Poet: Theodulf of Orléans and the Carolingian World

Cole Taylor

University of Central Florida



Part of the [History Commons](#)

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd2020>

University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Masters Thesis (Open Access) is brought to you for free and open access by STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2020- by an authorized administrator of STARS. For more information, please contact STARS@ucf.edu.

STARS Citation

Taylor, Cole, "The Bishop and the Poet: Theodulf of Orléans and the Carolingian World" (2023). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations, 2020-*. 1749.

<https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd2020/1749>

THE BISHOP AND THE POET: THEODULF OF ORLÉANS AND THE CAROLINGIAN
WORLD

by

COLE TAYLOR
B.A. Florida State University, 2020

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of History
in the College of Arts and Humanities
at the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Summer Term
2023

Major Professor: Duncan Hardy

© 2023 Cole Taylor

ABSTRACT

This thesis centers on Theodulf of Orléans and the themes of love and food throughout his episcopal statutes and poetry. These two themes are connected to the larger Carolingian landscape, in which Theodulf interacts with society, culture, and religion. In covering these two themes, a more nuanced picture of Carolingian religion and society emerges, at least from the way Theodulf viewed the world around him. In considering these two themes, I further encourage the process of intertextual analysis as formulated by Rosamond McKitterick and M. A. Claussen. Furthermore, I argue that the general reforms of the Carolingian empire penetrated a variety of avenues than previously considered. In essence, I argue that the *correctio*, for Theodulf, was primarily motivated by his conceptions of love and the need to strengthen the communal bonds of love. As for food, Theodulf utilized this concept to disperse social and religious commentary in which the standards of the Carolingian court, religion, and society are further realized through this unconventional avenue. The impact of this study centers on how historians consider medieval authors, sources, and the Carolingian empire. As demonstrated throughout the study, if medieval authors are considered collectively then their individualistic nuance is often lost. This bleeds into the interpretation of sources, in which crossing genre lines in the medieval landscape leads to further refined pictures of the societies under study. Finally, in pursuing the themes of love and food, further inquiries into Theodulf are opened, alongside studies of other medieval authors in which historians have not wholly considered the author's entire corpus of work. Presently, outside of dissertations, there exists no English monograph centered on Theodulf alone, and while this thesis is by no means a book, it at least encourages further study of Theodulf.

This thesis is dedicated to my family, friends, and professors who have provided support throughout my time at the University of Central Florida

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is impossible to convey all my thanks to the multitude of people who have provided aid throughout the writing of this thesis, yet I can still make the attempt. Firstly, I am deeply indebted to all the historians who have come before me who have approached the Carolingian empire from their multitude of lenses. I extend my thanks to Carine van Rhijn, Rosamond McKitterick, and Janet Nelson, whose works have formed the backbone of this thesis. I would also like to extend my gratitude to my thesis advisor, Duncan Hardy, who offered tremendous guidance throughout my time at the University of Central Florida. My committee members, Connie Lester and Ezekiel Walker, have provided ample guidance and support throughout the duration of the program.

On a more personal note, I would like to thank my family whose emotional support was more than I could ever ask for. I must give tremendous credit to my dog, Louie, who constantly reminded me that breaks are a major part of the writing process. A central component of this thesis is on love, and I was in part inspired to cover this theme given my own personal connection to love. Therefore, I extend the utmost gratitude to my partner who provided the inspiration to cover the theme of love in the first place. I would also like to thank my friend, Wesley Grayson, I could not have written this thesis had it not been for his support. Finally, I would like to thank my graduate cohort, all of whom provided tremendous support and whom I will sorely miss once I leave the University of Central Florida. Thank you again, to everyone, my experience at the University of Central Florida formed a major part of my life, and I look forward to what the future holds.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: THE CAROLINGIAN WORLD.....	8
In the Middle of Things	10
Politics, Government, and Authority.....	16
Religion.....	19
Scholarship and Education.....	23
CHAPTER TWO: FROZEN HEARTS	29
CHAPTER THREE: SPICY DISHES AND COUNTRY CHEESES.....	57
CONCLUSION.....	84
REFERENCES	87

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- C.E. Theodulf von Orléans, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*,
Capitula Episcoporum I, ed. Peter Brommer (Hannover, 1984).
- T.C. Theodulfi Carmina, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Poetae
Latini aevi Carolini I, ed. Ernestus Dümmler (Berlin, 1881).
- P.T.O. Alexandrenko, Nikolai A. “The Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A
Translation and Critical Study.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Tulane
University, 1970.

INTRODUCTION

Within the historiography of the Carolingian empire, Bishop Theodulf of Orléans (b. ~750/760, d. 821) is widely recognized as a foundational figure who wrote across many genres, such as poetry and laws or episcopal statutes among others.¹ Despite this status, independent monographs which place Theodulf at the center of analysis are few and far between within the English historiography of the Carolingians, as opposed to the French or German historiography.² The present thesis aims to not only reaffirm Theodulf's primacy within the Carolingian empire, but also to nuance established and long-standing historiographical arguments surrounding Carolingian religion, culture, and society.

The main contours of the scholarship of the Carolingians can be characterized as follows. Early Carolingian historiography affirmed the importance of its subject through economic arguments. One of the most monumental figures in this regard was Henri Pirenne with his 1937 work, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. For Pirenne, the importance of Charlemagne (b. 747, d. 814), and subsequently Carolingian studies, came about because Charlemagne represented, "a clear break with the Mediterranean economy which had continued until the invasion of Islam."³

¹ As far as Theodulf's poetry is concerned, "Theodulf was perhaps the most versatile and accomplished of his generation..." Rosamond McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 119.

² A fundamental limitation of this thesis is that it cannot consider secondary works in either French or German, such as the biography, Claire Tigolet, *Théodulf d'Orléans (vers 760–821): Histoire et Mémoire d'un Évêque Carolingien* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2023).

³ Henri Pirenne, *Mohammad and Charlemagne*, trans. Bernard Miall (London: Allen and Unwin, [1937] 1939), 246.

At its inception, the importance of Carolingian studies lay within its relational aspect towards other empires of the time. This trend of economic arguments held major sway over Carolingian studies, as around forty years later, Riche Pierre echoed Pirenne's arguments. Pierre's emphasis on the importance of Carolingian studies lied in observation that the Carolingians marked the end of the ancient world through a heavy focus on economics as signaling the emergence of a capitalist Europe.⁴ In contrast to the traditional economic arguments, social histories of the Carolingians took hold towards the end of the twentieth century.⁵ Anglophone Carolingian studies has been slow to adopt new frameworks or interpretive paradigms, as the dramatic shift in interpretations came to complete fruition around the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first with the publications of Rosamond McKitterick, Janet Nelson, and Mayke de Jong. Therefore, in continuing the historiographical trend, this thesis would not have been possible without these pivotal scholars who have fundamentally shaped Carolingian studies. To this end, this thesis will focus on poetry and episcopal statutes of Theodulf, in the pursuit of building on and nuancing the established paradigms.

Historian Francesco Stella articulates the importance of poetry best. "In the Carolingian age the relationship between poetic activity and power reformed itself into a totally new system of communication..."⁶ Within the poetic field, "A different system of social and ethnic relations produced a new tradition that was soon on a path toward a stability based on strong values..."⁷

⁴ Jo Ann McNamara, preface to *Daily Life in the Age of Charlemagne*, Pierre Riché (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), x–xi.

⁵ In reference to the countless works which detail the social world of Charlemagne, see Jacques Boussard, *The Civilization of Charlemagne*, trans. Frances Partridge (New York; Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976 [1968]); Peter Munz, *Life in the Age of Charlemagne* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1969); Pierre Riché, *Daily Life in the Age of Charlemagne*.

⁶ Francesco Stella, "The New Communication System of Imperial Power in Carolingian Poetry," in *Empire and Politics in the Eastern and Western Civilizations: Searching for a 'Respublica Romanosinica'*, eds. Jaewon Ann et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), 161.

⁷ Stella, "The New Communication System," 150.

Given this intense value in poetry, which other historians affirmed, there still exists a significant gap regarding Theodulf. While historians have covered all his works in depth, the distinct connection between the legal and poetic deserves further exploration. I am by no means the first to place statutes and poetry in conversation with one another, as June-Ann Greeley expertly intertwined both. Greeley places the statutes and poetry of Theodulf under the umbrella of a realized Carolingian humanism.⁸ In contrast to this approach, this thesis makes two central arguments, one on broader historical study and another on Carolingian historiography which does not position an idea of humanism over Theodulf's writings. This is not to say that humanistic elements did not find their way into Theodulf's works, but rather that the tenants of Greeley's analysis can be realized without the umbrella of humanism. For example, notions of the community are realized with stringent application of Theodulf's perceptions of love, and that the *correctio* itself was born out of the need for reinforced bonds of love.⁹ Therefore, by using Theodulf as a case study, I argue for the importance of crossing genre lines for Carolingian authors. I argue that it is essential that historians consider and incorporate analysis of sources that expand out of a predetermined focus. For example, a historian studying Carolingian law may only consider legal sources such as *capitula* and letters. Yet it is the historical reality that Carolingian authors wrote in a multitude of genres. Therefore, if we are to understand Carolingian society, religion, and culture, it is necessary to consider sources which seemingly have little value if going off genre type alone.

This thesis will investigate the *correctio* and Carolingian society through Theodulf's eyes. The Carolingian *correctio* has been subject to extensive historiographical scrutiny. Some of

⁸ June-Ann Greeley, "Social Commentary in the Prose and Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A Study in Carolingian Humanism," (Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 2000). Greeley defines Carolingian humanism as the mastery of the liberal arts in pursuit of mastery of holy scripture, 87–106.

⁹ Greeley, "Social Commentary," 142–214.

the major modern scholars who have established the overarching frameworks and arguments of the *correctio* are Janet Nelson, Carine van Rhijn, and Thomas F.X. Noble. The framework established by Nelson has in large part inspired the approach taken in this thesis. Primarily, Nelson advocates for the individuality inherent within commonly analyzed groups in the Carolingian empire, such as the bishops.¹⁰ I expand on this trend primarily through the present case study of Theodulf. Thereby, the purpose of investigating Theodulf is to not only expand on current trends within Carolingian historiography but also elucidate how a case study which places a prominent individual in Frankish society at the center of its analysis can further expand on these trends. Carine van Rhijn's frameworks of analysis of the Carolingian *correctio* are of great importance to the present work, namely how the episcopal statutes articulated the ideal Christian society.¹¹ Finally, Thomas F. X. Noble's arguments on the importance of a Carolingian Christian community are extremely potent.¹² I seek to incorporate Theodulf's individual notions of community into Noble's communal framework and emphasize how Theodulf mobilized this community towards exclusionary or inclusive aims. Therefore, the approach I adopt in this thesis is an amalgamation of the various frameworks and arguments that have come to define the Carolingian empire. What separates this work from others is the emphasis placed on Theodulf's unique individuality and the reconciliation of this individuality with established frameworks based on groups.

¹⁰ Jinty Nelson, "Charlemagne and the Bishops," in *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honor of Mayke de Jong*, eds. Rob Meens et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 351.

¹¹ Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way*, 5; Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout; Abingdon: Brepols, 2007), 36, 50.

¹² Thomas F. X. Noble, "Carolingian Religion," *Church History* 84, no. 2 (2015): 287–307. Noble emphasizes the importance of the Christian community throughout Carolingian society.

In pursuit of this goal, this thesis investigates food and love as a cultural, literary, religious, and social device. Theodulf frequently relied on metaphors, allegories, and allusions of food and love in his poetry and elaborated on the importance of both in Christianity and society. While historians have approached and investigated the topic of the medieval diet and love, scholars have not investigated both together as a cultural phenomenon in relation to Theodulf. For Theodulf, both food and love represented fundamental ordering blocks of Christian society and ritual. One of the most notable outcomes of this analysis is the further nuance of Carolingian reforms and society. Analyzing food as a cultural, religious, and social artifact allows for the opening of new dimensions of the Carolingian *correctio*, namely how food was used to articulate ideas of reform and social realities. Most Carolingian scholars, when writing of the Carolingian Church or other aspects of society, do not necessarily affirm the importance of food to both social and religious reform. As for love, Theodulf sought to do much more than only correct the behavior of the clergy, as he targeted the whole of Christian society. I argue that it is precisely because of Theodulf's intense emphasis on love as sustaining the entirety of the Christian community that he sought to institute reform in the first place, alongside calls from his superior, Charlemagne. Therefore, if modern historians are to better understand the *correctio* and Carolingian society, food and love must be a part of the conversation. Theodulf himself wrote extensively on both, but the latent reluctance to cross genre lines in the historiography prevents further analysis of how either food or love shaped Carolingian society. With these two themes, love and food, Carolingian historiography is pushed into new directions that seek to open new avenues and tweak the various formulations of the Carolingian world.

In summation, my argument is as follows; Combining the poetry and episcopal statutes of Theodulf of Orléans is fundamentally important, and it is through this combination that

Theodulf's own world view on religion, culture, and society is further realized. In turn, a better understanding of that worldview has the potential to nuance present historiographical frameworks and arguments on the Carolingian empire and *correctio* from the vantage point of love and food. As for love, I argue that Theodulf's focus formed the impetus for his reform efforts, and it is through food that Theodulf commentated on and conveyed his individual world view, among other means.

This thesis is deeply indebted to Rosamond McKitterick and M. A. Claussen, who throughout their respective works, developed the idea of intertextual analysis.¹³ David Schlosser's dissertation clarifies the concept of intertextual analysis: "This method examines specific passages from one text and explores how similar passages may appear in other works. These similar passages may appear as direct paraphrases or work in a more thematic way." McKitterick in particular, "has shown how a close textual tradition of different sources may not appear to be related on the surface but may have important underlying thematic, intellectual, and ideological connections."¹⁴ Thereby, I aim to reaffirm the importance of approaching Carolingian studies through intertextual analysis, and add further to the understanding of the *correctio*, society, and religion through application of this method to both love and food throughout the works of Theodulf.

Chapter 1 of this work focuses on and summarizes the main contours of Carolingian society in all its major aspects and facets. Of principal concern are the political and religious

¹³ J. David Schlosser, "Reading into *Christian Teaching: The Augustinian Hermeneutic of Love in the Carolingian Age*" (Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 2013), 11. Schlosser lists several works by both Claussen and McKitterick, in particular they are Rosamond McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2006) and M. A. Claussen *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). I am deeply indebted to Schlosser for exploring the benefits of intertextual analysis.

¹⁴ Schlosser, "Reading into *Christian Teaching*," 11.

systems as well alongside Carolingian education. While these three aspects do not cover the entirety of Carolingian society, they form a major component of Theodulf's life and commentary. Chapter 2 investigates Theodulf's use of love as a basic ordering concept for the whole of Carolingian society, religion, and reform effort. Alongside Christian love, he frequently remarks on women and their role in the Carolingian world in which gender-based frameworks are of particular importance towards a hetero-normative conception of love. Chapter 3 explores the ways in which Theodulf utilized food, whether as a metaphor to commentate on various facets of society, or to further correct behavior. To reach this conclusion, I make use of Clifford Geertz's frameworks on cultural interpretation. While I do not cover the entirety of Theodulf's written works, for example the *Libri Carolini* are not referred to, the source base which dominates these chapters is Theodulf's *capitula* and *carmina* or ecclesiastical statutes and poetry. Through the conjoining of these two source bases, Theodulf's conceptions of food and love subtly shifts the historiography and how modern historians understand the Carolingian empire.

Therefore, to first consider the societal, cultural, and religious elements of Theodulf's work, it is first necessary to build at least a skeleton of Carolingian society to which refer when discussing food and love. From this foundation the subsequent chapters are built, and it is against the backdrop of these broader characteristics and developments that we can appreciate how critically important Theodulf is to understanding Carolingian society in all its complexity.

CHAPTER ONE: THE CAROLINGIAN WORLD

In the eighth and ninth centuries, the Carolingian Empire was by far the largest and most prominent polity in the western, Latin-speaking Christian world. It claimed to be nothing less than an empire embodying Christianity—*imperium Christianum*.¹⁵ This idea of a religiously defined community was not only rooted in the perception of onlookers, but also deeply embedded within the very social and cultural fabric of the empire itself. It was within this fabric that Theodulf of Orléans emerged, being appointed to the bishopric of Orléans in 798 and prior to his appointment, he received an education and grew up in Northeastern Visigothic Spain.¹⁶ Therefore, in an effort to better understand the wider social context of Theodulf's writing, it is imperative that this empire is further explored so as to clearly pinpoint the societal and cultural pressures. The three aspects of the Carolingian Empire that will be explored are politics, religion, and scholarship. While these categories do not include every facet of the empire, they still shape a tremendous portion of the substance of this empire and Theodulf's ideas are most directly relevant to these categories. Before these three categories can be explored in detail, it is necessary to first elucidate a broad overview of the Carolingian Empire which invariably shaped Theodulf. While modern historians have shied away from all-encompassing studies

¹⁵ This idea of an *Imperium Christianum* can be found throughout Carolingian historiography, however Owen M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), covers this idea in depth.

¹⁶ June-Ann Greeley, "Social Commentary," 16.

that cover every facet of the empire, these earlier works are necessary to divulge the intricate details of the Carolingian empire.

There are several features which formed the basis of Carolingian historiography in the twentieth century. A key aspect of twentieth-century works is the intensive focus on the elite and the political structure of the Carolingian empire, albeit towards the mid to late twentieth century the focus shifted towards social history.¹⁷ These earlier works centered on first defining the empire and articulated the importance of Carolingian studies. One of the most impactful scholars in this regard was Henri Pirenne, who based the empire on economic arguments and that it is through economics that the Carolingians were worthy of study.¹⁸ For others, such as Heinrich Fichtenau, the political and social foundations formed the bulk of the empire, and these foundations subsequently caused the downfall of the empire.¹⁹ Given that these relatively early scholars centered on structural foundations of economics or politics for analyzing the Carolingian empire, recent scholars have adapted or moved beyond these structures to better capture different facets of the empire outside of economics or politics, such as religion.²⁰ This is not to say that these earlier scholars completely ignored the role of religion in the Carolingian Empire, but rather they used religion as a means to understand political, social, or economic structures rather than analyzing religion on its own terms.²¹ The impact of these earlier works have left their mark on the historiography, as modern historians have resorted to totalizing

¹⁷ Broadly, this pertains to works that engage in all-encompassing analysis of the entire empire or analyze an extremely long period of time, which was more common in the twentieth century such as Boussard, *The Civilization of Charlemagne*; Stewart C. Easton and Helene Wieruszowski, *The Era of Charlemagne: Frankish State and Society* (Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1961); See Peter Munz, *Life in the Age of Charlemagne*, for a combination of both totalizing and social history.

¹⁸ Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, 167–168.

¹⁹ H. Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), xv–xvi.

²⁰ Mayke De Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²¹ See Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire* and Peter Munz, *Life in the Age of Charlemagne*.

analyses to better capture and explain the nuanced facets of the empire, and further insist on the relational aspects of Carolingian figures. This comes at the expense of downplaying their unique nature. In other words, modern historians utilize a variety of sources from one group of people, such as bishops, to form general conclusions about that group of people. Yet it is the explicit purpose of this thesis to move away from this approach, and instead fixate on a particular Carolingian figure and emphasize the uniqueness of his writings. Through this emphasis the earlier totalizing interpretive frameworks are themselves tweaked and modified to better capture the individuality of medieval authors. To further realize this goal, further explorations of the empire's sectors are necessary.

In the Middle of Things

Charlemagne, King of the Franks and Emperor of the Romans, ruled the entirety of Carolingian lands from 768 until his death in 814. Throughout Charlemagne's reign, he vastly increased the size of the empire through a series of conquests, he pushed for literary, religious, and bureaucratic reforms to improve the functioning of the empire and shift it closer to the ideals of a *imperium Christianum*. At the empire's height, it encompassed nearly all of modern-day Germany and Austria, and the entirety of modern-day France, the Low Countries, Northeastern Spain, Switzerland, and the northern half of the Italian peninsula. Charlemagne was not the first Carolingian ruler, the dynasty had long roots from relatively minor beginnings in the seventh century until their eventual ascension towards kingship. Under Charlemagne, Theodulf rose to prominence, and it would be under his successor that Theodulf would fall. After Charlemagne's death in 814, his only surviving son, Louis the Pious (b. 778, d. 840), assumed the throne. While this succession was incredibly useful for keeping the Empire together, given the Frankish tradition of partitioning lands equally among children, Louis would see the system's flaws. To

prevent disagreements between his children, Louis composed the *ordinatio imperii* which detailed explicitly each child's inheritance once Louis passed away. However, the *ordinatio* left Bernard of Italy (b. 797 d. 818), nephew of Louis the Pious, as a vassal of his cousin, with no lands to rule as sole monarch. Therefore, Bernard revolted against Louis. Theodulf would, given his poor relationship with Louis and the new court established after Charlemagne's death, be implicated in this revolt, and subsequently exiled from his bishopric and the court. Theodulf lost nearly everything that, for him, gave his life meaning as he spent his last years in exile. Despite his exile, Theodulf contributed heavily to two reform movements which have shaped how modern historians view the empire, the *correctio* and Carolingian renaissance.

As far as the present historiography is concerned, the *correctio* and Carolingian renaissance have become intertwined and reduced to a “semantic puddle that can be summarized as ‘people changing things (but it is complicated)’.”²² For the sake of clarity, these two movements will be delineated, however present Carolingian historians will use sources and the titles of these movements interchangeably. This thesis will wholly concern itself with the *capitula episcoporum* or statutes composed by members of the clergy within the *correctio*, as well as the *carmina* of Theodulf, which can be viewed as an outgrowth of the renaissance efforts. There is a tremendous amount of overlap between these movements, however separating them has merits in articulating the different influences and forms of Theodulf's writings. Alongside the *capitula*, there are also a multitude of types of documents that articulate reform, such as the *admonito generalis*. Therefore, what exactly were these two movements present at the time of Theodulf's ascension?

²² Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way*, 33.

The core of the *correctio* focused on religious correction and reform. This took several forms, from correcting the behavior of the lay priests and people who set poor examples or to those engaged in incorrect practices or sin.²³ Broadly, the *correctio* movement represents a Carolingian obsession with proper rituals, books, and behavior so as to bring the populace closer to God and to shepherd the people so their souls may be saved.²⁴ Although previous historians have asserted the top-down nature of the *correctio*, other historians have paid little attention to the individualized nature that characterize these reforms.²⁵ While Charlemagne did encourage reform, the bishops took it upon themselves to institute the details in their respective dioceses, no doubt stemming from their ideas of personal responsibility for lay faults.²⁶ For example, Charlemagne in 798 issued the *admonito generalis*, a general *capitulum* which encouraged educational and religious reform, however a broad call for reform could not address the specific areas requiring improvement within particular diocese.²⁷ Thus, it was left to the bishops and religious elite to determine how best to institute reform. Eventually, nineteenth-century German historians chose to edit the written product of these reforms in their scholarly project of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. These writings, *capitula*, are essentially laws or prescriptions that the bishops sought to institute among their lay priests. Throughout the entire section of the *capitula episcoporum*, the editor, Peter Brommer, lists parallel *capitula* for each bishop's writings where the content is to some degree similar to another *capitula* from a different bishop.

²³ Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, 4.

²⁴ Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, 4, 36, 64, 134.

²⁵ Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way*, 28–30.

²⁶ C.E. I: 'Veraciter nosse debetis et semper meminisse, quia nos, quibus regendarum animarum cura commissa est, pro his, qui nostra neglegentia pereunt, rationem reddituri summus' and van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, 36.

²⁷ See John J. Contreni, "Learning for God: Education in the Carolingian Age," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 24 (2014): 129, for how the *Admonito Generalis* effected Carolingian education and by extension religion; Andersson Theodore, "A Carolingian Pun and Charlemagne's Languages," in *Along the Oral-Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations, and their Implications*, eds. Slavica Rankovic et. al. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010), 357–370.

While the content of these writings may be similar, each bishop articulated their reforms differently.²⁸

One of the most prominent historians of the *correctio* movement, Carine van Rhijn, dramatically transformed the historiographical landscape of the *correctio*. Most notably, van Rhijn redefined the *capitula episcoporum* as directly addressing the lay priests of the Carolingian parishes.²⁹ In contrast to the earlier historiography, which first used these documents in constructions of the Carolingian religious system, van Rhijn shifted the focus into the audience and reception of the documents that form the impact of the *correctio* movement.³⁰ Van Rhijn's historiographical shift is itself the outgrowth of the historiographical contributions of Janet Nelson and Rosamond McKitterick. Alongside van Rhijn stands another historian who has had a tremendous effect on the historiography of the *correctio*, Mayke de Jong. In de Jong's work, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814-840*, she weaves into the historiography notions of effects and outcomes.³¹ Thereby, the effects of the *correctio* have tangible results and implications for subsequent elites and rulers, and it is through the *correctio* that the bishops greatly enhanced their temporal authority and power.³² Therefore, the historiography of the *correctio* shifts away from merely using these documents as a means to construct an abstraction, and instead historians are embracing the reception and outcomes of these documents. Along with the reception shift, literary analysis is currently moving the entirety

²⁸ For example, Gerbald of Liege, began nearly every *capitula* with the Latin word 'ut'. As for Waltcaud, his *capitula* are tremendously shorter, regardless of the possibility that some of these *capitula* were lost, the ones that survived remain remarkably shorter than Theodulf's own *capitula*. Finally, Haito of Basel included, each *capitulum* has different parallels that do not exactly line up with one another for each statute. All of these are found within *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH) Capitula Episcoporum I (C.E.)*, ed. by Peter Brommer (Hannover: Hahn, 1984), 3–42, 43–49, 204–219, respectively.

²⁹ Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, 10.

³⁰ Munz, *Life in the Age of Charlemagne*, 85–86. Munz depicts reform as purely top-down and dictated by Charlemagne.

³¹ De Jong, *The Penitential State*, 6, 13, 23.

³² De Jong, *The Penitential State*, 49, 77, 114.

of Carolingian studies. Historians such as Nelson and McKitterick embrace the literary aspects of medieval sources and investigate their potency as objects of literature. Thereby, they contrast the dominating frameworks of history such as social or political history and instead focus on the literary elements. This branching out has encouraged historians, such as van Rhijn, to delve into the reception of episcopal statutes, or to extensively analyze the creation of these documents in the first place, or as a means to better incorporate intellectual history into Carolingian studies.³³ Therefore, as far as *correctio* historiography is concerned, Van Rhijn's, among others, work is monumental in defining not only Carolingian studies but also the overarching argument of this thesis.

The current literary trend in Carolingian studies has had a profound impact on the purposes of this thesis. It is one of the many goals of this work to showcase and expand on these growing lines of historiographical inquiry and relate the entirety of these trends towards Theodulf. As modern historians all affirm the importance and primacy of Theodulf in the Carolingian world, it is ever more important that Theodulf be reconsidered in accordance with current historiography.

The second movement to which Theodulf contributed heavily was the Carolingian renaissance. While both the *correctio* and renaissance centered on the "moral regeneration of society," the renaissance saw more cultural effects than its *correctio* counterpart as this movement did not center solely on religious matters.³⁴ The renaissance is a historiographical concept invented to describe the burst of intellectual activity under Charlemagne. It is important

³³ See Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) for an example of the impact of intellectual history on Carolingian studies.

³⁴ John J. Contreni, "The Carolingian Renaissance" in *Renaissances before the Renaissance: Cultural Revivals of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Warren Treadgold (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984), 59.

to note that religion still played a fundamental role in the renaissance, as it did for the entirety of the medieval world, but the renaissance held more secular outputs and outcomes. For example, the renaissance saw an incredible increase in the amount of artwork, literary works, and architecture produced as well as an entire overhaul of the educational system.³⁵ For some historians, such as G.W. Trompf, the Carolingian renaissance was “possibly the most significant...the most pioneering ‘renaissance’ of all.”³⁶ Trompf bases his assessment off of the rediscovery or revalorization of classical and late antique texts, akin to the arguably more famous Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. While Trompf is primarily concerned with the renaissance from a cultural and intellectual perspective, Trompf does not dispute the issue of using the renaissance descriptor, as do historians such as van Rhijn. For van Rhijn, “the culture of the Carolingians is presently neither considered to have been a rebirth, nor is it seen as particularly Classical, even though their interest in all things Roman is widely recognized.”³⁷ Therefore, the renaissance itself, given the conceptions of modern historians, is a movement that can simply be summarized as “people changing things”, in the words of van Rhijn.³⁸ There is a similar issue that plagues works on the renaissance as much as it plagues works on the *correctio*, as both are conceived of as top-down movements.

While decentering Charlemagne from these movements and towards those immediately below him, such as Theodulf, does little to completely rupture the top-down nature of these movements, this thesis will at least contribute to the beginning of decentering, ideally inspiring subsequent historians to decentralize it further. By decentering the *correctio*, an inevitable

³⁵ G. W. Trompf, “The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34, no. 1 (1973), 8, 18, 23, 25.

³⁶ Trompf, “The Concept,” 25.

³⁷ Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, 32.

³⁸ Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, 33.

outcome is the regionalization of the reform movement. With these two movements defined, the next series of questions revolve around the construction of Carolingian society itself, and the three entry points of politics, religion, and scholarship.

Politics, Government, and Authority

One of the primary reasons Theodulf produced a staggering amount of literature is because of his appointment at the behest of Charlemagne. Therefore, it is necessary to further investigate the role of Charlemagne, and by extension Carolingian rulers, to better capture an idea of the Carolingian world. Thus, what was the nature of kingship for Carolingian rulers?

Kingship, in essence, is the right to rule and wield authority over those below. For Charlemagne, this included temporal and ecclesiastical matters, such as determining laws and the appointing of bishops.³⁹ While Charlemagne, in terms of authority, was above everyone in his realm, there persisted the common belief of rulers that they are still beholden to God despite their earthly rank.⁴⁰ Thus, to sustain the *imperium Christianum*, Carolingian rulers recognized the importance of Christianity to rulership and authority. As is typical, Carolingian rulers justified their rule through kinship or dynastic inheritance. For the Carolingians, this also meant inheriting the mantle of Western Rome and the Roman Empire.⁴¹ Therefore, throughout the period where Carolingian rulers held sway, there existed an idea of translation of empire or *translatio imperii*, in which there would be one polity, beholden to God, that dictates the fate of Europe.⁴² This idea of translation of empires concretely rooted the Carolingians far beyond their dynasty, indeed

³⁹ Munz, *Life in the Age of Charlemagne*, 85–86.

⁴⁰ De Jong, *The Penitential State*, 27.

⁴¹ Jennifer R. Davis, “Charlemagne’s Portrait Coinage and Ideas of Rulership at the Carolingian Court,” *Notes in the History of Art* 33, no. 3 (2014): 19–27; Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*.

⁴² The idea of *translatio imperii* comes largely from Jacques Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization: 400–1500*, trans. Julia Barrow (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988, [1964]).

when Charlemagne ascended the throne the dynasty had only been in power for sixty years.⁴³

Thus, while this is but one avenue in which the Carolingians employed their Roman heritage for political purposes, it held a firm grip on the expectations of rulers. Outside of the Roman influence, there also was the idea of *imperium*, used in this case to not mean empire but rather command or authority.

For centuries prior to the Carolingians, the Frankish kingdoms embodied the Roman idea of *imperium*, infusing it with dynastic elements so as to safeguard succession.⁴⁴ The Roman *imperium* was a vested power in a position, not a dynastic title.⁴⁵ Prior to the ascent of the Carolingians who removed this idea of positional authority, the Frankish kingdoms were ruled by two leaders, a positional *maior* of the palace, and a dynastic king. This too was borrowed from the more recent Roman past, in which rulership of certain parts of the empire was divided between two figures, *augusti* and *caesares*.⁴⁶ In the decades leading up to Carolingian rulers, the king held little to no real authority, and instead all vested power lay in the hands of the *maior*. However, this position was appointed and not dynastic which Charlemagne's ancestors, Charles Martel and Pepin the Short, ended and fused the *maior* authority with the king position, thereby making authority dynastic. Therefore, in the time of Charlemagne, the position of king wielded absolute authority and his position was purely dynastic. While Charlemagne's ancestors solved the issue of dynastic ascent, they still maintained Frankish ideas of succession which would eventually lead to the fracturing of the empire after Charlemagne. Succession for Frankish kings meant splitting the realm between their offspring, at times the realm was equally divided but at

⁴³ Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, 11–20.

⁴⁴ Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, 13–14.

⁴⁵ Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, 12–13.

⁴⁶ See Roger Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004) for an overview of the tetrarchy under Diocletian.

times the realm was given to the king's favored heir, with little pieces given to the other children.⁴⁷

The nature of Carolingian kingship itself was intensely fused with Christian ideals. Even more so as the Carolingian elite began to conceive of itself as the embodiment of the *imperium Christianum*. Therefore, one of the key aspects that shaped the Carolingian world is that of religion, and the various ways religion was used throughout the empire. Einhard (b. 770, d. 840), when writing the biography of Charlemagne, states, “[Charlemagne] cherished with the greatest fervor and devotion the principles of the Christian religion, which had been instilled into him from infancy.”⁴⁸ Throughout his adult life, Charlemagne was “a constant worshipper at this church as long as his health permitted, going morning and evening...He took care that all the services conducted there should be administered with the utmost possible propriety, very often warning the sacristans not to let any improper or unclean thing be brought into the building.”⁴⁹ Along with the attention to detail was, as replicated throughout the Carolingian empire, an intense focus on ensuring the correct performance of Christian rituals and rites. Had religion not mattered, or not been woven into the expectations of kingship, then Carolingian rulers such as Charlemagne perhaps would not have paid as much attention to the minor details. There are however important caveats with Einhard. His writing of Charlemagne is a carefully constructed image of what Carolingian society considered the ideal ruler. In doing so, Einhard necessarily distorted or constrained the concrete historical events of Charlemagne's life to better fit the mold of Christian kingship. Yet what remains still is the ideals of kingship, albeit the accuracy of Charlemagne upholding these ideals is questionable. Although Einhard's account is

⁴⁷ See de Jong, *The Penitential State*, for an overview of succession.

⁴⁸ Paul Edward Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 2004), 37.

⁴⁹ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 38.

untrustworthy, it still attests to what Einhard considered the basics of kingship, and by extension the basics of Carolingian religion.

Religion

What was the Carolingian Church and what role did it play in Carolingian society? The Church for the most part, in the Carolingian context, was the whole of Carolingian society, which is no different, conceptually, from other Christian polities beginning with Constantine and continuing through the Enlightenment. The focus of this section is on the institution of the Church itself, whereas notions of the Christian community, which are necessarily bound together with the Church, will be explored in subsequent chapters. While an entire system of magnates and nobles existed, Charlemagne placed equal and at times more emphasis on the Church. For the members of the Church, their role was eternal in the salvation of the whole of society, and they went through great lengths to ensure the saving of souls.⁵⁰ For some historians, such as Thomas F. X. Noble, the Carolingian Church is the forefather of Roman Catholicism and for all purposes, “Christendom, as the western world has understood the term, is a Carolingian creation.”⁵¹ Therefore, given Noble’s impactful claims, let us first investigate the temporal aspects of the Church before dissecting the theological focal points.

The organization of the Carolingian Church, at certain points, was less complex than the organization of the Catholic Church today. At the bottom, the lay and parish priests served as the main artery by which the elites tended to penetrate the entirety of Carolingian society. Above the lay priests were the whole of bishops, who served key political and theological roles that made them a sort-of catchall for leaders in the Carolingian world. Equal in rank, at times, to the

⁵⁰ This conception is largely derived from the *capitula Episcoporum* and Theodulf’s attention to detail regarding the exact manner in which bread is baked, as one example.

⁵¹ Noble, “Carolingian Religion,” 287.

bishops were the abbots and heads of monastic communities. However, it is important to note that these monastic leaders often did not wield the same level of temporal authority as the bishops under Charlemagne.⁵² Above the bishops, there may be an archbishop, however, in the appointing new bishops much less new archbishops, Charlemagne “dragged his feet considerably”.⁵³ In many cases, Charlemagne simply left archbishop and bishop positions empty. Charlemagne and subsequent Carolingian rulers wielded absolute authority on the appointment of ecclesiastical positions throughout their realm.⁵⁴ Towards the end of his life, Theodulf cursed this secular appointment practice as the source of his downfall.⁵⁵ With an extremely broad overview of the ecclesiastical structure, let us poke further into one particular group, a group that fundamentally shaped Theodulf of Orléans, the bishops.

The bishops had a peculiar role in the Carolingian empire. On one hand, they embodied ecclesiastical authority, and on the other they wielded tremendous political authority. In the subsequent centuries following Charlemagne’s death, Mayke de Jong has elaborated on how the bishops themselves dictated authority, going so far as to humiliate and shame then emperor Louis the Pious.⁵⁶ Theodulf himself used his temporal authority to send armed guards and soldiers to arrest a sinful priest in his diocese, which sparked a heated argument with Alcuin (b. 735, d. 804) to the point where Charlemagne had to get involved, and where Charlemagne sided with Theodulf.⁵⁷ What then can be said about ecclesiastical authority, if they wielded this level

⁵² Rutger Kramer, “The Exemption that Proves the Rule: Autonomy and Authority between Alcuin, Theodulf, and Charlemagne (802),” *Medieval Worlds* 6 (2017): 246. This emphasizes the more spiritual obligations of monasteries and monks.

⁵³ Munz, *Life in the Age*, 85–86.

⁵⁴ Munz, *Life in the Age*, 85–86.

⁵⁵ Nikolai A. Alexandrenko, “The Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A Translation and Critical Study,” PhD diss., (Tulane University, 1970), 301. Henceforth referred to as P.T.O.; T.C. LXXII, line 37: ‘Unus ego quamvis sim, non est unius haec res: Quod factum est mihimet, esse potest alii.’

⁵⁶ De Jong, *The Penitential State*, 49.

⁵⁷ Rob Meens, “Sanctuary, Penance, and Dispute Settlement under Charlemagne: The Conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a Sinful Cleric,” *Speculum* 82, no. 2 (2007): 283.

of power over earthly matters? Given the vested goal of Charlemagne and the Carolingian elite to stake their claim as the embodiment of western Christendom, it is no surprise then that this societal pressure and atmosphere shifted tremendous power into the hands of the bishops.

Given the interpretative opportunity created by Charlemagne for the *correctio* movement, the bishops were essentially dictated reforms throughout their dioceses as they saw fit. Also, through their meetings or synods, they determined theological doctrine for the entire empire. This level of interpretation was, at times, combative with the episcopate in Rome in which the bishops of the Carolingian Empire and the bishop of Rome maintained a level of respect, but Charlemagne prevented the Pope from wielding or maintaining any real authority throughout the empire.⁵⁸ Since the bishops wielded explicit power, this also afforded them the opportunity to precisely determine their role in the larger society, an opportunity which subsequent bishops exploited for political gains.⁵⁹

For Theodulf, the role of the bishop and that of the lay parish priest were inextricably linked, although Theodulf ensured to remind the priests that bishops still outranked them.⁶⁰ Essentially, the ecclesiastical structure conceived of itself as the shepherds of society, with the purpose of saving their souls and directing the larger populace towards Christianity.⁶¹ Therefore, the average person lay at the heart of the ecclesiastical mission. The bishops also conceived of themselves as the learned and educated elite, not only on theological matters but also general scholarly endeavors such as grammar, rhetoric, music, math, and poetry.⁶² It is not uncommon

⁵⁸ Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, 14–15.

⁵⁹ De Jong, *The Penitential State*, 114, 178, 180.

⁶⁰ C.E. I: 'Et illi tenent gradum summi pontificis Aaron, isti vero filiorum eius. Unde oportet vos semper memores esse tantae dignitatis, memores vestrae consecrationis, memores sacrae, quam in minibus suscepistis...'

⁶¹ Noble, "Carolingian Religion," 291.

⁶² De Jong, *The Penitential State*, 77.

then to uncover letters between bishops, such as between Alcuin and Theodulf, in which bishops engaged in rigorous scholarly and theological debates.⁶³ Again, at the heart of it all was the bishop's general perception that they themselves were responsible for uplifting and correcting the lay person, much as a shepherd corrects their herd if they go astray, and if the bishops and priests routinely failed in this regard then they themselves would pay the price.⁶⁴ Given that the lay people lay at the heart of the bishop's religious mission, they conceived of various ways to reach the lay people and it is through these means that historians have dissected, investigated, and explored the various tendrils and appendages of the Carolingian Church.

As far as the modern historiography is concerned, it is currently standard practice to pinpoint a specific Christian ritual of the Carolingian empire and utilize this ritual to construct an abstraction of the entire religious system. For example, Owen M. Phelan in *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum*, places baptism at the heart of the *imperium Christianum*.⁶⁵ For others, such as June-Ann Greeley, the sermon lay at the heart of Carolingian religion.⁶⁶ Therefore, for modern historians, the overall character of Carolingian religion lay in these various Christian rituals. However, approaching the topic of Carolingian religion in such a way implicitly emphasizes one ritual over another, potentially skewing a concrete perception of what lay at the heart of religious practice. This is not to say that these historians outright ignore other Christian rituals but rather through their preference their analysis is weighted towards one ritual or another.

⁶³ Meens, "Sanctuary, Penance, and Dispute Settlement."

⁶⁴ C.E. I: 'Veraciter nosse debetis et semper meminisse, quia nos, quibus regendarum animarum cura commissa est, pro his, qui nostra negelemtia pereunt, rationem reddituri sumus...'

⁶⁵ Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, 1. These ideas are further compounded by Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002).

⁶⁶ Greeley, "Social Commentary," 118.

For the bishops to not only interpret theology, which led historians in pursuit of finding the core Christian ritual, but also other disciplines of education, it necessitated an intensive educational network. This network primarily served two functions, the continual replacement of bishops and other ecclesiastical figures with educated elites, and the further dissemination of knowledge across the whole of society. Therefore, it is important to consider how Carolingian education functioned alongside its involvement with the various reform programs under Charlemagne.

Scholarship and Education

A key aspect of both the *correctio* and the renaissance was the increased focus on educational endeavors. In both cases, Charlemagne and the broader Carolingian elite routinely advocated for increased education both in the laity and in the elite themselves. Therefore, to better understand the Carolingian world, how did this education system function and what were its main goals?

Even though the Carolingians sought a revitalized and transformed scholarly landscape, they needed books to teach from.⁶⁷ Given the potency of Roman ideals that poke through the facets of Carolingian society, Carolingians frequently received education based upon the works of Roman thinkers and the early church fathers such as St. Augustine.⁶⁸ Therefore, the subjects they studied were not limited to only religious matters, instead they frequently stressed the importance of grammar, general literacy, and poetry among other subjects.⁶⁹ Thus, the aim of the Carolingian education system did not solely center on religious matters, however this is not to say that religion did not form a monumental part of one's education. Rather, Carolingian

⁶⁷ Contreni, "Learning for God," 89.

⁶⁸ Contreni, "Learning for God," 95; Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way to Heaven*, 16.

⁶⁹ Greeley, "Social Commentary," 70, 106; Contreni, "Learning for God," 95.

educators focused on constructing a well-rounded and literate populace who could read and write Latin works and therefore were more suitable to perform and understand scholarly debates on theology, music, poetry, among others.

For an expanded literate population to exist in the Carolingian empire, a teacher was necessary to guide the student through material and ensure that they were taught properly and correctly. The best source for an educated class that was well versed in a plethora of subjects, or what Greeley defined as Carolingian humanism, was the Church.⁷⁰ Who then, should the student's be, was it the idea of the Carolingian elite who wanted to increase education across the empire to only preserve their elite status? As far as Theodulf was concerned, education was open to everyone, free of charge, and the people only had to ask to receive teaching.⁷¹ Therefore, in addressing the Carolingian educational system, which was born out of the broader renaissance movement, it targeted every person within society. The openness of education itself was a symptom of the interwoven nature of Carolingian society and religion, as well as a symptom of the *correctio* movement itself. For if the mass of society was uneducated, this also implied for the Carolingians that they did not know proper Christian rituals and therefore could not perform the obligations that came with the Christian faith. However, one of the many aims of the Carolingian elite was to ensure the saving of souls, the bringing forth of a Christian empire, and the general obsession that every person had to be a "good" Christian. It would reflect extremely poorly on the elite and the ruler if they claimed the mantle of the Christian West while the majority of people could not recite, perform, or understand basic Christian ritual.

⁷⁰ Greeley, "Social Commentary." This idea runs throughout the entire dissertation.

⁷¹ C.E. XIX: 'Si quis ex presbyteris voluerit nepotem suum aut aliquem consanguineum ad scolam mittere...ei licentiam id faciendi concedimus.'

The sources which the Carolingians based their educational program on, among other reasons, have led to one of the most enduring historiographical debates surrounding the Carolingians and their relationship to their Roman predecessors. Namely, as far as education is concerned, the historiographical debate surrounds the role of imitation or innovation. Earlier historians such as Fichtenau, R. R. Bolgar, Greeley, and Nikolai Alexandrenko advanced the idea of the Carolingians merely imitating Roman forms, leaving no room for innovation on the Carolingian's part. For example, Fichtenau argued that the Carolingians were merely imitating their Byzantine and Roman counterparts and not creating new conceptions of authority or literature.⁷² For others, such as Bolgar, these "ancient" texts were used primarily to "indoctrinate the medieval world with the principles of ancient morality."⁷³ Therefore, for both Fichtenau and Bolgar, the Carolingians represent little more than copiers, with some potential innovations but for the most part imitating. Greeley and Alexandrenko attribute all of Theodulf's writings to Augustinian beliefs, or to imitating forms of Ovid and Horace.⁷⁴

Since the turn of the century, the imitation argument has slowly been replaced by the innovation argument. Instead of merely imitating, these historians advance the idea of an innovative Carolingian populace who took ancient forms and transformed and built upon them. Some of the most prominent historians who have advanced this idea are Owen M. Phelan, Jennifer Davis, Peter Godman, George Kennedy, Vivian Smith Saunders, Rachel Stone, Rosamond McKitterick, and G.W. Trompf. Most notably, Rosmand McKitterick investigates the historiographical tradition the Carolingians developed that covers their own history in the work *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*. Thus, the Carolingian elite for McKitterick were

⁷² Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, xxi.

⁷³ R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 125.

⁷⁴ Greeley, "Social Commentary," 5; P.T.O., 14–15.

inspired by the works of Roman historians and “exploited them within their own chronological and political schemes...”⁷⁵ Therefore, while McKitterick does allude to some imitation, as one needs an example to understand how best to approach a writing style, McKitterick frames the whole of imitation as a sort of plundering of the Carolingians’ past so as to construct a cohesive elite identity which would “transcend other political or social divisions.”⁷⁶ While McKitterick focuses on the political and social elite and their historiographical tradition, the innovative argument has also found its way into the transmission of information. Namely, for Phelan, medieval scholars and writers were not merely “transmitters of knowledge” but rather they were innovators in of themselves in creating new approaches and techniques in the world of literature.⁷⁷ On literature, the historians Peter Godman and Vivian Smith Saunders explicitly detail how the Carolingians were not simply copiers or imitators but innovators when it came to poetry.⁷⁸ For example, the Carolingians used new rhythmic constructions, differed and varied poetic meters, among other means, which were not present in the works of their roman counterparts.⁷⁹ If all medieval authors are reduced to mere transmitters of knowledge or imitators or copiers, then the inherent variety that characterizes each individual author is merely reduced down to the influences that shaped them.

While the Carolingian educational system relied heavily on texts from their antique predecessors, many of the Carolingian elite maintained, what Gernot Wieland describes as an

⁷⁵ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 86.

⁷⁶ McKitterick, *History and Memory*, 7.

⁷⁷ Owen M. Phelan, “New Insights, Old Texts: Clerical Formation and the Carolingian Renewal in Hrabanus Maurus,” *Traditio* 71 (2016): 88.

⁷⁸ Vivian Smith Saunders, “Glittering Praise: Latin Poetry Directed to Rulers of the Carolingian Age,” Ph.D. diss., (Indiana University, 1975), 44.

⁷⁹ See Peter Godman, *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), for an overview of the new Carolingian poetics.

“ambiguous attitude” towards these classical texts.⁸⁰ Wieland investigates the dichotomy of classical sources and Christianity on how Alcuin, a prominent scholar and contemporary of Theodulf, dealt with non-Christian sources. As for Theodulf, he separated the use of pagan and Christian sources along the lines of genre. For his poetry, Theodulf was more than content with imitating the thematic forms of classic authors, going so far as to call out for poetic muses and guidance.⁸¹ For his ecclesiastical statutes, Theodulf at no point refers to pagan sources, and primarily relies on references and support from Christian teachings. Therefore, Theodulf recognized that the genre of writing affected the kinds and types of sources that one could reference or borrow inspiration from. As Wieland explores, Theodulf’s contemporaries were not fully comfortable with resolving the dichotomy in this manner, as Alcuin frequently disparaged pagan poets or thinkers but at the same time adopted their names as his own pen name.⁸²

Education in the medieval world was difficult, limited, and time consuming. It is precisely because of the Carolingians who aimed to preserve and produce knowledge that subsequent generations of scholars were able to research and study them. Therefore, while this was only a cursory overview of Carolingian education, it serves as a marker of the impact of the Carolingians on more than political or economic grounds as, for some historians, they cultivated a more pioneering renaissance than their Italian counterparts.⁸³

The Carolingian world was extremely complex in its own time, and recognition of this is growing today, as modern historians grapple with understanding the numerous aspects of the

⁸⁰ This comes from the title of Gernot Wieland’s article, “Alcuin’s Ambiguous Attitude Towards the Classics,” *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992).

⁸¹ P.T.O., 299–301; T.C. LXXII, lines 3–6: ‘Ito, Talia, celer, celery, transcurrere volatu, Nec mora, nec tibi sit ulla in eundo quies, Donec pervenias Moduini ad tecta beati, Praesulis eximii, pontificisque pii.’

⁸² Wieland, “Alcuin’s Ambiguous Attitude,” 85. Alcuin frequently adopted the name Flaccus, a common Roman name.

⁸³ Trompf, “The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance,” 25.

empire. As will be demonstrated with Theodulf's writing, there is intense value in combining the poetic with the legal to elucidate the themes sketched out in this chapter. In doing so, various new avenues of inquiry will be opened on Carolingian society, religion, and culture. One of these new avenues of approach centers on love, and the various ways that Theodulf used love throughout his writing to articulate social and religious commentary.

CHAPTER TWO: FROZEN HEARTS

“And since wickedness is thriving, pursues us, is mighty and abounding, the love of many, alas, often grows cold.”⁸⁴ This chapter focuses on the use of love within Theodulf’s writings. Theodulf directed love towards two primary receivers, God, and the larger medieval community. Throughout both statutes and poems, Theodulf weaves notions and purposes of love into cohesive approaches towards building a proper Christian society. While historians have explored Theodulf’s *capitula* and *carmina* countless times, no English-speaking historian has looked at the ways Theodulf alone utilized love to convey his perceptions of Christian society. Throughout this chapter, I offer a new approach to understanding the Carolingian reforms that incorporates Theodulf’s conceptions of love as a fundamental ordering concept of society. Furthermore, I aim to add to nuance the already established gender historiography, as Theodulf makes frequent statements on women from varying social classes. Thus, before it is possible to analyze how a particular medieval figure used and understood love, it is necessary to formulate a conception of what love is for the purposes of this thesis that does due diligence towards early medieval Christian understandings.

Love, in the early medieval context, carried with it significant disparities to our own modern understanding of love. For Theodulf, love was necessarily tied together with religious beliefs and doctrines. Frequently, Theodulf placed love in conjunction with God, whether it be

⁸⁴ P.T.O., 93; T.C. XII, lines 37–38: ‘Et quoniam improbitas valet, instat, pollet, abundant, Eheu multorum saepe refriget amor.’

the love of God or God's own love. Theodulf also employed love as a means towards binding the entirety of the Christian community together, which during his exile he sought after in the hopes of rectifying wrongful imprisonment.⁸⁵ When discussing love, Theodulf relied on two primary nouns, *amor* or *caritas*. There exist other verbs in Latin which also convey love such as *diligare* or *curare* yet these are more indirect in their connotations of love as *diligo* conveys meanings of valuing something or someone and *curo* centers on caring for someone or something. To convey someone loving, Theodulf primarily relied on the verb *amare*, although at times he relied on *diligare*. While *amo* and *amor* maintain a fixed definition, *caritas*, alongside meaning love, can also mean charity, or costliness.⁸⁶ Thus, unless Theodulf explicitly uses *amo* or *amare*, he invites dual meaning in his discussions of love, which either carry with it common Christian perceptions of communal love, or charity. It is unlikely that Theodulf intends costliness as the definition for *caritas* given the surrounding context of his poetry.⁸⁷ As we will see, within Theodulf's *capitula*, the notions of charity are endlessly bound in conceptions of love and that charity is given through the internal and external love of others. Therefore, throughout this chapter, love serves as both a religious and social device that influenced and shaped a myriad of Theodulf's interactions and his own *mentalité* or worldview.

As far as the present historiography is concerned, the fundamental building blocks of the Carolingian Christian community are found within the various Christian rites of baptism or

⁸⁵ Theodulf's exile has been subject to numerous scholarly studies seeking to argue whether he truly deserved his exile, see: Thomas F. X. Noble, "Some Observations on the Deposition of Archbishop Theodulf of Orléans in 817," *Quidditas* 2 (1981): Article Four; June-Ann Greeley, "Raptors and Rebellion: The Self-Defense of Theodulf of Orléans," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006): 28–75.

⁸⁶ Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Nigel Gourlay, 2020), entry for *amo*, *caritas*, *amor*.

⁸⁷ It is worth noting that the word *caritas* is the most commonly used word for love in the New Testament found in St. Jerome's Latin translation of the Bible, commonly referred to as The Vulgate.

communion.⁸⁸ Therefore, by analyzing love, an entirely new avenue to Carolingian religion and society is opened which further reinforces the inseparable nature of society and religion in the medieval world. By analyzing the manners in which Theodulf used love, further elaborations can be established on the nature of reforms throughout the Carolingian empire, and this offers a closer look at how one of the most prominent Carolingian figures interpreted this movement. For example, as we saw in Chapter 1, Carine van Rhijn conceptualizes the *correctio* and manuscript production under the renaissance as stemming from the “[hope] to create a morally sound, future-proof society...”⁸⁹ For others, such as Thomas F. X. Noble, the reform program had horizontal and vertical dimensions, of which Noble is chiefly concerned with the communal bonds of history and identity.⁹⁰ Phelan as well states that the “*sacramentum* of baptism provided the basic ordering concept for the Carolingian Renewal.”⁹¹ While this is only a small slice of the historiography, it serves to indicate the drought of attention paid towards love as a defining impetus for change. Thereby, this work will showcase not only the importance of love and redefine love as Theodulf interpreted it for society, but it will also build upon these foundations of why the Carolingian reforms occurred in the first place.

Love itself is not a new topic of investigation in the medieval period. Barbara H. Rosenwein’s seminal work on medieval emotions, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, asserts “the existence of ‘emotional communities’: groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value...”⁹² These emotional communities serve as the

⁸⁸ Owen M. Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe* and Keefe, *Water and the Word*. Both works place baptism at the heart of Carolingian religion.

⁸⁹ Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way*, 16.

⁹⁰ Noble, “Carolingian Religion,” 290.

⁹¹ Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, 64.

⁹² Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 2.

unifying features on which the medieval society was built, and at times more than one emotional community existed at a given time. Within the Carolingian context, one, and perhaps the most important, emotional community was the Christian west, in which people were at least expected to adhere to the same “norms of emotional expression and value.”⁹³ Other historians, such as David J. Schlosser, have shown how Augustinian love in the Carolingian context ascends one towards scholarly capability in understanding the Bible, and the importance of love towards iconoclast controversies.⁹⁴ Namely, Schlosser provides key insights into how Augustinian notions of love were used by Carolingian thinkers, in which this new law of love is concretely localized within the New Testament, where people were able to further personally realize God’s law.⁹⁵ Both of these works are of great importance in their own right, but for this thesis they form a coherent aspect of my argument. This thesis will draw on Rosenwein’s formulations to argue that love was an important component of what contemporaries understood by *correctio*. Therefore, I aim to expand on the emotional communities that Rosenwein analyzes and apply them to how Theodulf himself interacted with his own emotional community. In doing so, I argue that the communal bond of love fundamentally shaped and molded how Theodulf saw sin, monks, corrections, and women. While I do not aim to cover the entirety of the Carolingian emotional community, it is still worthwhile to do an intensive analysis on one singular emotion from one singular person directed towards one local emotional community, further adding to the collective interpretations of the Carolingian empire. Schlosser’s work is also paramount, as Theodulf himself was deeply indebted to all the scholars, thinkers, and religious figures who came before him. Thereby, since Schlosser connects the ideas of Carolingian love towards

⁹³ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 2–3.

⁹⁴ Schlosser, “Reading into *Christian Teaching*.” This idea permeates the entirety of Schlosser’s dissertation.

⁹⁵ Schlosser, “Reading into *Christian Teaching*,” 207–208.

Augustinian convictions of love, it is possible to push Schlosser's arguments further towards how one particular Carolingian bishop utilized love to enact change in society and religion.

With the roles love has played in the historiography, I aim to expand and reinforce the primacy of love's importance towards objects of Carolingian study which are not typically analyzed through such a lens. Specifically, I seek to apply Theodulf's notions and formulations of love and see how and why understanding the *correctio* from this vantage point offers a new take on an old topic. Furthermore, I will also apply these notions to the established gender-based historiography, further nuancing perceptions of medieval gender. To accomplish these goals, I will use Theodulf's concept of love as a cultural, social, and religious device. Theodulf uses love to convey all three, and precisely because he does so, I argue that Theodulf's conceptions of his own *correctio* stems from him placing love at the core of Christian society. Therefore, it is possible to place Theodulf's written love into three distinct categories, the love of self, the love of others, and the reciprocal love of God and God's love. Within each category, I showcase how Theodulf's writings highlight aspects of culture, society, and religion. It is not my intent to explore the entirety of Theodulf's complex emotions. Rather, focusing on and using love in such a manner allows for the application of the guiding concerns of his writings to a wider range of themes than had I chosen to only focus on emotion broadly. Theodulf's own perceptions of love are also woven into biblical teachings and ideas on the importance of love. For, as Jesus states, the commandment on love is the most important, "Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your mind and with all your strength...[and] Love your neighbor as yourself."⁹⁶ Therefore, it is no wonder that Theodulf places major emphasis on the

⁹⁶ Mark 12:28–34 (ESV); See also Matthew 22:36–40 (ESV).

importance of love, and consequentially this reinforces the importance of the present investigation into love.

Similar to Theodulf's use of food, as will be explored in Chapter 3, an element of decay and downfall shape how Theodulf perceived the importance of love. Each of the categories of love depends on clear notions of time. Thereby, stemming from the ever-present fear of the end of the world, Theodulf conceived of his present society as lacking the bonds of love, to which he sought to remedy through love of God or God's love, and love of each other for: "...glorious love joins us to each one, and this threefold blessing arouses us, fashions us, and moves us."⁹⁷ At the heart of the Carolingian religious reforms was the emphasis on revitalizing society so it solidified the importance of Christian behavior and practice. Therefore, one of the primary ways that Theodulf seeks to remedy and correct Carolingian society is through love of God and love of other members within the Christian community. Theodulf also suggests restraint in specific kinds of love, particularly sexual or passionate origins of love, to further clarify his message.

For religious reforms to occur, there needed to be a reason. Theodulf offered a variety of reasons as to why reform, in particular reform within his own lifetime, was necessary throughout his poetry. The opening quote to this chapter offers some indication, but this is not all that Theodulf wrote about abounding sin. "Dreadful passion flourishes, however, as well as uncleanness, perjury, wantonness, gluttony, deceit, wrangling, strife, and guile."⁹⁸ As with specific acts which persons engage in: "The wicked man is he who does certain evil deeds or

⁹⁷ P.T.O., 91; T.C. XII, lines 5–6: 'Cuique fides non dat, spes fert, amor inclutus unit, Hocque triforme bonum excitat, aptat, agit.'

⁹⁸ P.T.O., 98; T.C. XIV, lines 39–40: 'Dira cupido viget, sordes, periuria, luxus, Livor edax, falsum, iurgia, rixa dolus.'

pretended good deeds, who hates what God loves and loves what God hates.”⁹⁹ Given Theodulf’s perceptions of the present state of Carolingian society and the necessity of reform, he elaborated on the unequal nature of God’s treatment of people who run contrary to his laws. “Accordingly, God judges some, not always, of the wicked deeds which are now done contrary to his law.”¹⁰⁰ God’s unequal treatment of what Theodulf perceived as wicked deeds only adds more impetus to rectify and reaffirm the bonds of love to further reform society. To do so, Theodulf attacked what he perceived as direct threats to the Christian community or the flock. The present situation looks bleak through Theodulf’s eyes, even more so when considering his statements on more deadly sin.

Theodulf interacted with several of the deadly sins that directly impact the bonds of brotherly love. First, “[Anger] may thereby bitterly destroy the blessings of peace, implant in them atrocities, increase discord and cause kind brotherly love to perish miserably...”¹⁰¹ Theodulf implicated anger in loosening the communal bonds that bind the Christian community together. While some of the other deadly sins are still grievous, they do not directly threaten the entire basis of the medieval Christian community, such as gluttony.¹⁰² Therefore, when Theodulf considered sin, his perceptions and reactions to sinful actions was necessarily shaped by the impact of those actions on the larger Christian community. The luxury of personal responsibility is not shared with one sin which Theodulf chastises significantly more than others.

⁹⁹ P.T.O., 78; T.C. VI, lines 3–5: ‘Qui mala certa gerit bona seu simulate malignus, Odit qui quod amat, quod deus odit amat.’

¹⁰⁰ P.T.O., 94; T.C. XII, lines 13–15: ‘Iudicat ergo deus nec nulla, nec omnia semper, Improba quae fiunt nunc sine lege sua.’

¹⁰¹ P.T.O., 48; T.C. I, lines 57–60: ‘Atque lacessitis sociis hinc inde ministrat Arma, quibus perimat pacis amara bonum. Quis inolescat atrox scelus, et discordia crescat, Et male fraternus oppetat almus amor.’; Anger is further explored on P.T.O., 51; T.C. I, lines 117-139.

¹⁰² This is in contrast to sins which are more personal in nature, i.e. gluttony, which Theodulf does not connect to overarching bonds of love but rather to mankind’s wickedness. P.T.O., 58; T.C. I, lines 268–292.

“Now the deceitful heart of hypocrites, their deceitful words prevail.”¹⁰³ Taken as another indicator for the necessity of reform, Theodulf, more so than other sins, repeatedly chastised hypocrites and deceivers. “The hypocrite desires to learn no good, but all evil. Do you wish to learn why he does so? He is a fool.”¹⁰⁴ When a hypocrite “wishes to deceive others, the poor wretch deceives himself.”¹⁰⁵ Given the number of times that Theodulf consistently referenced or interacted with the concept of deceit, it clearly held a deep importance for him to repeatedly chastise its practice. There are two likely reasons for Theodulf’s consistent attention on this matter, either he experienced frequent deception when he served as a *missus* to Charlemagne or in his eyes, it is the most grievous of actions which does not sow communal bonds. The latter is the most likely, as we will see, Theodulf emphasized how love is the defining feature which binds the community together. To engage in deceit or hypocrisy is to weaken these bonds and subsequently, as was a common medieval perception, anger God which could potentially bring about divine punishment on the community, thereby inciting apocalyptic fervor and fears.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, conjoined with his earlier statements about the general situation and other sins, the situation quickly appears dire. In contrast to his poetry, Theodulf only dedicated two statutes to hypocrisy and deceit, centered on perjury and false testimony.¹⁰⁷ Given the lack of continued attention on deceit within Theodulf’s statutes, his formulations on hypocrisy take on a more personal connotation. To be sure, Theodulf still considered deceitful actions as threatening, but it

¹⁰³ P.T.O., 104; T.C. XVII, lines 7–8: ‘Nunc simulatorum duplex cor, verba dolosa Pollent, et retinet fictio sola locum.’

¹⁰⁴ P.T.O., 88; T.C. X, lines 35–36: ‘Discere nulla cupit bona, sed mala discere cuncta, Vis cur hoc faciat discere? Stultus inest.’

¹⁰⁵ P.T.O., 88; T.C. X, lines 39–40: ‘Hic bona parva putat magna, et mala plurima nulla: Se cum vult alios fallere, fallit inops.’

¹⁰⁶ The medieval apocalypse has been thoroughly studied, see the edited collection *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

¹⁰⁷ C.E. Twenty-Six and Twenty-Seven.

is likely that alongside his reform efforts, he may have had personal experiences with deceitful persons which warranted his sustained attention within his poetry.

The plight of hypocrites and deceivers on society is further compounded by Theodulf, in which: “Wit does not set aright the hypocrite, nor wisdom the fool; teaching cannot win over the latter, nor wit the former.”¹⁰⁸ Theodulf acknowledged that in some cases, it is impossible to fully correct people’s behavioral patterns which he perceives as corrupting society. Therefore, in Theodulf’s eyes, it is imperative that hypocrisy and deception be stamped out in manners other than education. As justification for his stance, Theodulf likely adopted the multiple interactions between biblical figures and how they themselves were deceived.¹⁰⁹ However, Theodulf still believed in the capabilities of education for everyone, only that for some people it is unproductive.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Theodulf used instances of tribulation and trial as a means of hope and resolve: “May the difficult circumstances which beset us, our grievous poverty, and the ungodliness of wicked men as a just testing make us happy.”¹¹¹ Theodulf was not content with sin expanding throughout society, instead he was proactive for correcting and reconstructing society in his own image that brings people closer to Christianity.

Alongside notions of deceit and hypocrisy, Theodulf also explored a common example of sin that he states to have frequently witnessed. “It is a sin to expect a bribe from the plaintiff; how deplorable that every door-keeper loves this sin! Every door-keeper loves it, yet a judge

¹⁰⁸ P.T.O., 86; T.C. X, lines 1–2: ‘Illum non sal, non istum sapiential condit, Hunc doctrina nequit vincere, sal nec eum.’

¹⁰⁹ Revelation 12:9 (ESV), Satan deceiving the whole world; 2 Thessalonians 2:3 (ESV); Ephesians 5:6 (ESV); Romans 16:18 (ESV). There are many more passages which detail the downfalls of deceit, I have only listed a few.

¹¹⁰ P.T.O., 86; T.C. X, lines 1–2.

¹¹¹ P.T.O. 99–100; T.C. XV, lines 27–28: ‘Conditio nos dura premens, angustia laedens, pravorum impietas iure probando beent.’

does not hate it...”¹¹² Here Theodulf offered a concrete and tangible example of the taint that greed and other deadly sins have on society which is potentially readily identifiable in other dioceses or contexts. While chastising deceit and hypocrisy in the context of admonishing the priests, these sins are much more intangible in nature and harder to define for other medieval persons reading Theodulf’s works, which largely would have been the clergy.¹¹³ On this note, Theodulf admitted to taking gifts in which: “I gladly took the small things given not by a sinister hand but by that affectionate hand: namely, the fruits of the trees and of the green garden...”¹¹⁴ Contextually, Theodulf described his arrival as a *missus* at several towns, in which people offered him a multitude of gifts and, in his eyes, bribes for prayers or blessings. This ranged from ornate vases and to these “fruits of the trees and of the green garden”.¹¹⁵ Thereby, everyone within society, not only the clergy, are responsible for allowing bribes in non-agricultural products for dominating the mindset and general behavioral patterns of society. Theodulf did not view himself receiving these fruits as a bribe or as sin, as we will see with Theodulf’s interaction with food this position is understandable. Suffice to say that currently, food was a means to further reinforce communal bonds and an expression of the local context. With Theodulf’s elaborations on the corruption of society, whether that be through extensive greed, hypocrisy, or the remainder of the seven grievous sins, he does not simply seek to accept this state. Rather, he offers potent reminders and recommendations about how to correct or fix society. He

¹¹² P.T.O., 178–179; T.C. XXVIII, lines 431–434: ‘Est scelus a populo pretium sperare querenti, Me miserum, scelus hoc inanitor omnis amat. Inanitor omnis amat, non hoc tamen arbiter odit, Vix de mille unus, qui horreat illud, erit.’

¹¹³ Contreni, “Learning for God,” 89. By far the most literate group of people who were also interested in education were the clergy.

¹¹⁴ P.T.O., 171–172; T.C. XXVIII, lines 283–286: ‘Haec ego pertractans sumebam parva libenter, Quae non saeva manus, cara sed illa dabat: Scilicet arboreos fructus hortique virentis, Ova, merum, panes, cornipedumque cibos.’

¹¹⁵ P.T.O., 164–169; T.C. XXVIII, lines 124–243.

fundamentally frames these endeavors out of conceptions of love and the need, for him, to reinforce and strengthen the Christian community.

“If God is our glorious Father and Master, his godliness must be followed and his deeds with the heart, by faith. A son will learn to love the father...love directs the son to better things.”¹¹⁶ For Theodulf, love took many forms, either as a connection between God and an individual or as a connection between two or more people. Here, the focus will be placed on God’s love and religious love to investigate how Theodulf used love to construct his idea of a Christian society. “Faith gives us, hope brings us, glorious love joins us to each one, and this threefold blessing arouses us, fashions us, and moves us.”¹¹⁷ Faith and hope can only apply to an individual, and Theodulf established the importance of love as shaping the entirety of the social experience. While faith and hope are crucially important, it is impossible to have a Christian society of non-Christians, and love serves as the glue holding this society together. As shown throughout Theodulf’s lamentation of the current state of Carolingian society, he makes a definitive statement on what the society he found himself in should value. To spearhead the refashioning of values, Theodulf placed the clergy at the center, given the formulation of the clergy as the shepherds of society. “...to [priests] the apostolic succession gave an exalted seat; to them was given the right of loosing or binding...to them the shepherd of shepherds entrusted his sheep and lambs, the work which he assigned as a token of his love.”¹¹⁸ It was a token of love in which the shepherds or clergy of society were assigned the task of moral improvement.

Therefore, it is out of love of God and love of each other that Theodulf exhorted others to not be

¹¹⁶ P.T.O., 86; T.C. IX, lines 7–8: ‘Si pater est et herus nobis deus inclytus, eius Sectanda est pietas, actio corde, fide. Discet amare patrem proles, et verna timere, Hunc amor, illum aptet ad potiora timor.’

¹¹⁷ P.T.O., 91; T.C. XII, lines 5–6: ‘Cuique fides non dat, spes fert amor inclytus unit, Hocque triforme bonum excitat, aptat, agit.’

¹¹⁸ P.T.O., 104; T.C. XVII, lines 9–12: ‘Pontificum decus et specimen tunc cura gerebat, Iuris apostolici quis dedit ordo thronum. Iura quibus data sunt solvendi sive ligandi, Clave valent quorum regna patere poli.’

content with rampant sin. “Let us not sleep; let every heart be wake; let our purity be impeccable, our knowledge complete; let us be long-suffering and free from filthiness.”¹¹⁹ The task at hand is monumental, and Theodulf was not keen on idly waiting for society, in his eyes, to descend further into wickedness. Therefore, he, along with other members of the Carolingian elite, assigned the near impossible task of a complete overhaul of Carolingian society. The benefits in doing so, Theodulf elaborated, are favor with God and the knowledge that they did everything in their power to bring Carolingian morals closer to religious realities.¹²⁰ If a priest is not working on admonishing the faithful, then they incur sin and subject themselves to the “ancient enemy”.¹²¹ While it was paramount that the priests themselves be constant in their interactions with the faith, Theodulf regurgitated the common biblical phrase of how idleness leads one to sin.¹²² Along with this pressure, Theodulf also recognized that a laity’s experience and interactions with the faith are only as good as the teacher for: “How I ask, can anyone be a leader to his companions who does not even know the road which he is now taking?”¹²³ Thus, as we will see with Theodulf’s stance on education, it was imperative that priests themselves were model citizens, not only for others but also for themselves as their souls will “render the account” of the deeds of their lives.¹²⁴ The impetus for Theodulf recommending such is borne both out of fear and love, for: “I fear his justice but am constrained to love his mercy, because

¹¹⁹ P.T.O., 100; T.C. XV, lines 33–34: ‘Mundities sit nobis casta, scientia sollers, Longanimes simus, et sine sorde luis.’

¹²⁰ T.C. XV. This idea runs throughout the poem, and arguably the entirety of Theodulf’s works.

¹²¹ C.E. III: ‘Sed et si quando a lectione cessatur, debet manuum operatio subsequi, quia ostiositas inimical est animae et antiquus hostis, quem a lectione sive ab oratione sive ab operatione vacantem invenerit, facile ad vitia rapit.’

¹²² Proverbs 19:15 (ESV); Romans 12:11 (ESV). There are a host of biblical passages about idleness or slothfulness.

¹²³ P.T.O., 71; T.C. II, lines 203–204: ‘Quo, rogo, quis pactio sociis quit praevius esse, Qui modo quod teneat hic quoque nescit iter?’

¹²⁴ C.E. I: ‘Veraciter nosse debetis et semper meminisse, quia nos, quibus regendarum animarum cura commissa est, pro his, qui nostra neglegentia pereunt, rationem reddituri sumus, pro his vero, quos verbis et exemplis lucrati fuerimus, praemium aeternae vitae percipiemus.’

his mercy is forgiving, but his justice cuts down sins...”¹²⁵ Theodulf conceptualized these prescriptions out of this fear for others and himself as people should strive away from eternal punishment. Yet, he still showed love and compassion for God and others, and it is out of this love that Theodulf composed his episcopal statutes.

Given the centrality of love to Theodulf’s entire world view, his writings are necessarily informed by this perception. Therefore, one of Theodulf’s most important and widely analyzed works, his *capitula*, should be viewed from the vantage point of love. Viewing the *capitula* in such a manner has not been given due attention within the historiography. Instead, scholars have favored looking at the effects of these *capitula*, or have favored less emotional impetuses such as religious, cultural, or social explanations broadly defined.¹²⁶ This thesis places love as the underlying principle behind the *capitula*, which has broader implications for the *correctio* and how these documents were constructed in the first place. While some scholars have referenced the perception of growing sin as the main indicator of the need for change, love forms the underlying feature of Theodulf’s perception, which is the true heart of the *correctio*.

A defining theme throughout Theodulf’s *capitula* is the need to rectify behaviors so that proper love can be shown to God. One of the more amusing examples involves the wrongful storing of grain and livestock within the parish churches themselves.¹²⁷ While it is unknown whether this reflected a common occurrence throughout Theodulf’s bishopric, it was grievous enough for him to dedicate an entire *capitulum* chastising this practice. Particularly because of Theodulf’s further comments about the function and role of churches, his comments about the

¹²⁵ P.T.O., 95; T.C. XIII, lines 31–34: ‘Qui pius et iustus, fovet hinc, deterret et inde, Quem metuo iustum, cogor amare pium. Quod pius indulget, resecat peccata quod aequus, Mulcet et hinc oleo, arguit inde mero.’

¹²⁶ This conclusion is largely derived from Carine van Rhijn’s approach in *Leading the Way to Heaven and Shepherds of the Lord*.

¹²⁷ C.E. VIII: ‘Videmus crebro in ecclesiis messes et fenum congeri.’

storing of agricultural products are further clarified. “You ought not to gather in the church for any other cause except for praise of the Lord and for carrying on his service...For where the name of God is invoked, sacrifice is offered to God, and as without doubt angels congregate there in great number, it is dangerous to say anything or do anything which is not fitting to the place.”¹²⁸ Mass itself, “ought never to take place elsewhere than in a church, not in just any houses or in mean places, but in a place which the lord shall choose...”¹²⁹ The churches throughout the Carolingian empire were the various appendages of how everyone connected and interacted with God. Therefore, to invoke the wrath of not only God but also angels and presumably other holy beings is to risk the abandonment of God’s love. It also serves that on a relationship basis, if a partner were to consistently disrespect their significant other, then love finds no place in that relationship. The same principal held true for Theodulf’s perceptions of people’s relationship with God. Using the church as a meeting place, saying wrongful things within, or using it to store agricultural products all allude to the need for people to show love for God. These conceptions of love are deeply rooted within New Testament and Augustinian teachings, as shown by Schlosser.¹³⁰

As far as direct references to love are concerned, Theodulf offers two *capitula* in which he directly references the importance of love rather than offering implications or allusions to love. “[Priests] must be exhorted to love hospitality and to refuse to furnish shelter to no one, and

¹²⁸ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 96; C.E. X: ‘Non debere ad ecclesiam ob aliam causam convenire nisi ad laudandum deum et eius servitium faciendum. Disceptationes vero et tumultus et vaniloquia et ceteras actiones ab eodem sancto loco penitus prohibenda sunt.’

¹²⁹ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 96; C.E. XI: ‘Missarum sollempnia nequaquam alibi nisi in ecclesia celebranda sunt, non in quibus libet domibus et in vilibus locis, sed in loco, quem elegerit dominus iuxta illud...’

¹³⁰ Schlosser, “Reading into *Christian Teaching*.” This idea permeates the entirety of Schlosser’s dissertation.

if by chance they should supply shelter to anyone, not to take pay from him...”¹³¹ This statute concerns more than articulating the need to love God. Theodulf made a definitive statement about how priests should specifically treat those who require shelter. Alongside the social element of love Theodulf exhibits, he also established a qualification for shepherding the faithful. Outside of providing religious care, whether that be baptism, communion, or last rites among other Christian rituals, Theodulf stated that priests should also provide tangible help to those in need. Thereby, he reaffirmed the importance of communal bonds of love and his elaborations on emphasizing the love behind providing hospitality encapsulates the impetus for reform in the first place. For it is one matter to provide religious services but given how important love within society was to Theodulf, it was also important that these bonds between people are reinforced through more secular practices outside of providing religious care. The other *capitulum* in which Theodulf directly referenced love centers on how the laity should love each other and God. “The people should be admonished that it is true love which loves God more than oneself and a neighbor as oneself, and which does not wish to do to another except what one wishes to be done to oneself...”¹³² Balancing individual love and love of others, Theodulf further emphasized the importance of communal bonds of love. It is seemingly not enough, for Theodulf, to have a society of extremely competent Christians if they have no interest in each other. Of greater concern are the bonds between people, the bonds which build a community.

For people to be mindful of how to encourage and foster love within a community, Theodulf made frequent reference to how important it is that priests teach the laity. To properly

¹³¹ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 99; C.E. XXV: ‘Admonendi sunt, ut hospitalitatem diligant et nulli hospitium praeberere detrectent et, si cui forte hospitium praestiterint, nullam ab eo mercedem accipiant, nisi forte ille, qui recipitur, sponte sua aliquid det.’

¹³² Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 102; C.E. XXXIV: ‘Admonendus est populus, quod haec sit vera caritas, quae deum diligit plus quam se et *proximum tamquam se...*’

teach the people, the priests had to be well read themselves. As we saw with Theodulf's remedies for staving off sin, the priests should always be engaging in services of the faith. Yet, Theodulf expanded further on the role of education and the importance of such on people's lives, and in particular the education of priests. "We exhort you to be ready to teach the people. He who knows the Scriptures, let him preach the Scriptures, but he who does not know them, let him at least say to the people what is very familiar..."¹³³ While it would be far from ideal that a priest be unfamiliar with scripture, Theodulf at least displayed some element of pragmatism. Not every church across his bishopric had the same libraries, and while each church would have a Bible, not every church would have the same texts on interpretations of the scriptures. As for educating the future members of the clergy, Theodulf stated that this education should be open and free to all, and to teach them "with the greatest love."¹³⁴ While the priest should not require payment for these services, Theodulf does not rule out the possibility of accepting, "what the parents shall offer them freely through zeal for love."¹³⁵ Therefore, as important was the bond between priest and laity, so to was the inverse. Compounding this relationship further is the consideration of how pivotal education was to medieval people, given its scarcity and widely varying quality. By emphasizing that education should be free, Theodulf at least seeks to better improve the moral standing of Carolingian society despite the variance of quality and availability, as education out of love was one of many dividers between a Christian or sinful society.

Tying into these social bonds between priest and laity, Theodulf expanded these notions with the importance of love between the laity themselves. Within two *capitula*, Theodulf

¹³³ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 100; C.E. XXVIII: 'Hortamur vos paratos esse ad docendas plebes. Qui scriptura scit, praedicet scripturas; quo vero nescit, saltem hoc, quod notissimum est, plebibus dicat...'

¹³⁴ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 97; C.E. XX: '...sed cum summa caritate eos doceant attendentes illud...'

¹³⁵ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 97; C.E. XX: 'Cum ergo eos docent, nihil ab eis pretii pro hac re exigant nec aliquid ab eis accipiant excepto, quod eis parentes caritatis studio sua voluntate obtulerint.'

explored how harmful perjury and false testimony are to the community. “You must preach also that the faithful beware of perjury and to refrain from it absolutely, knowing that this is a great crime...”¹³⁶ The punishments for perjury are particularly severe as: “They ought to know that the same penance should be imposed for perjury as for adultery, for fornication, for homicide...”¹³⁷ The punishment is even more severe for those who refuse to confess, “he ought to be expelled from the church, from both Communion and association with the faithful, so that no one eats with him, nor drinks, nor speaks, nor takes him into his house.”¹³⁸ The most striking part of these punishments are not only the expulsion from the church, which would be severe indeed, but rather the complete ostracization from society. In the medieval context, being expelled from the entirety of the community carried unimaginable hardships. Therefore, again we see the importance of communal love. To prevent perjury, which in of itself Theodulf perceived as a rejection of love towards others, Theodulf encouraged that this same practice be reciprocated towards the perpetrator in rejection of them from the community.

Within the other *capitula* concerning false testimony, Theodulf expanded on his notions of community. “They must be told that it is the highest—I shall not say stupidity but—wickedness, to incur guilt for so great a crime on account of a desire for silver and gold...Although he may seem more cruel to others, let him really be cruel to himself.”¹³⁹ Theodulf alluded to a very personal reality for people who break love, outside of social reprimanding, in which the person alone will pay the price when confronted by God. Therefore, the punishments are even more

¹³⁶ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 100; C.E. XXVI: ‘Praedicandum est etiam, ut periurium fideles caveant et ab hoc summopere absterneant scientes hoc grande scelus esse et in lege et prophetis sive evangelio prohibitum.’

¹³⁷ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 100; C.E. XXVI: ‘Qui nosse debent, talem de periurio paenitentiam imponere debere, qualem et de adulterio, de fornication, de homicidio et de ceteris criminalibus vitiis.’

¹³⁸ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 100; C.E. XXVI: ‘...ab ecclesia repellendus est sive a communion et consortio fidelium, ut nullus cum eo comedat neque bibat neque oret neque in sua eum domo recipiat.’

¹³⁹ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 100; C.E. XXVII: ‘Dicendumque illis est, quod summa, non dicam stultitia, sed nequitia est, pro cupiditate argenti et auri... Quippe cum aliis videatur pius existere, sibimet crudelis existat.’

severe than Theodulf established with perjury, as most of those punishments dealt with temporary realities on Earth. Rather, for eternity, a person will be chastised by God. Thus, a person is truly “cruel to himself.” Theodulf recognized and feared the punishment that a person would incur if they engaged in false testimony, hence calling this crime “extremely stupid”. If the priests are executing the duties of their office well, then the laity should be aware of the divine punishment one incurs. However, it is precisely because Theodulf perceived the priests as not living up to his standards that he offered direct emphasis on education and the actions of priests. As stated earlier, the underlying theme of this impetus is to reaffirm bonds of love, but if the laity or the priests do not know what makes up these bonds or how to enact them, then they are seemingly lost to continually break these bonds.

Theodulf also implicated the monastic tradition into conceptions of love as the basis of Carolingian religion. “[Monks], having heard the call of the Almighty, have left everything and strive to follow the Master with love in their hearts and to stand upon the foundation of the apostolic life...”¹⁴⁰ Furthering the centrality of the monastic ideal to Carolingian religion, Theodulf placed love at the center of the monk’s religious calling. For monks, love was only one aspect of their holy behavior and disposition. “...I do not detract from righteous monks, whose hearts thirst for heaven and whose blessed souls thirst after God, who have devout faith, sacred hope, sweet love, for whom to live is Christ and to die is spiritual gain.”¹⁴¹ Therefore, for the people who serve as the foremost example of Christian living, Theodulf repeatedly asserted the primacy of love in shaping their interaction with Christianity.

¹⁴⁰ P.T.O., 108; T.C. XVII, lines 79–82: ‘Decertant dominum mentis amore sequi, Atque in apostolicae vitae fundamine stare, Perstet ut ecclesiae qui fuit ante modus.’

¹⁴¹ P.T.O., 108; T.C. XVII, lines 75–79: ‘Non tamen haec recinens monachis ego derogo iustis, Quorum cor caelum mens sitit alma deum. Quis devota fides, pia apes, dilectio dulcis, Vivere quis Christus sanctaque lucre mori.’

Love, in a hetero-normative and relationship context, was incredibly important in the eyes of the clergy. In this sense, love primarily relates to reproduction, borrowing inspiration from Genesis and Noah.¹⁴² When it comes to medieval women, Theodulf had, at best, a dual perception of and relationship with women. On the one hand, he praised Charlemagne's daughters but on the other chastised the "snares" of women.¹⁴³ While it is easy in modern society to highlight traditionalist views of gender and women throughout history and praise the advancements within our present society, this is not the focus of this section. Instead, this section focuses on how Theodulf's perceptions of love influenced his views on women. There also persisted the element of monastic tradition and chastity which necessarily shapes Theodulf's interactions with women.¹⁴⁴ To reinforce this argument, I connect the findings to the larger historiography on medieval gender and women, which includes the historiography of Carolingian masculinity. Thus, let us first explore how Theodulf perceived women of lower social status who did not have the privilege of being the daughter or wife of the emperor.

In total, there are three *capitula* that deal directly with women and how, from a legalistic standpoint, women are to be treated within Theodulf's ideal Christian community. Firstly, women are not allowed to approach the altar during Mass, "Let women never approach the altar when the priest is celebrating Mass but let them stand in their own places and there let the priest receive their offerings as he will offer them to God."¹⁴⁵ Theodulf further justified this position as: "For women ought to be mindful of their weakness and of the infirmity of their sex, and

¹⁴² Genesis 1:28 (ESV).

¹⁴³ P.T.O., 160; T.C. XXVIII, lines 63–64: 'Rex fuerat sapiens, legum et moderamine iustus, Femineis captus ni foret hic lacqueis.'

¹⁴⁴ P.T.O., 58; T.C. I, lines 268–292. Theodulf primarily talks about "virgin chastity" being a remedy for "shameful lust."

¹⁴⁵ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 95; C.E. VI: 'Feminae missam sacerdote celebrante nequaquam ad altare accedant, sed locis suis stent. Et ibi sacerdos earum oblationes deo oblaturus accipiat.'

therefore fear to touch anything holy in the ministry of the church.”¹⁴⁶ However, Theodulf continues that even laymen should fear anything holy, yet he does not justify laymen’s fear with gender based characteristics but rather a biblical passage.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, while the community was crucially important to Theodulf, in his eyes the only true participants within this community were men. While Thomas F. X. Noble furthers the idea and importance of the Christian community to Carolingian religion, notions about gender discrepancies within this community are absent from his formulations.¹⁴⁸ The second *capitulum* that centers on women involves Theodulf’s law that no presbyter should live with a woman, “Let no woman live with a presbyter in a single house. Although the canons permit a priest’s mother and sister to live with him, and persons of this kind in whom there is no suspicion, we abolish this privilege...”¹⁴⁹ Theodulf justified this change in laws as: “...for the reason that there may come, out of courtesy to them or to trade with them, other women not all related to him and offer an enticement for sin to him.”¹⁵⁰ The restrictive nature of Theodulf’s abolishment of the privilege indicates that he took a more stringent stance on how priests are to interact with women. In striking contrast to this, Theodulf exulted the priests that they should “...refuse to furnish shelter to no one...”¹⁵¹ Therefore, as a common medieval conception, it was precisely within the woman’s capability to lead a priest

¹⁴⁶ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 95; C.E. VI: ‘Memores enim esse debent feminae infirmitatis suae et sexus imbecillitatis, et idcirco sancta quaelibet in ministerio ecclesiae contingere pertimescant.’

¹⁴⁷ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 95, “These even laymen ought to fear, lest they undergo the punishment of Uzzah, who was willing to touch in an unusual fashion the ark of the Lord but, struck by the Lord, died.”; C.E. VI: Quae etiam laici viri pertimescere debent, ne Ozae poenam subeant, qui, dum arcam domini extraordinarie contingere voluit, domino percutiente interiit.’

¹⁴⁸ Noble, “Carolingian Religion”. While Noble clearly establishes the importance of the Christian community, it is not necessarily from the vantage point of gender but rather a holistic overview of society at large.

¹⁴⁹ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 96; C.E. XII: ‘Nulla femina cum presbytero in una domo habitet. Quamvis enim canones matrem et sororem et huiusmodi personas, in quibus nulla sit suspicio, cum illo habitare concedant, hoc nos modis omnibus idcirco amputamus...’

¹⁵⁰ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 96; C.E. XII: ‘...quia in obsequio sive occasione illarum veniunt aliae feminae, quae non sunt ei affinitate coniunctae et eum ad peccandum illiciant.’

¹⁵¹ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 99; C.E. XXV: ‘Admonendi sunt, ut hospitalitatem diligant et nulli hospitium praebere detrectent...’

towards lust or to break chastity that made Theodulf and other clergy essentially fear them. This idea is further repeated within his poetry, “Solomon would have been a wise king, just in laws and moderation, had he not been captured by the snares of women.”¹⁵² Pulling from biblical passages to justify positions in the present medieval society was nothing new. When these interpretations of scripture are placed in conjunction with Theodulf’s larger source base, it is further clear that Theodulf wanted only men to be active participants in the Christian community. This is not to say that Theodulf did not see value in women, but rather in the interest and fear of God’s wrath he, out of his own perceptions of necessity, sought to constrain and limit women’s role in the Church based upon his own individual interpretation of scripture.

Separation of love into several categories first further highlights this point. The three categories of love, for Theodulf, are the love of self, love of God, and love of others. In Theodulf’s eyes, the simple presence of a woman potentially corrupts others’ love of God, in other words, leading them towards sin. Thereby, while love formed the basic structure of society, it carried with it qualifications and ranks. Thus, Theodulf’s perceptions of love are the articulation of an innate ranking system of the different categories of love which are not necessarily replicated in another medieval figure. Finally, the last *capitulum* that deals directly with women concerns how laymen should interact with their wives during consecrated days. “One should abstain from wives on these most consecrated days, and live chastely and piously, so that these holy days be passed with heart and body made holy, and so arrive at the holy day of Pascha [Easter] because fasting is of little value if defiled by the marital act.”¹⁵³ Holy days

¹⁵² P.T.O., 160; T.C. XXVIII, lines 63–64: ‘Rex fuerat sapiens, legum et moderamine iustus, Feminis captus ni foret hic lacqueis.’

¹⁵³ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 104–105; C.E. XLIII: ‘Abstinendum est enim in his sacratissimis diebus a coniugibus et caste et pie vivendum, ut sanctificato corde et corpore isti sancti dies transigantur. Et sic perveniatur ad diem sanctum paschae, quia paene nihil valet ieiunium, quod coniugali opera polluitur, et quod orationes, vigiliae, elemosinae non commendant.’

formed a coherent indicator of time for medieval communities, and to determine the exact dates of these holy days, Carolingian scholars frequently relied on astronomy, among other methods.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, Carolingians emphasized the importance of the accuracy of these dates, which provides more reasons as to why Theodulf sought to protect them given not only the ecclesiastical effort but also the difficulty in determining the right date to celebrate these holy days. In the interest of revitalization, Theodulf sought to protect these holy days from what he perceived as people who would taint the rituals. Implicitly then, Theodulf asserted that men's commitment to Christianity and the community mattered more and had a greater impact than a woman's commitment. Thus, a fundamental aspect of the *correctio* comes with patriarchal overtones in which the agency of women is restricted more so than their male counterparts. This is not to say that men did not face restrictions, but rather the general nature and tone of Theodulf's *capitula* imply that everyone is subject to those restrictions, with women bearing more.

The perceptions of women and their role in Christianity that Theodulf developed in his *capitula* is not wholly replicated in his poetry. While Theodulf makes more emotional appeals to the dangers of women, it is coupled with poems which offer unending praise to those women who were part of the royal family. Theodulf directed one of these poems to Luitgard (d. ~ 800), the wife of Charlemagne between 796–800. “You are the light and the splendor, you are the special grace of the kingdom, and you are known for your graciousness with the work of piety.” Also, “You are beautiful in body, but you are more beautiful in your soul itself...”¹⁵⁵ In stark

¹⁵⁴ See Máirín MacCarron, *Bede and Time: Computus, Theology, and History in the Early Medieval World* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2020).

¹⁵⁵ P.T.O., 213; T.C. XXXI, lines 5–6 and 11–12: ‘Tu lux et splendor, tu regni insigne decusque, Tuque decore cluis cum pietatis ope’ and ‘Corpore pulchra manes, mente es sed pulchrior ipsa, In dubio est, hinc sis prorsus an inde prior.’

contrast to Theodulf's musings on the "snares" of women, Theodulf here elaborated on the beauty of Charlemagne's wife. This dichotomy of perceptions, where women are either the foul temptress or the chaste, virgin, and pious woman, fundamentally shaped not only Theodulf's perceptions of women but medieval society at large.¹⁵⁶ Even when considering women as pious figures, male authors, Theodulf included, still draw attention to the sexual appeal that was considered inherent and a fundamental feature of women. In large part, the pious women who abstained from participating in secular society were still viewed as brides of Christ, never able to escape the patriarchal gaze on their role in medieval society.¹⁵⁷ When considering the context of Theodulf's poem, it would be extremely unlikely that Theodulf would write a poem about the wife of the emperor and choose to continue his chastising remarks of women lest he wished to invite the emperor's ire. Therefore, it serves that Theodulf was highly conscious of the person reading or who the poem would be directed towards.

The duality of Theodulf's statements on women have not been wholly incorporated into the historiography of Carolingian women, even though historians have readily acknowledged this duality for later centuries.¹⁵⁸ For example, Dyan Elliott states, "Medieval clergy would continue to group women together according to their sexual status-regardless of their social roles."¹⁵⁹ This principle is not wholly replicated in Theodulf's statutes and poetry. While it is evident throughout his statutes, the poetry on the wives of Charlemagne carries with it different connotations, indicating that Theodulf separated women and elite-women into two distinct

¹⁵⁶ Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 19–25.

¹⁵⁷ Newman, *From Virile Woman*, 28–34.

¹⁵⁸ See Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist*. Newman explores literary perceptions of women around 1100–1200.

¹⁵⁹ Dyan Elliott, "Gender and the Christian Tradition," in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, eds. Judith Bennett and Ruth Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 26.

categories. While Theodulf did not directly address conceptions of secular masculinity or manhood, it is what he did not say that is of particular importance. By placing restrictive measures on women, Theodulf implied that men are of paramount importance to Carolingian religion. Therefore, when considering historiographical formulations of manhood and masculinity, the argument of Andrew Romig, and by extension Rachel Stone, can be furthered by this addition of a religious element to conceptions of manhood.¹⁶⁰ While the conceptions of Carolingian manhood has received sustained attention, Romig's argument on the centrality of love in determining manly perfection is further supported by Theodulf's interactions with women. It was out of love that Theodulf sought to protect men from women, yet it was also out of love that Theodulf praised elite women. Therefore, to be a perfect man was the capacity to place love of God above love of the opposite sex which could very easily turn one towards lust and therefore sin. Pulling on these strings of love, Theodulf subsequently composed his exile poetry, in which love formed the basis of his argument.

Theodulf's most emotionally charged work is his exile poetry. Throughout this poetry, he offered extensive forays into his declining mental state as well as his invocation of love to garner support for his case. The subject of Theodulf's exile has been repeatedly questioned, with scholars divided on the issue. The fact of the matter is that Theodulf was implicated in Bernard's revolt against Louis the Pious and sent to exile in a monastery. However, historians such as June-Ann Greeley debate whether Theodulf was truly a member of this revolt, concluding that there is no room for Theodulf to even conceive of betraying the emperor.¹⁶¹ Regardless of Theodulf's

¹⁶⁰ Rachel Stone, *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Introduction; Andrew J. Romig, *Be A Perfect Man: Christian Masculinity and the Carolingian Aristocracy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 2–3. Romig argues that the Carolingians conceptualized “manly perfection not upon a revered collection of traits and behaviors but rather upon a profound cultural valuation of love.”

¹⁶¹ Greeley, “Raptors and Rebellion,” 70–74.

culpability in Bernard's revolt, he was still exiled. The focus of this section is on Theodulf's use of love and communal bonds throughout his exile poetry, and attention will be paid to his self-assessment of his mental condition.

There are two main exile poems, one to Bishop Ajulf, and another to Bishop Modoin of Autun, France. Throughout Theodulf's poem to Ajulf, he offered ceaseless praise of his scholarly fortitude.¹⁶² After this praise, Theodulf begged for Ajulf's prayers so that he may be relieved of his exile in which he is "by no means guilty of the crimes charged against me."¹⁶³ Theodulf listed specific provisions which he argues he was never in support of, namely that the Emperor should lose his throne, his children, or his descendants, nor did he "wish that such great evils should ever come to pass."¹⁶⁴ Similar to Theodulf's poem to Modoin, he relies on the social bond of love to reinforce his plea, "[y]our sweet compassion, dear brother, encourages me, and a great part of my sorrow is yours."¹⁶⁵ Therefore, as Theodulf sought Ajulf's help, it is primarily that Theodulf established and sought to utilize the bonds of love to bring Ajulf to his side.

In contrast to the previous poem, Theodulf's poem to Modoin is significantly more emotionally charged and revealing of Theodulf's mental state. This openness is likely the result of Theodulf possessing a more personal relationship with Modoin than with Ajulf. In borrowing from the classical inheritance, Theodulf employed his *Erato* or muse to tell Modoin about his present state. "I am the Erato of Theodulf, coming from his prison cave, where boundless love for you consumes him, and where he is an exile, poor, helpless, very sad, anxious, sick, despised,

¹⁶² P.T.O., 294–295; T.C. LXXI, lines 1–29.

¹⁶³ P.T.O., 297–298; T.C. LXXI, line 74: 'Me obiecti haudquaquam criminis esse reum.'

¹⁶⁴ P.T.O., 297–298; T.C. LXXI, lines 75–78: 'Perderet ut sceptrum, vitam, propriumque nepotem: Haec tria sum numquam consiliatus ego. Addimus et quartum: mihi non fuit illa voluntas, Utcumque ut rerum haec mala tanta forent.'

¹⁶⁵ P.T.O., 298; T.C. LXXI, lines 89–90: 'Me tua, care, fovet dulcis compassio, frater, Tristitiaeque meae pars tibi magna manet.'

and outcast and grieving. And perchance [Modoin] will ask what I am doing. You will say that I live where perhaps a good death would be better than life.”¹⁶⁶ The details Theodulf offered on his mental state while in exile extended from his desire to seek justice for his supposed wrongful imprisonment. Even in him seeking pity from Modoin, Theodulf still relied on love to convince Modoin to his side. For Theodulf to see his exile overturned and his place in the Carolingian court restored, he relied on connections of love to persuade Modoin to his case. “You know that the unsubstantial joys of the present world perish but that sustaining brotherly love never parishes.”¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, “Although you have loved me always, now love me more: a holy mother loves her sick son more than the others. My wish is that you should strive gladly to aid the sagging affairs.”¹⁶⁸ While Theodulf eventually relied on his status as bishop to further convince Modoin, it suffices that the first basis which Theodulf relied on is love. Even at Theodulf’s darkest point in his life, love still formed a coherent aspect of his world view that, for him, represents a potential way to relive his current situation.

These two poems, in particular the poem addressed to Modoin, highlight future developments within the Carolingian empire. Namely, the arguments of Mayke De Jong in *The Penitential State*, in which de Jong argues that the collective identity of the bishops, cultivated under Charlemagne, held tremendous political weight in the medieval world.¹⁶⁹ Through harnessing their collective identity, the bishops were essentially able to embarrass the subsequent emperor Louis the Pious, and refine themselves so as to protect their place within the Carolingian

¹⁶⁶ P.T.O., 300; T.C. LXXII, lines 13–18: ‘Sum Theodulfi Erato, veniens de carceris antro Eius, ubi immensus hunc tuus urit amor. Exul, inops, pauper, tistissimus, anxius, egens, Spretus et abiectus est ubi sive dolens. Forsan et ipse roget, quid agam: me vivere dices Vitam, qua melior mors bona forte foret.’

¹⁶⁷ P.T.O., 301; T.C. LXXII, lines 31–32: ‘Fumea praesentis pereunt, scis, gaudia mundi, Numquam fraternus sed perit almus amor.’

¹⁶⁸ P.T.O., 301; T.C. LXXII, lines 33–35: ‘Me modo pluris amas, quamquam me semper amasses: Aegrum aliis natum plus pia mater amat. Fessis opto libens certa succurrere rebus...’

¹⁶⁹ De Jong, *The Penitential State*, 23–24, 180.

empire as the emperor still chose appointments to bishoprics.¹⁷⁰ In considering the formation of the collective identity, de Jong does not mention the communal bonds of love as shaping this identity. Therefore, the analysis of Theodulf's use of love throughout his exile poetry adds another dimension to de Jong's framework, that of emotion and social connections. Theodulf himself alluded to the need for a more rigid identity to prevent further affronts to the clergy, in that "what happened to me, can happen to another."¹⁷¹ Therefore, in addition to the various reasons de Jong offers in support of the formation of the collective identity or group, it is worthwhile when considering Theodulf to also add onto these reasons the dimension of love as a grounds in which the identity can be furthered. To fully capture this dimension, Rosenwein's conceptions of the medieval emotional communities can be interwoven into de Jong's framework. Thereby, alongside the crystalizing of a cohesive collective identity, the bishops themselves formed their own distinct emotional community based upon shared values and beliefs that existed as a separate internal bubble within the larger emotional community of the Christian west.

Theodulf's use of love throughout his writing encapsulates the idea of communal bonds of love. Throughout this chapter, I have argued that the *correctio* was born out of Theodulf's displeasure with certain actions which he viewed as quintessentially breaking or harming love and how he figured the best courses of action to fix society. Theodulf's use of love also carried with it patriarchal perceptions of men and women, in which Theodulf's perceptions changed according to audience. Finally, through Theodulf's exile poetry, I show how the personal bonds Theodulf established with other clerics served as possible support for his relief from exile. These

¹⁷⁰ Munz, *Life in the Age of Charlemagne*, 85–86.

¹⁷¹ P.T.O., 301; T.C. LXXII, lines 37–38: 'Unus ego quamvis sim, non est unius haec res: Quod factum est mihimet, esse potest alii.'

three avenues of interpretation centered on love do not form the entirety of Theodulf's use of emotion yet love still finds itself expressed more so than other emotions.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, the analysis I offer is in large part indebted to the works of Rosamond McKitterick and M. A. Claussen, who first developed the potency of intertextual analysis. In borrowing from their frameworks, I affirm the importance of considering works which do not coincide neatly within a presupposed framework. Through this intertextual analysis, further attention can be given not only on Theodulf but also on other bishops who have written extensively, and to which there exist an extensive source base. Thereby, this is one of the weaknesses of this approach in which potentially fascinating historical figures cannot be subjected to intertextual analysis in a dedicated case study if their writings did not survive up to the present day. Regardless, there is still much work to be done in Carolingian studies which fully incorporates intertextual analysis as a defining feature, lest the same old arguments persist for eternity.

With all these different avenues that Theodulf used to express the importance of love and the weights of punishment for breaking bonds of love, it is time to consider a completely different theme to build a more cohesive picture of Theodulf's writings. Food forms the subject of the following chapter, and it is through food that similar commentaries on religion and society are found.

CHAPTER THREE: SPICY DISHES AND COUNTRY CHEESES

Theodulf constantly referenced food, whether to disparage his fellow scholars by highlighting the “spice” of his mind or to clearly define proper Christian practice and ritual, among other purposes.¹⁷² While Theodulf referenced specific foods, in large part he used food symbolically. Broadly, this chapter seeks to capture the direct and indirect influence of food in the Carolingian world. To accomplish this, Theodulf serves as a case study into the importance of food in shaping his own personal mindset and *mentalité* which in part was shaped by the larger world around him. The analysis of Theodulf offers a concrete example of how approaching Carolingian society by crossing genre lines and affirming the extreme individual originality that was possible within early medieval writing can be fruitful and expand on growing historiographical trends. Throughout this chapter, food serves as a transmitter of cultural and societal practices as well as religious doctrine, which reorients and nuances the common historiographical arguments regarding the Carolingian Church. The context and way Theodulf referenced food also allows for greater insight into the nature of education and literary productions. All these different avenues of approach require us to first explore the historiographical significance of food before we can better understand Theodulf’s “spice-filled” mind. I am by no means the first to study Carolingian or medieval food patterns as cultural or religious markers. Yet what is noticeably absent from the broader historiography of the

¹⁷² Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 68; See also C.E. I: ‘Quod si populus fidelis cibus est dei, eiusdem cibi condimentum nos sumus.’ Theodulf also alludes to how the clergy are the spice of the Christian faith.

Carolingians are Theodulf's own specific references to food. When historians mention Theodulf, the subject of food is rarely, if at all, factored into the analysis. Thereby, in a historiographical sense, this chapter accomplishes not only the larger task of investigating a new lens on Theodulf but also emphasizes the importance of food in relation to Theodulf and the larger Carolingian world.

There are a few scholars who have informed the approach I adopt here. Namely, the influence of Clifford Geertz upon the fundamental formulations of the interpretation of culture and religion cannot be overstated. Geertz's assertion that: "Culture is most effectively treated, the argument goes, purely as a symbolic system...by isolating its elements, specifying the internal relationships among those elements, and then characterizing the whole system in some way."¹⁷³ This approach to culture, "seems to me to run the danger...of locking cultural analysis away from its proper object, the informal logic of actual life...it is through the flow of behavior—or, more precisely, social action—that cultural forms find articulation."¹⁷⁴ As will be shown throughout Theodulf's references of food, behavior and social action form a core component of his conceptions of an ordered and Christian society. It is through these formulations on food as a foundational behavioral concept that the various tendrils and arteries of Carolingian culture are articulated.

For the average Carolingian, grains formed the core of their diet.¹⁷⁵ This included rye, wheat, barley, and oats, which could be cyclically planted throughout the year. Cheese as well "might also be in high demand by observant laity during periods of fasting, since the 'mouthfeel' of cheese (created by its fats content) can alleviate the desire for the somewhat similar

¹⁷³ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 17.

¹⁷⁴ Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 17.

¹⁷⁵ Kathy L. Pearson, "Nutrition and the Early-Medieval Diet," *Speculum* 72, no. 1 (1997): 3.

characteristic in meat.”¹⁷⁶ Fruits and meats could also be readily available, if a given community had access to large grazing fields or fruit trees. The meats largely came from domestic animals instead of hunted game, of which communities preferred cattle, swine, sheep, and goats.¹⁷⁷ As for spices, only the elites could afford the expensive expenditure on cloves or saffron.¹⁷⁸ While the variety of foods available point to a rich diet of nutrients, “...the majority of early-medieval people likely suffered some degree of malnutrition resulting from the irregular availability of foods...”¹⁷⁹ The realities of medieval life constrained the Carolingian diet down to whatever was available. Weather, warfare, disease, agricultural pests, are but some of the factors that prevented the average medieval person from experiencing the variety of available foodstuffs. Generally, landowners fared well regarding diet variety, whether this be a monastic community or a noble; thus, it remains that the general stratification of society determined the quality of the medieval person’s diet.

The dietary circumstances in Theodulf’s homeland, northeastern Visigothic Spain, differed slightly from the diet of central France. In an anthropological study of remains in the church complex Sant Pere de Terrassa, scholars have found that the Visigothic diet focused more around livestock and meat than was seen in the typical Carolingian diet.¹⁸⁰ While the scholars affirm the presence of plants such as millet within the bone structure of the remains, they assert that these plant remains were largely the result of grains fed to livestock.¹⁸¹ Therefore, when Theodulf moved into the center of modern day France as bishop, he no doubt experienced a

¹⁷⁶ Pearson, “Nutrition and the Early-Medieval Diet,” 10.

¹⁷⁷ Pearson, “Nutrition and the Early-Medieval Diet,” 6–7, 11–12.

¹⁷⁸ Melitta Weiss Adamson, *Food in Medieval Times* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 15.

¹⁷⁹ Pearson, “Nutrition and the Early-Medieval Diet,” 28.

¹⁸⁰ Xavier Jordana et. al., “Lost in Transition: The Dietary Shifts from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages in the Northeastern Iberian Peninsula,” *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 11 (2019): 3751–3763.

¹⁸¹ Jordana et. al., “Lost in Transition,” 3761.

somewhat different dietary culture than he was accustomed. Thus, when Theodulf references food and in particular livestock, grains, or the products of grains such as bread, it is from this vantage point of a cultural outsider. This allows for Theodulf to explore the contours of food deeper than those who grew up in this dietary culture as he had to learn it throughout his time as bishop and exile. As part of the medieval Christian experience, fasting was an ideal to practice and strive for, thereby in the historiography much attention has been paid to this intentional denying of food. What has been explored less is the opposite side of fasting. If fasting is intentional undereating, then gluttony is intentional overeating. While Theodulf goes into extensive detail on the merits of fasting, he equally does so on the pitfalls of gluttony.

If malnourishment afflicted nearly all Carolingian society, what can then be said about gluttony and Theodulf's perceptions of this cardinal sin? Unsurprisingly, Theodulf disparages over-indulging in food and drink as: “[h]oly fasting overcomes the foul insatiability of gluttony which afflicts, strangles, and agitates the human race.”¹⁸² Theodulf continued this theme in a separate poem as “for whoever buries himself in much drink and sleep, takes away the strength of his body and soul and is sluggish.”¹⁸³ As for official functions, “[w]hen [a drunkard] comes to court, he is bereft of keenness of mind; dull and sluggish, and with absent mind, he presides.”¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, “...should there be a long-cross examination or the give-and-take of debate, he is sluggish, drunk, belching, short of breath, is drowsy, faints, is nauseated, in distress, and dull...”¹⁸⁵ The amount of detail that Theodulf offered of drunkards at court allude to Theodulf

¹⁸² P.T.O., 58; T.C. I, lines 276–277: ‘Sancta gulae ingluviem superant ieiunia foedam, Quae mortale genus afficit, artat, argit.’

¹⁸³ P.T.O., 177; T.C. XXVIII, lines 401–402: ‘Nam qui se nimiis epulis somnoque sepelit, Corporis atque animae vim sibi demit hebes.’

¹⁸⁴ P.T.O., 177; T.C. XXVIII, lines 403–404: ‘Cum venit ad causas nudatus acumine sensus, Marcidus et segnis et sine mente sedet.’

¹⁸⁵ P.T.O., 177; T.C. XXVIII, lines 406–408: ‘Quaestio et alterna sit vice versa diu, Ille piger, madidus, ructans, temulentus, anelus Oscitat et market, nauseat, angit, hebet.’

seemingly encountering these actions first-hand. To drive home his point about why over-drinking is bad, Theodulf employed an agricultural metaphor about the moderation of watering grain.¹⁸⁶ Theodulf’s position on drunkenness is extended to the priests of his diocese, for they “should never go through the taverns eating and drinking, nor travel around houses and villages out of curiosity, nor attend feasts with women or with any impure persons.”¹⁸⁷ One of the more striking features of this *capitulum* is Theodulf’s combination of women with impure persons, a feature that is not repeated heavily throughout his works, with only his *capitula* having some discussion of women generally rather than specific persons. Theodulf’s perception of women was common throughout the medieval period, and since Theodulf desired the priests to be model citizens, this too meant that they had to be “pure”. Therefore, in a *capitulum* about drunkenness and debauchery, it clearly mattered more for Theodulf to include statements about women aside from other features which might make the clergy impure.

While one can expect divine and bodily consequences for drinking heavily, Theodulf also asserted the social toll that one pays. “While drunk, you will be secretly laughed at by all the people; this one nods to that one, and soon you will be a marked man.”¹⁸⁸ Therefore, the love that sustains the Christian community is threatened by drunkards, and Theodulf’s position on drunkenness undoubtedly stems from his perceptions on love. What is seemingly a more grievous sin for Theodulf is for a member of the clergy to preach about the virtues of fasting while also over-indulging in drinking. For “[t]he bishop is remiss in restraining his people from

¹⁸⁶ P.T.O., 178, “Much water kills the grain, while a moderate amount nourishes it.”; T.C. XXVIII, line 416: ‘Multa aqua farra necat, cum mediocris alat.’

¹⁸⁷ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 96; C.E. XIII: ‘Et neque per tabernas eatis bibendo aut comedendo neque domos aut vicos curiositate qualibet peragretis neque cum feiminis aut cum quibuslibet impuris personis convivia exerceatis.’

¹⁸⁸ P.T.O., 178; T.C. XXVIII, lines 417–418: ‘Hebrius a populo furtim ridebere cuncto, Innuit hic illi, moxque notatus eris.’

gluttony, if he himself also lies surrounded with rich foods. He would not forbid wine, if he gorges himself with it.”¹⁸⁹ Theodulf’s position on priests or bishops who engage in this two-faced behavior can be further elucidated by his position on deceit. For in *carmen* seven Theodulf stated, “[t]he wicked man is he who does certain evil deeds or pretended good deeds, who hates what God loves and loves what God hates.”¹⁹⁰ Thereby, Theodulf’s rebuke of gluttony takes on a more severe message. As it was expected of the clergy to preach virtue to the laity, to engage in vice while doing so is not one but two vices. Thus, sin is exacerbated across society, and given that medieval clergy viewed themselves as the shepherds of the people, for Theodulf this is a much graver sin than if a member of the laity engaged in deceit or gluttony.

Theodulf’s extensive rebuke of drunkenness does not mean people, namely priests, are unable to celebrate and rejoice. “Unless some head of a household, perhaps, shall invite you to his home and, with his wife and children, wishes to rejoice with you in spiritual joy, and to receive the refreshment of your words and to offer you carnal refreshments...”¹⁹¹ Therefore, in specific cases and circumstances were priests able to celebrate, only if it is through the teaching and instructing of people. Theodulf’s version of *correctio* then is not wholly limiting or chastising, but rather he exhumes an element of pragmatism. Medieval people enjoyed celebrations and enjoyed drinking. Therefore, it was permissible in Theodulf’s eyes to allow priests to attend these celebrations if they did not drink too much to the point of embarrassment for the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Theodulf also praised feasts and banquets: “...let us celebrate

¹⁸⁹ P.T.O., 66; T.C. II, lines 89–91: ‘Cessat ab ingluvie praesul compescere ventris Plebes, si dapibus pressus et ipse iacet. Haud vetat hic vinum, si sese ingurgitet illo, Ebrius haud populo ‘Sobrius esto’ canet.’

¹⁹⁰ P.T.O., 78; T.C. VI, lines 3–4: ‘Qui mala certa gerit bona seu simulata malignus, Odit qui quod amat, quod deus odit amat.’

¹⁹¹ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 96; C.E. XIII: ‘...nisi forte pater familias quilibet vos ad domum suam invitaverit et cum coniuge sua et prole velit vobiscum spiritali gaudio laetari et verborum vestrorum refectionem accipere et vobis refectionem carnalem caritatis officio exhibere.’

this feast exultingly; there will be a more suitable time for publishing poems. Let us thus also partake devoutly of the annual feasts, that God may grant us a continuous feast without end.”¹⁹² Furthermore, “The annual joys of a yearly feast have returned here to our people, and the clerics, and to the holy ministers.”¹⁹³ Therefore, Theodulf is not wholly limiting in his perceptions on food. In contrast to the monastic tradition of removing all pleasure from food, Theodulf encouraged people to enjoy the fruits of the world, as everything was created in God’s image and a part of God’s plan. This does not mean that Theodulf encouraged people to overindulge at these feasts but rather he encourages a sense of moderation.¹⁹⁴ Theodulf’s elaborations on celebrations and feasts has been recognized by historians such as June-Ann Greeley: “Theodulf thus transformed the mundane experience of drinking a glass of wine with friends into an eloquent occasion, redolent of something good and true.”¹⁹⁵ Therefore, feasts serve as a middle ground between overt monastic fasting and extreme indulgence in food and drink. Since Theodulf stated that fasting overcomes gluttony, the question emerges of how Theodulf viewed fasting in terms of its role and the punishments for breaking it in Carolingian society.

In the interests of the *correctio* and revitalizing Christianity, Theodulf laid the groundwork for fasting for his diocese through his *capitula*. For some historians, such as Lynda L. Coon, the practice of fasting connected the Carolingian clergy to the desert, Egyptian ascetic tradition of early Christianity. In line with this monastic connection, the abstention from flesh formed a coherent pillar of both the desert and Carolingian ascetics.¹⁹⁶ Given that the

¹⁹² P.T.O., 255; T.C. XLIV, lines 23–27: ‘His ita praemissis, festum hoc celebremus ovantes, Aptius edendi carmina tempus erit. Annua sic etiam veneranter festa colamus, Continua ut nobis det sine fine deus.’

¹⁹³ P.T.O., 288; T.C. LXVIII, lines 1–2: ‘Hic populis nostris, cleroque, sacrisque ministris, Annua sollemnibus remearunt gaudia festi.’

¹⁹⁴ See Theodulf’s extensive rebuke of gluttony, T.C. I, lines 276–277.

¹⁹⁵ Greeley, “Social Commentary,” 142.

¹⁹⁶ Lynda L. Coon, “Collecting the Desert in the Carolingian West,” *Church History and Religious Culture* 86, no. 1 (2006), 138, 155.

Carolingians advocated, embraced, and codified the monastic tradition as the pinnacle of Christian behavior, Theodulf's ideas surrounding fasting are hardly surprising. However, what is noteworthy is that given Coon's argument and framework, it is possible to link Theodulf to this desert tradition, expanding the geographic range of cultural influences on Theodulf from predominantly Western Europe to a locale across the Mediterranean. However, as we will see, there are issues with the monastic ideal which formed the crux for Carolingian religion, as most people were not able to live up to its stringent lifestyle.¹⁹⁷

In *capitulum* thirty-seven, Theodulf stated: "Let there be in them no occasion for breaking the fast because at another time it is customary to dispense with the fasting for the sake of love, but this should not be then."¹⁹⁸ Fasting, especially for Theodulf, is a foundational Christian practice that should never be broken. If a person breaks their fast then they invite earthly pleasures and sins which counter Christian practice, namely gluttony. If someone outright refuses to fast then they "transcend the will of God."¹⁹⁹ Thereby, in framing the ramifications of those who do not fast as one that carries significant risk, Theodulf emphasized the importance of fasting but also expressed a sense of fear for the laity potentially incurring divine wrath. While Theodulf viewed the breaking of the fast as dangerous, he did, however, make prescriptions for those who could not maintain the fast. "If anyone should be so limited of necessity that he cannot attend Mass, he should break his fast having shown respect to the vesper hour and having

¹⁹⁷ Andrew Jotischky, *A Hermit's Cookbook: Monks, Food, and Fasting in the Middle Ages* (London; New York: Continuum, 2011), ix.

¹⁹⁸ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 103; C.E. XXXVII: 'Nulla enim in his occasio sit resolvendi ieiunii, quia alio tempore solet ieiunium caritatis causa dissolvi, isto vero nullatenus debet...'

¹⁹⁹ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 104; C.E. XXXVII: '...in hoc vero non ieiunare praeceptum dei transcendere est.' The phrase, *praeceptum dei transcendere*, can also be understood more legalistically as "override the commandment of God." For *praeceptum* as commandment, see the Vulgate Mark 7:9, 'Bene irritum facitis praeceptum Dei' or "You have a fine way of rejecting the commandment of God," (ESV).

completed his prayer.”²⁰⁰ Theodulf’s expressions and framing form a common thread among medieval Christian practice, namely the practice and belief of the clergy as the shepherds of the population. Throughout Theodulf’s *capitula*, he offered intricate details of how fasting and particular holy days should function. For example, Theodulf explicitly chastised those who, during lent, “keep the food for lunch until dinner [which] is an increase, not of recompense, but of foods.”²⁰¹ Furthermore, Theodulf asserted that those who abstain from the various core agricultural products of the Carolingian diet, such as cheese, milk, butter, and eggs but cannot abstain from wine exhibit “foolishness to the highest degree, and [are] bereft entirely of rationality.”²⁰² For, “getting drunk on wine and profligacy are forbidden, not milk and eggs.”²⁰³ Again, Theodulf exhibited pragmatism in laying out these precepts for his diocese, as seen with his fast-breaking exemption of those who are “limited of necessity.” In the interest of Christian renewal, while Theodulf’s terms are harsh in terms of punishment, he still acknowledged the variety of situations that may limit one person’s ability to dutifully carry out Christian rituals.

Fasting itself has been subject to historiographical scrutiny since the twentieth century. For example, Caroline Walker Bynum’s *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* focuses on thirteenth and fourteenth century spirituality in women through food and is one of the most famous works of medieval scholarship of the last half-century.²⁰⁴ Although the time period and gender differs between Bynum’s work and this thesis,

²⁰⁰ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 104; C.E. XXXIX: ‘Si vero aliquis necessitate constrictus fuerit, ut ad missam convenire non valeat, aestimata vespertine hora, complete oration sua ieiunium absolvere debet.’

²⁰¹ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 104; C.E. XXXVIII: ‘...quia ieiunare et cibos prandii ad cenam reservare non mercedis, sed ciborum est incrementum.’

²⁰² Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 104; C.E. XL: ‘A caseo vero, lacte, butyro et ovis abstinere et non ieiunare dementissimum est et ab omni ratione semotum.’

²⁰³ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 104; C.E. XL: ‘Vini enim ebrietas et luxoria prohibita sunt, non lac et ova.’

²⁰⁴ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 4.

her formulations of eating as “an occasion for union with one’s fellows and one’s God, a commensality given particular intensity by the prototypical meal, the eucharist, which seemed to hover in the background of any banquet,” is an apt description of the dynamic under consideration in this thesis. This is also true of her claim that “[eating] God in the eucharist was a kind of audacious deification, a becoming of the flesh that, in its agony, fed and saved world.” Thereby, “to religious men and women, renunciation of ordinary food prepared the way for consuming (i.e., becoming) Christ, in eucharist and mystical union.”²⁰⁵ Given Theodulf’s intense focus on bread, as will be explored later, Bynum’s framework of fasting and the eucharist is highly tenable. If the people who partook in the eucharist prepared themselves for consuming or becoming Christ, then it follows that how Christ was consumed was of fundamental importance not only to medieval Christians but thus to modern historians’ understanding their world view. Other historians, such as Lynda L. Coon, elaborated that fasting instead links “a contemporary monk to an ancient, eremitic tradition. The desert fathers had a conflicted relationship with food: on the one hand, eating sustains the body; on the other, its consumption underscores human frailty.”²⁰⁶ The desert linkage between medieval and ancient Christians has already been established earlier, but it is worth reemphasizing the long tradition of fasting that Coon illustrates. Finally, Andrew Jotischky’s *A Hermit’s Cookbook: Monks, Food and Fasting in the Middle Ages* covers the “deliberate relegation of food and eating to a purely physical need, divorced from any sensation, divorced from any sensation of pleasure or displeasure...”²⁰⁷ Jotischky further explores the “constant tension between the monastic ideal and the social and economic realities that underlay religious life.”²⁰⁸ These three interpretations of fasting and its

²⁰⁵ Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 3–4.

²⁰⁶ Coon, “Collecting the Desert,” 155.

²⁰⁷ Jotischky, *A Hermit’s Cookbook*, x.

²⁰⁸ Jotischky, *A Hermit’s Cookbook*, xi.

importance for wider society are furthered through Theodulf's own elaborations. As we will see later on, bread formed a crucial aspect of the religious element of eating and baking, for as Bynum states to partake in communion is to consume the flesh of God, and Theodulf did not want this flesh to be of "poor quality."²⁰⁹ Jotischky's argument, that most people, monks included, tried and failed to live up to monastic ideals of food consumption, is clearly shown through Theodulf's own formulations. Theodulf included specific circumstances in which people could break fasts as he realized that not everyone was a monk and not everyone can live up to the lofty ambitions of monastic life.²¹⁰ This idea has been iterated earlier by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill in *The Frankish Church*. What separates this thesis from works such as Wallace-Hadrill's was the earlier blend of anthropological and archaeological evidence along with written sources, whereas Wallace-Hadrill purely focuses on written records.

As far as fasting is concerned, Clifford Geertz's approach to cultural forms is incredibly useful in capturing the realities of medieval life. Fasting, and its opposite of gluttony, form coherent behavioral patterns and carry with them social pressures to stray from one and engage in the other. Given that medieval societies were intertwined with religion to such a degree that simply not going to Church was inconceivable, the Christian practice of fasting formed a foundational aspect of medieval life. Therefore, through Geertz's formulations, it is possible to at the very least glimpse at the impact fasting had on medieval life. From this, the conceptions of *correctio* and reform are opened to include new avenues, such as food. What is directly revealed from applying Geertz's principles on Theodulf's use of food is the extreme potency that food held on medieval writers, at least as far as Theodulf is concerned. Therefore, in articulating the

²⁰⁹ C.E. V: 'Et diligenter observetur, ut panis et vinum et aqua, sine quibus missae nequeunt celebrari, mundissime atque studiose tractentur. Et nihil in his vile, nihil non probatum inveniatur iuxta illud...'

²¹⁰ J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Clarendon Press, 1983), 279–280.

various reforms of the *correctio* as well as social norms and proper behaviors, the primacy of food indicates a portion of Theodulf's *mentalité* and how he fundamentally understood the world around him. Alluded to earlier with Theodulf's stance on feasts, moderation serves as a form of middle ground between overt fasting or overeating.

The poem in which Theodulf asserted the usefulness of moderation centers on him addressing a group of judges.²¹¹ Throughout the poem, Theodulf elaborated on his experiences as a *missus* under Charlemagne, essentially serving as a royal agent to ensure that the local populace was abiding by religious and legal standards. The primary virtue of moderation lies in the ability to be respected by one's peers for: "...if you open your lips when sober, you will be feared by all the people, and they will do eagerly what you order to be done."²¹² For Theodulf, a drunkard is incapable of respect, both by their peers and their superiors. By foregoing religious prerogatives to showcase why people might not moderate the intake of alcohol, Theodulf necessarily expanded the potential audience to include more secular concerns of social reputation. Thereby, Theodulf's awareness that not everyone in Carolingian society would be motivated by threats of divine punishment highlights the pragmatic nature he adopts in both his poetry and laws. Beyond fasting and gluttony, Theodulf made frequent use of food metaphors to correct and encourage proper behavior both within the empire at large and within his locale.

Similar to gluttony, Theodulf utilized metaphors of food to chastise members of the clergy and secular leaders who take bribes to falsely testify before the courts. "As a kite hastens to a piece of meat, as a fish to the bait, and as a bear to a honeycomb, and as cattle to places

²¹¹ P.T.O., 157; T.C. XXVIII. The translated title of this poem is "The Poem of Theodulf to the Judges."

²¹² P.T.O., 178; T.C. XXVIII, lines 419–420: 'Sobrius ora movens a plebe verbere cuncta, Certatim et facient quae facienda dabis.'

where there is salt, so a wicked witness rushes to take bribe...”²¹³ These metaphors of beasts rushing to food serve two primary purposes. Firstly, as it is with every foodstuff in this chapter, the use of food as a metaphorical signifier allows others to understand Theodulf’s work. He bends and contorts the diet of the Carolingians to serve as potent rebukes or unending praise. Secondly, by comparing those who take bribes to these wild animals Theodulf degrades the humanity of these people to be no better than these beasts, no doubt informed by the biblical role of beasts and wild animals.²¹⁴ While Theodulf compared those who took bribes or engaged in sin to wild beasts, on the opposite side he utilized spice and food to highlight the virtues of his fellow scholars or those above him.

Theodulf was no stranger to using “spice” in his literary and legal works to articulate social status. Within his first *capitulum* he states, “[b]ut if the faithful people are the food of God, we are the *spice* of the same food.”²¹⁵ Theodulf described the relationships present within the Carolingian Church using these food metaphors. If the average person is the food of God, then the clergy are closely related but higher ranked. Given what we know about the availability of spices, which only the wealthy or elites could attain, Theodulf made a definitive social statement and articulated the dynamics of the Carolingian Church through this one simple allusion. The same articulation can be found in *carmen* twenty-five, “Be far away, O pottage and country cheeses, but be near at hand, O table of spicy dishes.”²¹⁶ Within this poem Theodulf described what an ideal banquet with Charlemagne would look like. For a banquet with the emperor, it is no wonder that Theodulf asserted the importance of luxury *condimentum*. Since nearly everyone

²¹³ P.T.O., 195; T.C. XXVIII, lines 797–800: ‘Milvus ut ad carnem, piscis festinat ad hamum, Adque favos ursus, ad loca salsa pecus: Sic ruit ad munus capiendum testis iniquus, Proque malo magno praemia grata capit.’

²¹⁴ See Job 5:22 (ESV); Mark 1:13 (ESV); Leviticus 26:6 (ESV)

²¹⁵ C.E. I: ‘Quod si populus fidelis cibus est dei, eiusdem cibi *condimentum* nos sumus.’

²¹⁶ P.T.O., 142; T.C. XXV, lines 197–198: ‘Este procul pultes, et lactis massa coacti, Sed pigmentati sis prope mensa cibi.’

in Carolingian society could at least in theory consume cheese, by emphasizing spicy dishes Theodulf remarks about the social status and stratification of Carolingian society. Thereby, Theodulf employed metaphors of spice to clearly define societal expectations relating to diets. These societal expectations also extend to how Theodulf understood the role of scholars and bishops, both at the court of Charlemagne and across the empire.

Theodulf also utilized spice to convey his perception of greed. The entirety of *carmen* seven centers on Theodulf exploring the various regions of the known world and the riches they possess, such as the spices of Northern Malaya, Ceylon, and Asia. All of these riches, Theodulf stated, if given to a greedy man, would still leave him in want of more.²¹⁷ While the poem centers on the concept of greed and pitfalls of such, Theodulf showcased an impressive amount of geography and the various economic products these locations are known for producing. Keenly, Theodulf stated, “If all these things should be collected and given to him at one time, his greedy hand would not become richer on that account.”²¹⁸ While the greedy man will always be in want of more, Theodulf also articulated a message of what defines wealth for him which is inextricably informed by his identity as bishop. As shown through other poems and statutes, Theodulf views understanding and receiving the word of God as true wealth.²¹⁹

While not dealing with spice directly, the conflict between Theodulf and Cadac has been well documented by historians.²²⁰ Cadac was an Irish court poet at the Court of Charlemagne,

²¹⁷ P.T.O., 79–83; T.C. VII.

²¹⁸ P.T.O., 83; T.C. VII, lines 63–64: ‘Omnia si sibimet simul haec congesta darentur, Non sua avara manus ditior inde forte.’

²¹⁹ P.T.O., 104; T.C. XVII. This poem centers on how it is through priests that the kingdom of heaven can be opened. Given Theodulf’s position as bishop and his previous poems about hatred of sin, it is natural that he favors spiritual to monetary wealth.

²²⁰ See Theodore, “A Carolingian Pun,” 363–364; Keith Sidwell, “Theodulf of Orléans, Cadac-Andreas and Old Irish Phonology: A Conundrum,” *Journal of Medieval Latin* 2 (1992): 55–62.

and frequently found himself the target of Theodulf's attacks.²²¹ Within the same poem about spicy dishes is Theodulf's relentless attack on the mind and scholarly ability of Cadac. Theodulf notably chastises Cadac's inability to pronounce the Latin /c/ as hard such as in "cat"; rather Cadac pronounces it softly, as in "cell" or "fancy." This culminates in Theodulf's elaborate use of pronunciation towards an attack. "If you should take away from him the letter which is the third in order, and which by chance is placed second in his name, the letter, that is, which is heard first in *caelo*, and second in *scando*, third in *ascensu*....there is no doubt that he will be that which the sound of the word indicates."²²² Alexandraneko notes that this play on words centers on *Scottus* and *sottus*, meaning Irish and foolish respectively.²²³ When read in conjunction with Theodulf's elaborations on spice and his historic use of spice to denote quality of mind, it is probable that Theodulf's attacks on Cadac stem from the high standards he set for the court.

Given that Theodulf composed most of his works under the umbrella of the Carolingian Renaissance, he set high standards not only for himself but for others at court. These high standards, at times, devolved into scathing critique of other's works. Most notably, Theodulf equated the mind of Alcuin to that of porridge, whereas Theodulf's mind is full of spice.²²⁴ Given that Theodulf also referred to spice as synonymous with elite status, the metaphor employed thus served to not only discredit Alcuin's mental capabilities, but also implied that Alcuin is not worthy of the benefits of elite status or life in this case. Keenly aware of audience,

²²¹ Bernhard Bischoff, "Theodulf und der Ire Cadac-Andreas," in *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, Germany: Hiersemann, 1966–1981), 19–25.

²²² P.T.O., 140; T.C. XXV., lines 170–174: 'Inque secunda suo nomine forte sedet, Quae sonat in 'caelo' prima, et quae in 'scando' secunda, Tertia in 'ascensu', quarta in 'amicitiis', Quam satis offendit, pro qua te, littera salvi, Utitur, haud dubium quod sonat, hoc et erit.'

²²³ P.T.O., 141.

²²⁴ Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 68.

Theodulf in *carmen* twenty-five strongly praises Alcuin for “he is strong in thought, and he is mighty in deed.”²²⁵ Intended for Charlemagne, Theodulf elaborated on his ideal gathering of scholars and poets at Charlemagne’s court. While Theodulf readily criticized his contemporaries, Peter Godman notes that “the polemic of literary debate at which Theodulf excelled occupies, both quantitatively and qualitatively, only a minor part of his complete production.”²²⁶ Thereby, while it is worth analyzing Theodulf’s use of food to criticize others, it is unrepresentative of the entirety of his writings where he spent more time on other matters. Outside of spice, Theodulf also commented on the most popular agricultural product of the Carolingian world and its role in Christian communion. There persists a historiographical quandary over the reception of the Roman tradition which must be addressed before exploring communion and the eucharist.

Within the historiography, one of the most prominent debates has been on the reception of the Roman tradition and the impact of such on the scholarly tradition. In the twentieth century, historians were quick to emphasize how Carolingian scholars were merely transmitters of their Roman counterparts.²²⁷ Ever since the turn of the century, this common argument has seen dramatic shifts. Namely, historians are frequently emphasizing the inventive and innovative nature of Carolingian scholars. With Theodulf’s inventive use of food to convey societal and scholarly expectations, rather than simply being “transmitters”, medieval writers and thinkers were inventing on Roman forms.²²⁸ Throughout the translation of Theodulf’s poetry, Alexandrenko frequently references parallels between Theodulf’s and Ovid’s works. These medieval authors were absolutely inspired by Roman writers, but it is clear at least in Theodulf’s

²²⁵ P.T.O., 138; T.C. XXV, lines 131–132: ‘Sit praesto et Flaccus, nostrorum gloria vatum, Qui potis est lyrico multa boare pede.’ Theodulf refers to Alcuin by his penname, Flaccus.

²²⁶ Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 70.

²²⁷ See H. Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire* and Robert R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries*.

²²⁸ See Phelan, “New Insights, Old Texts.”; Davis, “Charlemagne’s Portrait Coinage.”; Trompf, “The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance.”

case that he was doing something new with his poetry than these Roman writers.²²⁹ Therefore, it is inaccurate to argue that medieval authors were transmitters alone. Instead, it is more apt and fitting to conceive of these authors as innovators in their own right. This is not to say that there is not some degree of transmission from the Roman past. Rather, to only describe medieval writers as transmitters is inaccurate. Theodulf himself wrote extensively on a vast array of topics, both religious and secular. The reductionist transmission argument downplays these contributions. Therefore, it is ever important to further reconstruct Theodulf's worldview through food, and one of these avenues is through Theodulf's religious and secular approach to the concept and use of wine, both during communion and receiving the eucharist but also to convey his *mentalité*.

Wine was pivotal to Carolingian religion and society. In contrast to the previous formulations, Theodulf's hostility towards drunkenness does not extend to wine. Theodulf perceived cases of over-drinking in which the drink in question was wine as a solely personal sin, and did not call for the banning of wine altogether. A central part of communion, wine serves both to clarify religious doctrine, but Theodulf also employed it to great effect when developing analogies or metaphors. Regarding religious doctrine, Theodulf asserted "[The Law of God] cures in the manner of wine, it soothes like oil. Thus, by various expressions salvation is given."²³⁰ Theodulf also recounted biblical passages: "May He who once turned the fluids into the reality of wine and made the water-wells have the appearance of wine, bless our cups with His holy hands, and may He make for us a joyful day."²³¹ Interestingly, Theodulf spent more time using wine as a secular metaphor than in a religious context. "Thus does the hem finish a

²²⁹ P.T.O., Introduction; Godman, *Poets and Emperors*, 68.

²³⁰ P.T.O., 243–244; T.C. XLI, lines 183–184: 'Curat more meri, ritu demulcet olive, Multimodo affatu sic datur una salus.'

²³¹ P.T.O., 284; T.C. LXIV, lines 1–4: 'Qui latices quondam vini convertit in usum, Et fontis speciem fecit habere meri, Ipse piis minibus benedicat pocula nostra, Et laetum faciat nosmet habere diem.'

purple garment, thus does wine complete a meal; thus does the rich olive thrive after the fruits of the year.”²³² On another matter, “So a thief pretends to be a friend so that he may come to do harm, and so poisons when mixed with sweet wine, are hidden.”²³³ In these two cases, Theodulf explicitly relied on wine as a means to convey notions of *good* or *right*. When paired with the religious connotation of wine, it was impossible for Theodulf to view wine in a negative light. As for his rebuke of drunkenness, he more so frames overindulgence as a personal sin rather than insinuating that the mere existence of certain objects creates sin. Theodulf also employed wine to elucidate his own world view, “So wine has its sediment, and olive oil its impurities, and the ambrosial flow of honey has its waxen comb.”²³⁴ In the same vein, Theodulf elaborated in a separate poem that a garden of beautifully scented plants still grows hemlock.²³⁵ For Theodulf, it was important in life to take the good with the bad, and something as religiously and culturally important as wine still has its negatives. These negatives, perhaps, are that people sometimes abused something as sweet as wine, and that in every case there is a dualistic characterization of every object.

Theodulf also elaborated on how wine should be consumed during Mass. “For whoever drinks from a consecrated chalice anything other than the blood of Christ which is received in the sacrament....must be deterred by the example of Belshazzar, who...lost his life and his kingdom as well.”²³⁶ Less concerned over the quality of wine as he would be with bread, this statute for

²³² P.T.O., 161; T.C. XXVIII, lines 83–84: ‘Sic ostrum limbus, sic claudit prandia vinum, Post fructus anni pinguis oliva viget.’

²³³ P.T.O., 190; T.C. XXVIII, lines 689–690: ‘Sic se fur socium simulat, nociturus ut intrat, Sicque latent dulci mixta venena mero.’

²³⁴ P.T.O., 108; T.C. XVII, lines 87–88: ‘Sic vino faex est, et olivo turpis amurca, Et liquor ambrosius mellis habet abacum.’

²³⁵ P.T.O., 67; T.C. II, lines 127–128: ‘Hortus aromaticis redolens pulcherrimus herbis, Gestat nidorem saepe, cicuta, tuum.’

²³⁶ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 97; C.E. XVIII: ‘Nam quicumque de calice sacratio aliud bibit praeter Christi sanguinem, qui in sacramento accipitur, et patenam ad aliud officium habet, quam ad altaris ministerium deterrendus est exemplo Balthasar, qui, dum vasa domini in usus communes assumpsit, vitam partier cum regno amisit.’

his priests has been commonly lumped together with the broader *correctio* program in the modern historiography.²³⁷ However, wine itself held a very deep social and religious connection for Theodulf. Throughout this chapter Theodulf offers frequent reference, both implicit and direct, towards understanding of audience and that certain manners were appropriate at certain times for certain audiences. While Theodulf's emphasis on the need to only use religious chalices for religious purposes can be read as a part of the broader *correctio* program, it more so encapsulates the deep personal connection Theodulf had with wine. To him, it was both the blood of Christ and the means of celebration or feast. This dualistic interpretation of wine precludes notions that wine was purely religious. Therefore, while wine certainly formed a coherent part of the *correctio*, it carried with it various meanings that would be lost if only considering the religious importance of the beverage. Therefore, to further capture the *mentalité* of Theodulf, wine is important in forming how he fundamentally interacted with the Carolingian social, cultural, and religious world.

In a seemingly sharp turn, Theodulf utilizes wine and fruit as a clear indicator of the end times. "The autumns do not abound with wines so sweet, nor are the trees loaded with fruit. The earth does not now produce anything good as it used to before."²³⁸ It is important to note that this poem was likely not composed during his exile, where a common theme in his exile poetry is lamentation about his present circumstances.²³⁹ Theodulf was no stranger to apocalyptic tendencies, as he reveals in this poem that it would appear the end of the world is drawing near given the lack of sustained agricultural production. However, Theodulf is not necessarily concerned with the calculation of dates to determine when the world would end, but rather relies

²³⁷ See both works by Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord* and *Leading the Way to Heaven*

²³⁸ P.T.O., 96; T.C. XIV, lines 9–10: 'Dulcibus haud adeo mustis autumnna redundant, Foetibus arboreis non onerata vigent.'

²³⁹ See T.C. LXXII. Theodulf laments and despises his current situation throughout the entirety of this poem.

on tangible evidence of the poor quality of agricultural products.²⁴⁰ While Theodulf does not spend much time on this topic, it is still worth exploring as it showcases the intense variety of the ways in which food captured Theodulf's imagination and musings. Wine itself is only part of the eucharist, the other part is of the flesh of God, or bread.

The Carolingian diet revolved around grain.²⁴¹ For Theodulf, working towards the Christian renewal of society, bread held a special place during Mass and the concept of Carolingian religion. While this is in line with standard Christian practice of the time, bread was to be consumed at mass as part of communion, Theodulf paid special attention to the consumption of bread during this ritual. For the priests and their servants must bake the bread: "in [a] clean and careful manner, and let it be carefully observed that the bread and the wine and the water, without which Masses cannot be celebrated, be kept very clean and handled with care..."²⁴² No aspect of the bread which Christians offer to God should be of "poor quality."²⁴³ The Christian renewal of society included the reaffirming of the importance aspects of standard rituals, down to the very manner in which the bread is baked. While bread held significant importance in communion, it is not only another aspect of the *correctio*. Instead, when considered with the arguments of Pearson, bread formed a coherent aspect of society at large. Therefore, embedded within Theodulf's commentary about the proper religious baking of bread is also a social commentary on one's access to proper baking techniques, proper kitchenware, and all the things necessary for baking bread. The quality of the wheat used could also be of

²⁴⁰ The medieval calculation of when the apocalypse would occur has been a frequent interest of modern historians and medieval figures, see James Palmer, "Calculating Time and the End of Time in the Carolingian World, c.740–820," *The English Historical Review* 126, no. 523 (2011): 1307–1331.

²⁴¹ Pearson, "Nutrition and the Early-Medieval diet," 3.

²⁴² Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 95; C.E. V: 'Et diligenter observetur, ut panis et vinum et aqua, sine quibus missae nequeunt celebrari, mundissime atque studiose tractentur.'

²⁴³ C.E. V: 'Et nihil in his vile, nihil non probatum inveniatur iuxta illuda...'

suspect quality. Therefore, when Theodulf commanded his priests to pay special attention to the baking of bread, it necessitated that the priests consider the world around them to ensure that no impurities existed in the bread they offered to God. Theodulf also commented on how the necessary agricultural products to make bread were commonly stored in churches. “We frequently see in churches harvested crops and hay piled up, and for this reason we wish it to be thoroughly observed that nothing should be stored in a church except ecclesiastical vestments and holy vessels and books.”²⁴⁴ Therefore, for Theodulf, there is a proper manner and way to go about the practices of the Christian faith. Regardless of whether Theodulf’s observations about the storing of agricultural products reflect historical reality, it still stands that Theodulf sought to correct every behavior he could.

Theodulf used fish and eggs alongside bread to clarify religious doctrine. “The bread indeed represents God and brotherly love. Will he deceptively give a snake instead of a fish, even though the fish provides nourishment, and the vile snake kills? That fish signifies faith, which increases in turbulent waters and remains happy in violent storms.”²⁴⁵ As for eggs: “[f]or the blessed gifts of hope are represented in the egg which keeps protected with a covering what it has inside. As eggs cover the young chicken, so the present circumstances conceal hope. The chicken lies exposed when divested of its shell.”²⁴⁶ Theodulf established a holy trinity of foodstuffs, each which represents a different facet of faith that prevent someone from becoming

²⁴⁴ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 95; C.E. VIII: ‘Videmus crebro in ecclesiis messes et fenum congeri. Une volumus, ut hoc penitus observetur, ut nihil in ecclesia praeter vestimenta ecclesiastica et vasa sancta et libri recondantur...?’

²⁴⁵ P.T.O., 92; T.C. XII, lines 13–18: ‘Namque deum et fratrum panis designat amorem, Quo quicumque caret, saxea corda gerit. Num pro pisce dabit sinuosa ambage chelydrum, Cum modo piscis alat, improbus ille necet? Ille fidem signat, rapidis quae crescit in undis, Inque Procellarum turbine laeta cluit.’

²⁴⁶ P.T.O., 92; T.C. XII, lines 23–26: ‘Nam pia dona spei terete signantur in ovo, Tegmine obumbratum quod vehit intus habens: Ut pullum ova tegunt, sic spem praesentia celant, Hic patet exutus, illa futura parat.’

a “miserable person.”²⁴⁷ This poem blends itself in within the larger themes of Theodulf’s *capitula*, in which he admonished his priests to be “ready to teach the people.”²⁴⁸ What is a better way of teaching someone about Christian faith than a metaphor of recognizable foodstuffs that coincide with the different aspects of faith the foods represent? The inherent symbolism of both the bread and the fish are widely recognized throughout the Christian faith, one consumes bread during communion and Christ is frequently compared to a fish throughout the Bible.²⁴⁹ Theodulf further used the metaphor of fish to biblical study, “He who wishes to fish in Biblical waters will be able to illumine the river of the Bible with these lanterns.”²⁵⁰ This is the introduction to Theodulf’s copy of the bible with his commentary and notes throughout. Again, throughout both the *capitula* and *carmina* Theodulf exercises understanding and pragmatism in not only setting religious laws, but also the way he conveys information.

In line with the theme, although somewhat removed from direct food analogies and metaphors, Theodulf frequently emphasized the importance of feeding the poor. “The hungry should be filled, the thirsty should be given drink, the naked covered, the sick and those in prison visited, and the strangers taken in...”²⁵¹ Theodulf further made the distinction between the need to satisfy one’s own self and others. “...but if by good works he unites himself with Christ and fills himself with the sweetness of love, he has fed his hungry self completely...if he waters

²⁴⁷ P.T.O., 93; T.C. XII, lines 33–34: ‘Cumque fidem piscis, spem ovum, aptet panis amorem, Quisque caret tribus his, sat miser ille manet.’

²⁴⁸ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 100; C.E. XXVIII: ‘Hortamur vos paratos esse ad docendas plebes.’

²⁴⁹ See Tuomas Rasimus, “Revisiting the *Ichthys*: A Suggestion Concerning the Origins of the Christological Fish Symbolism,” in *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices*, eds. Christian H. Bull et. al. (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publishers, 2012), 327–348.

²⁵⁰ P.T.O., 248; T.C. XLI, lines 21–22: ‘His fluvium legis poterit lustrare lucernis, Quaerere qui pisces legis in amne cupit.’

²⁵¹ Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 101; C.E. XXXII: ‘Esurientes ergo satiandi sunt, sitientes potandi, nudi operiendi, infirmi et qui in carcere sunt visitandi et hospites colligendi dicente domino...’

himself on the stream of God's Word...he gives his thirsty self to drink."²⁵² Food and drink, for Theodulf, carried two separate but distinct meanings. One is spiritual, which he articulated through foodstuffs and with the concrete goal of imbuing oneself with Christian ideals and participating in Christian rituals. The other centered on Earthly delights, which lend themselves to either elaborations on sin, or how people are connected to one another among a multitude of other uses. The theme of helping and sheltering the poor or hungry stem directly from the societal expectation of shepherding on behalf of the clergy.²⁵³ The intent of this shepherding, in the eyes of some modern historians, was to foster a sense of belonging and community based upon the fundamentals of Christian theology and doctrine.

Throughout the entirety of Theodulf's poetry lies the sense of community. As Thomas F. X. Noble states, "They asked people to join them in a story, to share something *communis*, common."²⁵⁴ Furthermore, "...the Carolingians had an acute sense of their duty to do things right and to get everyone else to do things right as well...This sense extended to virtually every aspect of religious and secular life..."²⁵⁵ As we can see through Theodulf's elaborations on food, he was keenly aware of what was expected from him as a bishop and a poet. As far as broader Christian rituals within the historiography, baptism is widely accredited with forming the defining feature of Carolingian Christianity.²⁵⁶ Phelan elaborates that "[t]he *sacramentum* of baptism provided the basic ordering concept of the Carolingian renewal."²⁵⁷ However,

²⁵² Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, 102; C.E. XXXII: '...sed si se per bona opera Christo adiungit et caritatis se dulcedine replet, esurientem omnino se pavit...Sed si se fluentis verbi dei irriget et mentem suam spiritalis poculi dulcedine debriet, iste se sitientem potat.'

²⁵³ Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*. This theme forms not only the title of van Rhijn's work but also a major theme throughout this work.

²⁵⁴ Noble, "Carolingian Religion," 292.

²⁵⁵ Noble, "Carolingian Religion," 295.

²⁵⁶ Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, 1; Keefe, *Water and the Word*. Baptism runs throughout the entirety of this work.

²⁵⁷ Phelan, *The Formation of Christian Europe*, 68.

throughout the poetry and statutes of Theodulf, he makes little mention, even marginally, of baptism. Instead, he chose to focus more on communion as the cornerstone of Christian society. Given geographical considerations, Theodulf was not heavily involved in the Christianizing of societies east of the Carolingians as he worked in the heartland of modern-day France. Thereby, food aside, it is at least understandable as to why he would not emphasize baptism if he potentially was not involved in the large number of baptisms necessary to convert a society over to Christianity.²⁵⁸ As far as communion or the eucharist is concerned, some scholars focused on the mid-ninth century as the entry point to Carolingian ideals. This is largely the result of the “eucharistic controversy” of this period which saw the nature of a foundational Christian rite subject to debate and whether one genuinely consumes the flesh of God.²⁵⁹ As we have seen with Theodulf’s references to food, he held a rigid interpretation of the eucharist, that someone does in fact consume God during this rite, given his direct statement of such and intense focus on the quality of bread offered.²⁶⁰ Woven into this need for a common community and the eucharist are Theodulf’s perceptions on correct Christian ritual and behavior of his fellow Christians.

Throughout Theodulf’s references to and interactions with food, he makes subtle or sly references to the correction of others’ behaviors. While we have covered the correction of sin in the previous chapter, it is worth relating the findings on foodstuffs back to the general historiography of the *correctio*. The interweaving of poetry and statutes is often sidelined when historians dissect the *correctio*, instead preferring to cover or analyze either one separately, with little mention to other genres. Therefore, this chapter shows the intense vitality apparent within

²⁵⁸ This is in large part in reference to the conversion of Saxony to Christianity, see Jennifer R. Davis, *Charlemagne’s Practice of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 179.

²⁵⁹ See Celia Chazelle, “Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy,” *Traditio* 47 (1992): 1–36.

²⁶⁰ See C.E. V for an example of Theodulf’s attention to detail with bread offered during Mass and Communion.

crossing genre lines. Furthermore, as far as *correctio* is concerned, the reform movement took more forms than simply religious statutes. While the “semantic puddle” of *correctio* and the Carolingian renaissance is still very much alive, it still serves to note that Theodulf’s conceptions of food fit comfortably within the *correctio*.²⁶¹ Therefore, through the analysis of Theodulf’s portrayal of food and the customs surrounding it, it is shown that at least as far as one medieval bishop was concerned, the *correctio* was expressed in more genres than the legal. The poetic element of the *correctio* was fundamental to Theodulf’s worldview and *mentalité*. Food serves as an important indication of the specifics which make up the on-the-ground reform movement. Fundamental to the *correctio* and food are Theodulf’s musings on the purpose, role, and use of wine and bread to the Christian sacraments. As of now, the emphasis is largely on the primacy of baptism in Carolingian society and religion. However, it is necessary to also affirm the primacy of the entirety of Christian rites, which for the Carolingians were all fundamental to the lived experience of religion. This is not to say that these historians downplay the role of other rites, but rather that by zoning in on one rite in particular they inadvertently de-emphasize alternative rituals. While recent historians have pushed the historiography on the *correctio* in new directions, such as towards the recipients of the *correctio*, further analysis of the lesser-known avenues of reform serve to further push the boundaries of Carolingian scholarship.

In affirming the paradigms of Geertz’s approach to cultural studies, Theodulf’s poetry and statutes take on new interpretative meaning. Through Theodulf’s poetry it is possible to locate and bring about the articulation of cultural forms.²⁶² Therefore, through this framework of analysis is an indication and realization of the fundamentals of Carolingian culture, particularly

²⁶¹ Van Rhijn, *Leading the Way*, 33.

²⁶² Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 17.

through the Carolingian diet. It is one of the explicit purposes of this chapter to, among other things, highlight the importance of Geertz's approach to cultural studies as a lens for making sense of early medieval ideas and practices. In doing so, new nuances of Carolingian society and culture are revealed which shift how historians interpret and approach this empire. For example, historians have extensively studied food within the medieval world, but no historian, to my knowledge, has interpreted the specifics of the ways in which Theodulf utilized food to explain and interpret the world around him. Therefore, this chapter serves as an example of the vitality of blending anthropological approaches with culture and religion which necessarily shift the ways in which the empire is interpreted. The *correctio*, when viewed through anthropological and literary sources, creates new meaning in how medieval people understood and interpreted their role in this movement. While food only serves as one of the various avenues outside of legal analyses, it nonetheless tells us more about the world of the Carolingians through a different set of features.

Food formed a core aspect of Theodulf's writing in both *carmina* and *capitula*. He used food to understand religious doctrine, to further correct society, or as a metaphor in a variety of contexts. While this is incredibly fascinating, it is important to further clarify why the topic of food was analyzed. By combining both poem and law, Theodulf's writings are shown to be more intricate and interwoven than historians have acknowledged. Food was used to showcase how Theodulf understood the world around him and his place within it. In a literal sense, Theodulf's elaborations on food highlight the societal expectations and realities of the medieval diet. Metaphorically, Theodulf's use of food serves as an indication to scholars about the various shapes and forms of *correctio* but also how medieval elites interacted with one another in relatively eccentric ways. All these findings tie back into the overarching argument of this thesis:

that combining legal and poetic writings through intertextual analysis yields new insights into Carolingian society and culture.

By reading poetry and laws side-by-side, a much clearer picture of Theodulf's worldview emerges. For Theodulf, food was but one way that he articulated notions of society, culture, and religion. Therefore, it is important to consider the need to answer the question of why analyzing food in the first-place matters. Food is but one of the ways that Theodulf interacted with the world around him. Only analyzing the laws or only analyzing poetry creates a skewed picture of Theodulf's writings. When considering these two sources side-by-side, a much more nuanced and eccentric medieval figure emerges. While only so much food can be eaten at once, it is my hope that, at least, I have offered some spice for the historiography.

CONCLUSION

Theodulf of Orléans was one of, if not the most pivotal and prolific of the Carolingian bishops, scholars, and poets. The historiography has acknowledged this, yet within the English scholarship he plays only a small role in analyses of the Carolingians. Instead, historians are more comfortable with pooling together multiple Carolingian figures to create an impression of that society. For example, historians will bring the writings of multiple bishops together to make some generalizations about a common Christian ritual such as baptism. However, upon closer inspection, a large amount of the writings of Theodulf are left out of these monographs and articles, with historians focusing on one genre alone to build their analyses. It is the explicit overarching purpose of this thesis to not only rectify the relative gap in the historiography on Theodulf's statutes and poetry, but also to bring about themes within these genres that can nudge the historiography in different directions. Two subsidiary arguments, each contained within the previous chapters, exist within this primary intertextual argument.

While I have made frequent allusion to the primacy of intertextual analysis, this thesis also serves to highlight the importance of using this framework towards often unexplored themes. It is one thing to go over previous arguments and frameworks with the relatively same avenue of approach, but it is another to fully consider an alternative route of analysis. I will first turn to intertextual analysis. The chapters on love and food highlight the importance of intertextual analysis and offer new avenues of approach to Carolingian society, religion, and *correctio*. With the common historical background established in Chapter 1, it is clear that

although the Carolingians have been studied for decades, inventive ways to approach this society remain for historians to explore. In Chapter 2, Theodulf's use of love was categorically analyzed through the themes of love of God, love of others, and love of self. Within these categories, Theodulf develops ideas about sin, women, the monastic tradition, and the importance of communal bonds to Christianity. At the core of Theodulf's conception of Christianity lies these communal bonds of love, and it was precisely because of these loving bonds that he found an impetus for reform or *correctio*. While other medieval authors or bishops undoubtedly had different reasons for imposing different reforms, it suffices to conclude that at least for Theodulf, he placed love at the center.

As for Chapter 3, the smaller argument centers on how food and anthropological approaches can further elucidate the early Frankish world. Through an analysis of the ways in which Theodulf utilized food as a metaphor, a signifier, and conveyor of doctrine, it is possible to shift the attention and focus of historians towards these varied avenues. In doing so, the nuances that separated each individual medieval author who understood their world differently from each other can be further realized. For Theodulf, he relied on food to convey his views on Christianity and society. When approaching Theodulf's use of food from the vantage point of anthropological frameworks, Theodulf's musings contribute to the established historiographical picture of Carolingian society and religion. Namely, the historiography of *correctio*, which does not wholly identify food as a major contributing factor, is furthered by considering this dimension.

This thesis highlights the potential and potency of considering often unknown avenues of analysis which can shed light on different ways that Carolingian society and religion manifested themselves. Furthermore, Chapters 2 and 3 draw on the historiographical approaches of

intertextual analysis, and it would not be possible to analyze Theodulf's love and food without expanding the source base. Rather than rehashing the same arguments on the Carolingians, it is crucial that seemingly disparate routes of exploration are brought to the attention of the wider historiography. This is only possible when historians bring together poetry and other genres of sources in specific case studies. As was shown throughout this thesis, only considering one genre skews the conclusions drawn about a particular medieval author's view. One of the most notable examples of such is Theodulf's elaborations on women, in which the demeaning laws are contrasted by his unending poetic praise of women involved with the royal court. Or with food, and how considering this theme allows for further elaborations on the relatively unfamiliar ways that the *correctio* was expressed, whether that be regarding the baking of bread or the spiciness required of Carolingian scholars at Charlemagne's court.

While this thesis makes ample use of the poetry of Theodulf, it does not explore the manners of poetic construction, such as meter or rhythm. Instead, this thesis focuses on the content and themes within the poetry. The arguments which form the purpose of this writing are fundamentally centered on the content and understanding this content in a new light. What remains however is to explore further how the poetic elements shaped and formed the reception of the two themes.

All these provisions and avenues are in pursuit of greater understanding of Carolingian society and religion. While it is only possible to convey so much in one piece of writing, this work offers suggestions and nuances to already established and emerging historiographical frameworks. It would also be worthwhile to further explore and produce case studies of other bishops who serve as lenses into broader Carolingian society and thought.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Alexandrenko, Nikolai A. "The Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A Translation and Critical Study." Ph.D. Dissertation, Tulane University, 1970.
- Dutton, Paul Edward. *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader*. Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 2004.
- Von Orléans, Theodulf. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Capitula Episcoporum I, edited by Peter Brommer. Hannover, 1984.
- Theodulfi Carmina. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini I, edited by Ernestus Dümmler. Berlin, 1881.

Secondary Sources

- Adamson, Melitta Weiss. *Food in Medieval Times*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
- Bischoff, Bernard. "Theodulf und der Ire Cadac-Andreas." In *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 2 vols. Stuttgart, Germany: Hiersemann, 1966–1981.
- Bolgar, R. R. *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Boussard, Jacques. *The Civilization of Charlemagne*. Translated by Frances Partridge. New York; Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976. First published in 1968.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*. Berkely, CA: University of California, 1988.
- Chazelle, Celia. "Figure, Character, and the Glorified Body in the Carolingian Eucharistic Controversy." *Traditio* 47 (1992): 1–36.

- Claussen, M. A. *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonorum in the Eighth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Contreni, John J. "The Carolingian Renaissance." In *Renaissances before the Renaissance: Cultural Revivals of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by Warren Treadgold, 59–74. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984.
- . "Learning for God: Education in the Carolingian Age." *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 24 (2014): 89–129.
- Coon, Lynda L. "Collecting the Desert in the Carolingian West." *Church History and Religious Culture* 86, no. 1 (2006): 135–162.
- Davis, Jennifer R. "Charlemagne's Portrait Coinage and Ideas of Rulership at the Carolingian Court." *Notes in the History of Art* 33, no. 3 (2014): 19–27.
- . *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Easton, Stewart C. and Helen Wieruszowski. *The Era of Charlemagne: Frankish State and Society*. Princeton, NJ: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1961.
- Elliott, Dyan. "Gender and the Christian Tradition." In *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, edited by Judith Bennett and Ruth Karras, 21–35. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Emmerson, Richard K. and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Fichtenau, H. *The Carolingian Empire*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Godman, Peter. *Poets and Emperors: Frankish Politics and Carolingian Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

- Le Goff, Jacques. *Medieval Civilization, 400–1500*. Translated by Julia Barrow. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988. First published in 1964.
- Greeley, June-Ann. “Raptors and Rebellion: The Self-Defense of Theodulf of Orléans.” *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006): 28–75.
- . “Social Commentary in the Prose and Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A Study in Carolingian Humanism.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Fordham University, 2000.
- De Jong, Mayke. *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Jordana, Xavier et. Al. “Lost in Transition: The Dietary Shifts from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages in the Northeastern Iberian Peninsula.” *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* 11 (2019): 3751–3763.
- Jotischky, Andrew. *A Hermit’s Cookbook: Monks, Food, and Fasting in the Middle Ages*. London; New York: Continuum, 2011.
- Keefe, Susan A. *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*. 2 vols. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002.
- Lewis, Charlton T. and Charles Short. *A Latin Dictionary*. Nigel Grouley, 2020.
- Kramer, Rutger. “The Exemption that Proves the Rule: Autonomy and Authority between Alcuin, Theodulf, and Charlemagne (802).” *Medieval Worlds* 6 (2017): 231–261.
- MacCarron, Máirín. *Bede and Time: Computus, Theology, and History in the Early Medieval World*. Milton Park; Abingdon; Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2020.
- McKitterick, Rosamond. *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- . *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*. Cambridge: Cambridge

- University Press, 2004.
- . *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 2006.
- McNamara, Jo Ann. Preface to *Daily Life in the Age of Charlemagne*, Pierre Riché, ix–xiv. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.
- Meens, Rob. “Sanctuary, Penance, and Dispute Settlement under Charlemagne: The Conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a Sinful Cleric.” *Speculum* 82, no. 2 (2007): 277–300.
- Munz, Peter. *Life in the Age of Charlemagne*. New York: Capricorn Books, 1969.
- Nelson, Jinty. “Charlemagne and the Bishops.” In *Religious Franks: Religion and Power in the Frankish Kingdoms: Studies in Honor of Mayke de Jong*, edited by Rob Meens et. Al., 350–369. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.
- Newman, Barbara. *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.
- Noble, Thomas F. X. “Carolingian Religion.” *Church History* 84, no. 2 (2015): 287–307.
- . “Some Observations on the Deposition of Archbishop Theodulf of Orléans in 817.” *Quidditas* 2 (1981): Article Four.
- Palmer, James. “Calculating Time and the End of Time in the Carolingian World, c. 740–820.” *The English Historical Review* 126, no. 523 (2011): 1307–1331.
- Pearson, Kathy L. “Nutrition and the Early-Medieval Diet.” *Speculum* 72, no. 1 (1997): 1–32
- Phelan, Owen M. *The Formation of Christian Europe: The Carolingians, Baptism, and the Imperium Christianum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- . “New Insights, Old Texts: Clerical Formation and the Carolingian Renewal in Hrabanus

- Maurus.” *Traditio* 71 (2016): 63–89.
- Pirenne, Henri. *Mohammad and Charlemagne*. Translated by Bernard Miall. London: Allen and Unwin, 1939. First published in 1937.
- Rasimus, Tuomas. “Revisiting the *Ichthys*: A Suggestion Concerning the Origins of the Christological Fish Symbolism.” In *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices*, edited by Christian H. Bull et. al., 327–348. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publishers, 2012.
- Rees, Roger. *Dioceltian and the Tetrarchy*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2004.
- Van Rhijn, Carine. *Leading the Way to Heaven: Pastoral Care and Salvation in the Carolingian Period*. New York: Routledge, 2022.
- . *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*. Turnhout, Belgium; Abingdon; Brepols, 2007.
- Riché, Pierre. *Daily Life in the Age of Charlemagne*. Translated by Jo Ann McNamara. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.
- Romig, Andrew J. *Be A Perfect Man: Christian Masculinity and the Carolingian Aristocracy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.
- Rosenwein, Barbara. *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Saunders, Vivian Smith. “Glittering Praise: Latin Poetry Directed to Rulers of the Carolingian Age.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University Bloomington, 1975.
- Schlosser, J. David. “Reading into *Christian Teaching*: The Augustinian Hermeneutic of Love in the Carolingian Age.” Ph.D. Dissertation, Purdue University, 2013.

Sidwell, Keith. "Theodulf of Orléans, Cadac-Andreas and Old Irish Phonology: A Conundrum."

The Journal of Medieval Latin 2 (1992): 55–62.

Stella, Francesco. "The New Communication System of Imperial Power in Carolingian Poetry."

In Empire and Politics in the Eastern and Western Civilizations: Searching for a

Respublica Romanosinica, edited by Andrea Balbo, Jaewon Ahn, and Kihoon Kim, 145–164. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022.

Stone, Rachel. *Morality and Masculinity in the Carolingian Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Theodore, Andersson. "A Carolingian Pun and Charlemagne's Languages." In *Along the Oral*

Written Continuum: Types of Texts, Relations, and their Implications, edited by Slavica

Rankovic, Leidulf Melve, and Else Mundal, 357–370. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010.

Trompf, G. W. "The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance." *The Journal of the History of*

Ideas 34, no. 1 (1973): 3–26.

Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. *The Frankish Church*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1983.

Wieland, Gernot. "Alcuin's Ambiguous Attitude Towards the Classics." *The Journal of*

Medieval Latin 2 (1992): 84–95.