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ALL THAT GLITTERS IS NOT GOLD: THEORIES OF *NOBLESSE OBLIGE* IN CAROLINGIAN FRANCIA

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ALL THAT GLITTERS IS NOT GOLD: THEORIES OF *NOBLESSE OBLIGE* IN
CAROLINGIAN FRANCIA

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By

Megan R. Perry

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Abigail Firey, Professor of History

Lexington, Kentucky

2018

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

ALL THAT GLITTERS IS NOT GOLD: THEORIES OF *NOBLESSE OBLIGE* IN CAROLINGIAN FRANCIA

This thesis argues that conceptions of commerce in the Carolingian era were intertwined with the discourse of ethics, and that concepts of the Carolingian ‘economy’ may be profitably illuminated by consideration of pre-modern ethical and social categories. I explore a pre-modern pattern of personhood that framed persons in terms of political rôles, and exchange in terms of the interactions of those rôles. In moral letters addressed to counts and kings, ethical counsel about greed for each lay rôle was grounded in particular geographic spaces and historical moments, creating a rich valence of specific meanings for greed and charity. I examine letters in which Paulinus of Aquileia, Alcuin of York, Jonas of Orléans, and Dhuoda of Uzés treated the greed of counts, and those in which Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, Sedulius Scottus, and Hincmar of Rheims treated that of kings. In each letter’s definition of greed are found interactions with specific elements exchanged, and correlative meanings of greed far from limited to the ‘love of silver’, but also not wholly vague and spiritualized. Greed and largesse constituted the language in which Carolingian writers discussed economic exploitation, tyranny, plunder, investment, credit, and *noblesse oblige*.

KEYWORDS: Economy, greed, individual, Carolingian Francia, moral instruction, nobility.

Megan R. Perry

July 4, 2018

ALL THAT GLITTERS IS NOT GOLD: THEORIES OF *NOBLESSE OBLIGE* IN
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Date

For Jackson

οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρεῖσσον καὶ ἄρειον,
ἢ ὅθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχητον
ἀνὴρ ἠδὲ γυνή: πόλλ' ἄλγεα δυσμενέεσσι,
χάρματα δ' εὐμενέτησι, μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί.

-Homer, *Odyssey* VI.182-85

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parents, who, much to my surprise, never tired of hearing about the drama of Carolingian political exchanges. And finally, the greatest personal thanks are owed to my husband Jackson, to whom this work is dedicated. Bearing nobly with the vicissitudes of the writing process, he has been a source of unceasing support and encouragement. For a better academic partner, spouse, and friend I could not have asked.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The lure of the shiny, the valuable—possibly but not necessarily synonymous with the beautiful—and of money’s power to fulfill desires, has generated profuse moral writing in the Classical and Medieval West. Some material is not immediately compelling as profound engagement with the dilemmas of unlimited human desire, sounding rather more dyspeptic than measuredly deliberate. Nonetheless, medievalists have found in avarice, as Conrad Leyser has observed, “a door to pass from the world of moral discourse to that of social relations.”¹ The extent to which moral discourse is regarded as a viable source for understanding ‘economy’, however, has not been so clearly accepted. On the one hand, important clues about mercantile activity, commerce, and credit are embedded in heavily moralized language. On the other, one must ask whether those clues reflect realities or only the perceptions of the literate ecclesiastical elites. In response to this dilemma, two major historiographical streams have developed around early medieval economic exchange. The first treats the early medieval economy as an impersonal system from the perspective of formal scientific economics, to greater or lesser extent in search of its relation to the structure of the modern economy. The second treats the ‘capital sin’ of greed as an inherited moral and religious concept that, if it had not developed in something of an ideological vacuum—a way it is sometimes treated—changed in part because of systemic social and economic changes.

¹ Conrad Leyser, “The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature by Richard Newhauser,” *The English Historical Review* 118, no. 477 (2003): 741–42.

I: EARLY MEDIEVAL EXCHANGE

Scholars of the Carolingian economy have in large part sought to distance themselves from moral questions, attending instead to the documentary record about credit, merchants, the exchange of particular goods, and particularly in the last decade, to the archeological record. In some sense, this trend arose as a result of attempts to locate in the early medieval economy the ‘origins’ of the modern secular state, in which economic systems function outside the domain of ecclesiastical authority.² The longstanding historiographical debate over the ancient economy as to whether it was ‘modern’ or ‘primitive’ filtered into debates about the early medieval economy.³ The position the medieval historian takes in this debate typically hinges on the relative emphasis given to manorial or trade-based economies. The nineteenth-century school of von Inama-Sternegg and Karl Lamprecht took the former position, while Alfons Dopsch’s *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung der Karolingerzeit vornehmlich in Deutschland* positioned themselves firmly in the latter, emphasizing towns, trade, and money as the medium of exchange.⁴ Henri Pirenne, a student of Lamprecht, reacted strongly against Dopsch with the thesis that the Roman economy remained largely undisturbed in the west even after Rome’s ‘fall’ until the rise of Islam: effectively it was Arab dominance of the Mediterranean that forced Frankish traders out of the Mediterranean in the Carolingian period. Pirenne, accordingly, followed Lamprecht in emphasizing a ‘minimalist’ or ‘primitivist’ economy, one which exchange was effectively relegated to a self-sustaining

² Matthew Innes, “Framing the Carolingian Economy,” *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9, no. 1 (2009): 46.

³ Peter Fibiger Bang, “Antiquity between ‘Primitivism’ and ‘Modernism,’” *Workpaper 53-97*, Centre for Cultural Research, University of Aarhus, 1998. A number of prominent historians have contributed to this debate.

⁴ Adriaan E. Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2. See Alfons Dopsch, *Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung Der Karolingerzeit: Vornehmlich in Deutschland*, 2 vols. (Wiemar: H. Böhlau, 1921).

manorial system.⁵ His study principally treated the documentary record of goods exchanged, and his measure of ‘economic decline’ was the dearth in references to three luxury goods, gold, silk, spices, and one bulk good, papyrus.⁶ Reactions to the ‘Pirenne Thesis’ shaped the field for some seventy years. Between the 1930’s and 50’s, a boom in scholarship on trade, towns, and monetization resulted in a rise of a ‘maximalism’ that argued for substantial extra-manorial exchange, but this would not become scholarly consensus until McCormick’s *Origins of the European Economy* in 2001.⁷

If not for the same reasons as Pirenne, Georges Duby’s 1961 classic work *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*, though it treated the eighth and ninth centuries with relative brevity, maintained a ‘minimalist’ attitude toward the early medieval period.⁸ Heavily influenced by the work of the anthropologist Marcel Mauss, Duby conducted significant work on the *mansus* as the fundamental economic structure of rural society. Incorporating social organization into his treatment of economy, he treated the ‘economy’ not as an impersonal system, per se, but as something necessarily imbricated in social life and in which the family was the smallest economic ‘actor.’⁹ Nonetheless, his narrative began in the year 800.¹⁰ In this sense, Duby fits somewhat awkwardly in this historiography as an anthropologically sophisticated advocate of a

⁵ Verhulst, 2–5. See Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (Dover Publications, 1937). Paradoxically, as Verhulst observes, Pirenne did not discuss the manor at length, though he “considered it the basis of the Carolingian economy.”

⁶ Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400 - 800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 701.

⁷ Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, 5. Maurice Lombard, Sture Bolin, Phillip Grierson, F-L. Ganshof, and H.L. Adelson are among the foremost figures in this group: they treated Mediterranean trade more broadly than simply in Carolingian Europe.

⁸ Georges Duby, *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), 3–58.

⁹ Duby, 28–29.

¹⁰ Duby, 3. “Before the year 800, the documents are too few for even the broadest outlines to appear.”

closed manorial economy whose narrative begins rather late.¹¹ His work espoused a minimalist view of the early medieval economy, a view that would, even with as much opposition as there was to Pirenne, become dominant among medievalists.

What followed Duby was a second phase of reaction against the ‘Pirenne thesis’. It was represented most fully by four colloquia held at Xanten (1980), Ghent (1983), Göttingen (1987), and Flaran (1988), and was defined by the rise of ‘manorial studies’, following to some extent the precedent set by Duby. Polyptychs and inventories became more widely available in critical editions in the 1980s, and understanding the organization of particular manorial economies became possible.¹² In most ‘manorial studies’, documentary evidence loomed large over archeological evidence, and yet, the ethical language of exchange was bracketed off or left uninterrogated. Verhulst’s work during this scholarly boom showed that the manorial system was not simply a dinosaur inherited from the late Roman economy, but a specifically Carolingian innovation. Outside of manorial studies, the 1980s saw another scholarly boom in exploration of towns and non-manorial exchange: Pierre Toubert, notably, argued that the rise of the manorial system, rather than being a mark of a ‘minimalist’ Carolingian economy, was the means by which further commercial activity arose, and the catalyst for town growth.

Any current treatment of the early medieval economy benefits profoundly from recent technological innovations and the scholarly methodologies they have enabled. In the last two decades, innovations in numismatics, database search capacities,

¹¹ Chris Wickham, “Rethinking the Structure of the Early Medieval Economy,” in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 20. Duby’s analysis, a “production model” of the economy, assumes little to no trade outside of the manorial system.

¹² Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, 5–7.

archaeology, and, most recently, DNA analysis, have broadened the horizons of ‘economic’ enquiry.¹³ Two studies, published within a year of each other, set the tone for engagement with the questions Pirenne spurred: Michael McCormick’s *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900*, and Adriaan Verhulst’s *The Carolingian Economy*.¹⁴ Chris Wickham’s *Framing the Early Middle Ages* followed only four years afterwards.¹⁵ These major works were succeeded by a remarkable number of innovative articles that provide an exceptionally rich base for any current interrogation of early medieval exchange and economics.

McCormick undertook one of the most ambitious and comprehensive surveys of long-distance commerce in the early middle ages in *Origins of the European Economy*. His highly innovative method involved an analysis of commerce embedded within Mediterranean communication on the premise that commerce presupposes communication networks. He sought to disclose the persons, things, and monies travelling, and their specific movements, and only then to deduce what commercial interactions may have accompanied these movements. Database technology and prosopography allowed McCormick to track 669 travelers, and some 730 independently noted movements in the Mediterranean basin in between 700 and 900, divided into three series (people, goods, and monies). Within this sample, all three datasets showed an increase of communication in the last quarter of the eighth century that continued into the ninth century.¹⁶ This evidence challenged the narrative the European commercial

¹³ Michael McCormick, “Discovering the Early Medieval Economy,” in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davis (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2008).

¹⁴ Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁵ Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.

¹⁶ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 784–89.

economy began in the tenth or eleventh century, instead locating its *naissance* in the eighth with the import and export of “small-volume, high-value goods”.¹⁷ This in some sense signaled the death-knell for the narrative of a wholly primitive and isolated Carolingian manorial economy.¹⁸ Ultimately, McCormick agreed with Pirenne, that indeed, without Muhammad, there would have been no Charlemagne, but for entirely different reasons:

[Islam] offered the wealth and markets which would fire the first rise of western Europe, a rise whose rhythms we can detect in the movement of diplomats, pilgrims, warriors, merchants, and I think, slaves, as a new Europe and its satellite societies exported its own human wealth in exchange for the wealth of goods and species of the House of Islam.¹⁹

Noteworthy is McCormick’s very explicit reference to the “ethical blinders” of ecclesiastical sources: his approach entailed searches for words about mercantile activity, bracketing off entirely questions of the ethical discourse about mercantile activity.²⁰ His choice of boundaries created the frame for a highly illuminating narrative, but a narrative that very intentionally separates the moral from the economic.²¹

Verhulst’s enquiry restricted itself to the Carolingian empire, defining narrower geographic and temporal boundaries relative to McCormick’s *Origins*. It did not purport to examine larger Mediterranean commercial exchange, but instead sought to add nuance to the general sense that the Carolingian period was a time of ‘economic growth.’

Verhulst argued, based on the existence of commercial *emporia* (contrasted with *emporia*

¹⁷ McCormick, 794.

¹⁸ This analysis coalesces with those of Lombard, Bolin, and Dopsch in its defense of a ‘maximalist’ economy.

¹⁹ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 798.

²⁰ McCormick, 14. “The social and ethical blinders that constricted many early medieval writers’ vision of merchants thus obscure their rôle in these societies.” See also 12-14 and 83-86.

²¹ Or rather, because McCormick’s narrative identifies the slave trade as the ‘disturbing’ origin of the European economy, it is more appropriate to say that he separated Carolingian ethical discourse from Carolingian economics rather than that he eschewed entirely questions of morals.

that were sites of elite gift exchange), for very specific cycles of growth and decline. In his account, the Carolingian economy grew prosperously between 775-90 to 830, and 850-60-79, with a severe decline between 830-850, and another period of upheaval in the 860s.²² Verhulst's method benefitted from a series of very specific regional analyses that contributed to his final conclusions identifying something of a unified Carolingian economy within the bounds of the empire. Intra-empire commerce, it seems, was not limited to the gift-exchange of elites.

In his formidable *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, Chris Wickham's categories for framing the medieval economy were inherited from anthropologists, most prominently Karl Polanyi. In Wickham's account, 'exchange' is comprised of a set of dichotomies: commercial and non-commercial exchange, and luxury exchange vs. local exchange (with an inconstant third category of bulk exchange).²³ Rather than being novel categories in themselves, as they were assumed to be implicitly in many of the earlier treatments, Wickham's substantivist position, in which he argued for needing to treat non-commercial exchange differently than commercial exchange, required that he bring these categories to the foreground, very helpfully for our purposes. Most of the historiography had assumed some profit-motive driving commercial exchange as a necessary definition of 'economy' rather than a subset. Wickham's choice to categorize practices of gift-giving and redistribution in terms of 'exchange' reframed the longstanding dichotomy between a developed commercial system—that is, a “distribution

²² Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, 135.

²³ Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 694–99. Commercial exchange is that prompted by a profit motive, whereas non-commercial exchange, the two kinds of which are gift exchange and 'redistribution' such as in the case of feudal land gift, is not inspired by profit motive, and, for 'substantivists' like Polanyi and Wickham, must be analyzed differently than strict commerce.

model”—and a system of manorial subsistence—a “production model.” Exchange need not be strictly impersonal, he argued.²⁴ Practices of gift exchange and land redistribution among noble families were highly personal, contingent on a system of social interactions and obligations, and by framing them as real exchange, Wickham challenged a longstanding norm. In some sense, he situated exchange within civic or political structure. Of note, as well, is the fact that he relied on the ceramic discoveries of archeologists as a major source for analysis, eschewing written sources on the grounds that they principally treat luxury goods: this method naturally precluded questions of ethical perceptions.

The “New Directions 2: The Early Middle Ages Today” conference held at Harvard in 2004 generated an essential collection of essays under the direction of Michael McCormick and Wendy Davis: *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*. Its section on economics was in some sense, a call to innovation following the remarkable new developments in the field of medieval archeology: paleobotany, archeozoology, soil investigations, and other specific types of biomolecular archeology, in addition to a surge in new ceramic studies. Wickham’s contribution here, rife with rich categorical analysis as is his habit, was a model of economic structure that unites the “production model” and the “distribution model” dichotomy that dominated the field for so long. He argued that elite wealth is consistently the cause of regional exchange complexity, and that elite wealth was entirely contingent on relationships of production, production which, frankly, entailed some amount of exploitation. Advocating for the use of both archeological evidence and documentary

²⁴ In some sense, McCormick’s analysis operates on similar assumptions: his treatments of the movements of specific persons mark a turn toward a more personal model of exchange.

evidence for the exchange of bulk goods and as measure of elite demand, he prompted historians to consider elite wealth as an elegant way to unite previously disparate economic analyses: “the complicity of exchange inside any given region throughout the early Middle Ages depended on the global wealth of that region’s elites.”²⁵

Wickham’s appeal was answered only two years later by a powerful collection of essays compiled by Deveroey, Feller, and Le Jan, *Les élites et la richesse au Haut Moyen Âge*.²⁶ These articles, rich as they are, constitute something of a divergence from the larger stream of strictly economic historiography in which we have been wading even as they provide replies to Wickham’s question. In treating not only the goods of wealth, but the ideologies of wealth, they began to bridge the longstanding gap between historians of moral thought and historians of economics. They sought to answer the question about elite wealth, but not principally by means of archeological evidence: Hans-Werner Goetz, Gaëlle Calvet, Isabelle Rosé, Valentina Toneatto, Janet Nelson, Wendy Davies, and Stephen Patzold all treat moral discourse as a viable means of accessing information about elite wealth.²⁷ The extent to which each regards moral discourse as economic theory or reality is not uniform, but these articles represent major attempts to diminish a boundary of long-standing convention, and thus shall be among the most helpful for our project moving forward.

²⁵ Wickham, “Rethinking the Structure of the Early Medieval Economy,” 30.

²⁶ Jean-Pierre Devroey, Laurent Feller, and Régine Le Jan, eds., *Les élites et la richesse au Haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

²⁷ See within the above collection the following essays: Gaëlle Calvet, “Cupiditas, avaritia, turpe lucrum: discours économique et morale chrétienne chez Hincmar de Reims (845-882),”; Wendy Davies, “Notions of Wealth in the Charters of Ninth- and Tenth-Century Christian Iberia,”; Hans-Werner Goetz, “Idéologie (et anti-idéologie) de la richesse au haut Moyen Âge,”; Steffen Patzold, “Noblesse oblige? Se distinguer par l’emploi des richesses au haut Moyen Âge,”; Isabelle Rosé, “Commutatio: le vocabulaire de l’échange chrétien au haut Moyen Âge,”; Valentina Toneatto, “Elites et rationalité économique: les lexiques de l’administration monastique du haut Moyen Âge.”

Innes' roughly contemporary 2009 article "Framing the Carolingian Economy" responded to Wickham, McCormick, and Verhulst as well, arguing that the degree of commercialization in great manorial estates "should not be overstated."²⁸ Innes, by contrast, emphasized the impact of a prominent 'domainal' ideology among Carolingian estate managers, and of the structural demands of the Carolingian state. Following the precedent Wickham set in *Framing*, which argued for the centrality of state structures for the late Roman economy, Innes in essence called for the analysis of political structures in considerations of economic change. Innes' inclusion of 'domainal' ideology as evidence shall prove an essential precedent for the method here employed, but it should be clear by this point how much it differed from nineteenth and twentieth century approaches to the Carolingian economy. Devroey et al. were, accordingly, not the only ones returning to 'ideology' for clues about economic realities. The most recent contribution to this trend was Marcelo Cândido da Silva's article, "L'« économie morale » Carolingienne" which treats Charlemagne's seemingly disparate 'famine capitularies' as revealing of an underlying conceptual unity, a real Carolingian theory of exchange.²⁹ Wickham, Innes, the individually eminent contributors to *Les élites et la richesse*, and da Silva have generated exceptionally helpful precedents for studying exchange outside the boundaries of the impersonal economic systems that characterize modern economic theory. Because we encounter the field of early medieval economic history at this dynamic moment in which it turns, after decades of remarkable work, toward deconstruction of traditional categories and new scientific advances, toward a more 'personal' approach to exchange

²⁸ Innes, "Framing the Carolingian Economy," 93.

²⁹ Marcelo Cândido da Silva, "L'« économie morale » carolingienne (fin VIIIe - début IXe siècle)," *Médiévales: Langue, textes, histoire* 66 (2014): 159–78.

as a way of uniting commerce with communications, ideals with realities, and production with distribution, perhaps it is a good moment for this stream of historical analysis to finally engage with its forgotten step-brother, the history of greed as religious concept.

II: EARLY MEDIEVAL GREED

Compared to the robust historiography developed around the medieval economy as a system, commercial or otherwise, ‘greed’ as a category of ethical thought has received little critical attention from historians, even while scholars of medieval literature have done much with it as a religious concept. In *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, published first in 1919, Johann Huizinga observed an increase in the invective against cupidity and avarice over the course of the middle ages. Compared to pride, which in his narrative was the dominant vice in the rhetoric of feudal society, avarice had been secondary until the twelfth century. He associated the concern with pride with the age of hierarchical feudalism, and argued that the turn to commercialization without developed credit enabled the elite to indulge in wealth in a particularly primitive way, a way that invited profuse moral invective.³⁰ Morton Bloomfield, following Huizinga’s only secondary observation took the first prominent interest in an historical analysis of a set of ‘vices’ that had been hitherto accepted tropes.³¹ He too, placed the rise of avarice in the twelfth

³⁰ Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, trans. Frederik Jan Hopman (London: E. Arnold & Co., 2016). See Lester K. Little, “Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom,” *The American Historical Review* 76, no. 1 (1971): 16–49, 16.

³¹ Morton Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (Michigan: Michigan State College Press, 1952). Morton Bloomfield’s foundational study traced the history of the sins from their origins in the writings of Evagrius, Cassian, and Gregory the Great, into the late medieval period. He argued that in the ninth century, the seven or eight “deadly sins” or “cardinal sins” (although distinct concepts) were not uniformly received, but that Peter Lombard’s *Sentences* solidified the place of pride as the most prominent and dangerous of the seven sins, and the place of avarice as a lesser evil.

century, albeit with a more nuanced and thorough analysis to that effect.³² Bloomfield's examination of the major touchstones of religious thought and their connections to each other purported to trace the history of a concept, the seven cardinal sins, over the *longue durée*—in essence from Evagrius to Edmund Spencer. Bloomfield's own focus as a scholar of early English literature led him to catalogue the early medieval history of this concept only very broadly. In art history a decade earlier, Katzenellenbogen wrote a correlative work treating artistic rather than strictly literary vicissitudes in the vigor with which certain sins were denounced, but his early medieval section is likewise anemic, if only because of lack of source material.³³ Yunck, another medievalist whose principal focus was in Middle English literature, narrowed in on avarice specifically in his thorough catalogue of anti-venal satire with an end toward the contextualization of the highly dynamic figure of Lady Meed in Langland's *Piers Plowman*.³⁴ His work, another wide-frame analysis of the sort with which historians are lately rather uncomfortable, provoked further enquiry into the influence of late Roman anti-venal satire on high and

³²Presumably it followed Messenger's rather more pastorally-oriented text that featured the vices and virtues in early English hymnody and aimed to imbue this religious schema with more interpretative power for medieval texts: R.E. Messenger, *Ethical Teachings in the Latin Hymns of Medieval England: With Special Reference to the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Principal Virtues*, no. 321 (Columbia University Press, 1930). In some sense, Bloomfield's work can be understood as an attempt to broaden the influence of 'religious concepts' as a mode of literary analysis, like the exegetical school of D.W. Robertson would against the 'humanist' school of Donaldson in Chaucer studies. See for the background of this literary debate Stephen H. Rigby, "Allegorical versus Humanist Chaucer," in *Chaucer in Context* (Manchester, 1996), 78–114.

³³ Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art: From Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching (London: Warburg Institute, 1939).

³⁴ J.A. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Mediaeval Venality Satire*, Publications in Mediaeval Studies, v. 17 (University of Notre Dame Press, 1963). Langland and Chaucer have been rich sources for analyses of the relationship between 'economic' and 'moral' discourse. Their complex subjectivities and allegories (e.g. Lady Meed, Hawkyn) invite analysis of this sort perhaps more clearly than early medieval sources do. See also for a different methodological approach Kimberly A. Rivers, *Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, Sermo, v. 4 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010).

late-medieval writing.³⁵ Rosamund Tuve and Siegfried Wenzel both followed this push for incorporation of the schema of vices and virtues with cautionary statements about the problems posed by schematic inconsistency.³⁶

Lester Little, following the precedent of Huizinga and Bloomfield, interrogated the temporal placement of the acknowledged ‘rise of avarice’ more fully in his 1971 article, and then again in a remarkable 1983 monograph.³⁷ In “Pride Goes Before Avarice” Little set a precedent for examination of the impact of commercialization on moral discourse during a time before the ‘maximalist’ model of the Carolingian economy had gained broad influence. In other words, Little was writing before the commercial revolution as a twelfth-century phenomenon had been more fully interrogated by early medievalists. *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, in which the rhetorical importance of greed corroborated larger social movements, followed Marc Bloch’s placement of the ‘second feudal age’ in 1050, and the historiographical construct of the ‘commercial revolution’ that occurred between 1100 and 1300. Here, Little, refining Bloch’s narrative, told the story of the ‘spiritual crisis’ of medieval urban culture, “a growing discordance between new economic and social realities and a traditional, initially unresponsive, clearly and theology.” The rhetorical venom directed at avarice, he argued, reveals the profundity of the tension between social realities and theological categories, a tension finally resolved by the accomplishments of the Franciscan and Dominican friars in the thirteenth century: it was they who correlated

³⁵ Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed*, 13-22.

³⁶ Rosemond Tuve, “Notes on the Virtues and Vices,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 1964, 42–72. Siegfried Wenzel, “The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research,” *Speculum* Vol. 43, no. No. 1 (January 1968): 1–22.

³⁷ Lester K. Little, “Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom,” *The American Historical Review* 76, no. 1 (1971): 16–49. Little, Lester K. *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*. Cornell Paperbacks. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1983.

“levels of learning, morality, and worship, with those of demography, the system of exchange, and social organization.”³⁸ Little’s work, influential as it was, can best be understood as contextualizing religious concepts: if there was a shift in the emphasis given to a particular concept, it was caused by economic or social changes. Read in another way, Little’s bold interdisciplinary work set a precedent for using religious discourse as evidence of social, and less explicitly, economic changes.

Richard Newhauser, now beginning to fill the substantial, if understandable, *lacuna* in Morton Bloomfield’s *The Seven Deadly Sins* between Cassian and Peter Lombard, challenged Little’s widely accepted thesis about the ‘rise of avarice’ in the eleventh century.³⁹ Newhauser provided a comprehensive survey of the exegetical, pastoral and literary texts before the tenth century, and identified two earlier such rises in anti-venal rhetoric, one between the fourth and fifth centuries, and one in the Carolingian period.⁴⁰ He argued that greed in the late Roman period was almost exclusively related to money, and that by the Carolingian period, greed had taken on the principally spiritual meaning of ‘excessive desire’ because monastic discourse was being ‘secularized’: as ecclesiastical elites like Alcuin wanted to encourage mercantile activity, castigation of greed could no longer be synonymous with renunciation of wealth.⁴¹ Newhauser’s narrative did not address the question of the realities of exchange in the Carolingian period, as in late antiquity. His project was more properly concerned with tracing the

³⁸ Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, Cornell Paperbacks (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983), xi.

³⁹ Richard Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

⁴⁰ Newhauser, 74. Newhauser proposed, if unconvincingly, that the invasions of Rome of the late fourth and early fifth centuries, as well as the post-Constantinian conflict between a rising Christendom and a still influential paganism, and the stress on conversion involved, caused an increase in the rhetoric of avarice in the fourth and fifth centuries.

⁴¹ Newhauser, 135ff. ‘Secularized’ is used in the sense of being applied to laypersons.

movements of moral and religious discourse, relegating the question of potential social and political causes to a secondary place. This study, enabled by the use of the remarkable database search technologies available to the modern historian, provided a thorough catalogue of the usage of a word whose meaning is fairly difficult to pin down across the early middle ages, and its contributions to our current endeavor are of paramount importance.

Newhauser has since *The Early History of Greed* edited two collections that substantially revise the narrative Bloomfield wrote.⁴² Out of an NEH Summer Seminar in 2004, entitled ‘The Seven Deadly Sins as Cultural Constructions’ came the volume *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals* which includes two notable essays on Carolingian thought on the sin of pride.⁴³ Most recently, Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard’s more temporally broad treatment, which arose out of another NEH summer seminar and the 2007 Sewanee Medieval Colloquium, divides hamartiological thought not by ‘individuals, institutions, and communities,’ but by ‘discursive’ and ‘artistic’ representations of the vices.⁴⁴ While neither of these collections contribute directly to the study of avarice in the Carolingian world, their construction sheds immense light on a

⁴² Newhauser’s first treatment of the sins as a schema bears note as well. Richard Newhauser, *The treatise on Vices and Virtues in Latin and the Vernacular*, Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, Fasc. 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993).

⁴³ Richard Newhauser, *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions: History, Culture, Religion, Ideas (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007). See in this anthology especially Dwight D. Allman, “Sin and the Construction of Carolingian Kingship,” at 21-40, and Rhonda L. McDaniel, “Pride Goes Before a Fall: Aldhelm’s Practical Application of Gregorian and Cassianic Conceptions of *Superbia* and the Eight Principle Vices,” at 95-110.

⁴⁴ Richard Newhauser and Susan J. Ridyard, eds., *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: The Tradition of the Seven Deadly Sins* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The University of York / York Medieval Press, 2012). See particularly James B. Williams, “Working for Reform: *Acedia*, Benedict of Aniane and the Transformation of Working Culture in Carolingian Monasticism,” 19-42.

topic of utmost importance to the current enquiry: the assumptions about religious discourse that are being made by persons who have undertaken to study sin.

One other scholarly trend has tentatively encountered the history of religious concepts, the history of emotions. Barbara Rosenwein's recent monograph engaged the work of the historian William Reddy, and, to a lesser extent, the prominent philosopher Martha Nussbaum, to describe the socially imbricated nature of human emotion in *Emotional Communities of the Early Middle Ages*.⁴⁵ Rosenwein classified greed as an emotion, the response to which connected a person to his or her specific community, thereby opening the door for historians of emotion to consider this concept.⁴⁶ Greed itself played a rather minor rôle in her narrative, but she placed the principle vices, as well as their corresponding virtues, in the larger hermeneutic of 'emotives.'⁴⁷ The psychologies, largely, but not exclusively Augustinian, inherited by Carolingian thinkers challenge this classification system: the vice, in an Augustinian psychology, would not have been so easily reduced to a passion, as its viciousness was entirely contingent on the rôle of the particular person's willed intention.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, Rosenwein's re-categorization, and its successful reception among early medievalists, does seem to reveal that historians want to see these religious categories as something more than 'blindings.' Indeed, what are they if not categories of an individualized piety?

⁴⁵ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 16-17.

⁴⁶ Rosenwein, 16-19.

⁴⁷ Rosenwein, 46-56.

⁴⁸ Leslie Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions*, Toronto Anglo Saxon Series (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2011). Alcuin's *Liber de Anima Ratione* is an excellent example of the influence of neo-platonic psychology transmitted through Augustine. See Alcuin of York, *Liber de Anima Ratione*, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina, 101:640 (Paris, 1851), 101:640.

The stream of scholarship associated with what might be called the history of religious concepts has an underdeveloped historiography relative to that of the history of the economy, at least in the Carolingian period. Scholars trained in the broad ‘history of ideas’ have dealt admirably with it: greed’s inheritance is complex, and the religious meaning it holds at any given historical moment in the medieval period is highly contingent. Historians of the economy have not found it a helpful measure of any economic reality, and social historians such as Little, though they have treated it, and admirably, have done so in a way that reads religious discourse as something shaped by independently developed social and economic realities. Certainly, there have been most helpful treatments, but at this moment, it behooves us to enquire, with Rosenwein in some sense, whether religious and ethical discourse might have more economic and political meaning than previously acknowledged.

What this essay tentatively proposes is a reshuffling of categories, and a joining of two independently developed streams of historiography in a context of political participation, civic membership, and the associated ethical life on the grounds of a more authentically pre-modern understanding of the self and its relationship to society. What, after all, is the economy? Karl Polanyi argued that ‘economy’ is thoroughly embedded in social movements.⁴⁹ As Dominique Iogna-Prat argued in *Les Élités et la Richesse*, the very word *oikonomia* was derived from *oikos*, the household. Platonic and Aristotelian accounts, both revelatory of classical categories, and inherited by medieval thinkers,

⁴⁹ Dominique Iogna-Prat, “Préparer l’au-delà, gérer l’ici-bas,” in *Les élites et la richesse au Haut Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 61; Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Mattituck: Amereon, 1944).

situate 'economics' firmly within their accounts of political life.⁵⁰ Though it would be reductive to suggest that such categories remained unchanged over time, that the economic was situated within the political and the ethical should give the historian license to enquire about the potential existence of a theory of exchange within a moral or spiritual category.

III: SOCIAL IDENTITY

Underlying the schema of 'moral discourse' and its applicability to persons and polities are assumptions about the relation of the particular persons to other persons and groups of persons, what might be called social anthropology. The formal system of economic analysis employed by economic historians is for the most part impersonal and apolitical, as has been seen. McCormick's novel method of tracking movements of particular persons across the Mediterranean, in essence making commerce contingent on communication, was radical in this respect, but very well received. Verhulst, da Silva, and Innes, among others, have treated political facets of the economy in some way or another, but these are relatively recent developments. Whether commonly employed economic systematizations and models make more implicit assumptions about the relation between person and polities remains to be seen in the course of this study.

⁵⁰ Iogna-Prat, "Préparer l'au-Delà, Gérer l'ici-Bas: les Élités Ecclésiastiques, la Richesse et l'économie du Christianisme (Perspectives de Travail)." In early modern women's studies, Kathryn Burns has offered a correlative interrogation of what she dubs the 'spiritual economy' of a Peruvian convent. While calling a re-examination of economic categories the 'spiritual economy' would undercut the sort of questions I am asking by keeping the moral out of real economic understanding, it does demonstrate that there is evidence for systems of thought about the economy that are developed external to formal economic systems. See Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).

Treatments of greed as a religious category more frequently engage the questions of political membership, at least in an explicit way if not at length. Newhauser's study, for example, in its reading of both Lactantius and Gregory the Great on avarice, describes the vice of greed as "individualism," that is, taking too much from the community; taking for one's own what formerly was common.⁵¹ 'Individualism' does not have a Latin corollary—nor does 'individual'—and accordingly, his description begs further interrogation: what precisely does he mean by aligning 'individualism' with 'greed'? Little seems to class 'vices' as those things proper to the 'individual' just as Rosenwein classes 'emotives' as things that are learned by the individual because of membership in particular community. But because none of these works explicitly treat questions of 'membership' or 'socially imbricated identity', ascribing too much intention to their usages of the word 'individual' would be unfair—it does after all have a wide linguistic valence in modern English. These historians have generally eschewed substantial engagement with the line of historiography initiated famously (or infamously) by Jakob Burckhardt in his 1860 essay, "The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy": Burckhardt claimed that the individual was invented in the Renaissance."⁵² Burckhardt's individual was in essence the radically expressive person whose self-expression went against the current of social mores, and whose autonomous power of self-definition was recorded in sources. The other side of the coin, so to speak, of Burckhardt's account was that before there was an individual, there were only the 'conformist' masses, a fairly abrasive claim. It has ever since generated numerous debates particularly among medievalists,

⁵¹ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 61, 67, 69.

⁵² Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore, The Modern Library Classics (New York: Modern Library, 2002).

with scholars trying to see the birth of the modern 'individual' at progressively earlier dates.

Wallace Ferguson aptly called the fifty years following Burckhardt's essay 'the revolt of the medievalists.'⁵³ A prominent actor in this 'revolt', Colin Morris argued for the origin of the individual in the long eleventh century, between 1050 and 1200.⁵⁴ Colin Morris claimed that Christianity itself is to be credited with "the Western view of the value of the individual," on theological grounds.⁵⁵ Bloomfield had made similar observations about Christian writers, claiming that Christian writers, such as Gregory the Great and Alcuin, if not the scriptures themselves, engendered a certain love of the individual.⁵⁶ Additionally, he attributed the primacy of pride in the early medieval period to a dichotomy between individual and community: "in a disciplined and corporate

⁵³ Wallace K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation*, Renaissance Society of America Reprint Texts 16 (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2006). Cited in Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?," in *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA 16 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 82.

⁵⁴ Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050-1200* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004). Further, self-awareness and inner character are the product, according to this narrative, of "the conviction the believer must lay himself open to God, and be remade by the Holy Spirit." 10-11.

⁵⁵ Morris, 10-11. That Christianity historically contained a robust belief in human dignity is disputed by few, as is the assertion that Christianity is an 'interior' religion, but the strength of Morris' argument is severely undercut by the sweeping assertion that before 1100, "social conditions were not such as to encourage a high view of human dignity." His further assertion that the correlative category of the community, the body of Christ, which "in early Christian thinking severely modified the strong individualism which we have also seen to be present, but [it] has received relatively little attention in the Western church" because of the cultural dominance of Christianity is even less convincing. Charles Taylor's work *Sources of the Self* claimed that in Augustine's *Confessions* can be seen the source of the modern individual, the modern concept of the self because of its turn toward inwardness. The inwardness begins with Augustine's shift "from the field of objects known to the activity itself of knowing... for in contrast to the domain of objects which is public and common, the activity of knowing is particularized; each of us is engaged in ours." He cites Augustine as the one who introduced "the inwardness of radical reflexivity, and bequeathed it to the Western tradition of thought." He joins Morris in the narrative that Christianity laid the foundations for the modern individual if not explicitly because of its scriptures, in the course of its development. See Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

⁵⁶ Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 80-81. "In *De anima rationa liber ad Eulalam virginem*, Alcuin makes another important reference to our concept: he is the first...to utilize Gregory of Nyssa's relating of sin and the human soul and apply it, in what was to become a fairly common analysis, to the cardinal sins."

society, which the Middle Ages held as an ideal, exaggerated individualism, rebellion against the will of God, was considered particularly heinous.”⁵⁷ Walter Ullmann, Peter Dronke, Robert Hanning, R.W. Southern, and John Benton have all contributed various rebuttals to Burckhardt’s thesis, on grounds of political theory, literature, and religious thought. Caroline Bynum, too, treated the problem with special attention to twelfth-century religious life. She argued that if there was a birth of the individual in the long eleventh century, there was also the birth of groups, such as guilds, lay religious groups, etc.⁵⁸ A non-participant in the ‘revolt’, Newhauser’s *The Seven Deadly Sins: From Communities to Individuals*, took for its organization titular dichotomy, adding in the middle a section on ‘the institution of the church’, and in some sense acceding to the Burckhardtian narrative of the ‘invention’ of the individual in the Renaissance: the first two sections treat pre-Renaissance topics, while the final section treats Dante, Chaucer, and Bosch. The collection’s premise is the ‘social construction’ of the vices, and seems to have adopted these categories of ‘individual’ and ‘community’ principally as an organizational factor, without engaging the full historiography related to the history of the self. Newhauser’s earlier analysis, also understood greed specifically as the sin of ‘egotism’ in some if not all Carolingian writing.⁵⁹ I argue that these societal categorizations may hinder our understanding more than they help, relegating the

⁵⁷ Bloomfield, 74–75. Little’s work, which challenged Huizinga and Bloomfield in pushing the ‘shift to avarice’ back into the eleventh century from the long-accepted twelfth, also demanded a more nuanced explanation for any ‘primacy of pride’ in the early medieval period. Little cited Peter Damian’s 1043 letter to the Archbishop of Ravenna, in which he declared that avarice was the principal problem with the contemporary church. See Little, “Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom,” 20. See also Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, Cornell Paperbacks (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1983), 36.

⁵⁸ Bynum, “Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?” in *Jesus as Mother*.

⁵⁹ Richard Newhauser, “Towards *modus in habendo*: Transformations in the Idea of Avarice: The Early Penitentials through the Carolingian Reforms,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kan. Abt.* 75 (1989): 21.

meanings of ‘greed’ to a simple tension between the individual and the community, and thereby occluding meanings of sin that were simultaneously psychological and political and that had effects on economics.

To elucidate, each of the above examples assumes a dichotomy between the individual and the community as if were the principal societal division. What if, however, the categorical dichotomy between the individual and the large, vague, community is a wholly modern phenomenon? What if this categorization were not the fundamental conception of the social order in the pre-modern world? Rather, what if social order was conceived in terms of the persons’ specific rôles in their families, trade guilds, or polities, and their identities not as ‘autonomous’ or ‘self-defining’ but as collections of duties dictated by those rôles? What if what comprised the polity was not the one and the many, but the one and a variety of smaller social groups in which he or she participated? Taking such a position, we entertain the idea that persons may have conceived of themselves not as bounded, autonomous beings distinct and entirely disentangled from the community, but as collections of social rôles according to the particularities of their positions in various subsidiary groups. This is a position distinct in important ways from the recurrent historiographical problem of the origins of the individual incited by Jacob Burckhardt. It does not assume that anything fundamental to rational human nature changed over time.⁶⁰ The justifiably stable and obvious differences between one person and larger groups of people would seem to invalidate any assertion that people before the *naissance* of the ‘individual’, whenever it was, lacked moral agency, will, reason, specific desires,

⁶⁰ Individuality, as I use it here, is not Boethius’ person, the *naturæ rationalis individua substantia*, the individual substance of a rational nature, but a kind of individuality that can only exist in apposition to the community, that is, a fundamentally modern sort; Boethius’ *individua* is a specific term related to logic.

passions.⁶¹ But the absence of a word for ‘individual’ in ancient languages, and, as Morris and others have noted, in Carolingian and wider medieval parlance, suggests that we at least need to consider *how* their concepts of self and society may have differed especially with regard to ethics. For example, the more commonly used ‘*persona*’ was a term that, in classical parlance anyway, properly represented the societal rôles that one person might play, and analogously, the faces an actor put on in a play, not a constant, bounded, autonomous individual conceptualized primarily in contrast to the community, or the society.⁶²

Alasdair MacIntyre’s work *After Virtue*, one of the most important recent works of moral philosophy, provides a warrant for connecting the inquiry into a system of moral thought, such as the vices and virtues, to inquiry into its underlying social assumptions:

A moral philosophy...characteristically presupposes a sociology. For every moral philosophy offers explicitly or implicitly at least a partial conceptual analysis of the relationship of an agent to his or her reasons, motives, intentions and actions, and in so doing generally presupposes some claim that these concepts are embodied or at least can be in the real social world.... [It] also follows that we have not yet fully understood the claims of any moral philosophy until we have spelled out what its social embodiment would be.⁶³

⁶¹Furthermore, the inheritance of Augustinian thought would refute any allegation that before the birth of the individual, medieval persons were somehow less particularly rational, passionate, appetitive, or endowed with free will.

⁶² The application of this debate for historians is not without precedent in the study of historical religion and its rôle in culture. Scholars of Roman religion have engaged in a virulent debate over generations over how to understand Roman religious experience. Proponents of the polis-religion model argued that religious action was for the safety and well-being of the city. Religious acts were performed out of duty to the family and to the *polis*, and not for the sake of ‘individual’ religious experience and emotion. Opponents, who not infrequently came from a tradition of German pietism, argued for the universality of religious experience across time and space, defining it as that in which the ‘individual’ has a demonstrable experience with the divine. This sort of argument assumes that the modern ‘individual’ which is opposed to the ‘community’ is a universal human concept, that is, that persons throughout time have always conceived of society in terms of two poles, the individual and the community. In this example, those who refused to impose the ‘individual’ on Roman religious experience were able to discern the civic function of ancient religion and the terrestrial, even political function of the Roman pantheon. See John Scheid, *The Gods, the State, and the Individual: Reflections on Civic Religion in Rome*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). Jörg Rüpke, ed., *The Individual in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean*, (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁶³ Alasdair C. MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 3rd ed (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 23.

After Virtue made a strong argument for certain features of social thought prior to the Enlightenment which undergirded a variety of specific pre-modern moral philosophies. Membership in not just one but a variety of social groups gives the particular person identity within his own mind and in the minds of others: “I am brother, cousin and grandson, member of this household, that village, this tribe.” These are not merely accidents, underneath which lie ‘the real me.’ Rather, there are “part of my substance, defining partially at least and sometimes wholly my obligations and my duties.” Persons “inherit” a social space within a set of social relationships without which the person is a nobody, or perhaps a “stranger or an outcast.”⁶⁴ This pattern of personhood is essentially distinct from what MacIntyre calls the “peculiarly modern self, the emotivist self,” which has lost the boundaries accompanying a fundamental social identity and the sense of human life as “ordered to a given end.”⁶⁵

⁶⁴ MacIntyre, 33–34. MacIntyre does use the term ‘individual’ in his work, and in the cited passages above, but defines it such as to make a distinction between the social structure in which the pre-modern person may have existed, and the modern ‘individual’ set in the dichotomy of the “individual vs. community.” I have opted to use ‘person’ instead because I am treating other authors who do not define their terms in the same way MacIntyre does, or who simply assume the autonomous modern individual to be a universal and transcendent entity.

⁶⁵ MacIntyre, 34. The major methodological problem with any application of MacIntyre’s philosophy to early medieval moral thought is the absence of Aristotle. If the major link between classical ethics and the ethical thought of the Middle Ages was the “rediscovery” of Aristotle, which did not happen until the thirteenth century, generalizing the moral philosophy of the Middle Ages by the general (though not unanimous) affinity for Aristotle in scholastic thought would clearly be reductive. It is, however, worth exploring the Carolingian period to find out whether a “classical” sense of morality permeated this earlier period even without explicit citation of the *Ethics*. MacIntyre treats the concepts of “virtues” as overarching ethical schemes in “heroic societies” like that which produced the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and Christian Iceland of the thirteenth century, and at “Athens”, by which he means in the writings of the sophists, of Plato, of Aristotle, and the tragedians. Treating Aristotle at greatest length, he argues that Aristotle can best be understood as “someone who articulates what a number of predecessors and successors also articulate with varying degrees of success,” and thus, the best representative of a long tradition. Even if the Aristotelian corpus was not explicitly known or cited in the early medieval period, excepting his logical works, it is possible that “classical” conceptions of ethics, of which Aristotle was merely the most articulate representative, permeated through the early medieval period. If conceptions of ethics and conceptions of personhood in the classical world can be generalized, perhaps Aristotle was not really forgotten during the early medieval period—perhaps classical patterns of persons and their rôles in society never stopped permeating the soil of medieval culture, preparing it for the vigorous reception of the rediscovered corpus when it arrived in the thirteenth century. See also 121-130, 134, 147.

MacIntyre's treatment of the Middle Ages before Thomas Aquinas created ample space for further inquiry into ethical concepts in the West between the fall of Rome and the thirteenth century. Rejecting the myth of the monolithic medieval Christian culture, he argued that the medieval problem was "how to civilize human nature in a culture in which human life was in danger of being torn apart by the conflict of too many ideals, to many ways of life."⁶⁶ *After Virtue* argued that the tension between the 'positive' morality of the virtues to be possessed, and the 'negative' morality of law which conceives of acts of the will as sin did not need to result in a distinction between the two.⁶⁷ A medieval kingdom, was, in this view, not dissimilar from the *polis* in which "men in company pursue *the* human good," and in which "the individual is identified and constituted in and through certain of his or her rôles, those rôles which bind the individuals to communities and through which alone specifically human goals are to be attained."⁶⁸ The self interacted with the world as a member of *this* household, *this* clan, *this* city, *this* nation, *this* kingdom, in essence, as a member of groups subsidiary to a modern sense of the 'masses.'⁶⁹

⁶⁶ MacIntyre, 165–70. Strands in conflict included: 1) residual elements of "heroic societies" (characterized by the warrior-king), from which a nascent Christian legal system attempted to create general categories of right and wrong to replace the kinsman bonds of paganism; 2) strands of Christian thought which rejected pagan teaching altogether; 3) residual Stoic conceptions of the precedence of law over virtue which was not inconsistent with the concepts of a divine law and the problem of sin articulated in the New Testament. According to MacIntyre, "whenever the virtues begin to lose their central place, Stoic patterns of thought and action at once reappear. Stoicism remains one of the permanent moral possibilities within the cultures of the West."

⁶⁷ MacIntyre, 172. "Embedded within the self-assertion of episcopal and papal power was the claim that law is the shadow cast by divine law, that the institutions of law embody the virtue of justice."

⁶⁸ MacIntyre, 172.

⁶⁹ MacIntyre, 172–73. Other scholars have noted that the salvation of the soul is that concept which makes Christianity a more "individual" religion, but MacIntyre attributes this to a confusion between a Platonic soul, which precedes its bodily existence, and that of Aristotle, and later of Catholic Christianity: for this latter group, "the body and soul are not two linked [distinct] substances. I am my body and my body is social, born to those parents in this community with a specific social identity." Christianity, furthermore, adds membership in "the heavenly, eternal community in which I also have a rôle, a community represented on earth by the church." Even in the isolation of monastic life, membership in the heavenly

The nuances of familial and political membership shall be explored more thoroughly in what follows, but here, an image may suffice: prosopography modeling tools that model the relationships between historical persons and places require input of specific data. To model the life of Alcuin, for example, one would have to create separate records to fully describe all of his rôles and their respective relationships. Alcuin would be ‘Abbot at St. Martin’s’, ‘Student of Bede’ (debatably), ‘Teacher of Rhabanus Maurus’. There is no ‘self-defining individual’ Alcuin hiding within all of these rôles: the collection of rôles in small but specific groups comprise his identity and define his ethical life. In some sense then, the database model of historical persons is an appropriate image for the social anthropology in which persons are highly relational.⁷⁰

IV: METHODOLOGY

The broad historiography that undergirds my own method runs in effectively two streams: history of economy, and history of ethical-religious concepts. Neither as a corpus of scholarship fully engages social anthropology: we have only hints here and there that historians do think about social rôles and political participation when thinking

community remains. Thus “the [person] carries his communal rôles with him as part of the definition of his self, even into his isolation.”

⁷⁰Timothy J. Reiss too, in his highly impressive *Mirages of the Selfe*, while always attempting to maintain the particularity of circles of discourse, discerned a general pattern of “passible encircled personhood,” relatively continuous from the Classical writers Seneca and Cicero, through Augustine to through Isidore to Hroswitha and Hildegard of Bingen, with an important modification: “the Christian west experienced something like a core of being: soul’s bond with the divine now constituted the ground of person. Although still composed *essentially* of all those other circles [i.e. to be ensouled, rational, social, endowed with speech, made of material elements and qualities, embedded in the physical world], personhood was now founded on its relation with the divine. A new, strong ontological and moral hierarchy had been introduced into the circles of personhood (between divine and mundane, good and evil, healthy and harmful, life and death).” This medievalist examined a number of very specific discursive circles about personhood, and described the medieval “pattern of personhood” as the microcosm, the self embedded in natural order of seasons, humors, society, music, vices and virtues.⁷⁰ As in MacIntyre’s account, the early medieval period is glossed over in favor of the broader connections between Augustine and the high medieval period, but the Carolingian sources do not seem anomalous. Timothy J. Reiss, *Mirages of the Selfe: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 269.

about ethics and economics. Duby located economic agency firmly within the family as the smallest indivisible agent of exchange. Wickham tried to unite the production model of exchange with the distribution model by arguing that elite demand was the catalyst for economic development: in some sense, this begins to get at the economic agency of persons functioning in a particular social group. Innes, treating the 'domainal' ideology specifically of the group of estate managers, also has begun to move early medieval economic history in something more of a social and political direction. McCormick's prosopography model of communication treats specific traveling individuals more than their social rôles, but, again, reflects a turn toward a less highly apolitical and asocial conception of commerce. What is lacking is how ethical thought, inasmuch as it was socially embodied rather than simply relegated to private belief or private piety, might contain within itself something of an early medieval theory of exchange and economy. And from the other side, if historians have conceived of medieval ethical discourse as principally pertaining to 'individual' salvation or 'individual' piety, it would make sense that few are reading texts about sin, vice, and virtue, in pursuit of their political and economic meanings. This essay proposes then, following MacIntyre to some extent, an eradication of the longstanding categorical division between 'economic' and 'ethical' discourse, between the history of economics and the history of morals. Economic meanings are 'political' inasmuch as we understand economics as the exchange between persons in a society to meet their needs, and a foundation of civic relations. In a society that inherited classical discourses on ethics, why should we not countenance that there was real theory of exchange, though it was imbedded in 'ethical' thought?

Accordingly, the structure of what follows will serve as an experiment to test the viability of this hermeneutic for reading medieval ethical texts. Structured rather like a prosopography database, it will consist of chapters dedicated to the exploration of the social and ‘economic’ meaning of greed for persons acting in specific social rôles within the Carolingian Empire. The documentary evidence on which the study relies is in a fairly broad set of genres, but in some sense, this project interrogates genre categorizations as well: exegetical, homiletic, and legal texts will be situated alongside poetry and moral advice books of the *Fürstenspiegel* (*specula principis*) and *Laienspiegel* genre. Removing our categories of moral discourse versus economic discourse versus political discourse may result in a more cohesive reading of texts. This is especially clear with texts that could alternately be considered ‘mirrors for princes’ or ‘treatises on the vices and virtues’. Each chapter will explore the specific ethical duties associated with exchange in particular social rôles, duties based on a sense of each rôle’s ‘political’ participation.⁷¹ Because each rôle is different, and the economic duties associated with each apply to different goods, the maxim ‘all that glitters is not gold’ has been adopted as title and unifying theme. First though, a chapter is needed giving the contours of a rather volatile religious and ethical concept, drawn principally from the work of historians of ideas and literature scholars: the Carolingian Inheritance of the concept of Greed.

⁷¹ I had hoped to engage more rôles than shall be possible in short order. Accordingly, we must be limited to the rôles undertaken by laymen: counts and kings. Further work, if this prototype of method is deemed valid, will encounter “the Greedy Monk”, “The Greedy Cleric”, and “The Greedy Penitent”.

CHAPTER II: THE CAROLINGIAN INTELLECTUAL INHERITANCE REGARDING GREED

An interrogation, no matter how experimental, of the disciplinary and categorical divisions between the ‘economic’ the ‘political’ and the ‘ethical’, that attempts to read in ‘ethical’ language richer meanings must first give certain outlines of the ethical language in which Carolingian authors spoke.⁷² Simply, what *was* greed? What were the major terms of its definition? Who were the major influences and from what society did they spring? Because of the sheer complexity of late antique and early medieval ethical discourse, a comprehensive treatment of *every* work that engages ‘greed’ in some form is beyond the scope of this project. Most of the major works have indeed been catalogued by the historians of literary and religious concepts, such as Yunck, Bloomfield, and most recently, Newhauser.⁷³ Newhauser’s work provides the most current comprehensive survey of the Carolingian intellectual inheritance with regard to greed, at least among the exegetical and homiletic sources, if not in the corpus of legal or penitential texts. Because the scope of this study must be limited temporally and geographically, the contours of this terminology will be traced in only the most limited manner, leaving to experts in patristics and late antique studies the imposing task of contextualizing these philological

⁷² Any study of language, of course, intersects with a number of complex semiotic problems the full exposition of which must remain tabled for the moment. Let us assume that words have valence, and that meanings of words can shift over time. Further study of theory of language will follow.

⁷³ Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed*. Yunck’s text specifically treats ‘munera’ bribes, as a facet of anti-venal satire, because of his reading of the Meed figure in Langland, interpreted most narrowly as ‘bribery.’ His engagement with early medieval period is somewhat cursory, seeing only a consistent pattern of homiletic and exegetical engagement that diverged little from its patristic precursors. Some of the connections he draws between classical satirists and poets shall be profitably brought to bear on our topic in later chapters.

shifts across a long historical period. Let this serve merely as an introduction to the principal categories for the discussion of this ethical concept.⁷⁴

The inheritance of religious concepts will be familiar to medievalists, and thus, a *sermo* on the prominence which Carolingian writers frequently gave the Scriptures and the Greek and Latin Fathers would be largely redundant and unnecessary. Accordingly, I will operate on these shared assumptions and maintain something of a conventional narrative of inherited sources, with the caveat that Newhauser and Jehl's works represent much more nuanced treatments of the Patristic sources and their particular receptions.⁷⁵ The natural place to begin for a history of a Christian religious concept would seem to be the Christian scriptures, but Hellenistic and Roman conceptualizations of evil, if not sin as such, figured prominently in the development of the 'capital' or 'principal' vices which would eventually become assimilated into the 'deadly sins'.⁷⁶

Bloomfield's narrative located the initial source of the 'capital vices' as concepts in Hellenistic astrology, specifically the element alternately called the Soul Drama or Soul Journey: the "soul issuing from God or from an upper world descends through seven or eight spheres of the planets, receiving from each some characteristic or characteristic, until it enters the earth."⁷⁷ Later, in early Christian communities, Gnostic eschatological belief in the 'Otherworld Journey' appropriated this astrological element in something of an attempt to bridge the barriers between spirit and matter, and between good and evil, in

⁷⁴As a brief caveat, it should be noted that I am introducing greed as an *ethical* and not strictly a *religious* concept. The language surrounding the 'sin' or 'vice' of greed frequently categorizes greed as, respectively, a 'religious' or 'ethical' concept. While the relationship between sins and vices is complex, it suffices to say that the boundary between the two is relatively permeable.

⁷⁵Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*; Rainer Jehl, "Die Geschichte des Lästerschemas und seiner Funktion," *Franziskanische Studien* 64 (1984): 261–359.

⁷⁶This assimilation was warranted by 1 John 5:16, which refers to the sins that lead to death.

⁷⁷Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 16–17.

the terms of contemporary science and cosmology.⁷⁸ Precedent for the capital vices also existed in Semitic cultures in the seven evil spirits of Babylonian cosmology, of which the Arab and Syrian ‘seven jinns’ are arguably relatives or descendants, and in the ‘seven spirits of deceit’ in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, written at end of second century B.C.⁷⁹ To this sequence of seven or eight evils, which later became sins, we shall return, but let us narrow in briefly in upon greed and the other principle sins as they were present in Christian scriptures.

The biblical account of greed employs two distinct Greek concepts, *πλεονεξία*, acquisitiveness as such, and *φιλαργυρία*, literally, the love of silver.⁸⁰ The first letter to Timothy declares that ‘the love of money (*φιλαργυρία*) is the root of all evil’ in 6:10 in a larger discussion of riches that comprises the large part of chapter 6.⁸¹ The second letter (II Timothy 3:2) includes a variant on the same term, *φιλάργυροι*, the lover of silver, as

⁷⁸ Bloomfield, 16–17.

⁷⁹ Bloomfield, 27. Bloomfield notes as well the precedent in Egyptian, Persian, and Zoroastrian myth. This influence contributed, in Bloomfield’s analysis, a concept of Sin “as an objective force or power closely tied up with the concepts of demons,”⁴⁰

⁸⁰ MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, 137. MacIntyre made an invaluable observation about the care with which the former concept should be translated, something to which we will turn more fully in subsequent chapters as we examine the nuances of the discourse: John Stuart Mill translated *πλεονεξία* in classical sources as “wanting more than one’s share,” but *pleonexia* to the Athenians was “acquisitiveness as such, a quality that modern individualism both in its economic activity and the *character* of the consuming aesthete does not perceive to be a vice at all.” Following MacIntyre, I have translated this term simply ‘acquisitiveness’. It should be noted as well, as a minor point, that MacIntyre’s ‘individualism’ in the quotation above is applied to a modern context, specifically modern economics. My reactions against the universality of the dichotomy between ‘the individual’ and the ‘masses’ pertain to those who would apply this dichotomy to *pre-modern* society. To reiterate the point from chapter one, the experiment here undertaken locates the historical origins of this concept of political life firmly in modernity.

⁸¹ NRSVCE, I Tim 6.6-10, 17-19: “Of course, there is great gain in godliness combined with contentment; for we brought nothing into the world, so that we can take nothing out of it; but if we have food and clothing, we will be content with these. But those who want to be rich fall into temptation and are trapped by many senseless and harmful desires that plunge people into ruin and destruction. *For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil*, and in their eagerness to be rich some have wandered away from the faith and pierced themselves with many pains...As for those who in the present age are rich, command them not to be haughty, or to set their hopes on the uncertainty of riches, but rather on God who richly provides us with everything for our enjoyment. They are to do good, to be rich in good works, generous, and ready to share, thus storing up for themselves the treasure of a good foundation for the future, so that they may take hold of the life that really is life.”

does the Gospel of Luke 16:14. The letter to the Colossians admonishes the recipients against greed as well, employing the former term, *πλεονεξία*, and equating acquisitiveness with idolatry.⁸² These two verses, the most frequently cited in subsequent literature about the ‘capital vices’ were consistent with Christ’s words in the Gospels. At a number of points, indeed, the Gospel narratives record Jesus’ concerns about money and the wealthy, if not explicitly about greed as such. A few passages, the most recurrent in subsequent reference, merit note. Luke 16 includes the Parable of the Shrewd Manager, concluded by the famous dictum, “No slave can serve two masters... You cannot serve God and Mammon” and the Parable of Dives and Lazarus.⁸³ Luke 18, furthermore, records a conversation between Jesus and ‘a rich young ruler’ (SBLGNT: *ἄρχων*, VG: *princeps*), in which another famous utterance was recorded: “Indeed, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the kingdom of God.”⁸⁴ The various juxtapositions of these and other biblical passages, narrative types, and images with each other constitutes a rich source of knowledge about the movements and tensions of early medieval thought. This biblical inheritance, however, was not uncomplicated in its reception: variants in translation and patristic developments in ethical thought would collide to create a wide space for dialogue about greed in the Carolingian Era.

⁸² NRSVCE, Col 3:5-6: “Put to death, therefore, whatever in you is earthly: fornication, impurity, passion, evil desire, and greed (which is idolatry). On account of these the wrath of God is coming on those who are disobedient”; SBLGNT: “Νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, πορνείαν, ἀκαθαρσίαν, πάθος, ἐπιθυμίαν κακῆν, καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἣτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρία, δι’ ἧ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας.”

⁸³ NRSVCE, Luke 16:1-13 “...for a slave will either hate the one and love the other, or be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and money”; SBLGNT: “οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν· ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἓνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει. οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ.” Parable of Dives and Lazarus: Luke 16.19-31.

⁸⁴ Luke 18:18-30.

In the fourth century, St. Jerome’s (347-420) translation of the Septuagint into the Latin Vulgate made an important contribution to the subsequent discourse about greed. We recall that the Septuagint maintained some distinction between an acquisitiveness unrestricted to money and a love for monetary gain. The Vulgate rendered φιλαργυρία as *cupiditas* in I Tim 6:10, whereas the “lovers of silver” (φιλάργυροι) were translated as *amantes cupidi* or *avari* in other places in the New Testament. Further, *avaritia*, the Latin abstract noun closely related to *avarus*, was given for the wider sense of acquisitiveness, πλεονεξία in Col 3:5. The chart below summarizes these translation choices:

Verse	LXX	VG
I Tim 6:10	φιλαργυρία	cupiditas
II Tim 3:2	φιλάργυροι	amantes cupidi
Luke 16:14	φιλάργυροι	avari
Cf. Tobit 5	αργυρία	pecunia
Col 3:5	πλεονεξία	avaritia

It is essential, of course, not to reduce the craft of translation to mere word-for-word renderings, and this is far from my intent in these observations about the Vulgate.⁸⁵ It seems simply that Jerome chose to give place of prominence to the *desire* for money over the desire for *money* quantitatively in his rendering of I Tim 6:10.⁸⁶ Though he could have used *amor pecuniae*, Jerome by employing *cupiditas* here instead expanded—or

⁸⁵Equating authenticity or validity with faithfulness to purely literal meaning is a bold and not-unproblematic claim, and thus not one that I am willing to make here. My own intuition is that Jerome in his translation of 1 Tim VI.10 chose to emphasize the more psychological element of the ‘love of silver,’ especially because the subsequent portion of 1 Tim deals with the love of God versus the love of the world.

⁸⁶ Money in the ancient world was fraught with complex meaning: as medium and measure of exchange, it did often carry with it undertones of ethical thought. Aristotle’s treatment of unnatural wealth-getting, and larger discussions of the ethics of exchange raise questions about whether conceptions of money and exchange can be regarded as universal. This is complicated immensely by questions about the monetization of the Roman empire, monetization after the fall of Rome, and the economic status of the Late Antique world was. See Paul Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque: Sociologie historique d’un pluralisme politique* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1976); Robert A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550 AD* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

reified a preexisting valence of meaning—the sense of ‘the love of money’ as the root of all evil to a larger sense of disordered desire.⁸⁷ In other words, Jerome expanded a restricted sense of ‘greed’ as love of silver into a wider one of disordered desire, or at the least, provided the interpretive space for it. Augustine of Hippo (354-430), with whom St. Jerome had a sometimes contentious academic relationship, was the most important source for the theology built around desire, that is, around *caritas* and *cupiditas*. In *De Doctrina Christiana*, Augustine defined *caritas* as “the motion of the soul toward the enjoyment of God for His own sake, and the enjoyment of one’s self and one’s neighbor for the sake of God” and the other, *cupiditas*, as “the motion of the soul towards the enjoyment of one’s self, one’s neighbor, or any corporal thing for the sake of something other than God.”⁸⁸ With *cupiditas* taking on this profound theological meaning, one with teleological, psychological, and salvific undertones, the Vulgate rendering of I Tim 6:10 as *cupiditas enim radix malorum* carried a broad meaning by the eighth century in the West: *cupiditas*, the fundamentally distorted disposition of the soul, *cupiditas*, the desire for money, or some combination thereof, was the root of all evil.⁸⁹ Further, the Vulgate

⁸⁷ The two terms, *cupiditas* and *caritas* became theological categories of *love*, a choice which influenced the categories of later theological writing. See “Cupiditas,” David L. Jeffrey, ed., *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmann Publ. Co, 1992).

⁸⁸ Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, ed. D. W. Robertson (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1997), III.10.16; Trans. Jeffrey, “Charity, Cupidity,” 130. “Caritatem voco motum animi ad fruendum Deo propter ipsum et se atque proximo propter Deum; cupiditatem autem motum animi ad fruendum se et proximo et quolibet corpore non propter Deum. . . Item quod agit caritas quo sibi prosit, utilitas est; quod autem agit ut prosit proximo, beneficentia nominatur. Et hic praecedit utilitas, quia nemo potest ex eo quod non habet prodesse alteri. Quanto autem magis regnum cupiditatis destruitur, tanto caritatis augetur.”

⁸⁹ The prominence of both Augustine’s *De Doctrina* and Jerome’s Vulgate in the intellectual history of the west cannot be understated. The former’s categories of different types of loves were heavily influential on theological development, and whether or not later authors had direct access to Vulgate or used another earlier Latin translation, the Vulgate translation shaped most of the exegetes writing in Latin, and thus was profoundly influential in the development of religious concepts. In the questions of morality considered by patristic and medieval thinkers, I Tim VI.10 became crucial: was it greed that was the root of all evil, or a more general sense of disordered desire placed in apposition to *caritas*?

rendering of Col 3:5 as *avaritiam quae est simulacrorum servitus* conveyed πλεονεξία, generalized acquisitiveness, into the Latin west as *avaritia*.⁹⁰

Considered together, then, the Vulgate maintained a distinction between the two terms from the Septuagint, but amplified the meaning of what had been simply ‘love of silver’ into something more like πλεονεξία in its generality, an untrammled desire for something other than God. *Avaritia* and *cupiditas* would sometimes be used with careful distinction in meaning by very theologically-aware writers, but more often, there was overlap or confusion, especially when the Latinized term *philargyria* appeared in conjunction with the other two.⁹¹ It is my contention that the Early Christian moves in translation from Greek to Latin created a discursive space for early medieval writers as they explored greed as sin and as vice. More specifically, the variable linguistic overlap between the respective definitions of *cupiditas* and *avaritia*—if they were not deemed synonymous—underwrote what *greed* meant theologically, socially, politically, and economically. It is essential to bear in mind, however, that any influence the Vulgate translation had emerged in the seventh and eight centuries as the Vulgate became popularized: most *Vetus Latina* translations render I Tim 6:10 as *avaritia*, not *cupiditas*.⁹²

⁹⁰VG, Col 3.5-6: mortificate ergo membra vestra quae sunt super terram fornicationem immunditiam libidinem concupiscentiam malam et avaritiam quae est simulacrorum servitus propter quae venit ira Dei super filios incredulitatis. Cf. Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 92-93. Newhauser observes additionally that “[Jerome’s] commentary on Ephesians 4:19 makes *avaritia* a sin of sexual excess, in effect synonymous with adultery” revealing “his willingness to move the concept beyond the borders of a desire for wealth alone. Once freed of its material foundation, the concept was able to take on more spiritualized qualities.”

⁹¹ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 92. Of the first two, “it was possible for Latin authors to use *cupiditas* and *avaritia* as interchangeable designations for the vice, though to the former belonged many of the same broad connotations which surrounded *pleonexia* as a *terminus technicus*, and to the latter some of the restricted-ness of *philargyria*.”

⁹² Newhauser, 111. Newhauser notes that Isidore employed *cupiditas* as a synonym for *avaritia* or *philargyria*, and that “this tendency becomes more prevalent through the seventh and eight centuries. The view of *avaritia* and *cupiditas* as equivalent designations for the sin was supported by the growing dominance of the Vulgate text of the Bible, for many of the writers who use these terms as synonyms refer to the Vulgate version of I Tim 6:10 as a major authority for condemning the vice.” For *Vetus Latina*, see

The Carolingian inheritance of scriptural treatments of greed—in their Vulgate and *Vetus Latina* forms simultaneously—was flexible; it provided a fortuitous interchangeability that would be further developed by the inheritance of Patristic hamartiological thought, which did not develop solely around the Vulgate translation.

Besides the question of the objects of greed—whether avarice was restricted to money or expandable to other goods—early Christian writers frequently engaged the question of its gravity relative to other vices. St. Augustine, whose thought on *caritas* and *cupiditas* has already been noted, engaged the potentially problematic contradiction between Ecclesiasticus 10:15, which presents pride as the principle sin (VG: *initium peccati omnis superbia*), and the Pauline identification of *cupiditas* or *avaritia* as the *radix malorum*.⁹³ Augustine made explicit the relationship between *avaritia* and *cupiditas*, defining the latter as an *avaritia generalis*, in which “someone eagerly desires more than is fitting, out of his own grandeur and out of a certain love for his own affairs...there is also an avarice in the specific sense, which is very commonly called *amor pecuniae*.” Most generally, then, avarice could mean very broadly “self-aggrandizement”, something akin to the sense of pride derived from Neoplatonist metaphysics.⁹⁴ They were not wholly synonymous, though, as possession was always implied by avarice in a way it was not implied by pride.⁹⁵ Nonetheless, the relationship between general avarice (*cupiditas*) and the love of money specifically (*avaritia*, *filargyria*) served as a neat solution to an apparent contradiction, one that would be

Hermann Josef Frede, *Epistulae Ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, *Vetus Latina* 25 (Freiburg: Herder, 1991).

⁹³ This was largely in reaction to Manichean allegations of interior contradictions within the scriptures.

⁹⁴ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 93.

⁹⁵ Newhauser, 94.

picked up by some of the more detail-oriented Carolingian theological writers.⁹⁶ More frequently, though, as we shall see, Carolingian writers played in a fairly non-specific field of meaning without discerning a need to make the systematic clarifications Augustine did.

This conflict between pride and greed as the principal sin or vice is also discernable in the sequence of the capital vices, the theology of which had developed from Hellenistic cosmology in the anchoritic communities of Egypt, and which was transmitted to the Carolingian world as a sequence, albeit a relatively inconsistent one. Evagrius of Pontus (346-399), a monastic writer in proximity to the Neo-Platonic center of Alexandria, articulated the concepts of the capital sins as the basic evil drives against which a monk had to fight.⁹⁷ But Evagrius' thinking largely did not reach moralists of the West: it came primarily through intermediaries, the foremost of whom was not interested in conveying Evagrian thought without modification for a coenobitic application.⁹⁸ John Cassian (360-435), a student of Chrysostom in Constantinople, who journeyed from the deserts of Egypt (the anchoritic colonies of Nitria and Scete) to Marseilles in the fifth century, brought to the West not only the monastic ideology embodied in his *Institutes* and the *Conlationes*, but also the list of eight capital vices.⁹⁹ Cassian largely maintained the order of the capital sins articulated by Evagrius in *De octo spiritus malitiae: gula*,

⁹⁶E.g. Walafrid Strabo, Sedulius Scottus, and Bede the Venerable earlier.

⁹⁷ Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 57. For a thorough explication of the 'evil thought' of greed in early anchoritic discourse embodied most fully in Evagrius' writing, see Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 47-57. For early cenobitic treatments, see *ibid.* 57-60. Newhauser also notes that Evagrius was ordained a lector by Basil the Great and a deacon by Gregory Nazianzen; his writing shows demonstrable Neo-Platonic influence. 47.

⁹⁸ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 61. "Evagrius' thinking did not, on the whole, reach moralists in the West without intermediaries...Cassian did not act as a slavish disciple, but rather as an adapter and reviser of Evagrius' asceticism for the cenobitic requirements of Roman Gaul."

⁹⁹ Newhauser, 61.

luxuria, avaritia, ira, tristitia, acedia, vanagloria, superbia (GLAITAVS).¹⁰⁰ Cassian did not use the term *avaritia*, or *cupiditas*, but a Latinized *filargyria*, ostensibly restricting the meaning of ‘greed’ specifically to the love of money and, in a very specific monastic context, possessions.¹⁰¹ Further, he described the progeny of greed as lying, fraudulence, thefts, perjury, desire for filthy lucre, false testimony, violence, savageness, and rapaciousness; these classifications, of which his writing is the earliest record, would add another layer of moral interrogation to the thought of later moral writers.¹⁰² Taken together, the works of Evagrius and Cassian on avarice constituted the “earliest complete, analytic description and examination of avarice to be found in early Christian culture.”¹⁰³ Cassian was certainly accessible to Carolingian readers, though Evagrius was not.

Another conduit for the sequence of vices, indeed, the most prominent late antique treatment of the vices and virtues, was the *Psychomachia* of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348-c.410).¹⁰⁴ It was regarded consistently as a canonical text of clerical

¹⁰⁰ Newhauser, 54, 61. The list present in every other of Evagrius’ works flips *tristitia* and *ira* for a GLATIAVS schema. The acronym has been employed by Bloomfield and others as a convenient shorthand for the variations in the schema’s order.

¹⁰¹ Newhauser, 69. “The egotism of the *avarus*, the threat posed to the society of monks by the self-centered drive for money, moved to the foreground of Cassian’s deliberations on the vice. . . . The danger of an individual’s unbridled possession of what were public resources would remain an impulse for reflections on the vice throughout the Middle Ages, but for the monastery, Cassian’s solution to the problem with the accepted ideal: only the absolute possessionlessness of each individual could guarantee the eradication of the vice in the community.”

¹⁰² Newhauser, 64. For a more thorough discussion of Cassianic treatments of avarice, see Newhauser, 61-69. Newhauser’s helpful chart on the imagery surrounding greed reveals that most of the images in Carolingian writing about greed were inherited from Cassian and Gregory the Great; elements from Cassianic influence thus also bear the imprint of Chrysostom’s moral thought.

¹⁰³ Newhauser, 64. Evagrius’ and Cassian’s “work on the vice is not the projection of broadly pastoral concern, but an expression of the monastic concentration on the spiritual progress of the individual and the community—the earliest, complete, analytic description and examination of avarice to be found in early Christian culture.”

¹⁰⁴ Prudentius, “Psychomachia,” in *Carmina*, ed. M.P. Cunningham, CCL 126 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966). See for more on form of allegory Samuel R. Levin, “Allegorical Language,” in *Allegory, Myth, and Symbol*, ed. Morton W. Bloomfield (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 23–38; S. Georgia Nugent, *Allegory and Poetics: The Structure and Imagery of Prudentius’ “Psychomachia”* (Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang, 1985).

education in the Carolingian schools.¹⁰⁵ The typological and figural epic, a genre quite different than most of the texts here treated, placed the capital vices in opposition to corresponding virtues: *Avaritia* here battled *Operatio*, Beneficence (verses 450-592). The virtues and vices were not presented in any systematic linkage, but *Avaritia* did follow *Luxuria* (riotous living) in a clear causal narrative.¹⁰⁶ Some important features were available to Carolingian inheritors, some themselves transmissions of older ideas. *Avaritia* appeared to change into *Frugi*, Thrift, (verses 551-72) in a poetic manifestation of something that both Chrysostom and Augustine had observed: the vice of greed can be disguised beneath the virtue of frugality.¹⁰⁷ Greed's defeat, further, occurred at the hand of Beneficence, who articulated a call to monastic renunciation, defining 'plain food' and 'one garment' as sufficiency (verses 609-612).¹⁰⁸ Thrift and almsgiving were insufficient forces, even though they were indeed virtuous, to defeat Greed. In some way this mirrors the monastic description of greed as an ascetic lack of possessions.¹⁰⁹ Taken together, these poetic features added other elements to the discourse about greed Carolingian thinkers received, namely those of just possession and ascetic sufficiency.

In the next century, Pope Gregory the Great (540-604) contributed one of the most important sources on avarice inherited by the Carolingian writers: the *Moralia in*

¹⁰⁵ Sinéad O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia: The Weitz Tradition*, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*, bd. 31 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 6–7. Alcuin recorded it in his catalog of the cathedral library of York, Hrabanus cited it in his list of authorities essential for the education of the clergy, and Theodulf of Orléans followed Hrabanus' list precisely. For another excellent recent study on reception see Robert Gary Babcock, *The Psychomachia Codex from St Lawrence (Bruxellensis 10066-77) and the Schools of Liège in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, *Bibliologia: Elementa Ad Librorum Studia Pertinentia*, volume 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

¹⁰⁶ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 81. This passage also echoes Virgil's *Aeneid* 7.415-20, the transformation of Allecto.

¹⁰⁷ Newhauser, 84.

¹⁰⁸ Whether this was meant allegorically or literally, the articulation of some 'just' amount that was 'sufficient' for a person is clear.

¹⁰⁹ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 84.

Job was one of the foundational exegetical texts for medieval ethics generally, and Carolingian ethical writers specifically.¹¹⁰ Written between 578 and 595, it was a thorough exposition of the biblical book of Job in terms of four levels of interpretation, the moral being the titular level.¹¹¹ This extensive work, comprised of thirty-five books typically divided into six manuscript codices, was received in whole and in derivative parts in the form of *florilegia*.¹¹² Taio of Saragossa (c.600-c.683) in his *Sententiarum Libri Quinque* compiled *Moralia* excerpts by virtues and vices, whereas Paterius of Brechia (d. 606) organized his *florilegium* by the other books of the Bible referenced.¹¹³ In book XXXI of the *Moralia*, Gregory articulated not an octad, as Evagrius and Cassian had, but a heptad of ‘capital sins’: *superbia, ira, invidia, acedia, avaritia, gula, and luxuria* (SIIAAGL). Interestingly enough, however, this was not accepted as canonical until Peter Damian appropriated it in the eleventh century. At one other prominent point, namely book XIV of the *Moralia*, Gregory discussed the sins in a different order, beginning with *superbia, avaritia, and ira*, and then not adhering to a conventional octad

¹¹⁰ Marcia L. Colish, *Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition, 400-1400*, Yale Intellectual History of the West (Yale University Press, 1999), 40.

¹¹¹ These four levels of meaning, the literal, the tropological (moral), the allegorical, and the anagogical (eschatological) will be familiar as common tropes of medieval exegesis. For Gregory, informed by Augustine and other patristic writers, every verse was connected to the rest of the Bible. Therefore, his expositions of Job involved references to the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Prophets. It also included medieval numerology, providing yet another window into how medieval authors read and understood sacred texts. As Colish has it, Gregory’s “focus is ethical and contemplative [and has] a concern with the moral message of the Bible above all.” Colish, 40.

¹¹² Manuscript copies of the *Moralia* which seldom differentiated between paragraphs, sections, biblical verses, and Gregory’s own commentary created something of a reading problem for even expert medieval readers. A number of *florilegia*, which extracted important passages from different works, were produced to organize some of the richest parts of the *Moralia* even before the Carolingian period. For the example from which these observations come, see Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 99, Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 100, Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 101. See also R. Wasselynck, “Les ‘Moralia in Job’ dans les Ouvrages de Morale du Haut Moyen Age latin,” *Recherches de Theologies Ancienne et Medievale*, no. 31 (1964): 5–31. Reading practices will be treated at more length below in Chapter V.

¹¹³ PL 80: 727-990A and PL 79: 683-1136D, respectively. Paterius isolated all of the other Biblical passages that Gregory connected to Job, and reorganized them so a writer or homilist looking for something from the *Moralia* on a Psalm, or a passage from the Gospels, could find it.

or heptad structure¹¹⁴ Accordingly, even while Gregory's *Moralia* was employed extensively by Carolingian writers, the heptad which would later become canonical, with pride as the principal sin, was not uniformly received.¹¹⁵ Of note with regard to the relative semantic fields of *cupiditas* and *avaritia*, Gregory the Great did make a verbal equation between *cupiditas* and *avaritia* in his allegorical reading of the vision the woman in the ephah as an image of the principles sins, but did not do so in his commentary on the sin heptad.¹¹⁶ His *florilegia* compilers further complicate our picture of the reception of 'greed' in the Carolingian period: Taio's account of the vices proffered the order present in *Moralia* XIV, (SAI...) and any other number of *florilegium* compilers may have added variants.

Further variation came with the treatment by Isidore of Seville (560-656) in *De differentiis verborum*. As to the sequence of the sins, Isidore posited at various places an octad and a heptad in a Cassianic order, attempting to synthesizing the Gregorian and Cassianic systems.¹¹⁷ He adopted Gregory the Great's position on the relationship between pride and avarice, which are both called the root or source of evil in the scriptures: he, like Gregory, comfortably referred to each as the 'mother of all vices.'¹¹⁸ We recall, of course, that Augustine found this scriptural discrepancy discomfiting enough to explicitly articulate a 'genus versus species' relationship between the two.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Job*, ed. Marc Adriaen, CCSL 143 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), XIV.

¹¹⁵ Hincmar's *De cavendis vitiis* is the most prominent Carolingian example of this problem: ninety percent of the text is derived from the *Moralia*, but Hincmar gives precedence not to *superbia*, but to *avaritia*. This move shall be treated at length in chapter three, "The Greedy Prince." As Chélini has shown, the sins were even in the ninth century relatively fluid elements. See Jean Chélini, *L'aube du Moyen Age: naissance de la chrétienté occidentale: la vie religieuse des laïcs dans l'Europe carolingienne, 750-900* (Paris: Picard, 1991).

¹¹⁶ Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, XIV, 53, 63–65. See Zech. 5:5-11 for the passage.

¹¹⁷ See Jehl, "Die Geschichte des Lästerschemas und seiner Funktion," 304–5.

¹¹⁸ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 107.

¹¹⁹ Some of the Carolingian inheritors would pick up this distinction.

As to the problem of semantic relationship, Isidore used all three Latin terms for greed (*avaritia*, *cupiditas*, and *filargyria*) and made explicit the difference between *avaritia* and *cupiditas*: the avaricious man does not spend his goods, while the *cupidus* man desires what is another's.¹²⁰ This designation, even while it created seemingly distinct ethical categories, was, again, not uniformly received in Carolingian thought, as shall be seen. It represents yet another contour in the discourse of greed into which Carolingian writers would enter.

Although Cassian, Prudentius, Gregory, and Isidore certainly treated the capital vices as having profound negative impact on the *psyche*, none of them explicitly connected the eight principal vices to penance. Indeed, prior to the appropriation of the vices for penitential systems, and the appropriation of penitential discourse for legal discourse, the hamartiological schema of the 'seven chief vices' was relatively more restricted to theological and monastic thought, even while the discourse of greed *qua* vice may not have been. In the penitentials, the 'capital vices' become equated with the 'deadly sins' of theology when it became a useful way for ecclesial authorities to direct the spiritual life. Highly synthetic texts, the penitentials drew from the ethical categories of Gregory the Great and Isidore of Seville, along with Cassian. We know much less about their dating and provenance than had been previously surmised: their insular origins have lately been interrogated. Abigail Firey has recently argued that the narrative of the penitential genre's insular origins resulted from an erroneous

¹²⁰ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 109. See Isidore of Seville, *De differentiis verborum*. As shall be seen, there was significant conceptual overlap with 'covetousness' in the sense Isidore has it in, and envy, in later texts.

abbreviation expansion, that should have been ‘sanctorum’ instead of ‘scottorum’.¹²¹ She observed, furthermore, that the manuscript transmission is primarily continental, at least for the penitential of Theodore.¹²² Meens still maintains the older view, one maintained by Newhauser and Bloomfield as well, that the penitentials were an Irish development of the sixth century.¹²³

The mysterious origins of the genre notwithstanding, a few texts are preeminent. The ‘Penitential of Finnian’ of unknown provenance incorporates a Cassianic schema of the sins.¹²⁴ The Columban Penitential, compiled, traditionally by St. Columba, in the late sixth or early seventh century, replicates the provisions in the Penitential of Finnian with regard to avarice.¹²⁵ The penitential of ‘Cummean the Long,’ perhaps a mid-seventh century text, as well as continental penitentials which emerged in the eighth and ninth centuries, the Bigotian, the Mediolanse, the Merebugense, and the Burgundian penitentials, share many canons directly with their ‘predecessors,’ but not without differences in structure and organization that shall prove helpful in illuminating the

¹²¹ Abigail Firey, “Beyond the Penitentials: Early Medieval Discourse on Penance,” *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 33 (2016): 5. Argued also in Firey, *A Contrite Heart: Prosecution and Redemption in the Carolingian Empire*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 145 (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2009), 66-67n.8.

¹²² Firey, 5.

¹²³ Rob Meens, *Penance in Medieval Europe, 600-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 37–88. See also Richard Newhauser, “Towards Modus in Habendo: Transformations in the Idea of Avarice, The Early Penitentials through the Carolingian Reforms,” *Zeitschrift Der Savigny-Stiftung Für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt. 75* (1989): 1–22.

¹²⁴ Newhauser, “Towards Modus in Habendo: Transformations in the Idea of Avarice: The Early Penitentials through the Carolingian Reforms,” 6. See Ludwig Bieler, ed., “Penitentialis Vinniani,” in *The Irish Penitentials*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 5 (Dublin, 1963); H.J. Schmitz, ed., “Penitentialis Vinniani,” in *Die Bußbücher und die Bußdisciplin der Kirche*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1883), 600; F.W.H. Wasserschleben, ed., “Penitentialis Vinniani,” in *Die Bußordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851), 108–35.

¹²⁵ Newhauser, “Towards Modus in Habendo: Transformations in the Idea of Avarice: The Early Penitentials through the Carolingian Reforms,” 6; See Ludwig Bieler, ed., “Paenitentiale S. Columbani B.20,” in *The Irish Penitentials*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 5 (Dublin, 1963), 104; H.J. Schmitz, ed., “Paenitentiale S. Columbani B.20,” in *Die Bußbücher und die Bußdisciplin der Kirche*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1883), 600; F.W.H. Wasserschleben, ed., “Paenitentiale S. Columbani B. 20,” in *Die Bußordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851), 353–427.

specifically Carolingian discourse of greed, and in turn its economic and political meanings.¹²⁶ Even if there had not been significant changes in canons from their origins, simply *that* Carolingian canonists chose to appropriate and transmit the schema of sins in some form for further penitential application would still be instructive. Moreover, they were the precedent for the developing Carolingian legal corpus. The Carolingian era saw the “infusion of penitential theology into political discourse,” as Abigail Firey has argued, an infusion which had “profound effects on the formation of law in the Carolingian period.”¹²⁷ Her work shall inform our engagement of Carolingian legal and penitential genres as they appear throughout the remainder: she explores many of the tensions between (or overlap in) religious and political discourse in Carolingian thought in a way that provides a precedent for the current enquiry.

As we rapidly approach the period at which our own narrative shall commence, one further major contributor to the ‘Carolingian Inheritance’ must be treated. Bede the Venerable (672-735) did not make verbal equation between *cupiditas* and *avaritia*, perhaps speaking to a reduced influence of the Vulgate in insular Biblical manuscripts, but he did employ the term *filargiria*, betraying his awareness of Cassian. And though he did not employ the Cassianic octad of sin or the Gregorian heptad, he did lambast the sin of avarice, and its closely related sin luxury (as Prudentius had) in his commentary on

¹²⁶ Newhauser, “Towards Modus in Habendo: Transformations in the Idea of Avarice: The Early Penitentials through the Carolingian Reforms,” 8; Ludwig Bieler, ed., “Paenitentiale Cummeani 3.1-16,” in *The Irish Penitentials*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 5 (Dublin, 1963), 116–18.

¹²⁷ Abigail Firey, *A Contrite Heart: Prosecution and Redemption in the Carolingian Empire*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions* 145 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2009), 160. “As Charlemagne sought to secure greater control in previously autonomous zones by installing bishops and abbots who owed him allegiance...members of his court circle expounded theories of pastoral care that emphasized penitential perspectives. Concerted episcopal efforts...produced both new texts and new interpretations of standard texts that supported an intensely penitential vision of Christian society.”

Luke 11:40.¹²⁸ As the lack of overlap between *cupiditas* and *avaritia* would suggest, Bede's conception of greed was materially oriented, grounded in goods and monies.¹²⁹ In this sense Bede presents a useful contrast to the Carolingian writers about greed: the materialist emphasis of his understanding of greed contrasts to a wider sense of excessive desire present in some Carolingian writing. Further, even though his ethical thought did not contribute to the transmission of the deadly sin schemas, his 'student' Alcuin, who would become instrumental in the Carolingian educational reforms, and Alcuin's student Rhabanus would employ the schematization richly.

In sum, the Christian scriptures both created ethical categories and complicated them with their own rich variety of terminology. Further, their translation and transmission added conceptual tensions: over the course of late antiquity, 'greed' became fraught with discursive conflict and connected to various authorities specific imageries and semantic valences, ranging from a highly material accumulation of silver to very psychological inordinate love of something for its own sake. Accordingly, the inheritance received by Carolingian moral thinkers was far from simple or neatly systematic. The fluidity between material and spiritual meanings of greed, between frugality, sufficiency, and largess, was that which would provide space for more particular meanings to develop. Newhauser has proposed that the dialectic between greed as a desire for money and greed as untrammelled desire to possess provides evidence of the 'spiritualization' or

¹²⁸ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 111.

¹²⁹ See Bede the Venerable, *In Pentateuchum Commentarii*. PL 91:214D-215A: [Of the serpent] "Dicitur autem post haec serpenti, Maledictus es inter omnia animantia terrae: super pectus tuum et ventrem repes. Pectoris nomine significatur superbia mentis, nomine autem ventris, significantur desideria carnis. Aut enim terrena cupiditate decipies, omnibus diebus vitae tuae, id est omni tempore quo agis hanc potestatem...significat homines in immunditia cupiditatis teterrimos" Cf. *Expositio in Evangelio Mattheum*, PL 92:20A, "Aliter, Ostendit ei omnia regna mundi, id est, homines hujus saeculi, quorum alii propter fornicationem, alii propter avaritiam decepti, a diabolo reguntur in mundo."

‘secularization’ of greed by the end of the Carolingian period.¹³⁰ Interestingly, it was accompanied by a simultaneous appropriation of the deadly sins in penitential literature that gave legal and political implications to an increasingly less material category of ethics.¹³¹ Thus the dialectic should be regarded as having both psychological and political meaning, and accordingly, real economic meanings which are held in tension in the *persona* models of ethical thought that follow.

The chapters which follow will introduce the reader to *personae*, not particular historical ‘individuals’ per se, but rather, to a social rôle a particular historical man or woman may have filled. No rôle need be exclusive: Alcuin played the rôle of monk, ecclesiastical official, teacher and penitent through the course of his life. In fact, the rôles of penitent and neighbor are the most widely assumed: they reflect a man or woman’s membership in the Body of Christ, an institution reified in early medieval religious practice in the Eucharist. Regrettably, the chapters which follow only begin to explore the particularities of the ethical concept, i.e. the vice, of greed in each rôle, with each rôle signifying ‘political’ membership in a particular group, be it as small as the family or as large as the Church universal. Only lay rôles have been treated in this current piece, as a comprehensive social survey is out of our scope, but each chapter shall introduce the ethical *mores* associated with the “count” and the “prince.” In the dialectic between greed as love of money and greed as unbridled desire, between sufficiency and charity, between

¹³⁰ Leyser, “The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature by Richard Newhauser.” Newhauser’s account attributes this to the tempering force of wealthy laity on a radical ascetic movement.

¹³¹ See Abigail Firey, “Blushing Before Judge and Physician: Moral Arbitration in the Carolingian Empire,” in *A New History of Penance*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, v. 14 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 173–200.

frugality and stinginess, present across Carolingian writing, there were also clear economic and political expectations articulated for these noble laymen.

CHAPTER III.1: THE GREEDY COUNT AND *NOBLESSE OBLIGE* BEFORE 800

The year was 799, and on two opposite sides of the Carolingian empire, a pair of long-time friends wrote to their local counts with moral advice. Alcuin of York (c.730-804) and Paulinus of Aquileia (750-802) had spent ten years together at the court of Charlemagne, traveling in the itinerant palace school, and they corresponded for years after its dissolution. They died within two years of each other. During their tenure as scholarly colleagues, they worked with the brightest theological and philosophical minds of the early medieval west. In 796, Alcuin was the abbot of St. Martin's Abbey at Tours, situated near the western seaboard on the Loire, and Paulinus was Patriarch of Aquileia in the northern Italian region between Venice and the Alps. Situated in two highly divergent regions economically, the advice letters Alcuin and Paulinus composed—the *Liber de virtutibus* and the *Liber exhortationis*—to the counts of Nantes and Friuli respectively, differ in their nuanced appropriations of Patristic discourse on the vice of greed.¹³²

At this point, two other writers, Dhuoda of Uzès (d. 844) and Jonas, Bishop of Orléans (c.780-843) were young: Jonas was perhaps 20, and it is likely that Dhuoda had not yet been born, given her marriage to Bernard of Septimania in 824.¹³³ Their two later epistles, *De institutione laicali* of Jonas of Orléans and the *Liber Manualis* of Dhuoda were sent to count Mathfrid of Orleáns *ante* 828 from the same Loire region, and to Dhuoda's son William in 853 from another edge of the empire, Uzès on the southern

¹³² Paul E. Szarmach, "The Latin Tradition of Alcuin's *Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis*," *Mediaevalia* 12 (1986): 13–41; Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber Exhortationes Ad Henricum*, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 99:197-282 (Paris, 1851).

¹³³ Our sources fail us as far as evidence of an average marriage age, but Valerie Garver has observed that marriage was a possibility as soon a woman became fertile, i.e. in her early teenage years. This means Dhuoda may have been born as late as 812. Valerie L. Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 279.

coast of Gaul.¹³⁴ These epistles contribute their own distinct nuances to our understanding of the ethical expectations placed on a count's relationship to glittering things and to the people with whom he might exchange them, expectations which differed slightly between place and time, and shall be treated below.

All four of these letters have been classed as *Läienspiegel*, or 'lay mirrors'. This category has been defined as those ethical texts which might apply to any lay person, by contrast to *specula principum*, or *Fürstenspiegel*, which detail the public political duties of a prince or nobleman.¹³⁵ Classification in the 'lay mirror' genre means that a text has been relegated to the category of 'individual' spirituality, and is usually not examined for political or economic meaning.¹³⁶ Perhaps a false dichotomization of 'spiritual advice' and 'political advice' has occluded more than it has illuminated, relegating ethical advice to some sort of private sphere. As we interrogate the lines between political and spiritual advice, however, we can search for the economic meanings present in the language of the vices and virtues. In these texts, economic thought seems to be present in the discursive space between political and spiritual advice in the form of warnings to a nobleman against becoming 'a greedy person'. This chapter reframes the admonitions against the

¹³⁴ Jonas of Orléans, *De Institutione Laicali*, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 106:121-278 (Paris, 1851); Dhuoda, *Manuel pour mon fils*, ed. Pierre Riché, trans. Bernard De Vregille and Claude Mondesert, S.J., *Sources chrétiennes* 225 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1975); Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis: Handbook for Her Warrior Son*, trans. Marcelle Thiébaux, *Cambridge Medieval Classics* 8 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹³⁵ Franz Sedlmeier's work constitutes a notable survey of Carolingian lay mirrors (*Läienspiegel*), a genre of writing which frequently, but not always, included letters to counts. Franz Sedlmeier, *Die laienparänetischen Schriften der Karolingerzeit: Untersuchungen zu ausgewählten Texten des Paulinus von Aquileia, Alkuins, Jonas' von Orleans, Dhuodas und Hinkmars von Reims*, Deutsche Hochschulédition, 86 (Neuried: Ars Una, 2000).

¹³⁶ Both Garver and Innes have noted that Dhuoda's letter should be read as politicized, or at least not merely 'private' advice. See Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture*, 153; Matthew Innes, "Practices of Property in the Carolingian Empire," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2008). See below, Ch IV.

vice of ‘greed’ in terms of specific economic applications, asking what types of goods were being exchanged, how each text fit into the inherited discursive space about greed—with its tensions between the material and the spiritual, between money and goods, between frugality and miserliness, and between the generalized psychologically distorted love *cupiditas* and the specific love for money—and, thereafter, what ethical expectations about exchange were being conveyed through this language for the person in the rôle of ‘count.’¹³⁷

I. THE EASTERN PERIPHERY

Beginning in the northeastern part of Italy at the culmination of the eighth century, we meet Paulinus of Aquileia (750-802) who composed the *Liber exhortationis*. Paulinus had grown up in the Friuli region under Lombard rule, and had, after a thorough education at Cividale and subsequent tenure there as master, joined Charlemagne’s itinerant *schola palatina* as the royal master of Grammar. It was during this time that he became friends with other leading scholars, including Alcuin of York. He returned to his native region in 787 as Patriarch of Aquileia. He helped Charlemagne to Christianize Carinthia, but rejected authoritarian methods in evangelizing the Avars.¹³⁸ Additionally, he may have accompanied Pepin of Italy on the campaigns against the Avars in 796.¹³⁹ Count Erich of Friuli, one of Charlemagne’s best generals, reigned a scarce forty miles to the north of

¹³⁷ Following a theory of social rôles, the particular person to whom each letter was addressed assumes a place of secondary importance to the rôle each played as count: my theory is that each letter describes the nuances of the vice of greed specifically relative to the rôle the recipient played in the political order.

¹³⁸ Pierre Riché, “Paulinus of Aquileia (730),” ed. André Vauchez, *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Clarke, 2000).

¹³⁹ James Bruce Ross, “Two Neglected Paladins of Charlemagne: Erich of Friuli and Gerold of Bavaria,” *Speculum* 20, no. 2 (1945): 234. Ross has called into question this assumption. The Frankish Annals note that one bishop, one duke, and counts went on the campaign with Pepin of Italy.

Aquileia at the base of the Alps.¹⁴⁰ Whether the friendship between the Patriarch and the Count began during the Avar campaign or existed earlier, their relationship was close enough at Erich's death that Paulinus wrote a moving poem in Erich's honor.¹⁴¹ The *Liber exhortationis* was likely written between A.D. 796 and 799, that is, after the campaign against the Avars on which at least Erich went (795-6), and before Erich's death in battle in 799.¹⁴² The letter's treatment of greed is encapsulated most directly in §30-31, the first section being a general warning against *cupiditas*, and the second about the giving of alms as the corrective to greed.

As moral texts go, the *Liber exhortationis* is neither highly innovative nor immediately compelling, certainly not compared the poem.¹⁴³ Indeed, it is highly derivative: Newhauser and Sedlmeier have both observed the substantial overlap between the *Liber exhortationis* and the *Admonitio ad filium spiritualement* by Pseudo-Basil.¹⁴⁴ In 2003, de Vogüé argued compellingly that it was an original Latin work composed circa 500 by the Abbot Porcarius of Lérins.¹⁴⁵ Subtle changes in Paulinus' word choice and redaction of certain passages reveal evidence of the tailoring of an older formulation of greed for new application, taking the elements of an earlier concept and making them

¹⁴⁰ Ross, "Two Neglected Paladins of Charlemagne: Erich of Friuli and Gerold of Bavaria," 212.

¹⁴¹ Paulinus of Aquileia, "Versus Paulini de Henrico Duce," in *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Poetae, I (Berlin: Weidman, 1881), 131–33.

¹⁴² Sedlmeier, *Die laienparänetischen Schriften der Karolingerzeit*, 30.

¹⁴³ Ross, "Two Neglected Paladins of Charlemagne: Erich of Friuli and Gerold of Bavaria," 233.

¹⁴⁴ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 118; Sedlmeier, *Die laienparänetischen Schriften der Karolingerzeit*, 50. Their studies in 2000 each attributed the *Admonitio* to 'Ps.-Basil' based on a the tradition was a Latin translation of Basil's work by Rufinus.

¹⁴⁵ Adalbert de Vogüé, "Entre Basile et Benoît: l'admonitio ad filium spiritualement du Pseudo-Basile," *Regulae Benedicti Studia* 10/11:19–34 (82 1981).

applicable to the social, political, and economic conditions of that specific historical moment some three hundred years later.¹⁴⁶

In terms of formal structure, a formal octad or heptad of sins is decidedly absent, placing the *Liber exhortationis*' presentation of greed outside of the strictly schematic one that was beginning to proliferate with the transmission into Francia of Cassian and Gregory. *Superbia, vanagloria, luxuria, and ira or zelus* make repeated appearance alongside *avaritia* or *cupiditas*, accounting, however, for only five of the schematically-grouped vices. Paulinus' §30, *ut cupiditatis mala caveat*, "that he should beware of the evils of cupidity" begins with the characterization of the *cupidus*:

The *cupidus* [man], therefore, has a soul that is for sale; if a time should come that he desires anyone's gold or silver, or beautiful clothing, or even anyone's wife, beautiful in face, he would commit homicide for nothing. And as one might pour out water into the earth is it to him to pour of the blood of his neighbor.¹⁴⁷

Revealingly, this initial definition of the *cupidus* diverges from that in the *Admonitio*: in Paulinus' source, it is the man desirous of money, *pecuniarum cupidus*, but Paulinus transforms this into a *character*, the *cupidus*. Indeed, in Paulinus' chapter, money is not mentioned except with reference to specific Biblical narratives. Instead we see the glittering of gold, silver, fine clothes, and strikingly, the faces of beautiful women. Paulinus assimilated both objects and persons into a single category of things capable of being coveted, not restricting his definition to money.

¹⁴⁶ There was an OE derivation of Porcarius' text translated under King Alfred's direction; this would be an interesting comparison in future work.

¹⁴⁷ Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber Exhortationis Ad Henricum*, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 99:197-282 (Paris, 1851), §30; 226A-227A. "Cupidus enim vir animam suam venalem habet: si invenerit tempus ut concupiscat alicujus aurum aut argentum, seu vestes pulchras, vel etiam cujuslibet mulierem pulchram facie, pro nihilo perpetrabit homicidium. Et ut quis effundit aquam in terram, ita est ei effundere sanguinem proximi sui." Cf. Porcarius of Lérins, *De Admonitio Ad Filium Spiritualem*, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 103:683D-700A (Paris, 1851), §35. "Pecuniarum cupidus jam animam suam venalem habet: si enim invenerit tempus, pro nihilo perpetrabit homicidium; et sicut qui effundit aquam super terram, ita est ei effundere sanguinem proximi sui."

Then the *Liber* transitions to a series of demonstrative *exempla*. The Biblical types recorded in the *Liber exhortationis*, following Porcarius conceptually, if not verbatim, transmit layers of analogy and interpretation to the dire opening statement about greed's drive to homicide:

Many souls fall into the danger of death because of *cupidity*, and many have been stoned because of this, with God enacting it.¹⁴⁸ For Saul was alienated from God because of his greed: and was sold to the edges from the regal height, expelled by his enemies.¹⁴⁹ And I could say much about many others, but a few things will suffice for a wise man. Indeed, our Lord and Savior wanted to remove the love of money from the hearts of the Pharisees, but because they were *cupidissimi*, they derided the salubrious words of the Lord.¹⁵⁰ And furthermore, the love of money did not allow that rich man, whom the Lord invited to the kingdom of heaven, to enter.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ See Joshua 7:25: Here Paulinus alludes the image of King Achan, who transgressed the anathema the Lord had placed on the theft of goods from the city of Jericho in its capture in Joshua VI.17-19. After the Israelites were brutally defeated in the subsequent campaign against Hai, Joshua elicited the confession of King Achan who had coveted a scarlet garment, silver, gold, and livestock from the spoils of Jericho: “vidi enim inter spolia pallium coccineum valde bonum et ducentos siclos argenti regulamque auream quinquaginta siclorum et concupiscens abstuli et abscondi in terra contra medium tabernaculi mei argentumque fossa humo operui” (Josh. 7:21). He was subsequently stoned with his kin (as the *Admonitio* emphasizes more explicitly), and all of his illicit spoils burned. Jonas of Orléans would subsequently pick up this image in *De institutione regia*, 10. Newhauser avers that this is image present in Chrysostom, and may have been inherited through Ambrose. See Richard Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, App. I.

¹⁴⁹ See 1 Samuel 15 (Migne's attribution of this ref. to 1 Reg. 15 is incorrect); Saul, like Achan, was in the position of conquest and instead of destroying the *praedium*, as directed by God, spared *universis quae pulchra erant*, all that was beautiful including the flocks, the herds, the garments; he spared the King of the Amalekites himself. The choicest of the animals, further, were offered as sacrifices to God. As punishment, God rejected Saul as king, to Samuel's deep sorrow, and the reign over the kingdom of Israel was taken from Saul and given to David. The contest between David and Saul spans 1 Sam. 16-31 with Saul being severely wounded in battle by the philistines, and eventually falling upon his own sword (1 Sam 31:4).

¹⁵⁰ Matt. 15

¹⁵¹ See Matt. 19: 2; Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber Exhortationis Ad Henricum*, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina, 99:197-282 (Paris, 1851), §30; 226A-227A. “Plurimae animae in mortis periculum inciderunt propter cupiditatem, et multi Domino jubente ob hoc lapidati sunt. Saul enim alienus a Deo propter avaritiam factus est: et ad extremum de culmine regali expulsus ab inimicis suis peremptus est. Et de multis multa dicere potuissem, sed sapienti[e] pauca sufficiunt. Dominus vero noster et Salvator voluit de cordibus Pharisaeorum pecuniarum amorem excludere: sed quia erant cupidissimi, salutaria Domini verba deridebant. Nam et illum divitem, quem Dominus ad regna coelorum provocavit, amor pecuniarum eum intrare non permisit.” Cf. Porcarius of Lérins, *De Admonitio Ad Filium Spiritualem*, §35; PL 103: 691B-C. “Plerique per avaritiae ardorem in mortis periculum inciderunt. Propter avaritiam Achan cum suis omnibus lapidatus est. Propter avaritiam Saul alienus a Domino effectus est, et ad extremum de culmine regali expulsus est, et ab inimicis suis peremptus. [Et Achab propter avaritiam invasit vineam Naboth; et hujus rei gratia in praelio vulneratus defunctus est.] Dominus noster et Salvator a corde pharisaeorum volebat pecuniarum amorem excludere: sed quia illi erant cupidissimi, salutaria ejus monita deridebant. Nam et illum divitem cum Dominus vocans ad regna coelorum facultates suas vendere praecepisset, aviditas intrare non permisit.” Of only ancillary note is that Paulinus emphasized again the wider category

The typological images of the kings Achan and Saul as *cupidi* are strikingly applicable to the person in the rôle of general and king: put in positions of conquest, these Biblical types failed to adhere to the limits of their *auctoritas*, taking *praeda* or *spolia* from the conquered persons for their own benefit. That Naboth, who appeared in the *Admonitio*, was omitted by Paulinus suggests a certain cohesiveness in theme in the Old Testament *exempla*: after all, Naboth only coveted a vineyard.¹⁵² Moreover, Paulinus, diverging from his source, further emphasized that God himself directed the stoning of the unjust Achan and his kinsmen: the inclusion of the ‘*Domino jubente*’ is unique to Paulinus’ text, although in the absence of critical editions, this cannot be definitely stated.

The vice with which the *Liber* is concerned in these sections seems to be a wide category, like the classical *pleonexia*, but also including covetousness of another’s goods, miserliness, the expropriation of goods that were perceived as God’s, and even perhaps political tyranny. It was unrestricted to the specific love of money, *philargyria*; what glittered was not just gold. By locating these types within the ethical category of *cupiditas*, Paulinus articulated limits of possession and exchange: the money, goods, livestock and perhaps even women of conquered peoples could not justly be considered the possession of the conqueror. Political authority did not negate the duty of the count to perform his rôle justly in matters of exchange—in fact, as in the case of Achan, it may have placed him in a position of harsher judgement if he failed.¹⁵³

of things to which greed could apply with the use of an unmodified *cupiditas* in place of the *avaritia* in the *Admonitio*.

¹⁵² I Chron 21

¹⁵³ Bernard S. Bachrach, “Charlemagne and the Carolingian General Staff,” *The Journal of Military History* 66, no. 2 (2002): 313–357.

Liber §31, “Let him make alms from his own [possessions]” takes on keen resonances in this literary context. The next section in the *Liber* enjoins the count in forceful language to use his seigneurial authority to prevent pillaging and unjust gain:

Therefore, my brother, instruct all those who are in your household to beware of this vice. It is better, therefore, that a man give a little to the indigent from his own poverty, than that he give much from unjust acquisition. Let each one extend on par with what he has. As much, therefore, as is sought from one of them, that much does God give to him. And he does not demand more from him, than that which he himself gave. A gift acquired through iniquity, is abominable in the presence of God, and that which was acquired faithfully is acceptable to him. But there are some who, pillaging their neighbors pretend to give alms: and when they press others, they pretend to make themselves miserable to others. If they should have given from their own labor, it would be pleasing and acceptable to God.¹⁵⁴

The appropriation of Porcarius’ text is subtle and complex in this section. In the first place, Paulinus extends the directive to Erich’s entire household, whereas Porcarius’ ethical treatise had been speaking very particularly to his reader: the count’s rôle was not only to avoid greed, but to promote this ethic among those under his authority. Next, Porcarius’ treatise included the directive to “assume voluntary poverty.” Paulinus glossed over this, directing Erich instead to extend to the poor in proportion to what he has. Very

¹⁵⁴ Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber Exhortationis Ad Henricum*, §31; PL 99:227A-227B. “*Eleemosynam de suo faciat*. Ideo, frater mi, omnibus qui in domo tua sunt praecipe ab hoc vitio cavere. Melius est enim, ut ex paupertate sua pusillum quis tribuat indigentibus, quam multum ex injusta acquisitione. Unusquisque juxta quod habet porrigat. Tantum enim expetitur ab unoquoque eorum, quantum ei Deus dedit. Nec enim ab eo plus exigit, quam quod ipse dedit. Eleemosyna cum iniquitate acquisita, abominabilis est coram Deo, et acceptum est ei quod fuerit fideliter acquisitum. Sunt enim nonnulli, qui diripientes aliena facere se simulant eleemosynam: et cum alios premant, aliis se misereri fingunt. Si autem ex proprio labore dederint, gratum et acceptum erit Deo. Cf. Porcarius, *Admonitio*, §36, 103:683D-700A: “Alienum te facito, fili, ab hoc vitio, et voluntariam paupertatem libenter assume. Noli esse desidiosus et piger; sed labora manibus tuis, ut habeas unde tribuas indigenti. Secundum possibilitatem tuam mediocriter porrige: tantum enim expetitur a te quantum tibi fuerit creditum. Nemo enim exigit a te quod ipse minime possides. Eleemosyna cum iniquitate acquisita abominatio est coram Christo, sed acceptum est illi quod fuerit fideliter acquisitum. Fili, non habet hanc artem misericordiae bonum. Sunt enim nonnulli qui, diripientes aliena, praestare se eleemosynam simulant; et cum alios premant, aliis misereri se fingunt: sed Deus non delectatur in operibus eorum, et simulationem cordis eorum exsecratur ac respuit. Tu autem, fili, licet exiguum de tuis laboribus porrigas, hoc gratum est et acceptum coram Domino. Non te velis jactare cum porrigis eleemosynam indigenti; et illo cui feneras ne te arbitreris esse meliorem; sed in omnibus operibus tuis humilia te coram Domino, quia non erit gratum Deo quidquid efficitur cum superbia; quod autem fit humiliter, acceptum est ei.”

clearly, in the dialectic of greed, Paulinus deliberately did not take the position that greed needed to be avoided by the renunciation of goods and the assumption of poverty.

Additionally, Paulinus rephrased Porcarius' statement to extend the circle of exchange from the human giver and recipient to include a third party, God:

Porcarius: "As much as is sought from you, that much will have been credited to you. For no one exacts from you what you do not possess."

Paulinus: "As much, therefore, as is sought from one of them, that much does God give to him. And he does not demand more from him, than that which he himself gave."

This hints at a wider system of exchange, in which the nobleman's possessions are gifts themselves that are given with the expectation that they be distributed. Finally, Paulinus retained Porcarius' warning about those who pillage their neighbors and pretend to give alms. The typological dimension is clearest here: in the Biblical narrative of Saul, Saul took the choicest of the animals which he had failed to destroy in the campaign against the Amalekites and had them offered to God as sacrifices, burnt offerings, much to the anger and sorrow of the prophet Samuel.¹⁵⁵

What ethical expectations, then, was Paulinus placing on his friend Erich's shoulders as a count and frontier general? Certainly not the renunciation of goods: the rôle of the count was of a nobleman, even if not an extremely wealthy one ("let him give to the needy from his own poverty"). Erich's political position as general would certainly have precluded monastic renunciation. An ethic of generosity in giving contingent on divine provision emerges, as does a strong ethic of just acquisition. The images of Saul and Achan are the model: they were Israel's generals who took what they had no license to take, and purported to offer it to God. As the gifts were obtained unjustly, however,

¹⁵⁵ See I Sam. 15.

they were punished. It was the onus of the count to ensure that gifts were offered from one's own labor, and not from 'pillaging'. It seems possible, even probable, that we hear whispers against brutal pillaging and expropriation by the powerful. Perhaps Paulinus witnessed exchanges of goods by the compulsion of conquest, and it was this against which he wished to warn Erich. With these questions in mind, we approach the political and economic context of the frontier regions of the empire.

The campaign of Pepin of Italy against the Avars (795-96), in which Erich was *the* preeminent paladin, did result in the siege of the Ring and the capture of the Avar treasure, much of which was sent to Charlemagne.¹⁵⁶ The spoils of this conquest were remarkable enough to merit mention in the *Royal Annals*, as well as in the writings of Einhard and Theodulf: they may have included gold, largely in the form of *solidi* payed by the Byzantine Empire to the Avars, silver, and precious silk, enough to fill fifteen wagons.¹⁵⁷ Much of the treasure, moreover, was sent to Rome, and much was distributed among Charlemagne's 'optimates.' Additionally, some part of the treasure, including a sword, was sent to King Offa of Mercia, and perhaps even to King Aethilred of Northumbria.¹⁵⁸ There has even been some question about the influence on the Avar treasure about the rise in prices in the empire around the same time.¹⁵⁹ Here was a very contemporary example of conquest and its economic elements: surely it would have been in the forefront of the minds of Erich and Paulinus as they read about greedy Achan and Saul. What about that conquest and pillage made it just and worthy to be turned into

¹⁵⁶ Ross, "Two Neglected Paladins of Charlemagne: Erich of Friuli and Gerold of Bavaria," 221.

¹⁵⁷ Ross, 221–22. Ross cites Simeon (of Durham), *Symeonis Monachi Historia Regum*, ed. T Arnold, vol. II, Rolls Series 75 (London: Longman, 1885), 75,57. See also R Pauli, ed. *Ex Vetustis Annalibus Nordumbranis, Historiae Regum Agborum et Dacorum Insertim*, MGH Scriptorum 13, 155.

¹⁵⁸ Ross, "Two Neglected Paladins of Charlemagne: Erich of Friuli and Gerold of Bavaria," 223–24.

¹⁵⁹ Ross, 224. Dopsch argued that even though the influence of the influx of gold into the empire could not be proven, neither could it be disproven.

alms? Matthias Hardt has argued, following the account Einhard gives us, that there was justification based on the greed of the Avars that accumulated such wealth.¹⁶⁰ The ‘greed’ of the ‘barbarian’ justified the raid of the Avar Ring. But one wonders whether Einhard’s excuse for pillage may have been an application of penitential discourse to hide a problematic tension of the sort that Paulinus may have identified: the idea that there was some Biblical precedent for pillaging being illicit.

Matthew Innes has brought to light an interesting case for our purposes, a case that may provide further context for the unjust acquisition of wealth. The complaints leveled by 172 *capitanei* of Rižana elicited an imperial missive from Charlemagne in 804. The region of Istria, a mere hop across the Gulf of Trieste from Aquileia, had been occupied by Charlemagne’s forces since 788, but within fifteen years, it emerged that appointed *dux*, John, was governing unjustly. The city had previously been under Byzantine governance, with a required annual tax of *solidi*. The complaints against John included the seizure of public lands, the expropriation of public forests and meadows for ‘imperial’ use, a tripling of taxation of livestock, unprecedented demands for labor on the duke’s lands, and the drafting of men both for commerce with Venice and Ravenna, and for his campaigns. Additionally, John was claiming that the gifts sent by the Istrians to the royal court were offerings from his own possession, and used them to further his own

¹⁶⁰ Matthias Hardt, “The Nomad’s Greed for Gold: From the Fall of the Burgundians to the Avar Treasure,” in *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Corradini and Max Diesenberger and Helmut Reinitz (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 100–102. See Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, MGH SS Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum 25 (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1911), 16; Trans. Einhard and Notker, *Two lives of Charlemagne*, ed., David Ganz (London; New York: Penguin, 2008), “All their wealth and treasure assembled over so many years were dispersed. The memory of man cannot recall any war against the Franks by which they were so enriched and their material possessions so increased. These Franks, who until then had seemed almost paupers, now discovered so much gold and silver in the palace and captured so much precious booty in their battles, that it could right be maintained that they had in all justice taken from the hunts what these last had unjustly stolen from other nations.”

courtly ambitions.¹⁶¹ A reply from the Emperor in 804 suggests that these grievous abuses of seigneurial power were occurring at an historical moment roughly contemporary to the composition of Paulinus' epistle. More compelling is the fact that Paulinus of Aquileia did have frequent dealings with the Patriarch of Grado, whose seat was at Rižana, and according to the complaints, was *dux* John's ally.¹⁶² While the circumstances at Rižana may not have been identical to the narratives referenced in Paulinus' letter, they provide helpful synchronic and regional context: princes on the frontier could and did abuse their powers for their own economic gain. The words in the *Liber exhortationis* ring more forcefully in this context: "a gift acquired through iniquity is abominable in the presence of God, and that which was acquired faithfully is acceptable to him."¹⁶³

A further resonance can be detected within the epistle, if only very quietly, which emerges from consideration of its author's geographic proximity to the Amber Trail. Fossilized resin from the Baltic shore had travelled to the workshops of the Adriatic from prehistoric times on this route, but trade lapsed following the fall of the Roman Empire and occupation of the region by the Avars.¹⁶⁴ A major route of trade and commerce between the Caliphate, Byzantium, and the far Northern reaches of Europe, the Amber Trail explains how coins from Baghdad ended up hoards in northern Europe.¹⁶⁵ Its

¹⁶¹ Matthew Innes, "Framing the Carolingian Economy," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9, no. 1 (2009): 42–43. See C. Manaresi, ed., *I Placiti Del 'Regnum Italiae,'* 3 vols. (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1955) for documentation of the complaint.

¹⁶² Cossio, "St. Paulinus II, Patriarch of Aquileia.,"; Matthew Innes, "Framing the Carolingian Economy," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 9, no. 1 (2009): 42.

¹⁶³ Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber Exhortationis Ad Henricum*, §31; PL 99:227A. "Eleemosyna cum iniquitate acquisita, abominabilis est coram Deo, et acceptum est ei quod fuerit fideliter acquisitum." Cf. Porcarius, *Admonitio*, §36, 103:683D: "Eleemosyna cum iniquitate acquisita abominatio est coram Christo, sed acceptum est illi quod fuerit fideliter acquisitum."

¹⁶⁴ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 370.

¹⁶⁵ McCormick, 369–78.

southernmost posts reached Aquileia and the port of Venice. Count Erich of Friuli, to whom the letter was addressed, reigned a scarce forty miles to the north of Aquileia at the base of the Alps: while not on the Amber Trail precisely, together he and Paulinus triangulated Venice, which at the time of the letter, was rapidly growing in power as a trading city whose prosperity emerged largely from the enslavement of Europeans.¹⁶⁶

McCormick's compelling narrative is of the dramatic rise of the Venetian slave trade across the Adriatic in the ninth century, as reflected in the volume of legislation pertaining to the sale of enslaved Christians, Saxons and Slavs, usually into Arab lands. Over the course of the ninth century, Carolingian kings would negotiate with Venice to attempt to prevent at least the sale of Christians from Frankish lands, but it is clear that these agreements were mere lip-service in large part.¹⁶⁷ The first extant legislation that explicitly prohibited the sale of Christians into the regions controlled by the Caliphate was established in 840, but it is likely that this was based on earlier agreements.¹⁶⁸

McCormick has further argued that Paulinus, as the Patriarch of Aquileia whose diocesan jurisdiction extended into Slavic lands and stood adjacent to the Amber Trail, knew of slavery. In his *Contra Felicem libri tres*, Paulinus employed the word *captivi* in lieu of the *servi* used in the scriptures.¹⁶⁹ Traditional scholarship holds that *servi* had by the eighth century lost its classical denotation of slavery and was more frequently used in reference to the bonds of service freely given to God or a lord.¹⁷⁰ Further, in the

¹⁶⁶ McCormick, 766.

¹⁶⁷ McCormick, 765.

¹⁶⁸ McCormick, 766. This 840 treaty, which “depends to some uncertain degree on earlier pacts... makes perfectly clear that Venice was a major center for the slave trade, and that Lothar I wanted to insure that his subjects did not wind up on the block there, en route to the Caliphate.”

¹⁶⁹ McCormick, 736. Paulinus of Aquileia, *Contra Felicem libri tres*, I, 25. CCCM 95.30.7-31.11. Cf. Romans 6:16-22.

¹⁷⁰ McCormick, 735. *Captivus* and *mancipia* were the *termini technici* for slaves linked to specific estates or slaves that were mobile merchandise.

concluding prayer of *Liber Exhortationibus*, there are a number of references to slavery: “Sustain me, immigrant and pilgrim because of you,¹⁷¹ who redeemed me, to seek out the incarcerated...to redeem the captive.”¹⁷² It is thus likely that Paulinus knew intimately of the slave trade as a commercial system, and possible that he regarded it as problematic. Additionally, Verhulst identified substantial differences in the work corvees required of tenants on the manorial systems of various regions in the Carolingian empire. In the west, i.e. in the heartlands of Frankish domains, work requirements were substantially higher than in the East, especially Northern Italy, where the manorial system relied on slave labor for production.¹⁷³

The *Liber*'s treatment of greed does not specifically link the *avarus* to the person who holds or sells slaves, but a slave-based system of production perhaps contextualizes the admonitions against pillaging one's neighbors, which could have involved the sale of persons into the Byzantine and Arab empires by powerful nobles. Knowing this, we might also conclude that the depiction of the *cupidus* as he whose “soul was for sale,” might have carried different resonances than it did when Porcarius of Lérins first wrote it.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Leviticus 15:34-36

¹⁷² Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber Exhortationis Ad Henricum*, §66, 281B. “Advenam et peregrinum propter te, qui redemisti me, retinere, esurientem reficere, sitientem potare, hospitem colligere, nudum operire, visitare languidum, requirere carceratum, consolari tristem, afflicto et lugenti compati, non habenti praeberere necessaria, victum et vestitum dividere cum egeno, amplecti indigenam, fovere domesticum, amare peregrinum, redimere captivum, suscipere advenam, tueri pupillum et orphanum, suffragari viduae, subvenire oppresso, praestare auxilium desolato, dirumpere colligationes impietatis ...” Cf. Isaiah 58:6. McCormick's claim that Paulinus was directly referencing slavery might be undercut by the trope in scripture, especially Isaiah 58.

¹⁷³ Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, 47. According to Verhulst, whereas the Eastern periphery of the Frankish Empire was structured largely around the bipartite manorial system, the West had developed a significantly different system of production. The difference between the work corvees imposed on local tenants was also very significant in the two regions: in the Loire region, along with the Frankish heartlands, the corvees expected of manorial tenants were significantly higher than in northern Italy. This was principally due to the availability of slave labor in the region proximate to the Adriatic. By contrast, Brittany did not rely on a large slave labor population, and so the burden of production fell to the un-free but not strictly enslaved tenants of the manor.

In a similar way, the reference to Judas ‘trading’ Jesus into the hands of his enemies, a narrative rich with soteriological and eschatological significance inasmuch as it was involved in the Passion narrative, might have had smaller, ancillary resonances as it was presented within the context of the sin of greed at this particular moment: “And the breast of Judas blazed up with the fire of greed such that he traded the Lord, the liberal giver of all good things, into the hands of the impious.”¹⁷⁴ On one level, the narrative had profound eschatological import, but early medieval exegesis, especially following Gregory the Great, did not shy from extracting from the rich scriptural narratives moral meanings and applying them to their own times or to history. At this moment, when the Franks were in conflict with Venice about the sale of Christians into the Caliphate, might Paulinus the writer and Erich his reader have been thinking about the potential moral and political implications of a story that was so rich with meaning of all sorts? In Paulinus of Aquileia’s admonitions to Erich of Friuli about greed, we may discern the traces of a dark side of human greed, the sale of persons. Indeed, it was Paulinus of Aquileia who was among the first Carolingian authors to employ the image of hell to describe the greedy man in his scathing conclusion of §30:

The greedy man, therefore, is like unto hell. For however much hell should consume, never, it says, would it be enough. Just so, even if all treasures should be brought to the greedy man, he would never be satisfied.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ See Matt. 26:15; Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber Exhortationis Ad Henricum*, §66, PL 99: 281B. “Sed et Judae pectus avaritiae flamma exarsit, ut Dominum cunctorum bonorum largitorem, in manus traderet impiorum.” Cf. Porcarius of Lérins, *De Admonitio Ad Filium Spiritualem*, §36; PL 103:691C-D. “Et Judae pectus avaritiae ardore exarsit, ut Dominum largitorem sibi cunctorum bonorum in manus traderet impiorum.”

¹⁷⁵ Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber Exhortationis Ad Henricum*, §66, PL 99: 281B. “Avarus enim vir inferno est similis. Infernus enim quantoscunque devoraverit, nunquam dicit, satis est. Sic etsi omnes thesauri confluerint in avarum, nunquam satiabitur.” Cf. Porcarius of Lérins, *De Admonitio Ad Filium Spiritualem*, §36; PL 103:691C-D. “Avarus enim vir inferno similis est. Infernus igitur quantoscunque devoraverit, nunquam dicit satis est; sic etsi omnes thesauri terrae confluerint in avarum, non satiabitur.”

Though Alcuin, too, would apply it in a slightly different way, it was later appropriated by Theodulf of Orléans, it was less frequently associated with greed than other timages.¹⁷⁶

What theory, then, of *noblesse oblige* may we discern in the letter warning the count against greed? The descriptor of Christ employed gives some hint: ‘the liberal giver of all good things’ is juxtaposed against the greedy Judas.¹⁷⁷ As §31 makes clear, largesse, even of the smallest proportion, according to one’s means, is pleasing and acceptable to God. Gift of one’s own possessions, little though they might be, to indigent persons constituted a licit and just form of exchange. Articulating what might be regarded as an early analogue to Locke’s labor theory of possession, Paulinus avers that what is one’s ‘own’—and what therefore can be justly exchanged in the complex economy between ‘dives’ and ‘pauper’—is what emerges *ex proprio labore*, from a man’s own labor, in contrast to those who gain means by conquest.¹⁷⁸ Rather than a renunciation of goods as the corrective to greed, Paulinus advocated participation in the economic sphere, both by making with his own hands and his own labor, and by giving. The second chapter of the *Admonitio* describes various virtues that counteract vicious habits, and greed’s

¹⁷⁶ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, App.1. See Theodulf of Orléans, “De eo quod avarus adlomeratis,” in *Carmina*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, vol. 2, MGH Poetae, I (Berlin: Weidman, 1881); Theodulf of Orléans, “Capitulare,” in *Zweites Capitular (Theodulf II)*, ed. P. Brommer, MGH Capitula Episcoporum, I (Hannover, 1883), 174.

¹⁷⁷Cf. *Admonitio*, PL 103 which describes Christ as He who gave good things specifically to Judas.

¹⁷⁸ Nelson challenges the perceived dichotomy between *dives* and *pauper*, or *potentes* and *humiles*: “Cette société de ‘puissants et misérables,’ loin d’être irrevocablement divisée, apparaît désormais plus fluide, se dissolvant et se recomposant en une multitude de statuts intermédiaires que évoluent au gré des interactions personnelles ou collectives, dans une situation de ‘coexistence conflictuelle.’” See Janet L. Nelson, “Munera,” in *Les élites et la richesse au Haut Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean-Pierre Devereoy and Laurent Feller and Régine Le Jan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 384. This does in fact substantiate my larger argument, that the relations of exchange and largess between persons were situated within a series of complex social rôles, not merely a dichotomy between rich and poor. The rich prince, indeed, carries the obligation of largess differently than the monk, who though poor in possessions, was rich in learning, in prayers, and in temporal stability.

correlative virtue is not largesse, as Paulinus' letter would have us believe, but *poverty*, i.e. complete renunciation: "Virtue of the soul is to spurn greed and to take up voluntary poverty."¹⁷⁹ And conversely, the myriad other references to almsgiving and largess throughout the letter, which comprise a substantial portion of the letter's content as a whole, do not appear in the *Admonitio*.

To complicate it even further, Paulinus seems to advocate a scheme of exchange that has a third participant, God, whose gift preceded the gift of the count, and who received his due of sacrifice when the count gave alms. A complex system, indeed, but a theory of just exchange no less.¹⁸⁰ The theory is reiterated succinctly in the concluding prayer, in which Paulinus suggests that Erich pray for a "hand flowing freely to spend alms, by which the close-fisted avarice is rejected."¹⁸¹ The verb *erogare* used here has a delightfully ambiguous field of meaning: it can refer to paying or investing (as in the parable of the talents in Matth. 25:15 -27) as well as to public generosity and gifts to the poor.¹⁸² For Paulinus, the theory of just exchange formulated in the context of a growing slave trade and labor exploitation, was comprised of participating in exchange by investing in the poor what one has gained with one's own labor. What is more, we have

¹⁷⁹ *De Admonitio Ad Filium Spirituale*, §2, PL 103:683D. "Virtus animae est avaritiam spernere, et voluntariam assumere paupertatem."

¹⁸⁰ Isabelle Rosé's essay treats this idea in a slightly later context, beginning around A.D. 920 with a particularly monastic focus. She does, however, observe a similar phenomenon, namely, that that exchange need not be conceptualized only in material goods: She argues that early medieval thinkers reified heavenly treasures as valid objects of exchange. Isabelle Rosé, "Commutatio: le vocabulaire de l'échange chrétien au haut Moyen Âge," in *Les élites et la richesse au Haut Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean-Pierre Devereoy and Laurent Feller and Régine Le Jan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 113–38.

¹⁸¹ Paulinus of Aquileia, *Liber Exhortationis Ad Henricum* §56, PL 99:280A. "Da manus largifluas ad erogandum eleemosynas, quo tenax avaritia respuatur."

¹⁸² R. E. Latham and D.R. Howlett, "Erogare," *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1975). Erogare [CL] **1** to pay. **b** to invest. **2** to give, bestow as a gift. **b** (alms or sim., esp. to the poor **3** to grant **a** (land). **b** (letters patent). **4** to award **5 a** to administer (sacrament). **b** to spread (gospel). **6** to amplify (statute). **7** to entreat; The sense of this word would be rendered 'dealen' in ME.

some hint that Erich's ethics would have gained Paulinus' esteem, certainly by the end of his life. The poem Paulinus composed at Erich's death describes him thus:

Generous in the treasure halls of the churches,
Father of paupers, relief to the poor,
The great consolation of widows is this man:
How clement, how beloved among priests,
How powerful in arms, how fine in character.¹⁸³

It would seem that he did indeed uphold the ethical habits of generosity against greed that Paulinus advocated, even as a martial leader active in campaigns. A letter to another count general on the opposite end of the empire reveals similar ethical obligations, but applicable to slightly different economic realities.

II. THE WESTERN PERIPHERY

Alcuin of York's *Liber de virtutibus*—written to Count Wido, the former Margrave of the Marca Britanniae, around 799 or 800—was the principal means by which a formal hamartiological theory of greed, i.e. situated within a schema of the sin octad, entered Carolingian discourse. At this point in his life, Alcuin was filling the abbacy of St. Martin's at Tours, which he assumed in 796, and held until his death in 804. Count Wido, to whom the letter was addressed, had assumed authority over the county of Nantes in 799 after his position as prefect in the Breton March (and successor of the famous Roland) was no longer necessary: Brittany appeared to be subject to the Frankish crown.¹⁸⁴ The introductory letter which accompanied it explained the work's relevance to

¹⁸³ Paulinus of Aquileia, "Versus Paulini de Henrico Duce," 132. 5. "Aecclesiarum largus in donariis, / pauperum pater, miseris subsidium, / hic viduarum summa consolatio / erat: quam mitis, karus sacerdotibus, / potens in armis, subtilis ingenio."

¹⁸⁴ See Julia M.H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series (Cambridge University Press, 2006). See *Chanson de Roland*, for evidence of the memory of Roland and the Breton Marches as it persisted into the end of the eleventh century.

the count's 'occupation', which consisted in 'martial activities.'¹⁸⁵ Bachrach has surmised, following the work of Ross on Erich of Friuli, that Wido was among Charlemagne's senior military advisors.¹⁸⁶ In other words, this was a letter about the vices and virtues for a general and a nobleman whose rôle encompassed military and judicial activity. At the time of the letter, however, Wido was not actively engaged in campaigning, allowing him the leisure for ethical reflection. From the outset it was made clear that Alcuin's admonitions were directed toward the preparation of an heavenly habitation through munificence in almsgiving, just judgement, and zeal for mercy.¹⁸⁷

The treatise which follows retains the treatment of sequence of vices and the four cardinal virtues for its last topic, but provides a thorough and highly synthetic treatment. The sins depart from both Cassianic and Gregorian orders though they derive their content a combination of both: *Superbia* is the beginning of all sin (Ecclesus. X.15), and the queen of evils; following pride come *gula*, *luxuria*, *avaritia*, *ira*, *accidia*, *tristitia*, and *vanagloria* (SGLAAITV).¹⁸⁸ Avarice itself, though placed in its customary fourth position, takes on a striking definition and valence:

§37 Avarice is the excessive greed (*nimia cupiditas*) for acquiring, possessing, or retaining wealth, and is an insatiable plague. Just like the dropsical person who, the more he drinks, the more incessant his thirst grows, so it is with avarice: the

¹⁸⁵ Wallach, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices: A Manual for a Carolingian Soldier," 177. "The allegation that he wrote upon Wido's request cannot be taken seriously, since this is one of the many topics of rhetorical over- and understatement so abundantly drawn upon in his writings."

¹⁸⁶ Bernard S. Bachrach, "Charlemagne and the Carolingian General Staff," *The Journal of Military History* 66, no. 2 (2002): 325. James Bruce Ross, "Two Neglected Paladins of Charlemagne: Erich of Friuli and Gerold of Bavaria," *Speculum* 20, no. 2 (1945): 212–235.

¹⁸⁷ Alcuin of York, "Epistola No. 305," in *Epistolae*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epistolae 4 (Berlin: Weidman, 1985), 464–65. I have consulted Rachel Stone's translation for my own renderings: "Translation of Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber (Book about the Virtues and Vices)," ed. Larry Swain, *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe* 16 (2015).

¹⁸⁸ Alcuin of York, *Liber de Virtutibus* in "The Latin Tradition of Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, Cap. Xxvii–xxxv, with Special Reference to Vercelli Homily Xx," ed. Paul Szarmach, *Mediaevalia* 12 (1989): 29. "Initium omnis peccati superbia quae regina est omnium malorum."

more it has, the more it desires. And as long as it exhibits no boundary in possessing, it will not show itself otherwise in desiring...¹⁸⁹

Of minor note is that the tripartite distinction in avarice between ‘*acquirendi, habendi, vel tenendi*’ riches was appropriated directly from Cassian’s definition.¹⁹⁰ More complex and telling is the identification of the sin as ‘excessive desire’: it situates Alcuin within the dialectic between ‘sufficiency’, ‘moderation’ and utter ‘renunciation’.¹⁹¹ Prudentius’ *Psychomachia*, which emphasized sufficiency as the cure for greed, and Cassian’s *Institutes*, which gave the complete renunciation of money as the cure, would have set the precedent for *nimia* referring to particular goods.¹⁹² The *Admonitio* took a similar stance to that of Cassian, as has been discussed above. But Alcuin aligned *nimia* with *cupiditas*. If Alcuin were referring to a desire to have too many riches, there would be an underlying assumption about an absolute standard or ideal of wealth for persons or communities, be it strict sufficiency or another external and quantitative measure like the ‘coat’ of

¹⁸⁹ Alcuin of York, §37, Szarmach, 31. “Avaritia est nimia divitiarum acquirendi, habendi, vel tenendi cupiditas, quae pestis inexplabilis est. Sicut hydropicus, qui quanto plus bibit, tanto plus illi sitis accrescit: sic avaritia quanto magis habet, tanto plus [habere] desiderat. Et dum modus non est illi in habendo, modus illi non erit in desiderando.”

¹⁹⁰ Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, 119 observes that this distinction fit more awkwardly in a secular context than it did in a monastic context, leading Hrabanus, who used much of this in his own material, to reduce the types of desire to ‘acquiring’ and ‘possessing’. This move by Rhabanus may have, in my estimation, also been influenced by the distinction in terms held by Isidore.

¹⁹¹ While the passage does have certain ambiguity in translation, with *nimia* being able to be taken as the direct object of the series of gerundives, this seems unlikely given the cumbersome translation that would arise if it were plural accusative (“the desire of holding...too many things of riches”). Thus, reading *nimia* in agreement with *cupiditas* because gerundives do frequently take genitives, seems more likely. Cf. Alcuin, *Liber de Virtutibus* §28, Szarmach, 29-30. Stone’s translation renders §28 about *gula* into *greed* in English, but in the context of the vice schema, it should more properly be called gluttony: “Primum est corporale peccatum gula, id est, intemperans cibi vel potus voluptas... De qua, id est, gula nascitur inepta laetitia...” Interestingly, her translation, though problematic, does highlight a potential parallel between the corporal sins in Alcuin’s text: both avarice and gluttony are treated as intemperance or excess in some sort of desire. In *gula*, the desire is “voluptas” and in *avaritia* the desire is “cupiditas”. See Alcuin of York, “Translation of Alcuin’s De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber (Book about the Virtues and Vices),” ed. Larry Swain, trans. Rachel Stone, *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe* 16 (2015).

¹⁹² See Cassian, *Institutes* §9 and §24 for one example. It is noteworthy that in §21, Cassian does emphasize that greed cannot be conquered by lack of possessions alone; the desire for even a coin must also be thoroughly quashed. Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 33ff. for the Evagrian and Cassianic association of avarice with *possessionlessness* in a monastic context.

Prudentius. Alcuin's definition, however, associated greed with *desire*, *cupiditas*, as something independent of an ideal standard for the possession of goods. Moreover, it united elegantly the force of the Vulgate translation, *cupiditas*, with that of other Biblical translations which rendered the LXX *philargyria* of I Tim 6:10 *avaritia*.¹⁹³ Newhauser has understood this move as symptomatic of a progressive 'spiritualization' and 'secularization' of greed from its nascent monastic context for application to Carolingian elites, and this seems plausible.¹⁹⁴ Nonetheless, the images which follow the definition describe a complex associated ethical theory consistent with the psychology Alcuin espoused in the *Liber de animae ratione*, a treatise addressed to the sister of Adalhard of Corbie. This text, though only ancillary for our purposes because it did not address the vice schema quite as directly, articulated a neo-Platonic and Augustinian picture of the tripartite soul comprised of the desiring part, the irascible part, and the rational part, two of which were shared among animals and humans in common and were ideally governed by the *ratio*.¹⁹⁵

The image of the *hydropsicus* seems to have been transmitted originally from Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom though Gregory the Great to Alcuin, but Alcuin

¹⁹³ It is clear from another of Alcuin's *specula principum*, the Rhetoric addressed to Charlemagne, that Alcuin did maintain a finer linguistic distinction between *cupiditas* as a general sense of desire, and *avaritia* as a specific 'greed' for goods or money. In this sense, his position is like Augustine's. If like Augustine, his usage is unlike Isidore: *cupidity* does not refer exclusively to covetousness of goods or things, being more abstract. It also clear from the *Liber de animae ratione* that Alcuin knew of the Greek sense of *avaritia* as the specific love of money: certainly this informed his careful word choices in the *Liber de virtutibus*. It seems, additionally, that Alcuin knew he could have used *philargyria* in his letter to Wido, and yet, either because of the relative education of his audience, or because he did not want to employ the very strict meaning of 'love of money' conveyed by the Latinized technical term in his letter to Wido, he used 'avaritia.' See Alcuin of York, *Liber de Animae Ratione*, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina, 640A-640B.

¹⁹⁴ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 121.

¹⁹⁵ Alcuin of York, *Liber de Animae Ratione*, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina, 101:640 (Paris, 1851), 639D "*pars concupiscibilis, alia rationalis, tertia irascibilis*"; Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*; St. Augustine, *Confessiones*, X, *De Trinitate*.

seems to have been the first among his Anglo-Saxon or Carolingian contemporaries to employ the image.¹⁹⁶ The image is of an illness that gradually degenerates.

Acquisitiveness, analogously, increases as possessions increase, like a pestilence.¹⁹⁷

Medieval imagery also informs the diagnosis of other sins. Plague, though not dropsy in particular, appeared in conjunction with the vices, in the *Liber de animae*. The scheme of sins, likened to plagues, was divided according to these parts of the soul from which the plagues arose: *philargyria* belonged with *gastrimargia*, and *fornicatio* to the lowest part of the soul as a distortion of the natural authority of the reason over the basic desires.¹⁹⁸

Within this context, then, Alcuin's admonitions to Count Wido become clearer: neither was *avarice* simply a moral lapse or failure, nor was it a condition applied to anyone whose possessions exceeded the bare minimum of sufficiency; it was fundamental and perilous disease of the soul that would only increase if left unchecked. Two questions arise: what was the glittering object of desire that cast the soul of the prince into the peril of pestilence, and how are we to understand a strikingly psychological description of greed as still connected to social and economic contexts?

¹⁹⁶ Newhauser, App. I, 135; See Gregory the Great, *Moralia* 14.12.14 (CCL 143A:705-06); 'Dropsy' was a series of symptoms united by the way that the person retained water. In its lesser forms, it was the swelling of the legs, but in its more extreme forms, like *anasarca*, the entire body would swell dramatically, even while a person's thirst increased. The Arab physician Ibn-Sina was the first to identify the Galenic description of dropsy with a disease of the organs: he identified diseased kidneys as the cause. Today, the severe form of dropsy that Alcuin's description seems to describe would be attributable to severe untreated diabetes (in the kidneys, as Ibn-Sina first identified) or advanced liver disease.

¹⁹⁷ McCormick's piece on the recent developments in molecular biology that enable further study into waves of plague, especially the Bubonic, suggests that in the coming years, further evidence of the specific plagues which Alcuin and Wido may have seen in their lifetimes may emerge. Alternately, of other epidemiological concerns specific to particular regions. Dropsy seems to be synonymous with what we now know as 'edema', but there is a certain amount of ambiguity. See Michael McCormick, "Molecular Middle Ages: Early Medieval Economic History in the Twenty-First Century," in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2008).

¹⁹⁸ Alcuin of York, *Liber de Animae Ratione*, 640A-640B. The scheme of sin is here given in Cassianic terms with Latinized Greek; "*omnes pene pullulant pestes.*" Cf. Cassian's *Institutes* §5, which clearly states that greed, also there a disease, is contracted entirely through our own fault, and through no natural desire, as some of the other vices are. Alcuin's picture seems rather more lenient juxtaposed with Cassian.

The description of avarice's progeny and its contradicting virtues comprise the remainder of §37. Avarice's progeny are "acts of envy, deceptions, robberies, murders, lies, perjury, acts of rapine, acts of violence, restlessness, unjust judgements, contempt for the truth, forgetfulness of future bliss, and hardheartedness." Its existence is in opposition to "mercy and alms for the poor and all pity for those who suffer." Greed's progeny are drawn in part from Cassian, and in part from Gregory, but its other antecedents are unknown.¹⁹⁹ Alcuin's amalgamation of *genera* can be understood as the things which constitute the whole breadth of the ethical category of 'greed', particularly with those manifestations that would have been familiar to the nobleman. The range encompasses both things of public action, and things that would not have been so easily manifest to one's neighbor (hardness of heart, forgetfulness of future bliss). 'Contempt for truth' is particularly interesting because it seems to be logically connected to 'unjust judgement' that would be manifest through other actions, but could—debatably—be interior. Similarly, its remedies were neither wholly 'exterior' or wholly 'interior'. The ultimate victory against it is gained by "the fear of God and by brotherly love and by deeds of mercy and by alms for the poor and by hope of future bliss, since indeed the false riches of this world are defeated by the true riches of future bliss."²⁰⁰

It seems rather difficult to regard these elements as cohesive unity. This list which is neither clearly public nor clearly private, which encompasses deeds actionable in a

¹⁹⁹ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 135–37.

²⁰⁰ Alcuin of York, *Liber de virtutibus* in Szarmach, "The Latin Tradition of Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, Cap. Xxvii–xxxv, with Special Reference to Vercelli Homily XX," §37, pg. 31-32. Trans. Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 118. "Cujus genera [*MS* germina] sunt invidia, furta, latrocinia, homicidia, mendacia, perjuriam, rapinae, violentiae, inquietudo, injusta judicia, contemptus veritatis, futurae beatitudinis oblivio, obduratio cordis. Quae fit contraria misericordiae, eleemosynis in pauperes, et toti pietati in miseros. Quae vincitur per timorem Dei, et per fraternam charitatem, et per opera misericordiae, et per eleemosynas in pauperes, et per spem futurae beatitudinis, dum falsae hujus saeculi divitiae futurae beatitudinis veris divitiis vincuntur."

Roman-inherited legal system, as well the movements of memory and the dispositions of the soul, is simply confusing. The combination of Cassian, Gregory, Paulinus, the penitential tradition, and Alcuin's own additions proves an incoherent, if expansive, treatment of avarice. Perhaps, though, these tensions and seeming incoherencies were not unfounded. The imagery of avarice was a disease after all, something that affected persons both visibly and invisibly: something public to varying extents, and yet having profound effects on the interior of the person. Newhauser's explanation has been that in "genres of literature of a more utilitarian nature, avarice was, and remained, available as the most important concept to summarize the evils facing the Christian social order."²⁰¹ This seems perhaps too simple, however. It downplays the more strikingly interior elements that Alcuin's *genera avaritiae* include. More helpfully, Firey has written of the appropriation of penitential discourse for legal use that it was hard to separate penance and the spiritual life:

The Carolingian adoption of the system of the capital sins, with its capacity to encompass minor failings as well as capital crimes, as the primary device of penitential education meant that confessors had to determine suitable response to a radically enlarged range of sins and crimes committed by the entire Christian community, not just those vowed to ascetic discipline or those who had committed grave sins.²⁰²

Indeed, while Alcuin's letter was not strictly penitential, the vices, especially greed, were incorporated into the structure of penance and even to law as well as to the spiritual life. Vice was neither wholly public nor wholly private, but as an ethical category with penitential, legal, political, and spiritual undertones, it was highly dynamic and widely applicable.

²⁰¹ Newhauser, "Towards Modus in Habendo: Transformations in the Idea of Avarice: The Early Penitentials through the Carolingian Reforms," 21.

²⁰² Firey, *A Contrite Heart*, 169.

The paradox becomes clear. In one sense, *avaritia* in this letter takes on a particularly psychological meaning: cupidity is situated in the lowest part of the soul in an Augustinian/Neoplatonic psychology. And yet, in another, *avaritia* is still highly relational and, perhaps, even political because of the discursive backdrop of the penitentials. Drawing a clear distinction between ‘individual’ and ‘community’ ethics is rendered something of a futile endeavor. Alcuin’s *Liber* seems to me one of the clearest examples of the problems with dividing ‘individual’ and ‘community’ for the classification of ethical thought, and one of the reasons for experimentally setting aside this dichotomy. Instead of asking whether Alcuin’s treatment of greed was the ‘interiorization’ or ‘individualization’ of the ethical concept, we search for the political meanings of greed as it was applied to the Count of Nantes, or to the lay noble more generally, as this noble related to other persons in the processes of exchange.²⁰³ This takes us from the highly abstract to the highly concrete.

There is less clear evidence in the deadly sins passage of the *Liber* for specification of that which glittered in particular, but fortunately, Alcuin’s admonitions against fraud in an earlier section provide more detail. A far cry from the abstract definitions of greed as an ethical category, the admonitions against fraudulent greed are both direct and incensed: “Tell me, O avaricious man, tell me, O greedy man, tell me, O wicked man, what have you acquired?...O rich man, through power you snatch that which

²⁰³ One other problem with this particular account of avarice is that, contrasted to the work of Paulinus, it does seem to be more widely applicable than to simply the political rôle of the count or general. Hrabanus would appropriate it for homiletic application. On the other hand, its other appropriation would be by Jonas of Orléans in another lay mirror, suggesting its particularly applicability to the rôle of the noble. Unjust judgement as a manifestation of greed seems to restrict it to the work of a count.

it pleases you to have...”²⁰⁴ This admonition continues in this form of emphatic second person address, as it describes particularities of commercial fraud in a market setting. The greedy man thinks he has acquired gold, but has in fact lost *fidem*, because it was for sale in the market: “If in the market you found that faith was for sale: if you were a good man, how would you secure it?” Instead of purchasing faith, the love of God, and justice, he has purchased gold, silver, or another thing *pretiosus in area*, and financial loss (*damnum*) in his heart.²⁰⁵ The remainder of this section maintains the financial and commercial languages of ‘*lucrum*’ and ‘*damnum*’, admonishing the greedy man for being in effect a foolish businessman, who thinks about his profit, but fails to realize that he has been swindled out of what would have been his natural inheritance, eternal blessedness.²⁰⁶ The particularities of these exchange elements, especially of the last, must be addressed to understand that Alcuin’s use of commercial analogy was not simply the dyspeptic rhetoric of a disgruntled moralist. Indeed, Alcuin was a man who knew commerce, and, apparently who knew the commerce of the particular region. Alcuin, though abbot of St. Martin’s for the last eight years of his life, did not lead the life of

²⁰⁴ Alcuin of York, §19, PL101: 627D, “Dic avare, dic cupide, dic scelerate, quid acquisisti...O dives, rapis per potentiam quod tibi placet habere, et perdis per injustitiam quod te Deus vult habere, id est, beatitudinem sempiternam.”

²⁰⁵ Alcuin of York, *Liber de Virtutibus* §19, PL101:628A-B.” “Si in mercato fidem invenires venalem: si bonus esses, quomodo comparasses [*MS* comparares] eam? Quare non times perdere ea, quae [*Ms.*, eam, quam] te Deus voluit habere in corde? Aurum habes vel argentum, vel aliud quid pretiosius in area; sed damnum in corde. His omnibus meliores divitias perdidisti, id est, fidem, et justitiam, et dilectionem Dei et proximi.”

²⁰⁶ Alcuin of York, *Liber de Virtutibus* §19, PL101:628A-B, “Lucrum tuum cogitas, damnum tuum non consideras. Si huic lucro gaudes, quare illa perdita non plangis? Plus ergo perdidisti quam acquisisti. O dives, rapis per potentiam quod tibi placet habere, et perdis per injustitiam quod te Deus vult habere, id est, beatitudinem sempiternam. Si omnis fur vel raptor lumen oculorum perdidisset in furto vel rapina, nunquid postea furtum fecisset vel rapinam? Et nescit, quod in ejusmodi peccato lumen perdit cordis, quod melius est omni lumine corporis. Magis, avare, da pauperibus quod habes, ut invenias in coelo quod dedisti in terra. Quid times pecuniam tuam perdere, et non times ut totus pereas? Pro acquisitione pecuniae falsum testimonium dicis, mentiris, rapis aliena. Juras, perjuras, quae lex vetat. Cum haec omnia facis, quare non times, ne totus ardeas in aeternum?”

Cassianic material renunciation. Alcuin's letters reveal that he employed traders to take his own goods south into Italy, and did his best to ensure that they were charged less at the tolls stations in the Alps.²⁰⁷ He besought Charlemagne at one point for wine at a lower price than that which it would have gained as an export, and supported mercantile activity.²⁰⁸

Remarkably, the term *area*, which had the Classical sense of non-cultivated or non-pastured land, took on the sense of 'salt-pan' or 'salt-floor' in medieval parlance.²⁰⁹ Gold, silver, and what was 'costly on the salt-floor' were the media and objects of exchange. At the time of Alcuin's letter to Count Wido, Alcuin resided on the Loire, a prominent route for trade from the coastal port of Nantes, the county of which, was under Wido's *dominium* in 799. The *Liber de virtutibus* travelled the trade route between the two men in the opposite direction as the coastal salt being shipped inland. Salt was collected at Nantes, shipped via the Loire to Orléans, where it was carried overland (likely by a donkey) some 100 km to Paris.²¹⁰ It was valuable enough to be bequeathed to a monastery along with a man's slave and his wife and son.²¹¹ It was only produced in a few places, and it was the essential food preservative in the early medieval period.²¹² Salt production in the Carolingian empire came from three sources: extraction of salt by the cooking of peat, salt-wells in central Europe, and the coastal salt-gardens. Nantes was

²⁰⁷ Alcuin of York, "Epistola No. 77," in *Epistolae Karolini Aevi (II)*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epistolae 4 (Berlin: Weidman, 1985), 119. Cited in McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 678.

²⁰⁸ Alcuin of York, "Epistola No. 192," in *Epistolae Karolini Aevi (II)*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epistolae 4 (Berlin: Weidman, 1985), 318.30-319.20. Cited in McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 699.

²⁰⁹ R. E. Latham and D.R. Howlett, "Area," *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1975).

²¹⁰ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 645–46; 646n25.

²¹¹ Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, 80, n29.

²¹² Verhulst, 80.

located at the mouth of the Loire at the Baie de Bourgneuf: its estuary was among the richest sources of salt in the Empire, and salt gardens were built to the north and south.²¹³

Not only was Nantes a major source of salt production, it was also the location of monastic activity in the lucrative salt-trade. Verhulst notes that the Abbey of St. Mesmin of Micy boasted a landing stage for ships bringing in salt from the Bay.²¹⁴ St. Martin of Tours owned between six and twelve trading ships sailing the Loire, its tenants manning them, and it was mentioned in the cargo of abbey ships, making it not implausible that Alcuin was very familiar with the salt industry of Nantes.²¹⁵ Abbey trade, if there were a granted immunity, was free from imperial tolls because it was exempt from the direct process of salt-mining. It is likely that Nantes' royal toll station was occupied in large part with ensuring that non-monastic salt-entrepreneurs did not evade the tolls that were the largest source of royal tax income under Charlemagne.²¹⁶ 'Quid pretiosus in area' must have had extremely concrete resonances for Count Wido, who would have had jurisdiction over the royal toll station. This contextualizes very helpfully the phrase employed by Alcuin, 'pretiosus in area'.²¹⁷

As for gold and silver, Verhulst has shown that the Frankish heartland, between the Loire and the Rhine, was the most economically active region in the empire as revealed by the overwhelming density of royal mints in that region compared to that east

²¹³ Verhulst, 80–81. See also François Louis Ganshof, "A propos du tonlieu à l'époque carolingienne," *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo / Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo.*, 1959, 485–508.

²¹⁴ Verhulst, 81.

²¹⁵ Verhulst, 94.

²¹⁶ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, Map 22.1, 643. Verhulst in *The Carolingian Economy*, 81, notes also that in 821, private salt merchants were summoned to court for auditing because of a dispute between commercial actors.

²¹⁷ While *culina* was the technical term for a salt-pan in the documentary record of Lorsch abbey (see Verhulst 80), I argue that *area* could refer to salt-pans because of Alcuin's own insular origins and the known valence of usage in insular sources. See above, n. 210.

of the Rhine.²¹⁸ There is good evidence for considerable monetization relative to other regions, but also substantial documentary evidence for payments being rendered in uncoined silver, *argento*.²¹⁹ It is not implausible, thus, that the *Liber de Virtutibus*' references to 'silver, gold, and something precious from the salt-harvest' were grounded in the economic reality of his region. Commercially highly active, and a major region of salt production, there is little doubt that by virtue of his location, Wido would have been witness to and participant in a flourishing exchange environment. Commercial fraud, thus, becomes the manifestation of greed that is the greatest object of Alcuin's invective. What glittered was gold and silver (coined and uncoined), as well as the salt sparkling as it dried in the coastal sun. The same usage of the analogy to hell that Paulinus borrowed from Porcarius in the *Liber exhortationis* to Erich of Friuli appears in the conclusion of Alcuin's section on fraud.²²⁰ Paulinus and Alcuin employed the same imagery, but with notably different emphases.

For Paulinus, the greedy man, who gives alms from labor that was not his own because of tyrannical rule or the use of slave labor, is like unto hell. For Alcuin, the greedy man who commits fraud in the market and is thereby swindled out of eternal happiness, is like unto that insatiable pit. We recall Verhulst's contrast between the economic types of the two regions. We may deduce from various epistolary references

²¹⁸ Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, 121. "The presence and number of mints are in most cases an indication of a need for money, either because of a shortage of money or because of flowering commerce, mostly of local importance, such as a market...The geographical distribution of mints and specifically their density reveal the economically most active regions of the Frankish empire, such as the region between the Loire and the Rhine where nine-tenths of Carolingian mints were situated."

²¹⁹ Verhulst, 121.

²²⁰ Alcuin of York, "The Latin Tradition of Alcuin's *Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, Cap. xxvii–xxxv, with Special Reference to Vercelli Homily XX," §19, PL 101: 628C. "Nihil est avaro scelestius, qui animam suam habet venalem pro cupiditate divitiarum. Avaritia modum ignorat, et cum omnia devoret, nescit penitus satiari [*MS. saturari*]. Esuriens semper et inops est. Avarus vir inferno est similis, qui numquam impletur."

that Alcuin knew of a Mediterranean slave trade, but being in Aachen for much of his life, and finally retiring to Tours, it seems that the plundering of villages and the capture of slaves was less vividly present to him than it was to Paulinus on the Eastern frontier. This may have been another reason why it was commercially fraudulent greed, and not unjust labor extraction, that occupied Alcuin.²²¹

What, then, shall we make of Alcuin's highly informed treatment of commercial exchange which stands alongside his choice to place emphasis on excessive desire rather than an excessive number of goods? It would seem that the letter to Count Wido attempted to describe an ethical category that was wide enough to accommodate a nobleman's rôle in active markets, and that had the *gravitas* of the penitential and legal tradition. What is more, these condemnations of greed generally and the greed of fraudulent action in the market, were accompanied by an eloquently-articulated ethic of exchange of another sort: largesse. Undoubtedly referring to the wealth of country property Wido assumed when he took up *dominium* of Nantes, Alcuin contrasted him who was given 'the abundance' by God, to those who had "no share in fields, no share in vineyards, no share in the riches of the world." From their abundance and stability, counts like Wido ought to 'make common' this abundance to poor and pilgrims that they might rejoice in the fecundity of the earth.²²² Both stability and *portionem* in lands, fields, and riches, carried with them ethical duties: they were to be shared with others through gift. It does not seem to be the language of redistribution precisely: redistribution is in some

²²¹ Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, 47. See McCormick's references to Alcuin's knowledge of the slave trade in *Origins*, 746.

²²² Alcuin of York, *Liber de Virtutibus*, §17, PL 101:625B. "Sunt enim plurimi qui nullam in agris, nullam in vineis, nullam habent in saeculi divitiis portionem. Quorum inopiae de ea quam Dominus nobis dedit copia consulere debemus, ut et ipsi nobiscum Deo pro terrae fecunditate benedicant, et gaudeant possidentibus fuisse donata, quae etiam pauperibus ac peregrinis facta fuerunt communia."

sense contingent on ownership, but to ownership Alcuin does not refer.²²³ Even the count was given only a share, and it was his duty to ensure that everyone could rejoice in it.

More than that though, alms constituted a form of licit exchange, unlike fraudulent exchange in the market. Interspersed with Biblical references that lend the letter *auctoritas*, Alcuin writes,

For a part of the corporeal wealth that is administered to the indigent passes over into eternal riches for the giver... That which the Truth promises he himself will return, let humanity, secure, pay out and bestow. Be constant, O Christian giver, give that you might receive, sow that you might reap, spend that you might collect. Do not fear expense, do not sigh about doubtful yield. If you will give, you will have these things altogether eternally... O avaricious one, if you love gold or the riches of the world, give, lest you lose. If you will save, without doubt you will lose. If you will give, you will have these things altogether eternally.²²⁴

Notably, the same verb Paulinus used, *erogo*, is employed here by Alcuin: there are clear commercial undertones: the rich man is to *invest* what he has in a prudent economic move. An interesting question arises: if it was the political and ethical duty of the count to spend, what might practical consequences have been? The *Liber* in effect admonished the count to ascertain that his glittering objects were moving around the markets, not by fraudulent exchanges, but by investment. He was to move resources from the storehouses of the rich man into something conceived as a bank, the pockets of the indigent, so that ultimately, wealth would multiply. While it would be entirely impossible to measure the

²²³ Innes, "Practices of Property in the Carolingian Empire," 248–49. Operating on the well-defended premise that the concepts of "absolute property" or "exclusive ownership" are not historical constants, but "products of nineteenth-century social and legal change," Innes argues for a legal culture in which "rights" were "plausible, rather than absolute claims, causes worthy of debate." To this we shall return in our treatment of Dhuoda's letter, but a note suffices for now.

²²⁴ Alcuin of York, *Liber de Virtutibus*, §17, PL 101:625BC-626B, "Pars enim corporalium facultatum, quae indigentibus ministratur, in divitias largienti transit aeternas... Quod reddituram se promittit Veritas, secunda expendat [et tribuat] humanitas. Constans esto, Christiane largitor, da quod accipias, sere quod metas, sparge quod colligas. Noli metuere dispendium, noli de dubio suspirare proventu. Substantia tua cum bene erogatur, augetur. Remunerator tuus vult te esse munificum... O avarice, si aurum diligis, vel divitias saeculi, da, ne perdas. Si servaveris, sine dubio perdes: si erogaveris, omnino habebis eas aeternaliter."

eternal rewards Alcuin spoke within the limits of empirical enquiry, we must ask whether there were practical effects of the ethic of largesse for which Alcuin advocated: economists have tended to prefer that money be spent rather than retained, and indeed, the fear of spending, and hoarding wealth is the cause of depressions in modern capitalist economies. Is it possible that the ‘investment’ of wealth in the ‘bank’ of the poor did in fact result in economic development and growth? Could it have been based on an intuition that economies were more prosperous if money was not being spent by the few at the top, but rather by those who could and would readily purchase goods? To what extent might Alcuin’s theory of *noblesse oblige* have actually had economic consequences in something analogical to an investment system?

One further question emerges, as we return to that frustrating definition of greed that bridges the psychological and the political, that vice which was contrary to ‘mercy’ and ‘almsgiving’, *nimia cupiditas*. Considered in light of Chris Wickham’s recent admonition to consider elite wealth as that on which the complexity of economic change in any given region hinged, Alcuin’s words to one noble and their echoes to other elites assume new dimensions.²²⁵ For indeed, what is elite demand but elite desire?²²⁶ In other words, may we ask whether Alcuin’s definition of avarice, the excessive *cupiditas* for having, obtaining, and possessing riches, might have subdued ‘elite demand’ even as it may have resulted in the ‘investment’ of wealth, ensuring that buying power in local markets went to persons other than the courtly elites? Unbridled desire was being called

²²⁵ Wickham, “Rethinking the Structure of the Early Medieval Economy,” 30–31. These words would, importantly, be quoted by both Hrabanus and Jonas of Orléans. See Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, 117-119.

²²⁶ Here we may see once again the fundamental disjunction between historians of economics, whose arguments about economic systems assume the buying power of the autonomous individual, and historians of religious concepts, who can also tend to relegate the effects of religious discourse to the interior life of an individual.

into question with the full force of religious discourse in letters directed at the very elites who were the wealthiest. Alcuin's choice to focus on the psychological elements of greed as opposed to a particular sense of 'sufficiency' or some sort of renunciation substantiates the point that he was not opposed to commerce as such (as we have seen). He might have even thought it was a good thing for the empire. What we can ask, framing persons in polities rather than seeing them as autonomous actors within impersonal systems of exchange, is whether this ethical discourse may have actually had effects on elite demand? This frame offers the possibility that ethical duties associated with a particularly pre-modern 'pattern of personhood' might have had actual economic effects within a polity, in both the distribution of wealth that may have led to economic growth and in the curbing of elite demand.

CHAPTER III.2: THE GREEDY COUNT AND *NOBLESSE OBLIGE* AFTER 800

The second half of our narrative begins *in medias res* in 827, nearly thirty years after the letters of the first part, *Liber de Virtutibus* and the *Liber Exhortationis*, were composed. Charlemagne was dead, and unity of the Frankish realm had been compromised. One Aizo had fled the Frankish court at Aachen to solicit the aid of the emir of Cordova, Abd-ar-Rhman III for a rebellion. Aizo and his troops pillaged the counties of Cerdaña and Vallés along the south western coast adjacent to the duchy of Septimania. Duke Bernard of the same region left his wife Dhuoda and their one-year-old son William at home in Uzès, to respond to the brazen invaders in what would be known as the Spanish March. He was soon threatened even further by a new onslaught of troops from Cordova. Pippin of Aquitaine summarily summoned Count Matfrid of Orléans and Hugh of Tours to join in the fight against the emir and Aizo, but they delayed (perhaps out of ill-will toward Bernard). Bernard could not keep them at bay, and the emir's forces destroyed the villages around Barcelona and Girona. Count Matfrid would lose both his title and holdings in 828.²²⁷ What is known about the dating of the letter Bishop Jonas of Orléans wrote to Count Matfrid, is based on the known loss of Matfrid's title: *De institutione laicali* must have been written before this fateful military blunder. Little more is known about Count Matfrid himself than what exists in the cartulary record.²²⁸ Dhuoda, by contrast, reveals to us quite a lot about herself, her family, and her situation in the letter

²²⁷ Marcelle Thiébaux, "Introduction," in *Liber Manualis: Handbook for Her Warrior Son*, by Dhuoda, Cambridge Medieval Classics 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 14; Julia M.H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 78.

²²⁸ Philippe Depreux, "Le Comte Matfrid d'Orléans (av. 815-836)," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 152, no. 2 (1994): 331–374.

she wrote to her son William: she sent this letter, the *Liber Manualis*, in 843, when William had grown into a teenager, and was being held ransom by Charles the Bald to ensure his father's political loyalty.²²⁹

The two texts are in conversation with each other, and with those of Alcuin and Paulinus, but they betray their own distinct nuances. Things had changed in the realm since Alcuin (d.804), Paulinus (d.802), and Charlemagne (d.814) had died, economically as well as politically, and the discourse about greed changed to suit the concerns of the times even while it was highly derivative and consistent with inherited thought. *Largesse* and beneficence will remain the ethical activities proper to the rôle of the count, be he hapless like Matfrid, or young and full of potential for virtue like William.²³⁰

I. THE WEST FRANKISH HEARTLAND

De institutione laicali libri tres, ostensibly written to Count Matfrid of Orléans, engages lay life in contrast to the life of a priest, and as such, has drawn the attention of scholars writing about purity, marriage and family.²³¹ Jonas was Bishop of Orléans from 818 to

²²⁹Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture*, 152. Bernard had fought against the Charles the Bald at Fontenoy: William went to Charles' court as surety for his father's support.

²³⁰Agobard of Lyon, "Epistola No. 10," in *Epistolae*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epistolae 5 (Berlin: Weidman, 1985), 201. This letter from the bishop of Lyon, Agobard, chastised Count Matfrid for various *culpa* committed that disrupted the peace of the realm. Depreux reads it a 'mirror' in the same tradition as *De Institutione Laicali*. Be that as it may, it does not purport to treat the principal sins at any length, even while it urges the count to the classically-inherited principal virtues of justice, temperance, prudence, and fortitude. It is for this reason, combined with his dreadful military blunder, that I follow Thiébaux in calling him 'hapless'. Of course, recently, there have been claims that Matfrid's removal from his office were politically motivated, and not merely a response to his military failure. See Roger Collins, "Pippin I and the Kingdom of Aquitaine," in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, ed. Peter Godman (Clarendon Press, 1990), 379.

²³¹Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture*, 1. Garver has used Jonas' *De institutione laicali*'s appropriation of Isidore's *Etymologies* on "why men desire women" to frame her narrative of lives of Carolingian women: "When Jonas wrote these words in the early ninth century he did so with the specific social conditions of his own day in mind. Certain cultural attributes were prized by the Carolingian elite, and each of Jonas's characteristics—beyond being desirable for centuries—reflect the expectations men had for women during the Carolingian rule. In the book I argue that women, specifically elite women, were active participants in shaping and perpetuating the behaviors, beliefs, and practices that marked the culture

842 and was a person who moved in the highest circles, to which the *speculum principis* which he wrote to Louis the Pious (*De institutione regia*) bears witness. His *De institutione laicali* had, until a recent critical edition, been understood as a text largely derived from *De institutione regia*. It was thought that Bishop Jonas recycled some of this material in the *Acts of the Council of Paris*, 829, of which he was the primary author.²³² The recent critical edition of *De institutione laicali* edited by Odile Dubreucq in 2012-13 has only begun to revive interest in this work, even as it challenges the way that we read it. Dubreucq argued that there was an original text (ω) preceded the text that Jonas wrote and tailored for Matfrid (K).²³³ In copies of the letter addressed to Matfrid, after Matfrid fell into dishonor, and as, Winterbottom has put it, “*damnatio memoriae* removed his name from K, and a new copy of ω (called π) generated [another mss group].”²³⁴ This reading of the manuscript tradition led her to surmise that the *De institutione laicali* was not really as much a *speculum comitale* as it was a general moral treatise, something only adapted for address to Matfrid. She did grant that it was a *speculum*, given that Jonas himself describes it as “a mirror in which you may constantly look at yourself,” but understood its intended audience as being the most general of lay Christian audiences.²³⁵

Francesco Veronese, however, has challenged her judgement on the basis of analysis of the work’s structure and configuration. He argues that particularly Book II

of the Carolingian lands between c. 700 and c.925.” See also the letter’s inclusion in Hans-Werner Goetz, *Five Discourses on Purity in Western Christianity in the Early and High Middle Ages*, vol. 7, 2015.

²³² Anne C. McGuire, “Liturgy and Laity in the Ninth Century,” *Ecclesia Orans* 13, no. 3 (1996): 466. As Reviron has pointed out in his treatment of *De institutione regia*, there are many passages that overlap.

²³³ Odile Dubreucq, “Introduction,” in *Instruction des laïcs*, 2 vols. (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf, 2012), 33–130.

²³⁴ Michael Winterbottom, “Jonas de Orléans: Instruction des laïcs,” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 65, no. 1 (2014): 323.

²³⁵ Winterbottom, 324.

was a *speculum comitale* because of its heavy focus on the correct way of living a Christian married life. He begins by conceding that version K may not have been the original text, i.e. it may not have been originally composed with Matfrid in mind, but argues that it is something of a moot point: “in both cases, the bishop’s aim was to compile a text that was especially thought to answer the count’s anxieties about the correct way of living a Christian life within marriage.”²³⁶ Focusing on the version of the text that *was* addressed to Matfrid in response to a query about the pursuit of holiness in marriage, Veronese posits that the text as a whole constitutes a model of a specifically aristocratic man’s life from birth to death, with Book II being his adult life in marriage.²³⁷ That marriage was not the only topic addressed suggests that marriage was the social structure in which ethical action was to be undertaken. Further, Veronese argues that the text as a whole comprises a picture of finding salvation through marriage, an ideal with identifiable corollaries in contemporary court culture.²³⁸ Very helpfully, he also treats the problems of public and private, of ‘individual’ and ‘community’ with regard to this text:

Jonas wished to show Matfrid the social role of the conjugal life for Carolingian aristocrats. Far from being only a private sphere, marriage and the management of the household were the first level of an aristocratic layman’s social action within a context in which the conjugal couple was being presented as the basic cell of a correct social organization.²³⁹

This text was speaking to the rôle of the count as member of the nobility, paired socially with his wife as a fundamental social unit. Read within this context, the other ethical admonitions co-located with admonitions to marital virtue are imbued with even more

²³⁶ Francesco Veronese, “Contextualizing Marriage: Conjugalality and Christian Life in Jonas of Orléans’ *De Institutione Laicali*,” *Early Medieval Europe* 23, no. 4 (2015): 440.

²³⁷ Veronese, 452.

²³⁸ Veronese, 466–450.

²³⁹ Veronese, 454.

power: vices were neither individual nor private, but civic. They were political at the most basic level, that of marriage, and at the broader level of the nobleman in relation to his county. What then does this mean, for the social meanings of greed? *Avaritia* appears in the sequence of principal sins, and then repeatedly in the long section on tithing, “de decimis fidelium”.²⁴⁰

Jonas appropriated much of what he wrote about greed as a principle sin from Alcuin’s definition, probably through Hrabanus. He maintained an octad of principal sins in Alcuin’s order of *superbia, gula, fornicatio/luxuria, avaritia, ira, acedia, tristitia, vanagloria* (SGLAIATV), flipping around *tristitia* and *ira* as Cassian himself did at points (see Ch.2 above).²⁴¹ Wasselynck’s study of the use of the *Moralia* in the moral writings of the middle ages observes that the fusion in the series the Cassianic and Gregorian lists of sins begun by Alcuin was wholly solidified in Jonas’ work.²⁴² Jonas also maintained the specificity in semantic fields between *cupiditas* and *avaritia* throughout his letter, using *cupiditas* more often in reference to matters of erotic desire, than in a specific desire for wealth; a prominent topic of his letter was the purity proper to married life.

About the vice of greed (*avaritia*), Jonas, following Alcuin and the *Moralia*, began with the image of the dropsical man, which need not be repeated. Jonas, did, however, incorporate more of the *Moralia*’s associated Biblical context with the image of

²⁴⁰ Jonas of Orléans, *Instruction des laïcs*, II.39-59. § II.19.

²⁴¹ Jonas of Orléans, II.213. §III.6

²⁴² R. Wasselynck, “Les ‘moralia in job’ dans les ouvrages de morale du haut moyen age latin,” *Recherches de théologies ancienne et medievale*, no. 31 (1964): 20–21. “Les listes de Cassien et de S. Gregoir qui avaient commence a fusionner dan l’oeuvre d’Alcuin sont definitivement unies chez Jobas. Le nouvelle formule fera carrière: c’est seulement Pierre Lombard qui reprendra, dans sa tenue primitive, la list de S. Gregoire.”

the dropsical man.²⁴³ Gregory had connected the two distinct narratives about the Pharisees to the sin of greed, Christ’s visit to the house of the Pharisee, at which he healed the man suffering from dropsy (Luke 14:1-6), and the later conversation with the Pharisees, in which they derided him for his statement that one could not serve both God and Mammon (Luke 16:14).²⁴⁴ Jonas cites in addition Eccl. 5:9, *the greedy man is not satisfied by money*. This might indicate a more monetary conception of greed. One other clearly Alcuinian bequest is the verbatim reception of the *ramusculi* of greed, which are identical to those in the *Liber*.²⁴⁵

Interestingly, the definition of the sin proper differs in one very significant respect from that of Alcuin’s *Liber de virtutibus*: the concept of excess is applied to the material quantity rather than the quality of *cupiditas* in the expansion on the Gregorian image of the dropsical man. Jonas writes, “Indeed, and however much the greedy man has, that much more he desires to have; and while he has no measure of discretion in having, he loses himself in desiring too many things (*eum in nimium concupiscendo amittit*).”²⁴⁶

²⁴³“Quartum vitium est avaritia, de qua scribit Salomon: *Avarus non impletur pecunia*. Quae a Deo in Evangelio hydropici morbo comparatur, qui quanto plus bibit, tanto amplius sitit.”

²⁴⁴ This is based on a juxtaposition of Biblical narrative in the *Moralia in Job*. Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, XIV.12.14; Trans. *Morals on the Book of Job* (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1844), lectionarycentral.com. “Since for the ungodly man to ‘thirst’ is to lust after the good things of this world. And hence our Redeemer cures the man with the dropsy before the Pharisee’s house, and when he was arguing against avarice, it is written, *And the Pharisees also who were covetous heard all things; and they derided Him*. What does it mean then that the man with the dropsy is cured before the house of the Pharisee, but that by the sickness of one man’s body the sickness of heart in another is represented? For one sick of a dropsy, the more he drinks, thirsts the more, and every covetous person redoubles his thirst by drinking, in that when he has got the things he desires, he pants the more in desiring others. For he that by getting is made to long for more, has his thirst increased by drinking.”

²⁴⁵ Jonas of Orléans, *Instruction des laïcs*, *Tomus II*, 213. §III.6 “...De arbore autem avaritiae prodeunt pestiferi ramusculi, invidiae scilicet, furta, latrocinia, homicidia, mendacia, perjuria, rapinae, violentiae, inquietudo, injusta iudicia, contemptus veritatis, futurae beatitudinis oblivio, obduratio cordis, quae contraria est operibus misericordiae.”

²⁴⁶ Jonas of Orléans, 213. §III.6 “Sic et avarus quanto plus habet, tanto amplius habere desiderat, et dum modum discretionis in habendo non tenet, eum in nimium concupiscendo amittit. De avaris autem tremenda sententia a Domino in Evangelio, et ab Apostolo deprompta est, quod avari regnum Dei non possidebunt. De arbore autem avaritiae prodeunt pestiferi ramusculi, invidiae scilicet, furta, latrocinia, homicidia,

Alcuin had articulated a similar idea, but he aligned *nimia* with *cupiditas*. Here, Jonas, drawing perhaps the variations in the discourse that emphasized sufficiency or some very concrete conception of what quantity of possessions was excessive, phrases it slightly differently: not too much desire, but desiring too many things, is the action that endangers a man's soul with the vice of greed. This subtlety in phrasing is a tenuous piece of evidence on its own, but further context shall reveal that it does reveal a historically specific movement in discourse about greed. The pragmatic bishop Jonas was less concerned with cultivating the subtle discernment of the count in a flourishing and relative commercial environment—such as the one in which Alcuin and Wido participated in—than in the material goods themselves, it would seem. Greed was not restricted to money, of course, as *nimum* is undistinguished, neither was it wholly a matter of desire: greed was in desiring too many goods. Of the rich and fluid inheritance of the theological understanding of 'greed', Jonas' definition landed in a place with more material emphasis than Alcuin's but less of one than that of Porcarius, who, as we recall, emphasized voluntary poverty in the tradition of Cassian and Evagrius. Grammar and usage observations like this are limited as a basis of elucidation without locating them firmly in the historical moment.

More revealing, therefore, is Jonas' engagement with the vice outside of the inherited schema, which seems rather summary at first glance. Most of Jonas' anti-venal rhetoric comes into play in the section on tithes, revealing a different ethical problem underlying the text than that which underlay the letters of Paulinus and Alcuin. Jonas spoke of "powerful men, who, forgetful of their rank and calling" possessed churches,

mendacia, perjuria, rapinae, violentiae, inquietudo, injusta judicia, contemptus veritatis, futurae beatitudinis oblivio, obduratio cordis, quae contraria est operibus misericordiae."

taking control of the “generous tithes of the faithful.” Thereafter, laymen bestowed the profits from these tithes on their friends as benefices, gaining profit. The tithes, Jonas argued, were under the directive of bishops, which might decide their distribution; laymen who usurped that power were in ‘danger’ besides behaving in a manner incongruent with the Christian religion.²⁴⁷ It is this occurrence that Jonas terms a ‘genus’ of avarice. The Biblical types associated with greed in this letter are neither Achan nor Saul, as in Paulinus’ account: they are Uzziah and Belshazzar.²⁴⁸ Uzziah was a king of Judah, whose crime was “audaciously” seizing the ministry of the Levites, that is, burning incense in the temple; for this crime he was stricken with leprosy.²⁴⁹ Belshazzar was another Old Testament regent, the king of Babylon in the sixth century B.C., who used the sacred vessels for a feast in his own court. For this crime, he would lose both his kingdom and his life.²⁵⁰ Though there may have been precedent for at least the Belshazzar image in earlier legal sources, it would be reductive to ignore resonances that the imagery may have had among the writer and reader[s] of *De institutione laicali*. As

²⁴⁷ Jonas of Orléans, II, 39–59. §II.19 “Sunt etiam plerique potentes, qui oblii ordinis et ministerii sui, hujuscemodi basilicas possidentes, rebus tenues, fidelium vero largissimis decimis abundantes, contra fas suis aut clericis aut laicis beneficiario munere conferunt, ut de hujuscemodi oblationibus et decimis sibi serviant: quod quam sit extraordinarium, et religioni Christianae incongruum, nec non et facientibus periculosum, qui animadvertit, intelligit. Non enim ad laicorum, sed ad pontificum ministerium, per quos basilicae Deo dedicantur, pertinet, qualiter oblationes et decimae fidelium Deo oblatae dispensentur, ordinare. Pontificum sane ministerium est, quantum ex eisdem fidelium oblationibus in fabricis applicetur ecclesiae, quantum in luminaribus concinnandis, quantum in hospitibus colligendis, et pauperibus recreandis, quantumque in presbyterorum eorumque qui secum militiam Christi gerunt necessitatibus sublevandis expensetur, disponere; non laicorum, ut in suos suorumque ex his quidquam retorqueatur usus, exigere.” See John Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship, and Community, 950-1150*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4 (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 79 for translation consulted; Hans Hubert Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, Bonner Historische Forschungen 32 (Ludwig Rohrscheid Verlag: Bonn, 1968), 211–14.

²⁴⁸ Jonas of Orléans, *Instruction des laïcs*, II, 39–59. §II.19, “Ozias itaque rex quia temerario ausu sacerdotale ministerium arripuit, illico immunditia leprae mulctatus est. Balthazar quoque rex, quia vasa divinis usibus consecrata in suos usus contra fas convertit, vita cum regno caruit.”

²⁴⁹ II Chron. 26:16-21.

²⁵⁰ Daniel 5:29.

much as Jonas draws from his predecessors, his treatment of avaritia is underscored by a legal discourse surrounding tithing jurisdiction.

Susan Wood's study of the practices of Church property and exchange in the early middle ages elucidates political and economic phenomenon which underlay the allegations of greed voiced by Jonas.²⁵¹ The most dangerous way in which the count in his diocese was prone to greed was the expropriation of the 'church property' which included tithes (*decimae*), first fruits (*primitiae*) in the form of gifts in kind, and burial dues. Of note is that not all *decimae* were strictly ecclesiastical tithes; the 'secular tenth' was the seigneurial corollary, and is sometimes indistinguishable in sources from the ecclesiastical tithing.²⁵² That the vocabulary overlapped between seigneurial taxation and ecclesiastical tithing does highlight the fact that there was some conceptual analogy between the two concepts: neither was less obligatory, even if one went to the pockets and tables of the lord and the other went to the tables of the clergy or the poor. In Wood's narrative, the origins of tithing were in the practice of offerings (*oblaciones*) of bread and wine for liturgical purposes. By the later sixth century offerings might include "wax for candles, oil for lamps, candles and lamps themselves, eggs, cheeses, and other produce for the clergy, sometimes money."²⁵³ The relation of tithing and offerings to the larger social practice of gift-exchange, in which a gift to God, a saint, an abbot, or a priest, marked esteem or expressed gratitude, though a rich enquiry, is of larger scope than the current project permits.²⁵⁴ The objects offered might be used to support clergy, feed the poor, or

²⁵¹ Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

²⁵² Wood, 463.

²⁵³ Wood, 459.

²⁵⁴ Wood, 359. "Some can be seen as extensions of the social practice of gift-giving: at one level to God or a saint, at another to bishop, abbot, or priest as a mark of respect; or perhaps as countergifts, token or substantial, for help provided, services rendered, or functions performed. Some took the place of pagan

attend to the physical properties of the church, i.e. light, structure, décor, etc., but were under the jurisdiction of the clergy. First fruits, a type of exchange with its origins in biblical injunction, consisted in the first livestock born and grains harvested in a given year, and functioned similarly to generalized oblations. Tithes, though, functioned less like gifts, and more like taxes, being defined strictly by quantity, and being attached to no specific ritual.²⁵⁵ Wood has observed that Alcuin treated tithes as a form of tribute payment for peoples newly subject to Christian rule.²⁵⁶

By the time that Bishop Jonas wrote to Matfrid, it had become clear that tithes were paid *to* churches, and not to the *missi* of the bishops, or to the poor directly. While persons might choose the churches to which they paid their tithes, they were required to pay tithes.²⁵⁷ The tithes and offerings like those that Jonas described were the property of the churches as institutions, not of God, nor of the poor, despite the fact that the tithes might be divided up for use toward meeting the needs of the poor, or sustaining the clergy. This was not an insubstantial form of exchange. More formal, indeed, than the gift exchange-like system of offerings and first-fruits, which had more ritual purpose, the tithe was a monetary obligation based on membership in the Christian community. For the conquered, it was even something of a tribute payment given to the conquerors. In Wickham and Polyani's analysis, this would be something not strictly commercial, because it profited the payer nothing, but it may have been a real form of exchange, a

offerings left at sacred trees, springs, or hilltops, sheaves or beasts brought to a king or priest for seasonal sacrifice, or contributions to a ritual feast shared with the dead. Perhaps most important was care for the dead, especially ancestors, by making offerings to have their bodies buried in hallowed ground and to help their souls out of purgatory.”

²⁵⁵ Wood, 460.

²⁵⁶ Wood, 460; Alcuin of York, “Epistola No. 107”; “Epistola No. 111,” in *Epistolae Karolini Aevi (II)*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epistolae 4 (Berlin: Weidman, 1985), 159–62; “Epistola No. 113,” in *Epistolae Karolini Aevi (II)*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epistolae 4 (Berlin: Weidman, 1985), 163–66.

²⁵⁷ Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, 463.

form of exchange contingent on political membership that connected persons to each other, and something governed by ethical rule.²⁵⁸

Indeed, John Eldevick has observed that baptismal churches were significant enough centers of local village economy that there was some rivalry over who would control them.²⁵⁹ More specifically, we know that Orléans, which sat at the northernmost part of the Loire, was the point at which salt from Nantes was transferred from ships to overland vessels for transport to Paris.²⁶⁰ It was also home to a ceramic production center, as Wickham has observed, making it an ideal location for the transfer of bulk goods like salt and wine. Wine, had, during the time of Gregory of Tours, been transmitted in the opposite direction down the Loire from Orléans to Tours.²⁶¹ Additionally, Verhulst's survey of the Carolingian economy argues for a general time of increase and prosperity up to 830: this commercial prosperity underscored Alcuin's account of greed for Count Wido because the *Liber* was composed in the commercially active region between the Loire and the Rhine.²⁶² Accordingly, this letter from Jonas' reflects an even more prosperous economy than in the historical moment in which Alcuin wrote. For there to be conflicts over the distribution of tithes, it would seem that there would have to have *been* substantial amounts of goods given in tithe.

A legalized economic practice, tithes were the subject of considerable Carolingian legislation especially after the Capitulary of Heristal in 779.²⁶³ Charlemagne with this began the civil enforcement of the tithe, but it was less a radical innovation than a

²⁵⁸ Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 567.

²⁵⁹ Eldevick, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform*, 71.

²⁶⁰ Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, 81.

²⁶¹ Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 799.

²⁶² Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*, 1, 85–114.

²⁶³ Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, 463; Alfred Boretius, ed., "Capitulary of Heristal," MGH Leges: Capitularia Regum Francorum 1 (Berlin: Weidman, 1883), 46-51.

confirmation of existing of Pepin's policy.²⁶⁴ The movements in legal discourse which followed Heristal sought to define the particulars of a politically-reified tithing system from its origins in canon law. The items which could constitute tithe, and the particular relations of exchange were of primary import, as well as how the tithe should be spent. Tithe amounts ranged from the entire income (from the *Homilia Sacra* of Caesar of Arles and the *Scarapsus* of Pirmin) to a more moderate policy articulated by Alcuin. Generally, the tithe was comprised of agricultural goods, but could well include coinage, and the products of trade.²⁶⁵ As to the relations of exchange in the tithe, all persons were expected to pay it, with not even the king being exempt, and the theologians agreed that tithes should be paid to the order of priests, which took the Levites as their precedent.²⁶⁶ Legal precedent was found at the Council of Mâcon in 585, and from Pope Zachary in 748.²⁶⁷ By the end of the ninth century, the overwhelming consensus among theologians and jurists was that tithes be paid to the priests, and in effect, to the church. Technically, this was not simony, but there is some evidence of priests withholding sacraments from persons refusing to pay tithes.²⁶⁸ Civil law was concerned with trying to ensure equitable distribution of the tithe income, i.e. that it was not concentrated at newly built churches, thereby leaving older churches bereft. In addition, there was the frustrating practice of landholder building and controlling ecclesiastical property. A charter from about 830 for a church at Satolas, agreed upon by the archbishops of Vienne and Lyons, reserved for themselves "the right to dispose otherwise of these tithes in case of need or desire to

²⁶⁴ Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: New Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 28–29.

²⁶⁵ Constable, 32–33.

²⁶⁶ Constable, 35. "Tithes should be paid 'to the clergy who administer the ceremonies to the people.'"

²⁶⁷ Constable, 35–36.

²⁶⁸ Constable, 39.

restore or build a church somewhere else.”²⁶⁹ That this was recorded within a decade of Jonas’ letter speaks to the fact that his problem, the source of such invective, was not an isolated one for the clergy.

Though little documentary evidence pertaining to the life of Count Matfrid is extant, a few clues about his holdings and ‘property’ are known, making Jonas’s observations about greed perhaps more pointedly applicable to this count than has been previously surmised. Four major churches and relic-shrines were in the diocese of Orléans: the Cathedral of Saint-Croix, Saint-Aignan, Saint-Avit, and Saint-Euverte. Additionally, three prominent monasteries dotted the surrounding countryside: Fleury, Meung-sur-Loire (twenty-nine km west of Orléans proper), and Micy.²⁷⁰ The only one definitively known to be headed by Matfrid as a lay abbot was the westernmost, the abbey at Meung-sur-Loire.²⁷¹ An imperial formula recorded that “*inluster vir ille comes in regimine habere videtur.*”²⁷² Matfrid thus may have, as count, also assumed the role of the lay abbot of Meung-sur-Loire.²⁷³ Additionally, there is some possibility that Saint-Aignan was also under Matfrid’s *dominium*. Odo, Matfrid’s successor, was accused of great insolence when he tried to usurp the abbot’s power over the churches of Orléans, especially Saint Aignan and the monastery of Fleury.²⁷⁴ Thomas Head also observed that

²⁶⁹ Constable, 39.

²⁷⁰ Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 26.

²⁷¹ Depreux, “Le Comte Matfrid d’Orléans (av. 815-836),” 348. Proof that Matfrid held the abbey as an abbot or rector, or by royal concession, is absent from the historical record. “Le seul établissement religieux dont on sait qu’il était dirigé par Matfrid est l’abbaye de Meung-sur-Loire. On a prétendu que le comte possédait ce monastère « par concession royale » mais rien, à la vérité, ne permet de l’affirmer.”

²⁷² Depreux, 349, n116; Karl Zeumer, ed., “Formule impériale n.46,” in *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, Unveränd. Nachdr. der Ausg. Hannoverae 1886, MGH Leges 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 2001).

²⁷³ Depreux, “Le Comte Matfrid d’Orléans (av. 815-836),” 349.

²⁷⁴ Adrevald, “Miracula sancti Benedicti,” in *Les Miracles de saint Benoît*, ed. E. de Certain (Paris, 1858), 47; Trans. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, 26; Cited also in Depreux, “Le Comte Matfrid d’Orléans (av. 815-836),” 349–50. The church of Orléans with the nearby places of the saints, which were considered to be subject to the rule of clerics and monks of the Lord, was afflicted by not a little hardship

the abbacy of Saint Aignan was “virtually hereditary property” of the family of the count of Orléans during the reign of Louis the Pious.²⁷⁵ Depreux has challenged this statement, citing a long conflict with Theodulf of Orléans over the jurisdiction over the abbeys of St. Benedict at Fleury and St. Mesmin at Micy that was only resolved in 826 by Louis the Pious.²⁷⁶ The results were inconclusive: there was a conflict over jurisdiction, but it is unclear who won.

Regardless of precisely which monasteries or churches were in Matfrid’s control at any given moment, it is clear that this lay nobleman may well have held dominion over churches, and may have been taking their tithes, making Jonas’ allegations ever so much more applicable. Jonas applied the language of greed, with its legal and penitential force, to the specific issue of tithing. Indeed, though greed in this letter was desiring too many things, in the process of which a man might lose himself, its most prominent particular application was in the practice of appropriating the tithe, a thing which was inappropriate and dangerous for the Christian count. While there remained an expectation for largesse—it was, as in Alcuin’s account the virtue which defeated *avaritia* in metaphysical combat—the largesse was to be taken from the count’s own bounty. Jonas appropriated as well the martial imagery of the battle between vices and virtues, in which greed is conquered by *largitas*:

As the venerable master Alcuin wrote, there are eight generals of all impiety with their armies, and the strongest fighters of diabolical fraud against the race of humans, who, with God helping, are most easily conquered by the warriors of Christ through the holy virtues...avarice through largesse.²⁷⁷

[Count Odo] who was puffed up above his nature by unwholesome insolence, subjected all the churches of Orléans, with the exception of the mother church [the cathedral], to his law, and tried to confiscate the abbatial dignity of Saint Aignan and even of Fleury.”

²⁷⁵ Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints*, 29.

²⁷⁶ Depreux, “Le Comte Matfrid d’Orléans (av. 815-836),” 349–50.

²⁷⁷ Jonas of Orléans, *Instruction des laïcs*, II.213. §III.6 “ut venerabilis magister Alcuinus scribit, [sunt] octo totius impietatis duces cum exercitibus suis, et fortissimi contra humanum genus diabolicae fraudis

But, as in Paulinus' account, largesse did not consist in the dominion over the fruits of another's labor: those glittering things that were legally exacted for the church were not to be used in the processes of gift-exchange that would benefit the count. The expectation was that funds would go through the baptismal church for distribution by the bishop. The legislation of the tithe attempted to ensure that largesse went through the institution of the church: gifts to God via the Church might have had the same end as a gift to the clergy or the poor, but in some sense, the system circumvented a system of local gift exchange. First fruits, oblations, and tithes were not to be given by laymen to the poor or to the clergy with any spoken or unspoken expectation of exchange: this would constitute simony. The tithe essentially removed from local exchange, commercial or non-commercial, a tenth of the resources, but placed those funds in the category of wealth that could be distributed in ecclesial largesse for the support of the poor and the adornment of the churches. A 'greedy count' that wanted control over those funds wished to appropriate things set aside for largesse for his own use, which would in effect be reinserting them back into a system of exchange in which he might benefit, non-commercial perhaps, but still exchange. Alternately, we might read tithe distribution as the church wishing to conduct gift exchange in its own name—a bishop's ability to provide for the poor and sustain its clergy cemented his [or, representing the Church by virtue of his membership, the Church's] social position through exchange.

One other interesting point remains: the crimes Jonas gave under the heading of *tenacia* included things which Paulinus had addressed with the language of greed, that is,

bellatores, qui, Deo auxiliante, facillime vincuntur a bellatoribus Christi per virtutes sanctas...avaritia per largitatem”

the unjust seizure of property, the theft and *rapacitas* of another's goods, and which both Jonas and Alcuin had included in their list of greed's 'progeny'. The word 'avarice' did appear at one point in a quotation of Luke 12:15, but only once in this section.²⁷⁸ By contrast, it was a term consistently associated with the practice of the lord who appropriates monastic tithes for his own use, employed some five times. We recall that in Paulinus' treatment of greed, the images of Achan and Saul emphasized a valence of at least conquest and its 'just' spoils, and at most the unjust *rapacitatem* of frontier conquest. Here though, the word greed, with all of its penitential weight, was being applied not principally to theft, or the unjust seizure of goods, but to unjust appropriation of tithe. It is possible, granted, that *tenacia* was implicitly being associated with greed through the list of greed's 'progeny' following Alcuin given in §III.6: perhaps Jonas assumed that his comital readers would make that association with all its gravity. Indeed, perhaps this is what led Dubreucq to render it 'l'avarice'.²⁷⁹ But even if was the case, an expansion of the definition of greed to include this particular problem was a bold and decisive move. Jonas was applying substantial penitential pressure to a practice he found unsavory.

Jonas' denunciation the 'greedy count' of appropriating tithes for his own use, as he was the representative persons in gift exchange, is fortified in Jonas' treatment of greed. He employs the *auctoritas* of the Pauline epistles as well as of the gospel of substantiate the gravity of the situation and reiterate its profoundly economic applications: "About the greedy, indeed, a dreadful saying was uttered by the Lord in the

²⁷⁸ Jonas of Orléans, II, 271. §II.11 Et Dominus ait in Evangelio: *Videte et cavete ab omni avaritia, quia non in abundantia cujusquam vita ejus est ex his quae possidet.*

²⁷⁹ Jonas of Orléans, II, 271. §II.11.

Gospel, and by the Apostle, that the greedy will not possess the kingdom of God.”²⁸⁰

Notable as well is the fact that Jonas’ *De Institutione Regia* did not include this long section on tithing and its relation to greed. This was the ethical problem of the court, under whose jurisdiction the baptismal churches fell. It was his duty to ensure that the glittering tithes were placed under another institution.²⁸¹ His membership in the polity authorized him to give alms, and to give gifts (*largesse*) but not to appropriate the dutiful gifts of the faithful for his own uses.

II. THE SOUTHERN PERIPHERY

Dhuoda’s letter to her son William constitutes one of the most important records of the experiences of noblewomen in medieval Francia. As a highly educated laywoman, she could engage the Biblical tradition like the best in her spiritual and theological and ethical admonitions to her son. She speaks only very generally about the scheme of principal vices, even while she engages numerology in the tradition of Gregory’s *Moralia* liberally at other points, and septads and octads of other sorts (e.g. the octad of the beatitudes, and the septad of the gifts of the Holy Spirit).²⁸² The sin of greed in any of its verbal variants

²⁸⁰ I Cor. 6:10; Mark 10:25: “It easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God.”; Jonas of Orléans, II. 271. §II.11. “De avaris autem tremenda sententia a Domino in Evangelio, et ab Apostolo deprompta est, quod avari regnum Dei non possidebunt. De arbore autem avaritiae prodeunt pestiferi ramusculi, invidiae scilicet, furta, latrocinia, homicidia, mendacia.”

²⁸¹ Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, 794. “What was basically wrong here—what made it so ‘out of order, incongruous with the Christian religion, and dangerous to those doing it’—was the layman’s usurpation of the bishop’s functions (like the Old Testament King Uzziah) in disposing of ‘tithes and offerings of the faithful, offered to God.’”

²⁸² One of the first sources, and certain one of the most common sources for later reception, to align Biblical groupings of sevens was St. Augustine in *De Sermone in Monte*: Augustine linked the seven petitions of the Pater Noster with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and to seven of the eight beatitudes. Maurice Hussey’s article, “The Petitions of the Paternoster in Mediaeval English Literature,” has both provided this useful chart of the Augustinian source, and considered subsequent alignments within this tradition. Augustine paired the beatitude “blessed are the poor in spirit” with the virtue of the Fear of the Lord (*timor domini*), and not as Dhuoda did, with *largess*. See for further discussion of the wider tradition of aligning the beatitudes with sins, virtues, and the Paternoster Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Maurice Hussey, “The Petitions of the Paternoster in Mediaeval English Literature,” *Medium Aevum*, no. 27 (January 1,

appears only once in the extensive treatise, but the topic of almsgiving recurs at a number of distinct points.²⁸³ Her inclusion of avarice is framed in the context of wealth:

In view of all the wealth assigned to you by God, stretch out a generous hand. Do not let avarice, because it is the service of idols, be mentioned concerning you.²⁸⁴ But if God has given you anything, whether it be much or little, according to the kind of property it is, extend it to one asking; give that you may receive.²⁸⁵

The last line, *da ut accipias*, bears striking resemblance to the maxim *da ut des* that embodies most fully a sense of gift-exchange.²⁸⁶ While scope limits our consideration of this particular mode of economic analysis, it would seem that Dhuoda's phrasing here might serve as a rich source within this mode.²⁸⁷ She cites a number of scriptural references to support her point, all connected by a theme of largesse for the poor:

For it is written: 'Blessed is he that understands concerning the needy.'²⁸⁸ And also: "Blessed is he who thinks about the poor man; praiseworthy in life, his work is considered great.' Also another writer [says]: 'He who gives to the poor will never suffer want.'²⁸⁹ A just giver, although he passes from this world, will still have unending fame and happiness hereafter.²⁹⁰

1958); Avril Henry, "'The Pater Noster in a Table Ypeynted' and Some Other Presentations of Doctrine in the Vernon Manuscript," in *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript*, ed. Derek Albert Pearsall (Cambridge; Rochester: D.S. Brewer; Boydell & Brewer, 1990), 89–113.

²⁸³ Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, IV.1, 126; IV.8, 150-55; IX.9, 162-63; Cf. Dhuoda, *Manuel pour mon fils*, ed. Pierre Riché, trans. Bernard De Vregille and Claude Mondesert, S.J., Sources chrétiennes 225 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1975) from which Thiébaux's edition and translation are derived.

²⁸⁴ Col. 3:5

²⁸⁵ Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, IV.8, 158-59. Item. In cunctis opibus tibi a Deo aplicitis, largam ad porrigendum confer manum. Avaricia namque, quod est ydolorum servitus, nec nominetur in te. Sed si quid tibi Deus dederit multum atque etiam exiguum, secundum qualitatem habendi, ita porrige petenti; Da ut accipias.

²⁸⁶ Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, "The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach," in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, ed. Esther Cohen and Mayke De Jong, Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions 11 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001), 124.

²⁸⁷ Innes, "Practices of Property in the Carolingian Empire," 258.

²⁸⁸ Ps. 40:2

²⁸⁹ Prov. 28:27

²⁹⁰ Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, IV.8, 158-59. "Scriptum est enim: *Beatus qui intelligit super egenum*. Et item: *Beatus qui cogitat de paupere*; laudabilis in vita opera eius tenetur magnifica. Item alius: *Qui dat pauperi nunquam egebit*, iustusque dator, quamvis saeulo volvat, tamen in gloria et iocunditate postmodum sine fine manebit."

It is this last point that is the key theme in her theory of noblesse oblige: the giver will never be penalized. There is a sort of confidence that in the distribution of wealth to the poor, generosity will multiply and return. It will return in this world, but further, in the form of mercy in the next:

... Give so that in the last judgment with secure, safe, and pure conscience, you may be worthy to ask, saying, as it were: "Give to me, Lord, because I have given. Have mercy upon me because I have been merciful." For the divine word of the Gospel says: "Make unto you friends of mammon that when you shall pass from this way, they may receive you into everlasting dwellings."²⁹¹

Dhuoda's exposition of almsgiving, though heavily Alcuinian, bears its own remarkable facet. Alcuin refers to the glitter of *movable* wealth, the gold, silver, and salt that were objects of exchange. Investment of movable wealth by those who 'have a share' in land, in those who have no such share, results in eternal benefit. Dhuoda, the woman whose familial property was at risk through military activity and the reality of raiders from the Mediterranean, while also deeply concerned with heavenly benefits, also expresses firm belief in the continued remuneration of her family with temporal benefits. This was a system of exchange in which giving to some would result in continued *dominium* over the giver's land. Matthew Innes has argued, reading Dhuoda's *Liber* alongside controversies over benefices and property inheritance that property 'rights' in the Carolingian period were contingent on moral uprightness.²⁹² On the premise that the concepts of 'absolute property' or 'exclusive ownership' are not historical constants, but "products of nineteenth-century social and legal change," Innes argues for a legal culture in which

²⁹¹ Luke 16:9 "Tu ergo, fili, *honora* in primis *Dominum*, ut ait Salomon, *de tua substantia et de primitiis tuis*, ceterumque rerum opum tuarum da pauperibus. Da ut in illo extremi iudicii finem cum *secura sinceraque et pura consciencia merearis petere*, ita dicendo: "Da, Domine, quia dedi. Miserere, quia misericordiam feci." Dicit enim evangelicus sermo divinus: "Facite vobis amicos de mamona, ut, cum ab hac defeceritis via, in eterna vos recipiant tabernacula."

²⁹² Innes, "Practices of Property in the Carolingian Empire," 299–313.

“rights” were “plausible, rather than absolute claims, causes worthy of debate.”²⁹³ He cited Dhuoda’s exhortations to moral rectitude and piety as evidence that familial property was not a matter of inalienable legal right, but a gift contingent on the virtue of the recipient. More specifically, she exhorts him to pray for the ancestors from whom his family received the land in the hope that he might enjoy the property. Dhuoda’s approach to property found an analogue in the language of Carolingian wills:

Those receiving legacies did so conditionally on their making specified gifts from the good of the testator’s soul, as beneficiaries became ‘alms-givers’ implicated in a series of radically personalized and moralized exchanges. Inheritance was an explicitly moral and commemorative act rooted in reciprocal obligations between [persons], not the vertical application of a set of impersonal rules.²⁹⁴

Rather than being loose and common-sense, the Carolingian system of property rights was a legal system of “vigorous argument and counter-argument, derived from a multiplicity of sources, some to our eyes extra-legal,” that could apply to office, royal or ecclesiastical land, and familial inheritances.²⁹⁵

Dhuoda’s understanding of the vice of greed was thoroughly imbricated in its opposing virtue of largesse: her treatise was more attentive to the cultivation of virtues than the formal theological treatment of the vices. As with Alcuin, though, that she hinted at the discourse of the vices, and to greed’s place within that discourse, added legal and

²⁹³ Innes, 248–49.

²⁹⁴ Innes, 251.

²⁹⁵ Innes, 254–55. Innes treats the Perrecy dossier, which describes the patterns of patronage over the land over two centuries. In documents from 815–20, the counts claiming property ‘rights’ are referred to as “benefiting from”, “having” or “holding” the res, the villa. But in 836 and 839, when Pippin of Aquitaine and Louis the Pious record the gift of Perrecy to Eccard, they use the language of somewhat more legal specificity, emphasizing the totality of the rights being transferred. In other associated documents, Innes notes that there was a difference between ‘holding’ an estate and ‘owning’ one. This stemmed from Roman law. In one of the disputes, the Mont case, the legal testimonies cite the presence of absence of public ceremonies which indicate dominium: these included token payments and rituals transferring possession. In the property dispute cases between 815 and 820, witnesses cited similar evidence: “Through collective performance of a legally charged fact, these rituals created a form of public knowledge’ which explained and legitimated the title of the winning party through acknowledging the basis of their narrative of the estate’s history.”

penitential *gravitas* to her admonitions. Indeed, *largesse* was proper to her role as duchess, and her son's potential role as a nobleman. Dhuoda herself gives us some information about her economic activities, and thereby, some information about the context for and application of the ethic she intended to convey to her young son. She was left in charge of the Uzès estate while her husband and son were at court, where William was being held as surety. She notes that in order to fulfill Bernard's duties, particularly the financing of the Spanish March, "lest he leave" her and William, and to meet her own needs, she has gone into substantial debt, borrowing money from both Jews and Christians. She warns William that some debt may remain after her death, and beseeches him to 'seek out' her creditors and pay them off with anything left of her estate. If that does not suffice, she instructs him to use his own just acquisitions to see that her debt is paid off.²⁹⁶ Here was a noblewoman, ill and in financial peril, struggling to meet the military expectations of her husband's rôle as duke. This difficult reality stands in stark contrast to the ethic of noble and generous charity she reiterates throughout her letter.

For a full sense of the economic valences of Dhuoda's theory of *noblesse oblige*, it is essential to know that the *Liber* was transmitted alongside Alcuin's *Liber de Virtutibus*. Alongside the *Liber Manualis* in Barcelona BC 549 were a set of remarkable texts including Alcuin's *Liber de Virtutibus*, Isidore of Seville's *Chronica* and *Liber*

²⁹⁶ Dhuoda, *Liber Manualis*, X.4, 226. "Pro utilitatibus domini et senioris mei Bernardi, ut meum erga illum, in Marchis vel in multis locis, non vilesceret servitium, nec a te vel a me se separasset, sicut mos est in aliquis, multum me sentio debitis adgravatam. Pro multis vero necessitatibus, non solum de Christianis, verum etiam de Iudaes, multa ex illorum rebus minibus meis frequenter recepit. In quantum valui reddidi, et in quantum potero semper reddam deinceps. Quod si post discessum meum aliquid remanserit ad solvendum, rogo et supplico ut tu ipse diligenter exquiras qui sint debitores mei. Qui cum reperti fuerint, non solum ex facultatibus meis, si ranserint, verum etiam de tuis, quae habes, et adhuc, Deo adiuvante, iuste adquisieris, cuncta in omnibus persolvi."

differentiarum, and a ninth-century encyclopedia, the *Sententia in laude compoti*.²⁹⁷

These were a sampling of some of the foremost scientific and ethical texts of the Carolingian education; that they were transmitted together seems to indicate the fluidity of the categories of ‘scientific’ or ‘ethical’. Together, this set seems to have comprised a text “destined for scholarly use.”²⁹⁸ As Chandler has argued, furthermore, there is good reason to believe that Alcuin’s *Liber* accompanied the *Liber Manualis* to its very first recipient, William.²⁹⁹ If this is indeed the case, this would very helpfully explain the dearth in the systematic treatment of the seven deadly sins in a text based so heavily on numerology.³⁰⁰ Dhuoda would have been building her dialectically structured text around the ideas left unexplored by Alcuin’s systematic treatment: the eight beatitudes and the seven gifts of the holy spirit, which added up to the fifteen steps to perfection, would have been complementary to the summary and less-numerically-heavy Alcuinian ‘mirror’. In addition, the systematic treatment of the vices, with their legal and penitential gravity, would have been transferred as well to Dhuoda’s *Liber*. Alcuin’s psychological emphasis on greed as a thing of excessive desire that was contingent on the judgment and particular circumstances of a count, would have served as the base for Dhuoda’s elegant elaboration of the virtue of largesse and its specific practice. In addition, however, the

²⁹⁷ Cullen J. Chandler, “Barcelona BC 569 and a Carolingian Programme on the Virtues,” *Early Medieval Europe* 18, no. 3 (2010): 265–91.

²⁹⁸ Pierre Riché, “Introduction,” in *Manuel Pour Mon Fils*, by Dhuoda, trans. Bernard De Vregille and Claude Mondesert, S.J., Sources Chrétienes 225 (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1975), 49.

²⁹⁹ Chandler, “Barcelona BC 569 and a Carolingian Programme on the Virtues.” Even if Alcuin’s letter did not accompany Dhuoda’s *Liber* to William initially, there is excellent evidence to believe that the larger reception (since public and private are unhelpful distinctions in this case as elsewhere) did understand the letters to be complementary and correlative.

³⁰⁰ Even though Dhuoda ostensibly included a chapter on the principle vices, she did little to address them directly. Indeed, as we have seen, *avaritia* appears only in relation to a larger ethic of wealth. The relation Dhuoda’s *Liber Manualis* bore to texts of the *Lästerschema* genre is explained by this transmission pattern: it did intersect with the legal and penitential discourse that added political authority to some of the other ethical texts.

Liber would have carried the Alcuinian sense of wealth as ‘abundance’ given by God. Dhuoda’s treatment of charity would have underlying it the imperative of to “make common” to those who had “no share in fields, no share in vineyards, no share in the riches of the world,” that they might rejoice in the fecundity of the earth.³⁰¹

Dhuoda’s economic situation and her ethical teaching seem to constitute a paradox. On the one hand, she was borrowing money from moneylenders in order to fulfill her rôle as countess. She operated as a member of the nobility to fulfill the county’s martial obligations. On the other hand, she did not hesitate to advocate generosity to those who did not have ‘a share’. The economy Dhuoda envisioned was one in which all was gift, and the giver would never be left empty-handed. She had no apparent opposition to debt, even when it implied paying ‘usury’ to creditors not beholden to anti-usury prohibitions and prioritized giving over being without debt. As an economic system, this would seem not to work. She advocated wealth-distribution, neither on the grounds of investment, nor because of ultimate commercial gain, but on the ground of maintaining continuing *dominium* over the share of wealth and property entrusted to her family. Her vision was of the glittering of property, on which was contingent the fecundity of the land’s gifts (herds, food). The gifts the land offered were for the enjoyment of the persons who held a share in it, and part of the social and political role of the count as a member of a Christian polity, was to see that the fruits of the land might be shared. It was not an argument for redistribution of property, and certainly not one for renunciation, but rather one for continued prosperity and stability by making

³⁰¹ Alcuin of York, *Liber de Virtutibus*, §17, PL 101:625B. “Sunt enim plurimi qui nullam in agris, nullam in vineis, nullam habent in saeculi divitiis portionem. Quorum inopiae de ea quam Dominus nobis dedit copia consulere debemus, ut et ipsi nobiscum Deo pro terrae fecunditate benedicant, et gaudeant possidentibus fuisse donata, quae etiam pauperibus ac peregrinis facta fuerunt communia.”

things common: the *dominium* given to her family by the political order was the source of wealth, but that *dominium* could only be maintained by sharing it. Greed was not, in her account, an interior vice. Granted, neither was it the root of all evil, but it was an ethical category that held political and economic consequences. Indeed, as Innes has put it, “it would be wrong to dismiss the language of this devotional tract [as] there were other discourses within which the disposition of property to Dhuoda’s family could be presented, not least the bald Latin legalism familiar from Carolingian charters.”³⁰² That Dhuoda articulated her family’s claim to property in the language of virtue gives credence to the supposition that devotional or spiritual writing does not preclude economic and political meaning.

With regard to this political and economic meaning, a facet of gender might be worth further interrogation. Our other authors of vice and virtue handbooks have been men exclusively: Dhuoda wrote her ethical treatise as a woman and a mother to a man whom she might well have believed would one day assume the rôle of general and governor of a march, that is, his father’s rôle. It might seem that the social rôles would be gendered, and that it was the counts as men to whom the direction applied. And yet, we also see that Dhuoda was acting as manager of her household. In some sense then, the ethical advice was not exclusively to the count as man, but to the count as representative, member of the noble family. If his wife were acting in his stead, as in Dhuoda’s case, she too, would be under the ethical obligations laid upon the count not to be greedy.

³⁰² Innes, “Practices of Property in the Carolingian Empire,” 258. “. . .But we cannot assume that this constituted a hegemonic discourse, setting the parameters to which the likes of Dhuoda might offer a pious and essentially passive gloss. Carolingian lawsuits, after all, could identify a multiplicity of legal arguments of diverse sources and different weights, some indeed invested with very significant cultural and social, factoring into an outcome ultimately determined by the relationship between the individual involved and the exigencies of context in which they interacted.”

Tragically, William would be the victim of the *mêlée* surrounding succession of the throne in 849, dying at the age of twenty-four: never would he assume the role of nobility for which she so assiduously prepared him. Neither would he outlive her to pay off the debts she mentioned with chagrin in her letter. Further, as Dhuoda lamented in the *Liber*, her second son Bernard would spend his childhood apart from his mother: we do not know to what extent Dhuoda's ethical teachings may have shaped her sons' actions. We do know that her treatise was copied and transmitted with other moral and scientific texts: perhaps it was more influential on the actions of others who would receive her letter. Garver has observed, following other prominent historians on the distinction between public and private, that "it is doubtful that [Dhuoda] expected her work to remain a "private" family text: a clear distinction between public and private letter writing was not a conception Carolingians held."³⁰³

III. CONCLUSIONS

In our introductions to four potentially 'greedy counts', we have seen the movements of an ethical discourse that was broadly applicable to the person of the count acting in various places and times, but was wrought from common themes. Paulinus, writing to Erich of Friuli, wrote with particularly keen attention to the problems of spoil and pillage on the frontier of a still-growing Carolingian empire, particularly with respect to the contemporary conflicts over the capture of the Avar ring. The 'greedy count' would, like the Biblical kings Achan and Saul, appropriate spoils for his own tithe, making gifts of the fruit of others' labor. There are some resonances with the slave trade that was undoubtedly known to both author and recipient. Alcuin wrote to Count Wido, marquis

³⁰³ Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture*, 153.

of Nantes and former Margrave of the Breton March with an emphasis on greed as *excessive desire*, that also carried the weight of a penitential and legal tradition. This flexible tradition seems to reflect the highly commercial environment in which they were both situated, Erich at the salt-pans of the Loire, and Alcuin further downstream at an abbey with not-insubstantial economic investments. Largesse was no less required as the ethical counter for greed, and framed in terms of profitable investment. We may ask of this treatment whether there may have been concrete economic effects that proceeded from a perceived duty to curtail demand or desire in favor of investment in the poor.

Some years later, we met Jonas of Orléans, writing *De institutione laicali* to Count Matfrid of Orléans in a treatise of vices and virtues like that of Alcuin, but with an additional highly pointed application to the governance over ecclesiastical tithe. While indeed, *largitas* was still the corrective to the vice of greed, importantly, largesse of ecclesiastical tithe was to be firmly anchored within the purview of ecclesiastical rule. The count who usurped this role, like Kings Uzziah and Belshazzar, was guilty not only of greed but also of sacrilege. This treatment of greed and largesse can be understood as a problem analogous to that which Paulinus addressed: largesse was to come from one's own labor, and not from the labor of others. Further, given the economic structures of gift exchange, it was especially important that the person of the count not be the one distributing the contents (coined and uncoined precious metals, first fruits, and other offerings) of the tithe to the poor or the churches, as his gift solidified social relations. The tithe which was legally supposed to go to God could hardly be distributed by a local layman whose distribution came with social obligations. Finally, Dhuoda of Uzès, whose letter to her son may have been accompanied in transmission to William by Alcuin's

Liber, ensuring that its discussion of the vices and virtues carried all of the legal weight of Alcuin's letter, advocated most eloquently a theory of redistribution. Having a 'share' in property, i.e. *dominium* over it, carried with it an ethical obligation to distribute the enjoyment of it among those who did not have a share. Such generosity was not something simply meritorious, it was that on which the continued familial *dominium* rested.

The commonalities between these theories must be elucidated by comparison to the treatments of greed among persons occupying other social roles, as their contrast will make clear the boundaries of this ethical system, but preliminarily, we see a system of exchange imbued with a strong sense of duty. This was no impersonal system of supply and demand contingent on an individual's purchasing power, but a system of relations: of rich to poor, of nobleman to king, of conqueror to conquered, of count to bishop, and of each of these, further, to God in some sense of divine economy. Complex and dynamic, these theories of *noblesse oblige* that prevented a noble from becoming 'a greedy count' suggest that greed in the Carolingian period was not reducible to 'excessive individualism'. Exchange was imbricated with ethics, and both were relative to social role.

CHAPTER IV.1: THE GREEDY PRINCE AND *NOBLESSE OBLIGE* UP TO 814

The previous chapters have examined the particular ethical obligations proper to the rôle of the Carolingian count, a person of some nobility and political authority, but who was still subordinate to the monarch. While the obligations differed somewhat according to time and place, any consistency in comital obligation shall be seen most clearly when set in contrast to the obligations proper to a different role, that of the king under his titles of *regis*, *princeps* or *rector*.³⁰⁴ The ethics of two Carolingian kings, Louis the Pious, and Charles the Bald, shall be held under the most scrutiny, as it was these two kings who received letters specifically adjuring them to beware of *avaritia*. Louis the Pious received the *Via Regia* from Smaragdus, abbot of St. Mihiel, likely between 814/16. Charles the Bald received three important treatises on ethics and kingship from the prolific Bishop Hincmar of Rheims, and one as well from the Irish scholar Sedulius Scottus, *De Rectoribus Christianis*. One other treatise, *De institutione regia*, was written to another of Louis' sons, Pippin I of Aquitaine, but it constitutes less of a stand-alone treatment of greed than those which underscore ethical themes present in the other letters. These letters, addressed to Carolingian rulers, reveal the *mores* of exchange particular to kings, and the goods these *mores* were ideally supposed to govern.

One other source should be added for its treatment of inheritance, the seventh-century Irish tract called *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, "On the Twelve Abuses of the

³⁰⁴See Karl Frederick Morrison, *The Two Kingdoms; Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London: Routledge, 2010).

World,” of Pseudo-Cyprian.³⁰⁵ It was used by both Sedulius Scottus and Jonas of Orléans in their respective letters to rulers, and Hincmar of Rheims copied the entire section on the unjust king for Carloman’s benefit in *De ordine palatii*.³⁰⁶ The *Duodecim Abusivis* is structured entirely around social roles, with twelve chapters describing ‘the wise man without works, the young man without obedience, the rich man without almsgiving, the woman without decency, the lord without strength, a *plebs* without discipline, etc.’³⁰⁷ The ninth abuse pertained to the unjust king, and it was the only abuse to incorporate consequences on a cosmological scale. Ideally, the king should correct himself, defend churches, judge without regard of persons, feed the poor, appoint people to care for the realm, retain good counsellors, pray, etc. If the king should fail to act justly, not only will peace be disrupted, but the earth’s production will be disrupted: natural disasters, diminishing fertility of the land, the destruction of livestock by wild beasts, destructive storms, lightning and fires, the invasion of enemy peoples raiding goods, and even the death of loved ones are all consequences brought about by the unjust king.³⁰⁸ This text links ethical action of a particular person, the king, to economic production, by the impact on the resources available for human cultivation. The king’s injustice can have a profound effect on the economy of a place by causing a severe decrease in production, or

³⁰⁵ Rob Meens, “Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-Being of the Realm,” *Early Medieval Europe* 7, no. 3 (1998): 349. It was long attributed to the third-century bishop of Carthage. See also Julianna Grigg, “The Just King and De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi,” *Parergon* 27, no. 1 (2010): 27–52.

³⁰⁶ Pseudo-Cyprian, *De XII Abusivis Saeculi*, ed. Sigmund Hellman, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 34, 1909; Jonas of Orléans, “De institutione regia,” in *Jonas d’Orléans et son “De institutione regia,”* ed. J. Reviron, *L’Église et l’État au moyen âge 1* (Paris, 1930); Sedulius Scottus, *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, ed. Sigmund Hellman (Munich: Beck, 1906); Hincmar of Rheims, *De Ordine Palatii*, ed. Rudolf Scheiffer and Thomas Gross, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Fontes Iuris*, v. 3 (Hannover, 1980).

³⁰⁷ Pseudo-Cyprian, *De XII Abusivis Saeculi*, 1–61; Meens, “Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-Being of the Realm,” 349.

³⁰⁸ Pseudo-Cyprian, 50–52; Meens, “Politics, Mirrors of Princes and the Bible: Sins, Kings and the Well-Being of the Realm,” 351.

the destruction of the goods produced. None of the other persons in this series of abuses might have quite the same effect. Let us, therefore, turn to the *specula principium* with this early medieval paradigm in mind.

The ‘Mirror for Princes’ genre (otherwise called *Fürstenspiegel* or *specula principium*) as it was present in the Carolingian empire has been studied fruitfully by a number of prominent scholars, Lester K. Børn, Hans Hubert Anton, and Otto Eberhardt, among them.³⁰⁹ Much of the work undertaken to date has defined a ‘mirror for a prince,’ as distinct from a ‘lay mirror’ (*Läienspiegel*) or a simple ‘treatise on the vices and virtues’ (*Lästerschema*), even though the lines are less than clear in Carolingian texts. Frequently, the boundaries have been set around ‘mirrors for princes’ to exclude texts that include general moral advice, or admonitions that could apply to *quidam laicus*. *Fürstenspiegel* are in this historiographic narrative only supposed to include specifically political advice.³¹⁰ This excludes letters such as Hincmar’s *De cavendis*, for example, which then becomes a ‘lay mirror’ or a ‘treatise on the vices and virtues’ despite its broad contents and its specific address to Charles the Bald.³¹¹ What may be problematic about

³⁰⁹ Lester K Børn, “The Specula Principis of the Carolingian Renaissance,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 12, no. 3 (1933): 583–612; Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*; Otto Eberhardt, *Via regia: d. Fürstenspiegel Smaragds von St. Mihiel u. seine literar. Gattung*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 28 (München: Fink, 1977).

³¹⁰ Børn, “The Specula Principis of the Carolingian Renaissance,” 605–6. Børn has tended to demarcate the lines of the genre of *specula principis* around the use of religious language: texts which are most powerful and most properly characteristic of the genre are those which are freed from the “complete shackles of Biblical references” and which instead treat “contemporary history.”

³¹¹ Hincmar of Reims, *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis*, ed. Doris Nachtmann, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 16 (München, 1998); Jean Devisse, *Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims 845-882* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1975), 685.; Børn, “The Specula Principis of the Carolingian Renaissance,” 604.; Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, 287. Eberhardt, *Via regia*, 282. As Devisse has pointed out, it bears few features of the mirror: “It is in fact a circumstantial treaty of general social importance. Without a doubt, if Hincmar had wanted to write a ‘mirror’, he would have constructed it differently: as always, he did not have time to do better than to respond to the urgency of a situation.” Lester Børn’s essay treated the corpus of Hincmar’s writing extensively, and in comparison to that of his rough contemporaries, Alcuin (730-804), Smaragdus of St. Mihiel (d. 830), Jonás of Orléans (*ante* 780 – 844), and Sedulius Scotus (858). While Børn included many of the other works of Hincmar in the genre of “mirrors for princes,” for example, *De Regis Persona et Regis Ministerio*, the no longer extant *Disponendis*

this approach, however, is placing too much trust in the distinction between political and ‘spiritual’, especially as it pertained to Carolingian kingship.³¹² ‘Religious’ and ‘political’ meanings were closely intertwined in early medieval texts, especially as the metric for rulership was informed by biblical conceptions of justice. And indeed, because of the dearth of evidence, the discernment of authorial intentions for these sorts of texts seems a less profitable sort of question than an interrogation of the text’s social and political meanings to both writer and recipient. Inasmuch as these were texts addressed explicitly to rulers, let us assume that there may be a princely application. While the seven principal sins as a scheme were certainly brought to bear on the ethics of a person’s life *qua* member of the Body of Christ, or *qua* layman, and these vices had political resonances because of the overlap of penance and law, it stands to reason that references to these vices were not simply ‘private’—they were to be avoided by the person in the rôle of the prince as well, and thus served as categories of ‘political’ reasoning.

Perhaps there was in fact more fluidity between ‘spiritual advice’ and ‘political advice’ than has been acknowledged in the scholarly habit which has resulted in the persistent relegation of ethical advice to some sort of private sphere, or ‘individual’

Regni Utilitatibus et Ordinatione atque Consilio Patris Imperatoris Sequendo, and *De Ordine Palatii*, he excluded the *De Cavendis* on the grounds that its ethical scheme pertains principally to the “*private* life of the ruler,” and that there is nothing which makes it particularly applicable to a prince. H.H. Anton too, author of the most comprehensive work on Carolingian *Fürstenspiegel* to date, saw a strong catechetical influence in the foreground of the text, but, again, nothing specific to princely activities, rendering it more properly a lay mirror. Otto Eberhardt took the same line of thought, excluding *De Cavendis* despite similarity in form to these other mirrors because it treats the subjects of morals and virtues without dealing with the tasks and duties particular to ruling. *DCV* 101, 6-9. While it is true that the text is catechetical and instructive, it nevertheless contains reference to a specific conversation between Hincmar and Charles at Senlis to which it is a self-stated response.

³¹² Practically, even their addressees were not as clearly specific as the letters may suggest: Einhard and records that Charlemagne had such treatises read in his court while dining. Noted by Amber Handy, “The *Specula Principum* in Northwestern Europe, A.D. 650–900: The Evolution of a New Ethical Rule” (Notre Dame, 2011), 16. See Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, XXIV.

application.³¹³ These texts are distinct from the ethical advice for counts: the ‘lay mirrors’ tended to be more particular to location and time. The instructions for counts had meanings located in market life and commerce, *dominium* over tithes, and the practices of pillage. While there can hardly be defined one single ‘theory’ of *noblesse oblige* for the ‘count’ to prevent him from greed, the theories are closer to each other, being grounded in similar socio-political roles, than to the theories of *noblesse oblige* present in the letters to kings. Kings had a substantially different social rôle than their counts.³¹⁴ Though this topic has attracted its own rich body of historiography, for present purposes, the cosmological aspects of kingship, particularly the imbrication of divine and earthly power, should be noted. As one scholar put it, “The Carolingians saw God as King of Heaven. To Him they transferred the essential features, duly magnified of royal power, and then, as it were, borrowed them back. God thus became not only the source of their power but also their model.”³¹⁵

Indeed, as Walter Ullmann observed, the term *officium* was a later-medieval development: for the Carolingians, *ministerium* was the dominant term for the rôle of the king.³¹⁶ *Ministerium* largely assumed that the person who performed it did so by the

³¹³ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*. Kantorowicz's powerful study treated a dichotomy between the two bodies of the prince, the political and public one, whose authority was given by God, and the private one. He drew an analogy between the theology of kingship and Christology, the two natures of Christ held in tension. This corresponds to the dichotomy between ‘mirrors for princes’ and ‘lay mirrors’ with the latter being addressed to the private person of the king.

³¹⁴ Janet L. Nelson, “Royal Saints and Early Medieval Kingship,” in *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*, History Series 42 (London: Hambledon Press, 1986), 69–74; Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kings and Culture in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995); Simon Maclean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 57 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

³¹⁵ J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, “The Via Regia in the Carolingian Age,” in *Trends in Medieval Political Thought*, ed. Bernard Smalley and Peter Robert Lamont Brown (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1965), 23.

³¹⁶ Walter Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages*, 4. ed (London: Methuen, 1978), 136.

authority of another. It was an analogy carried down through the ranks of Carolingian government: counts and imperial *missi* acted with the authority of the king. Ullmann emphasized the descending direction of authority in medieval kingship in opposition to what he sees as an ascending direction characteristic of pre-eighth century government: “in the earlier period...the seat of the royal power was in the electing body, the people, however narrow this term may be taken. But this ascending thesis of government gave way, almost imperceptibly, to the descending standpoint which was most clearly epitomized in the ‘*Rex Dei gratia*’. The king by the grace of God had effectively emancipated himself from the *populus* and on the other hand freely acknowledged God as the source of his royal power.³¹⁷ In some sense, we are asking what limitations were being imposed by ethics on the power of the King. Inasmuch as his authority was derived from God, and was conceptualized as a *ministerium*, the king’s power within exchange at least, was limited, at least in theory, by the ethical duties his rôle compelled. What precisely were the limits of his economic power? First we shall turn to Louis the Pious when he was King of Aquitaine.

As has been seen, most of the moral texts incorporated in this essay have not previously been examined for economic resonances. McCormick recently incorporated the *Via Regia* of Smaragdus (c.760-c.840), the abbot of Mt. Castillon, and after 814, the abbot of St. Mihiel, into his study of early medieval commerce and communication. As McCormick acknowledged, the *Via Regia* has been dismissed as simple moralism.³¹⁸ He argued to the contrary, following Eberhardt’s identification of sources, that §30 entitled,

³¹⁷ Ullmann, 117.

³¹⁸ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 750.

“Prohibendum ne captivitas fiat” was among the monk’s most ‘original’ passages.³¹⁹ If indeed Smaragdus was originally from Visigothic Spain, the taking of captives which characterized the Carolingian military initiatives in the Spanish March in 814/16, would have very reasonably provoked this response from one of their countrymen.³²⁰ While McCormick’s observations are extremely insightful on this point, it seems profitable to give the other sections of the *VR* more acute consideration especially as they pertain to other elements of exchange, and thereafter to build on the work McCormick has done to contextualize them economically.

Smaragdus, abbot of St. Mihiel, composed the *Via Regia* for Louis the Pious, King of Aquitaine before 814/16.³²¹ It is addressed to *rex*, not to *imperator*, the king being the young Louis, sub-king of Aquitaine, to whom Charlemagne had not yet passed on the imperial title. This tract is comprised of thirty-one chapters and does share some material with Smaragdus’ other text, the “Crown of Monks” or *Diadema Monachorum*. There has been some tradition of arguing that Smaragdus’ *Diadema monachorum* preceded the *Via Regia*, a view espoused most prominently by H.H. Anton, in light of their overlap, but Otto Eberhardt argued against this.³²² Anton’s position on the dating of this text substantiated contemporary views of Louis as a monk-turned-regent, a person

³¹⁹ McCormick, 751. McCormick also follows Eberhardt observing that this S30 in Migne’s PL and D’Archev’s edition from which the Migne derived his edition is more properly divided into five subsections in the MSS tradition.

³²⁰ McCormick, 751.

³²¹ McCormick against Eberhardt and Anton argued that the *Via Regia* could not have been written to Charlemagne on the grounds that Smaragdus’ presence at Charlemagne’s court has recently been disproven. Further, Eberhardt argued that the letter was written to Charlemagne in the context of the Danish war, not in the context of the Spanish offensives, something McCormick challenges on grounds summarized at 750 n.86. McCormick, 750; Eberhardt, *Via regia*, 29–73, 195–263; Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit*, 161–68.

³²² Handy, “The Specula Principium in Northwestern Europe,” 115, n.282; Eberhardt, *Via regia*, 197–212.

whose desire for the ascetic life rendered him impotent as a ruler.³²³ Jasmijn Bovendeert's recent treatment of the formal elements of the text constitutes a revision of Anton's work, and adherence to Eberhardt's. She advocates for the presence within the *VR* of a specifically princely program of virtue.³²⁴ Bovendeert proposes that the *Via Regia*, despite sharing some of its content headings with the *DM*, still firmly contributes to a 'princely identity' distinct from a monastic one. While one might argue that Louis' 'concept of self' was not only the identity of a prince, inasmuch as he inhabited other social roles, Bovendeert's point about the text is key for our inquiry: inasmuch as the *VR* is tract articulating the ethics proper to the person of the king, it can be examined for the ethics of exchange proper to the person of the king.

³²³ See Thomas F. X. Noble, "Louis the Pious and his piety re-considered," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 58, no. 2 (1980): 297–316.

³²⁴ Jasmijn Bovendeert, "Smaragdus' *Via Regia* and *Diadema Monachorum* Reconsidered," in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Corradini (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006); Anton, *Fürstenspiegel Und Herrscherethos in Der Karolingerzeit*; Eberhardt, *Via Regia*; Cited in Allison Gose, "Servants Not Soldiers: Lordship and Social Morality in the *Via Regia*" (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2017). Bovendeert's argument corroborates Thomas Noble's position in reading Louis the Pious as a king, not a monk-turned regent in Thomas F. X. Noble, "Louis the Pious and his piety re-considered," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 58, no. 2 (1980): 297–316. Further, Andrew Romig's recent work has argued that a mainstay of Carolingian noble masculinity was the ideal of Christian moral perfection. See Andrew J. Romig, "In Praise of the Too-Clement Emperor: The Problem of Forgiveness in the Astronomer's *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*," *Speculum* 89, no. 2 (2014): 382–409; Andrew J. Romig, *Be a Perfect Man: Christian Masculinity and the Carolingian Aristocracy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017). Contrary to the main thrust of nineteenth-century historiography, Louis the Pious was not simply a weak ruler being pushed around by his clerical advisors, i.e. too pious to be effective as a ruler. Even if his piety may not always have been the most effective ruling strategy in the eyes of his contemporaries (indeed, the only thing of which he was critiqued was relying too much on the advice of his clerical advisors), it did wield some political power inasmuch as it was evidence of his justice. This position seems to be helpful in the sense that it does not seek to divorce the ethical life of the ruler from his political action. The question at hand, however, is not whether Louis was an effective regent or not, or even what relation his piety had to his rule. It seems to be the assumption of Louis' nineteenth-century critics that his piety was a turn toward individual spirituality, a private sort of ethical belief that should perhaps be regarded as a modern construct. This essay assumes to some extent that ethical thought was inextricably predicated on a Carolingian pattern of personhood, on in which persons are constituted of collections of political rôles, each with their correlative ethical duties. The rôle of the king, and the ethics proper to the king's person are the questions at hand. Avarice must be examined not as a subset of 'individual piety' but of political ethics. It was not included in the handbook for monks but offered for the consideration of the prince.

The overlap between the two texts includes a number of shared chapter headings with subtly-altered contents: *De dilectione Dei et proximi*, *De observandis mandatis Dei*, *De timore*, *De sapientia*, *De prudentia*, *De simplicitate*, *De consilio*, and *De patientia* are all replicated in the general content order, if not in all their specific nuance.³²⁵ Importantly, though, much of the other content differed substantially from the *Diadema*, making it clear the moral was not a generic replication for two separate groups of people.³²⁶ Remarkably, even though the themes of these chapters were shared between the two texts, care is taken to distinguish between monastic identity and princely identity: the verbs are carefully changed from the first-person plural in the *DM* to the second-person singular in the *VR*. Care is clearly being taken to underscore the author's role as member of a monastic community, i.e. inhabiting the social role of the monk. The change to second-person in the *VR* reveals that the monk Smaragdus identified the King's role as distinct from his own as an abbot. Chapters dealing with tithes and first fruits, the construction of royal buildings, the burden of ensuring just judgement across the realm, slavery, and avoiding flatterers are only found in the *VR*.³²⁷ Ethical writing was taking on specific application according to social role. Notably, the section on avarice, §26, of which this essay is most concerned, is absent from the *Diadema monachorum*, and present only in the *Via Regia*.³²⁸

³²⁵ Cf. Albertanus of Brescia's *De amore et dilectione Dei et proximi et alii rerum et forma vitae*, which takes as its titles these same themes, though written in the thirteenth century.

³²⁶ Observed as well by Handy, "The Specula Principum in Northwestern Europe," 115. "While the *Via regia* also includes chapters on justice, judgment, mercy, tithing, and the importance of good council, the *Diadema monachorum* turns to matters of obedience, confession, penance, and the contemplative monastic life."

³²⁷ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia*, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 102:131-970 (Paris, 1865).

³²⁸ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Diadema Monachorum*, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 102: 593-689 (Paris, 1865).

Smaragdus began the section on avarice by reiterating the work's unitive theme of the 'royal road' and placing the sin of greed within that context.³²⁹ James LePree's work has identified the elements of this chapter derived from Defensor of Lige's *Liber Scintillarum*, a florilegium collected from the writings of Jerome.³³⁰ While this section may not be as 'original' as §30 on slavery, we must acknowledge that its reception may well have carried resonances distinct from those in the day in which it was originally written.³³¹ Greed was addressed not here addressed as only as a 'deadly' or 'principal sin'—though because of the dominance of penitential and legal discourse in contemporary intellectual life and education, the very word would not have lost that valence—but as a specifically royal vice. Further, an introductory statement seems to be wholly attributable to Smaragdus, introducing the material borrowed from Defensor and Jerome:

May you therefore, king, neither for *adulatoribus*, nor for *muneribus*, divert from the right and kingly path; neither may you deign to bend your virtuous and royal path toward the evil of avarice. As a matter of fact, a sentence written by God can be found blaming especially the avarice of kings: 'The just king builds a land; the greedy man will destroy it.'³³²

Recalling from Chapter 2 that the adoption of the principal sin schema for the penitential system provided a wide metric by which to judge sin—the categories encompassed great acts and small acts, the intentions of the heart as well as the deeds performed—the dynamism of the system is clear. The King's embodiment of the vice of avarice is

³²⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, "The Via Regia in the Carolingian Age." Cf. Num 21:22. "*via regia gradiemur*"

³³⁰ James Lepree, "Sources of Spirituality and the Carolingian Exegetical Tradition" 2008, 156–66.

³³¹ Any overlap the LS shall be noted in the footnotes: Smaragdus' additions are more stylistic in nature than substantial alterations of content.

³³² Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia*, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina, 102:131-970 (Paris, 1865), §26 965A. "De cavenda avaritia. Tu ergo, rex, nec pro adulatoribus, nec pro muneribus, a recto regioque divertas itinere, nec ad avaritiae malum, rectum regiumque digneris flectere gressum. Regum etenim specialiter inculpans avaritiam scripta divinitus invenitur sententia. Ait enim Salomon in Proverbiis: Rex justus erigit terram: vir avarus destruet eam." Cf. Prov. 29:4.

particular. If *De XII Abusivis* echoed at all in Carolingian discourse during the reign of Louis the Pious—which seems likely given that it was cited by Jonas, Hincmar, Smaragdus, and Sedulius Scottus—it is likely that the Proverb about the destruction of the house would have carried sobering images of invasion, destruction, famine, and dearth. We recall from the treatment of the Avar campaign of the late eighth century that the Avar’s greed was given as the reason for their conquest. Ethics and conquest went hand in hand. But what particulars about the ethics of a king would endanger his realm?

A series of Biblical citations connected by a theme of avarice follows forthwith, derived in part from the collection of Defensor.³³³ Luke 12:15, Christ’s admonition to “beware of all *avaritia*; for a man’s life doth not consist in the abundance of things which he possesseth,” and Habakkuk 2:9, “Woe to him that gathereth together an evil *avaritia* to his house, that his nest may be on high, and thinketh he may be delivered out of the hand of evil,” are additions to the *VR*. A prominent theme in relation to the *munera* introduced in the first sentence, namely that of the imagery of the household which was begun with the reference to Prov. 29:4, continues in relevant quotations from Proverbs 15 and Ecclesiastes 5.³³⁴ Bribes (*munera*) are well within the valence of greed in this collation of

³³³ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, §26, 965A-965B. “Item ipse: *Conturbat domum suam qui sectatur avaritiam: qui autem odit munera, vivet.* Dominus in Evangelio discipulis ait: *Cavete ab omni avaritia: quia non in abundantia cujusquam vita ejus est, ex his quae possidet.* Huic sententiae concordans Ecclesiastes ait: *Avarus non implebitur pecunia: et qui amat divitias, fructum non capiet ex eis.* Habacuc quoque propheta dicit: *Vae qui congregat avaritiam malam domi suae: ut sit in excelso nidus ejus, et liberari se putat de manu mali!* Paulus apostolus praedicat dicens: *Omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet haereditatem in regno Christi et Dei.*” This last verse is a combination (presumably from memory) of Eph. 5:3 and Col 3:5. Cf. Defensor of Ligugé, *Liber scintillarum*, ed. Henri Rochais, CCSL 117 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1957), §25, 109; Cited in Lepree, “Sources of Spirituality and the Carolingian Exegetical Tradition,” 158. “De avaricia Paulus apostolus dixit: *Omnis fornicator aut immundus aut avarus, quod est idolorum, non servitus, non habet haereditatem in regno Christi et Dei.* Salamon dixit: *Conturbat domum suam qui sectatur avaricia; qui autem odit munera vivit. Avarus non implebitur pecunia, et qui amat divicias fructus non capiet ex eis.*”

³³⁴ Ecc. 5:9: “An *avarus* shall not be satisfied with money: and he that loveth riches shall reap no fruit from them.” Prov. 15: 27: *VR* “He who chases after greed upsets his own house: he, on the other hand, who hates bribes will live.”

Biblical sources, as are the usual suspects, *pecunia* and *divitias*, as well as, to some extent, *terra tui regni*.³³⁵

A second paragraph follows the statements on the avoidance of greed with its appropriate counter-action, generosity. Here, whether for the purpose of political obeisance or out of true regard, Abbot Smaragdus praises the king for being generous, and urges him to continue:

Therefore, you, o most generous king, love mercy, and flee avarice that with Christ you may merit to have eternal inheritance. Be munificent to all, bountiful to all, that through you the land of your reign might not be badly destroyed, but happily built up. May you not disturb your house as the greedy man does but build it up as the generous man.³³⁶

Again, this is an elegant continuation of a theme which plays on Louis' rôle as one who builds a home, and analogously, builds a kingdom. Indeed, even the imagery of fire that follows seems to fit well within the theme of building or destruction:

For a great and vast evil is greed: it is a fire flaming inextinguishably and burning incessantly. About greed in the book of blessed Job it is written: "Fire will devour their dwellings who accept bribes freely."³³⁷ And just as a body lives in material edifice, so the mind stays within the council of thought: but a fire devours the dwelling when the fire of greed lays waste the thoughts of the mind.³³⁸

³³⁵Smaragdus also engaged the valence of greed that Yunk identified as 'the lineage of Lady Mede,' the specific act of greed embodied in bribery, though Yunk largely dismissed it: Smaragdus' "comments on meed and avarice are remote and academic, and lean heavily on the work of Gregory the Great." See J.A. Yunk, *The Lineage of Lady Meed: The Development of Mediaeval Venality Satire*, Publications in Mediaeval Studies, v. 17 (University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), 35.

³³⁶Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia*, §26, 965B-965C. Tu ergo, largissime rex, ama misericordiam, et fuge avaritiam, ut cum Christo haereditatem habere merearis aeternam. Omnibus esto munificus, omnibus largus, ut per te non male destruat, sed feliciter erigatur regni tui terra. Non ut avarus domum tuam conturbes, sed ut largus aedifices."

³³⁷ Cf. Job 15:34

³³⁸Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia*, §26, 965B-965C. "Grande enim et ingens malum est avaritia: ignis enim inextinguibiliter est ardens et incessabiliter urens. De avaritia enim in libro beati Job scriptum est: Ignis devorabit tabernacula eorum, qui munera libenter accipiunt. Sicut enim corpus habitat in materiali aedificio, sic mens habitat in cogitationis consilio: sed ignis tabernacula devorat, cum aestus avaritiae cogitationes mentis devastat."

This chapter, though it may well draw substantially from Defensor and Gregory the Great, outlines the valence in which the vice should be considered in its kingly application. The major objects of exchange, *munera*, adulations, and, indeed, *divites*, are introduced here, and serve as a link from §25 to §30, which comprise more particular applications to kingly exchange. Chapter 26 makes the gravity quite clear: at risk is the prosperity of the kingdom.

Neither for “*adulatoribus*, nor for *muneribus*” was the king to divert his path from the royal way, §26 began, referencing flatteries as well as *munera*. This theme is a continuation of §25 about “not consenting to flatterers,” which adjures the king to follow some sense of divine precedent in loving the truth and speakers thereof:

Diligently see and consider, O King, that if a man who speaks right things should be directed into in the presence of the highest King, so also he who does not speak flattering words, but true ones, also ought to be directed into your presence.³³⁹ Spew out, therefore, from your ears the deceptive counselors and their sermons; spew out the flattering tongue.³⁴⁰

That the two are linked can be credited to the influence of Gregory the Great’s *Moralia* in its commentary on the aforementioned verse, Job 15:34. Just as Smaragdus wrote in §26, analogous to a physical tabernacle is the *cogitationis consilio*. This place of mind is vulnerable to the heat of avarice just as a fire devours a dwelling. Gregory describes the ‘hypocrites’ who think themselves beyond reproach by refusing to accept gifts, and then accepting profuse praise for it: “A gift is sometimes proffered by the hand, and sometimes by the mouth. Thus one who presents money, has given a reward with the

³³⁹ Cf. DRM Prov. 16:13: “Just lips are the delight of kings: he that speaketh right things shall be loved.”

³⁴⁰ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia*, 25, 964. “Diligenter attende, rex, et vide si in conspectu summi regis ille dirigitur qui recta loquitur, debet et in conspectu tuo ille dirigi qui non adulantia sed vera loquitur verba. Respue ergo ab auribus tuis suasorios deceptoriosque sermones; respue blandam adulantium linguam....”

hand; but he that bestows the word of applause, has put forward a reward from the mouth.”³⁴¹ The desire for public praise thus destroys the man who freely receives such flatteries. This particular position in the inherited discourse on greed seems to align with the *avaritia generalis* articulated by Augustine in his way of reconciling the two seemingly incommensurate ‘principal vices’ of greed and pride. *Avaritia generalis* constitutes a greed not only for money or goods as such, but verbal flatteries.³⁴² The juxtaposition of the *Moralia* passage reveals, moreover, that *avaritia* was in fact the conceptual theme uniting §25 to §26.

Additionally, the two subsequent chapters treat the other facet Gregory explored in *Moralia* XII.54.62, physical gifts, *munera*. §27, “that [your] home not be built on the expense of others” and §28, “that for the exacting of justice no *praemia* should be required by judges” introduce two major circumstances in which the king’s rôle was active: royal building and judiciary activity.³⁴³ For the first, Smaragdus seems to write pointedly: “You, o king, just as the son of the King of the universe, must clean your hand, cutting from the palace (*regias*) all injurious gift (*omni munere nocuo*).”³⁴⁴ He thence

³⁴¹ The image of the council of the mind may have borne some similarity to the contemporary image in penitential literature of ‘the court of conscience.’ Though Smaragdus did not explicitly use the term conscience, the emphasis on the place of moral arbitration in the mind, as a place in which the advisor might provide sound counsel, is shared. Firey, “Blushing Before Judge and Physician: Moral Arbitration in the Carolingian Empire.”

³⁴² Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, XIII, 54. 62-63. Trans. John Henry Parker; J.G.F. and J. Rivington “...And it very commonly happens that the hypocrite scorns to receive gold, or the several good things of the body, at the hands of his fellow-creatures, but because he does not take these, he aims to win greater commendations from them; and perhaps he does not reckon that he has ‘received a reward,’ because he refuses to take the good things of the body... Though, then, the hypocrite refuse to take external gifts, which may perhaps answer earthly necessity, yet that is a greater thing which he aims to have paid him in return, when desiring to be extolled beyond his desert, he seeks a reward from the mouth. And because in the mere appetite of praise his heart is kindled with overmuch heat.”

³⁴³ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia*, §27, §28. “Ut de impensis alienis domus non aedificetur” and “Ut pro justitia facienda nulla a iudicibus requirantur praemia.”

³⁴⁴ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia*, §27, 966. What follows is a citation from Isaiah 33:15 about he who “shaketh his hands from all bribes, that stoppeth his ears lest he hear blood, and shutteth his eyes that he may see no evil.”

contrasts injurious gift, including that exacted from the hand of the poor, with the substance bequeathed to Louis by his father:

Therefore that you may merit to sit happily on a heavenly throne, do not increase yourself or build your house with the gifts of the poor. For it is written³⁴⁵: *He that buildeth his house at other men's charges, is as he that gathereth himself stones to build in the winter...* Therefore, to you, o King, the omnipotent God has given ample and fecund goods, and a kingdom plenteous in riches, and divided the varied goods and spoils of your fathers; He gave numerous tribute from the fisc, and honored the gifts of many powerful people, whence you are able to construct royal palaces. Take care lest the royal home is built for you with the tears of the poor and miserable.³⁴⁶

This was not simply reducible to dusty clerical moralism, detached and mundane, but rather as forceful political commentary with keen contemporary resonances, which merit some further explication.³⁴⁷

The term *munera* has incited substantial inquiry by scholars in the school of Mauss on gift-exchange.³⁴⁸ In light of the practices of licit gift exchange which arguably formed a substantial part of elite exchange patterns, some *munera* were *nocuo*, and others were “honored by God”; these latter gifts were, in Smaragdus’ account, licit for palace

³⁴⁵ DRM Ecclesiasticus 21:9

³⁴⁶ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia*, §27, 965D-966B. “Ergo ut merearis in excelso sedere feliciter throno, muneribus pauperum non amplifices tibimet, aut aedifices domum: quia scriptum est: *Qui aedificat domum suam impendiis alienis, quasi qui colligit lapides suos in hieme...* Tibi ergo, rex, omnipotens Dominus ampla et florida, divitiisque plena tribuit regna, parentumque multiplicia divisit et praedia; fiscorum plurima dedit vectigalia, et multorum potentum honoravit munera, unde regia fabricare possis palatia. Cave ne pauperum lacrymis miserorumque impensis tibi domus aedificetur regalis.”

³⁴⁷ Cf. Yunck, *The Lineage of Lady Meed*, 27 et passim.

³⁴⁸ *Munera* are complex and have been interrogated by students of Mauss at length as examples of gift exchange. The seminal work is Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D Halls (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000); Four recent works have included substantial engagements with the concepts of gift-economy Esther Cohen and Mayke De Jong, eds., *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, Cultures, Beliefs, and Traditions, v. 11 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001); Inge Lyse Hansen and Chris Wickham, eds., *The Long Eighth Century*, The Transformation of the Roman World, v. 11 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2000); Gadi, Algazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003); Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, eds., *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); For recent historiographical surveys, see Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, “The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach,” in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* and John Moreland, “Concepts of the Early Medieval Economy,” in *The Long Eighth Century*.

construction. Though ‘gift exchange’ has been substantially downplayed by formalists, the practice of gift-giving as a way of solidifying social relations was still present in the cultural memory of the Carolingians, and arguably, even still dominant in elite circles. Jussen has shown that across medieval discourse, *munera* and its paired term, *remuneratio* were distinct from the sort of exchange denoted by *donum* and its paired term, *redonatio*.³⁴⁹ In fact, the concept of *remuneratio*, while it does carry a sense of reciprocity, cannot be forced into a scheme of gift and counter-gift with *munus*. *Munus* is overwhelmingly, in both political and spiritual terms, something that does not expect reciprocity *in gift*. In political terms, it stands for a duty offered that perpetuates a state of obedience. In terms of relation of God, “man owes the offering (which in fact is very close to a tribute) for the unmerited, generous gift of Creation.”³⁵⁰ *Munus* appeared alongside *Dominus* in religious discourse; this concept was carried across the analogy to the political lord. Jussen observed that Amalarius of Metz distinguished between the two thus: “*dona* are given voluntarily, whereas *munera* are given for the sake of another *munus*.”³⁵¹ At the same time, Jussen argues that this was the exception in the everyday semantics of early medieval religiosity. Jussen helpfully observes that *munera* were “honored,” not received, and that they should be translated as “offerings,” or, most liberally, “tributes” rather than gifts.

³⁴⁹ Bernhard Jussen, “Religious Discourses of the Gift in the Middle Ages: Semantic Evidences (Second to Twelfth Centuries),” in *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange*, ed. Gadi Algazi and Valentin Groebner (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 5. Jussen argues that the word *munus* was more often associated semantically with *dominus*, and a word for heart (*cor, mens, anima, animus*), whereas *donum* was associated with God as *deus*. In Jussen’s reading, this means that “they conveyed a different image of God using the term *donum* than they did using *munus*. *Donum* signified more the loving God, *munus* more the stern God.”

³⁵⁰ Jussen, 186.

³⁵¹ Jussen, 191; Amalar of Metz, “Expositio Missae, Dominus Vobiscum 27,” in *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, ed. Johannes M. Hannsens (Rome: 1948), 306.

Applying this semantic study to Smaragdus' usage in §27, we learn that the ethical distinction being made is between the "offerings", or perhaps "contributions," of the poor, and the "offerings" that God honors from the powerful. From the tributes (*vectigalia*) of the fisc, the spoils (*praedia*) of his fathers, the wealth of his kingdom, and the *munera* of the powerful (which God honors), Louis may commence building projects, not from the offerings of the poor. These observations have keen application: Smaragdus refers to the wealth acquired through plunder and tribute in the final campaigns of Charlemagne, or the exactions required from his subjects. Reuter has argued that Louis the Pious inherited the wealth of his fathers, obtained largely through military plunder and tribute, and was expected to distribute them.³⁵² The last major campaigns of Charlemagne's reign ensured that there were ample military spoils.³⁵³ Tribute, in Reuter's estimation, was something akin to plunder, a voluntary plundering of one's own land, something a lord might reasonably prefer.³⁵⁴ The *vectigalia* of the fiscs were the fruits of the ample lands, monastic and non-monastic, in the dominion of the king. Though undertaken slightly after this tract was written, Louis the Pious' survey of the wealth of monasteries in the kingdom, and ranking thereof, bears witness to the fact that monastic communities were required to offer gifts. Only after this 819 re-ordering were some monastic communities exempt from this, while the richest monasteries might also be

³⁵² Timothy Reuter, "Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 35 (1985): 75. Vassals were frequently awarded substantial portions of land, equal to two villas, whereas lesser military retainers might have received movable goods in the form of gold, silver, silks, or other 'noble' gifts in addition to the expected food, housing, and military gear. *Munera* or *beneficia* were the general terms for these sorts of gifts.

³⁵³ Timothy Reuter, "The End of Carolingian Military Expansion," in *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 391–408.

³⁵⁴ Reuter, "Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire," 76.

required to offer military tributes.³⁵⁵ Finally, *dona annua* presented by nobility served as a substitute for a tax that would have been shameful for nobility: by 812, we have record of a yearly assembly explicitly ordered toward the giving of gifts.³⁵⁶ These constituted a substantial amount of income, and could include silver, gold, gems, vestments, horses (whose military importance cannot be underestimated) and labor.³⁵⁷ All in all, between the *spolia*, *vectigalia*, *munera* which likely constituted *dona annua*, Louis the Pious certainly possessed funds.

Treatment of wealth in the *VR*, *divitiis* specifically, was set in opposition to the virtue of humility, importantly, not the vice of greed.³⁵⁸ Riches as such were not the problem of greed. This should strike us as a substantial change from the Cassianic meaning of greed that focused on material renunciation. Indeed, even in the *Diadema Monachorum*, the material renunciation of monks was not framed as a corrective to greed. Monks, who by virtue of their state “do not have riches in earthly things,” are encouraged to amass treasure in heaven.³⁵⁹ It seems that riches in themselves were licit for some persons, and it was simply a consequence of their social roles that monks did not have them. They were, in themselves, not governed by the ethical imperatives against greed. Thus, for the king, riches were governed by the vice of pride and its corresponding virtue of humility. The accumulation of wealth could constitute something

³⁵⁵ Noble, “Louis the Pious and his piety re-considered,” 300–303.

³⁵⁶ Nelson, “The Settings of the Gift in the Reign of Charlemagne,” 140. See Hincmar of Rheims, *De Ordine Palatii*, 29, 84, line 479. “propter dona generaliter danda.” Nelson attributes this text, or at least this portion of it, not to Hincmar, but to Adalard, and argues that Hincmar crafted a later recension of it.

³⁵⁷ Nelson, “The Settings of the Gift in the Reign of Charlemagne,” 140–41; Reuter, “Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire.”

³⁵⁸ Noted also by Bovendeert, “Smaragdus’ Via Regia and Diadema Monachorum Reconsidered.” See *VR* S13–15, and especially S16, “About not glorying in wealth, but in humility.”

³⁵⁹ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Diadema Monachorum*, §85. “Monachi, qui divites non sunt in rebus terrenis, divites esse debent in virtutibus sanctis et operibus bonis, quia non carnales, sed spirituales divitiae liberant animam in die vindictae et ultionis.”

like vainglory, but was not *avaritia*. Thus, wealth as riches, as well as the practices of acquisition of wealth through plunder and tribute (of royal lands and of the nobility, *vectigalia* and *dona annua* respectively) were entirely licit with respect to the ethical category of greed. The exaction of tribute from the poor, however, was not.

The moving imperative that Louis not build his home on the “tears of the poor” may well have had contemporary application. In the late 820s, construction on Louis’ palace at Gondreville was ordered toward an increase in its “comfort and monumentality.”³⁶⁰ Sometime around the end of 828, Frothar, bishop of Toul, wrote to Hilduin, Louis’ archchaplain and Smaragdus’ teacher, reminding him of the orders given by the Emperor for the improvement of the palace of Gondreville, which included a stone wall near an older one wooden one, and the addition of a gallery connecting the chapel to the façade of the palace.³⁶¹ Frothar makes a plea to be absolved of another recent directive to work on the Aix palace, because the work at Gondreville is too much for his people already. He explains that there was a harsh winter, and then planting, the construction on their own basilica, and then the loss of the entire provisions-store to arson: a disgruntled slave, jealous of the favor shown to the cellarer over him, has “deprived [them] in an instant of the resources necessary for the life.”³⁶² If this were not

³⁶⁰ Josiane Barbier, “L’*évêque et le palais*,” in *La correspondance d’un évêque carolingien: Frothaire de Toul (ca 813-847)*, ed. Michael Parisse (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001), 31; cited in Stuart Airlie, *Power and Its Problems in Carolingian Europe*, 2017, 108.

³⁶¹ Frothar, “Epistola 11,” in *La correspondance d’un évêque carolingien: Frothaire de Toul (ca 813-847)*, ed. Michael Parisse (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001), 111–13. “Praecipitur enim, ut in Aquis palatio operemur et laboribus ibidem peragendis insudemus. Sed ab hoc opere alia servitia et necessitates nos revocant, et si vestrae pietati libet, etiam oportunam satis excusationem praetendunt. Recordari siquidem vestra paternitas valet, quod cum in palatio Gundunvile domus imperator hoc anno staret vestram continens manum, iuxit, ut in fronte ipsius palatii solarii opus construerem, de co in capellam veniretur. Adiecit quoque, quod quempiam illic plerumque munere vivisset, vestri personam tacite innotescens. Praecepit nihilominus, ut in pariete ipsius domus ligneo alterum operis lapidei parietem superadicerem, et quamlibet huiusmodi opera sint festinanter explenda.”

³⁶² Frothar, 112–13. “Est tamen adhuc tercius labor nostrae cepte basilicae adibendus, de qua nihil, postquam hinc secessistis, egimus, quia impediti sunt actenus homunculi. nostri propter tempus hiemis et

enough, the scarcity of years prior has impoverished the people under the financial jurisdiction of the Cathedral of Toul, and the only tax Bishop Frothar can exact is in the form of labor. Their labor, in return for which he feeds them, is not particularly useful, and moreover, harsher labor demands might “condemn to death so many sheep of the Lord.”³⁶³ While this complaint was leveled some years after Smaragdus composed his *VR*, there may well have been contemporary precedents. The poor, those with little social power, are largely silent in the documentary record, and accordingly, their identities are largely occluded. Yet Smaragdus was making clear statements about licit forms of imperial income and use. He was imposing limits on the king’s ability to receive ‘offerings’ and ‘tributes’, the major income of the realms. It is clear from Frothar’s letter that labor was a valid currency for tax requirements. From the powerful, he might accept the tribute, but from the poor, he must not, nor might he demand excessive labor. Royal exchange needed vigilant governance to prevent greed.

Munera appear in §28 as well, with respect to judicial practice. Interestingly, *praemia* is the *terminus technicus* employed here to signify bribes specifically.

Smaragdus writes,

Warn your judges, O King, that they of this world may receive no bribe for justice. Warn them that they may seek no temporal gain for just judgement, but only eternal gain; they may not require reward that will be ruined, only the kind that will remain; whether the man be poor or rich, let them examine the case, not the person; let them guard truth among all, not the rewards of ambition. Whoever

tempus sationis. Istiusmodi laboribus addita est nobis nolentibus necessitudo quarta et misere infelicitatis adversitas. Quidam namque servus peccati hac noster, invidens sodali suo cellarario nostro, ob quam ei in ministerio praeferretur, orreo, quo uni segetes erant redacte, quarum esu nos sustentari usque tempus messis credebamus, pestiferum latenter ignem subposuit mox universa, quae illic habebantur, consumpsit: servus infelix, servus ingratus et sevo anathemate permultandus, qui tanto sudore percepta tam celeri fine subtraxit et nos ut ita dicam praesentis vite subsidiis sub momento privavit. Denique familiam sancti Stephani adeo praeteritorum annorum fames adnihilavit et ad tante perduxit pauperitatis miseriam, ut vix sumptibus fragilis vite sustemptari ullatenus valeant. Unde nec censum ab eis debitum exigere possum nisi in opere manuum, pro quo rursus a me pascuntur et nec sic recuperari utiliter queunt.”

³⁶³ Frothar, 112–14. “...quam per meae auctoritatis fidutiam tot aves Domini exitio discriminis interire.”

tries to present bribes, cannot hope for future glory. Whatever greedy man receives gifts for justice, will not receive eternal reward. Therefore let he who exercises justice for the sake of God, and not for greed, carry out the just thing justly...³⁶⁴

Cupidus is here employed interchangeably with *avarus*, signaling the same semantic interplay observed in other contemporary texts—the two classical and patristic meanings, of inordinate desire and love of money, respectively, had converged into the Carolingian sense of greed—as are *munera*, *praemia*, *lucra*, *dona*, and *mercedem*. This latter semantic flexibility seems to signal that what was being warned against was gift or tribute in any form, i.e. whatever a ‘donor’ may have called it to try and avoid being discovered, that undermined the judge’s sense of justice. This might seem straightforward and firmly anchored in the anti-venal tradition identified by Yunck. The judicial system of the Carolingian empire, however, complicates this.

Royal judicial agents were of three kinds, imperial *missi*, counts, and bishops. Counts were responsible for “basic law and order, maintaining jails, controlling bandits, and knowing the law.” Bishops engaged in judicial matters, but principally as pertained to clergy. The *missus* might serve as a court of appeal. Certain cases, like death sentences, or about property or liberty, could only be tried by a *missus*.³⁶⁵ Economically, the capitularies ensure that a man could only be made count of his local region, so that he

³⁶⁴ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia*, S29, 966B-D. “judicibus ergo tuis praecipe, rex, ut nullum pro justitia praemium istius saeculi requirant. Praecipe ut pro justo judicio temporalia lucra non appetant, sed aeterna; mercedem non requirant perituram, sed permansuram; pauper an dives sit, causam perspiciant non personam; in omnibus veritatem custodiant, non ambitionis munera. Qui praesentia munera affectat, futuram gloriam non sperat. Qui cupidus hic recipit pro justitia dona, ulterius aeterna non accipiet praemia... Juste ergo justum exsequitur, qui justitiam propter Deum exercet, non propter avaritiam...

³⁶⁵ Jennifer R. Davis, *Charlemagne’s Practice of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 50. This was, however, more of an ideal, the judicial system was not quite so straightforwardly-hierarchical. There was a series of overlapping responsibilities and cases assigned to multiple agents to ensure some sort of justice. See 60-63.

could draw financially from his own lands: there were provisions being made to minimize his vulnerability to bribe.³⁶⁶ The *missi*, however, did not have this provision. They travelled and were largely dependent on the king's generosity at court for their funding.³⁶⁷ This means they may indeed have been more vulnerable to accepting gifts in exchange for their service, a practice which was uncomfortably close to actual bribe. Additionally, most of the dispute settlement cases being judged from the Carolingian era were property disputes, which resulted in confirmation of ownership.³⁶⁸ While this is dependent on an incomplete documentary record, and study of *formulae* reveals different cases, it is safe to say that not an insubstantial portion of cases did deal with property and wealth, meaning that the judge sat uncomfortably between persons of varying economic status. What particulars Louis and Smaragdus may have seen are unclear, but it stands to reason that this was another case of greed that it was the king's duty to prevent. Inasmuch as the king's authority descended to his people through his agents, he was responsible for their justice and invulnerability to graft.³⁶⁹ This was a problem of labor, and how to fund it; the labor of judgement (undertaken by the King's agents) could not be funded by those he judged. The implication was that it needed to be funded by the generosity of the king himself or the judge's own resources, following the Roman pattern of civic duty and *honores*.

³⁶⁶ Paul Fouracre, "The Use of the Term Beneficium in Frankish Sources: A Society Based on Favours?," in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 68, n25.

³⁶⁷ Florin Curta, "Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving," *Speculum* 81, no. 3 (2006): 671–99.

³⁶⁸ Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, 66, 66n102.

³⁶⁹ Cf. Jonas of Orléans, "De institutione regia." While Jonas' work does not treat greed substantially, the only time it is used is in regard to judges. The reason for having judges is that the king cannot ensure justice for the whole realm—the OT judges are viewed as precedent. Written within perhaps fifteen years of the VR, the DIR addresses a correlative problem.

Treating another problem of labor, Smaragus discusses the practice of slavery. McCormick, following Eberhardt, locates the composition of the *Via Regia* firmly within the Spanish, not the Danish campaigns, those Spanish campaigns undertaken by Louis at the end of Charlemagne's life. He argues that Smaragdus, being of Visigothic origin himself, would have felt keenly the taking of prisoners that characterized Carolingian military campaigns. And indeed, these prisoners were being sold for substantial gain in the growing Mediterranean slave trade, which could have been extremely lucrative.³⁷⁰ McCormick identifies rightly that Smaragdus was opposed, but attributes it principally to his local origins. Authorial intention aside, what reasons did Smaragdus give for slavery being so problematic? He argues that slavery was not a condition of nature, but one of sin:

And among all salubrious precepts, and right deeds, according to the immense charity of God, each one ought to allow slaves to go away as free men, considering that nature does not subject them to a man, but sin; for we have been created equal in condition, but some have been subject to others through sin.³⁷¹

Smaragdus ascribes the condition of human bondage to sin, and not to nature itself.

Smaragdus problematizes a form of labor, as he did with regard to the exploitation of labor for palace construction. At the same time, though, he is not willing to call holding them sinful. Rather, the freeing of slaves is morally salubrious, and meritorious. The charity which has its apex in divine love can be mirrored by man in freeing slaves.³⁷² It

³⁷⁰ See McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, 752–59.

³⁷¹ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, *Via Regia*, §30, 396B. “Et inter alia praecepta salutaria, et opera recta, propter nimiam illius charitatem unusquisque liberos debet dimittere servos, considerans quia non illi eos natura subegit, sed culpa; conditione enim aequaliter creati sumus, sed aliis alii culpa subacti...”

³⁷² We recall that *caritas* was in the Augustinian tradition placed in contrast with *cupiditas*. Charity had both a valence of meaning associated with the relation between God and man, the direction of the will, and a valence of meaning pertaining to the social world, which carries into modern English clearly. Similarly, *cupiditas* had both a meaning in terms of the direction of the soul, and a more political meaning, closely akin to greed.

would seem that Smaragdus' organizational principal for all of the chapters following chapter 25 has to do with greed and its corrective virtue, charity or largess.

Smaragdus' exposition of the moral precept draws on those themes of tribute and gift discussed above. The freeing of slaves was likened to the "offering" of alms to God insasmuch as it constituted a forfeiture of wealth in some sense, but this "tribute" was offered to God to honor this higher King:

Honor, therefore, most just and most pious king, your God for all persons, because, as it is written, *before all he will honor you*; do not cease in obeying his precepts, whether in the subjugation of slaves to yourself, or in the submission of riches to yourself, by making from the former free men, and by offering from the latter alms.³⁷³

The freeing of captives became classed under the *ministerium* of the king alongside caring for the poor as father, feeding children, loving orphans, defending widows, educating the pilgrim, and general defender and guide.³⁷⁴ With Christ as the paradigm for heavenly king, the earthly king was to exercise his authority in defending and protecting the powerful, being generous and charitable when it came to granting freedom to the captives.

Classifying the freeing of slaves as an act of charity, almsgiving, or tribute presents an interesting categorical framework. Implicitly, taking captives as laborers for the empire becomes potentially a 'greedy' deed, but Smaragdus does not go quite that far.

³⁷³ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, §30, 968B. "Honorifica ergo, justissime ac piissime rex, pro omnibus Deum tuum, quia, ut scriptum est, *Pro omnibus honorificavit te*, sive in servis tibi subactis, sive in divitiis tibi concessis, ex illis liberos faciendo, et ex istis eleemosynas tribuendo, praeceptis illius obedire non cesses."

³⁷⁴ Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, §30, 936B. "Esto pauperum pater, pupillorum nutritor, orphanorum amator, viduarum que defensor, peregrinorum educator, omniumque secundum regulae ministerium defensor et rector. Esto, Christo donante, illius gratia largiente, sapientia plenus, esto prudentia praeditus, esto simplicitate ditatus, esto patientia fundatus, zelo tamen rectitudinis erectus. Omnibus esto mitis atque pacificus, sed tamen zelo rectitudinis accensus. In perquirendo justitiam esto sollicitus indagator, in dijudicando cautissimus exsecutor, ita tamen ut misericordia semper iudicio praeponatur. Memento quia a Domino misericordiam accipiet, qui fratri misericorditer indulserit."

Given that it was very likely that Louis's armies in Al-Andalus c.814 were taking captives, and perhaps contributing to the slave trade, might Smaragdus have been wanting to correct his ruler without accusing him of a vice? The penance that Louis performed at Soissons in 833 reveals the political power that accusations of vice wielded in the Carolingian state.³⁷⁵ An accusation of something that was proper to penance might have been politically problematic because of the aura of sacrality surrounding the king. The sequence of the tract seems to suggest that the taking of slaves was a mode of exchange that was governed by the ethical rules described by 'greed' and 'generosity', but Smaragdus is not willing to go so far as to call the practice greedy. It begs the question of whether by naming the liberation of slaves as 'charity' or 'almsgiving' he also implied that taking and keeping them constituted illicit exchange, i.e. greed.

Avarice in the *Via Regia* was not a vague and general spiritualization, but something with resonances in the major forms of exchange, most especially, the exchange of labor. Smaragdus problematizes exploitation of labor from the poor, and arguably, from slaves as well; additionally, he problematizes the reception of gifts by judges as a threat to justice. Largesse and generosity, the expectation of the king, and a corrective to greed was to be directed toward promoting just labor practices, by using royal resources. As for construction, the funds from royal estates inherited from his father, and the gifts of the nobility were to fund Louis' building projects. The labour of judicial activity was to be funded as well, by the king's generosity in land-grants or gifts. Finally, the freeing of slaves, and the forfeiture of enslaved persons' labor, was

³⁷⁵ See Mayke De Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814-840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and Courtney M. Booker, *Past Convictions: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

regarded as charitable. Granted, the flexibility inherent in the terms ‘avaritia’ and ‘cupiditas’ as they were received and transmitted by the Carolingians rendered the vice no longer exclusive to monetary applications, expanding the range of that which glittered, and detached it from an absolute meaning of material renunciation. This flexibility did not, however, make it so fully ‘spiritualized’ that it became detached from political application. The ethical limits on the person of the king become more vigorously defined in the years following Smaragdus’ *Via Regia*. Written at the historical moment when Charlemagne handed a united empire, much of whose economic growth came was derived from expansion and the spoils of war, over to his son Louis, the *Via Regia* embodied the ethics proper to a king in a time of peace and relative prosperity. The conflict-ridden decades that followed would bring to the surface an increased anxiety about the greed of the king, anxiety accompanied by attempts to articulate more clearly both the material valence and the gravity of royal greed.

CHAPTER IV.2: THE GREEDY PRINCE AND *NOBLESSE OBLIGE* AFTER 814

Just as with the person of the count, for which evidence set certain limits on which of the 600 some counties were accessible to us, the picture of what can be known of the ethical limits proper to the royal person is bounded by evidence. The most substantive treatments of greed were received by Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald, and the historical imagination is left to surmise what obligations may have existed for some of the regents less well-documented than these two. The boundedness, however, serves to illuminate even as it occludes other things. The *Via Regia*, with its latest date of 816, still antedates the letters to King Charles by at least two decades—two decades of substantial political turmoil.³⁷⁶ The contrast between the two regents and the advice to them is striking, and the letters, as much as the dating of them is known, bookend a period of intense and ongoing civil war between the sons of Louis the Pious over the inheritance of the bulk of the empire. While the effects of the civil war are not to be discounted, let us consider the speculum texts principally in light of the resources that rulers acquired, used, and lost as they vied for titles and kingdoms, and not in terms of ‘power’ as an abstract.³⁷⁷ As will

³⁷⁶ See De Jong, *The Penitential State*. This splendid introduction provides a succinct treatment of the rebellions and civil wars that occurred between 816 and Louis’ death in 840.

³⁷⁷ Matthew Innes has treated the relationship between land and power at length and describes with nuance their relationship: “The overwhelming proportion of wealth came from the control of land, the ownership of land was central to the creation of power in this society. But land did not lead, simply and automatically, to power: control of land was necessary to fund a lifestyle and to enter the social spheres in which one could create the personal contact which allowed one to exercise power. By the eighth century, the exchange of land—normally by outright gift—was a central tactic in the creation of power networks.” He observes as well that “throughout the Carolingian period lordship remained a purely personal relationship, not one in which the possession or tenancy of land played a *defining* role.” Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 93. In some sense, then, we can treat land as an object of exchange not wholly interchangeable with political power. They were related, but not synonymous.

be seen, land and its use, and the ‘service’ of men with their own resources, military and otherwise, were at risk in the disputes.³⁷⁸

First, the scope of imperial property resources needs to be addressed. Royal estates and the income they generated in annual ‘vectigalia’ were interpreted by James Westfall Thompson as a “royal fisc” of the sort that was present in the Roman world and in that developed in post-Carolingian Europe.³⁷⁹ As Kantorowicz has argued, however, in the Carolingian period, a defined royal fisc was largely absent.³⁸⁰ Kantorowicz wrote of the Carolingian concept of the ‘fisc’ that the term’s frequency in Frankish documents “implies no more than a survival of the ancient administrative language.”³⁸¹ Gregory of Tours’ sixth-century *Histories of the Franks* VI referred to the public treasures (*thesauris publicis*), to the royal lands (*fisci*), and to specific gifts of gold, silver, and clothing; it did so in the context of the exchanges of Chilperic and Childeric with the Goths

³⁷⁸ Neither was land synonymous with military service at this point in the middle ages. The exchange of land-gift did not simply compel military service or civic office, though again, as with power, the relationship is complex. See Paul Fouracre, “The Use of the Term Beneficium in Frankish Sources: A Society Based on Favours?,” in *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 74.

³⁷⁹ James Westfall Thompson, *The Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc in the Ninth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935), 19–20. Thompson argued that the fisc was comprised of royal estates, from which *beneficia* might be given, and further, that it was the dissolution of the fisc, and its associated “economic self-interest,” rather than ‘racial’ or ‘national’ divergences that was the catalyst for the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire: “The primary cause of the destruction of Charlemagne’s empire was feudalism, functioning in terms of economic self-interest. The great landed aristocracy of the empire—lay and clerical, nobles, bishops, abbots—rose in the ninth century, and despoiled the monarchy of its landed resources, and, with them, of its political power and capacity to rule. To put it succinctly, the real struggle of the sons of Louis the Pious was for the possession of as great a number of the crown lands as possible; and the partitions of the ninth century were primarily and fundamentally partitions of the Carolingian fisc.” See for a succinct rebuttal of this position Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 178, n273.

³⁸⁰ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies*, 164–92. The account of the fisc in *The King’s Two Bodies* was derived principally from Kantorowicz’s reading of the work of English cleric and jurist trained at Bologna, Henry Bracton (c.1210-c.1268), who described the fisc as “a thing quasi-sacred...which cannot be sold or transferred upon another person by the prince or ruling king; and those things which make the Crown what it is, and regard to common utility such as peace and justice.” The ‘sacred thing’, or the *res Christi*, were those lands that belonged to the Church. Quasi-sacred was set alongside sacred, and Christ aside Fisc. Church property and fiscal property shared in law the quality of inalienability. Translation of Bracton at 173.

³⁸¹ Kantorowicz, 178, n273.

accompanying the marriage of Chilperic's daughter³⁸² Both Filippo Vassalli and Kantorowicz read this as evidence that the royal lands had been reduced to a form of personal property, that the Merovingian and Carolingian fisci were fundamentally distinct from any ancient concept of 'fisc' detached from the person of the ruler; in Gregory of Tours' *Histories*, "the former impersonal character of the fisc had given way to a purely personal concept."³⁸³ In the classical world, the fisc may have been the state or imperial treasury, but in the Carolingian era, its presence would have been contingent on separation of the the person of the king from an abstracted concept of 'the Crown.'

Simply put, the king was not detached from the Crown. Kantorowicz's distinction between the 'bodies' of 'the king feudal' and 'the king fiscal' with the former referring to relations between the king and 'individual' subjects and the latter to the relations between the king and the 'community', is seemingly absent from our Carolingian sources.³⁸⁴

There seems to be little indication that there was an abstract sense of 'Crown lands' in Carolingian property, resources untouchable by the 'feudal' person of the king.³⁸⁵ There

³⁸² Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina 71 (Paris, 1851), VI, 45–46, 410D-414B.

³⁸³ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 178, n273; Filippo Vassalli, *Concetto e natura del Fisco* (Torino: Bocca, 1908), c.18, 65-69.

³⁸⁴ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 172. This was a development most clearly visible in Bracton's writing in the thirteenth-century, and one contingent on a sense of a 'quasi-sacral' fisc. If any one concession can be made for using some sort of 'individual vs. community' dichotomy, it might be in the person of the king, inasmuch as 'individual' refers simply to the 'one', 'singulis.' The only person in the realm who was really more of an 'individual' in the sense of being placed in opposition to a 'commons' as a whole, an abstracted 'realm' was, perhaps, the king, inasmuch as his ethical actions were read as being applicable to entire realm. The meteorological consequences that fell on 'hard-hearted' Pharaoh, the cosmic consequences of the unjust king in *De XII Abusivis*, and the 'robber' of the realm mentioned by Sedulius, do place a single person *contra* a populace. The only other, it seems, might be the person of the *christianus*, set in counterpoint to the mystical body of Christ, quite a large body that subsumed the members of civic populace and added to them the larger corpus of the heavenly baptized. Even if we do concede this, however, it seems to be the exception that proves the rule. That the person of the king is the only 'one' that might conceive of himself as being in relation to a 'people' certainly undercuts assumptions about the transcendence of the dichotomy.

³⁸⁵ While Kantorowicz refused to differentiate between the 'private' and 'public' persons of the king, finding that an unhelpful distinction, he did maintain the distinction between 'individual and [general] community'. Kantorowicz, 172. Janet Nelson and Matthew Innes have also addressed this question

were few large public works that the rulers undertook, and in this sense, little need for an ‘imperial’ income stream. And in addition, there could be multiple kings. Since the King and Crown were indistinct, the king's resources were ‘personal’ without being ‘private.’

Thence arises the question of how they were used. The royal estates were part of the inheritance of Louis the Pious’ sons, and they were not an insubstantial resource. Not only would they generate *vectigalia*, but the king might with them establish and reinforce connections to those he patronized by granting the use of the lands. The giving of benefices kept the recipient in a dependent position, even if not a strictly defined one. Paul Fouracre observes that from the sixth to the twelfth century, the term ‘*beneficia*’ was among the most widely-ranging Latin terms and argues for a progressive specificity in meaning over that period.³⁸⁶ Fouracre locates the ‘firming up’ of the term’s meaning as a type of conditional land-holding in the Carolingian era. *Beneficia*, in Carolingian usage, were not given: they were wished or prayed for (*precari*) by the potential recipient, and

profitably in recent years: See Nelson, “The Problematic in the Private”; “Did Charlemagne Have a Private Life?,” in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750-1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. David Bates et al., 2006; Innes, *State and Society*, 254–58.

³⁸⁶ Fouracre, “The Use of the Term Beneficium in Frankish Sources: A Society Based on Favours?,” 62–81. *Beneficium* at its simplest, or most generic level, has the meaning of ‘good deed’, or ‘favour’, which, as Fouracre observes, implies a certain moral aspect, by contrast to *gratia*, the other common term for ‘favour’ which seems to imply a more continuous and habitual sort of gift. Fouracre advocates that upwards of forty some distinct usages must have been present in early medieval Latin usage, judging by the forty-one present in B.F. Niermeyer’s *Lexicon*, and the *Lexicon*’s exclusion of theological and exegetical sources. “*Beneficium* ranges in meaning from a general sense of favour to the very specific result of a good deed, with the term being applied from the late seventh-century onwards in a technical sense to denote particular forms of landholding...From the usage of the term in the mid-Roman period onwards, it is clear that those who receive favours were indebted to those who gave them...some kind of service was due to whoever granted the *beneficium*, morally if not contractually.” Sixth-century usage includes in the range of *beneficia* favours to help navigate legal requirements of age limits and marriage restrictions, and even to tax exemptions or to fiscal land grants. The Council of Paris of the same century prohibits of the giving of a woman of marriage as a *beneficium* of the king. It might have meant something like the bending of rules, synonymous with *specialia rescripta*. By the tenth century, it had firmly gained a technical meaning of land held under some sort of conditions, by the eleventh, it became synonymous with *feodum*, the mainstay of ‘feudal organization’, and by the twelfth, *feodum* had essentially replaced it as the technical term. Additionally, by the twelfth century, it had gained the additional technical meaning of the church living that came from such grants. Consistent over this period was the sense that the favour implied the creation of some sort of debt to the giver, some kind of service.

they were “granted, conceded, or arranged” by the giver. They could not be ‘given’ “because they were not property that was being alienated.”³⁸⁷ The thing exchanged was not the land itself, but the *use* of the land for a duration of time (*usufructus*). The Church, by the Carolingian period, had acquired an enormous amount of land, so much that tenancies of this sort, repaid with the token sum, the *census*, were not uncommon. In Carolingian parlance, the *beneficium* was a favor, something that solidified the social bond, affirming the rôles of giver and recipient. In other words, unlike an outright ‘*donum*’, the *beneficium* did not alienate the gift from the giver. And in doing so, it kept giver and receiver in stable positions.

For practical examples of how gifts of land or its use might substantiate social positions or prove deleterious, we turn to Carolingian annalists and hagiographers. As King of Aquitaine, the Astronomer records, Louis the Pious was prey to the greed of his nobles. In making “public lands” private, that is, not giving away the use of the lands in benefices but alienating royal lands to men who neglected “the public good”, Louis “was held to be a lord in name only and rendered lacking in everything.”³⁸⁸ Charlemagne’s corrective, wanting to maintain the “magnates’ affection for his son”, was to restore the

³⁸⁷ Fouracre, 70–71. “The line of distinction... has to be drawn between matters affecting the king alone in his relation to individual subjects, and matters affecting all subjects, that is, the whole polity, the community of the realm. Better than distinguishing the king as a private person and the king as a non-private person, would be to distinguish between a king feudal and king fiscal, provided that mean by “feudal” preeminently matters touching individual relations between liege lord and vassals; and by ‘fiscal’ matters “that touch all.”

³⁸⁸ Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, ed. Ernst Tremp, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicum* in *Usum Scholarum Separatim Editi* 64 (Hannover, 1995), c.6, 302; Astronomer, “The Life of the Emperor Louis,” in *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: The Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thégan, and the Astronomer*, trans. Thomas F. X. Noble (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 233. “Qui cum primo vere a patre dimitteretur, interrogatus ab eo est, cur rex cum foret, tante tenuitatis esset in re familiari, ut nec benedictionem quidem nisi ex postulato sibi offerre posset; didicit que ab illo, quia privatis studens quisque primorum, negligens autem publicorum, perversa vice, dum publica vertuntur in privata, nomine tenus dominus, factus sit pene omnium indigus.”

lands to the public service.³⁸⁹ It would seem that Louis' exchange habits continued into his reign as Emperor. Nithard's *Histories* IV records bitterly—in this regard Thompson's reading seems correct—that

Adalhard cared little for the public good and tried to please everyone. Again and again he advised [Louis the Pious] to distribute liberties and public property for private use and, since he knew how to manage it so that everyone got what he asked for, he ruined the kingdom altogether. This is how he was easily able at this time to coax the people to do whatever he wanted.³⁹⁰

Written in 842, after Louis' death, this is retrospective, certainly, but marks a similar pattern throughout Louis' reign, though here, Nithard surmises that Louis' generosity was more properly the effect of poor counsel than kingly vice. Nonetheless, it is another example of the system of exchange that Matthew Innes has summed up well: "Land that could be given by the king, whether technically fiscal or ecclesiastical, was a strategic resource whose distribution created political power."³⁹¹ The gift of land or its use was intended to create a 'public good', that is, a system of *fideles* whose virtue as judges, counts, or other servants of the king would ultimately contribute to the peace, justice, and prosperity of the realm.

³⁸⁹ Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, c.6, 302; Astronomer, "The Life of the Emperor Louis," 233. "Volens autem huic obviare necessitati, sed cavens ne filii dilectio apud optimaes aliquam pateretur iacturam, si illis aliquid per prudentiam demeret, quod per inscientiam contulerat, misit illi missos suos... que eatenus usui servierant regio, obsequio restituerentur publico; quod et factum est."

³⁹⁰ Nithard, *Historiarum Libri III*, ed. Ernst Tremp, MGH *Scriptores Rerum Germanicum in Usum Scholarum Separatim Editi* 44 (Hannover, 1995), IV.6, 48; Trans. in *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories*, trans. Bernhard Walter Scholz and Barbara Rogers, Ann Arbor Paperback 186 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970), 173. "Dilixerat autem pater eius suo in tempore hunc Adelardum adeo idem vellet in universo imperio, hoc pater faceret. Qui utilitati publicae minus prospiciens placere cuique intendit. Hinc libertates, hinc publica in propriis usibus distribuere suasit, ac dum quod quique petebat, ut fieri, effect, rempublicam penitus annullavit. Quo quidem modo effectum est, ut in hac tempestate populum qua vellet facile devertere posset." Thompson, *The Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc in the Ninth Century*, 25. "When he became emperor he continued the flabby policy, not only alienating the lands of the fisc in the form of benefices, but even giving them away as hereditary benefices, or in full and free proprietorship."

³⁹¹ Innes, *State and Society*, 89.

Other examples can be found in the context of the civil wars. Louis' 817 *Ordinatio Imperii* tried to establish the distribution of land resources among his three sons, and to define their exchange relationships.³⁹² To Pippin went West Francia, and to Louis Bavaria and the Slavic lands to the east, while Middle Europe and Italy were under joint rule of Louis the Pious and Lothar I, to whom, "once a year [they] shall come to their elder brother with their gifts (*donis*)."³⁹³ In exchange, Lothar was, because of his greater *potestas*, "to remunerate them with pious and fraternal love, and a more ample gift."³⁹⁴ Thegan records that the other sons were angered by this division.³⁹⁵ As James Westfall Thompson has observed, in this division of property, nothing was said about the royal estates scattered through Francia, nor anything about those concentrated in the Frankish heartland.³⁹⁶ The royal estates, presumably, would remain under the purview of the Emperor, especially as the *Ordinatio* did specify from what sources the younger kings' income was to come:

Whatever of tribute, moreover, and rents and precious metals (*tributis vero et censibus vel metallis*) can be exacted or obtained within their confines, they shall

³⁹² The plan articulated in this document was reaffirmed in 821 at Nijmegen. See De Jong, *The Penitential State*, 28.

³⁹³ Louis the Pious, "Ordinatio Imperii," ed. Alfred Boretius and Krause, vol. 1, MGH Leges: Capitularia Regum Francorum, II (Berlin: Weidman, 1890), 271. "4. Item volumus ut semel in anno tempore oportuno vel simul vel singillatim, iuxta quod rerum conditio permiserit, visitandi et videndi et de his quae necessaria sunt et quae ad communem utilitatem vel ad perpetuam pacem pertinent mutuo fraterno amore tractandi gratia ad seniore[m] fratrem cum donis suis veniant. Et si forte aliquis illorum qualibet inevitabili necessitate impeditus venire tempore solito et oportuno ne quiverit, hoc seniori fratri legatos et dona mittendo significet."

³⁹⁴ Louis the Pious, 271; Trans. "The Ordinance of Louis the Pious: Division of the Empire of the Year 817," in *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, trans. E.F. Henderson, Bohn's Antiquarian Library (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896). "5. Volumus atque monemus, ut senior frater, quando ad eum aut unus aut ambo fratres sui cum donis, sicut praedictum est, venerint, sicut ei maior potestas Deo annuente fuerit adtributa, ita et ipse illos pio fraternoque amore largiori dono remuneret."

³⁹⁵ Thegan, *Gesta Hludowici Imperatoris*, ed. Ernst Tremp, MGH Scriptorum Rerum Germanicum in Usum Scholarum Separatim Editi 64 (Hannover, 1995), c.21; Thegan, "The Deeds of the Emperor Louis," in *Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: The Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer*, trans. Thomas F. X. Noble (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 205.

³⁹⁶ Thompson, *The Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc in the Ninth Century*, 19.

possess; so that from these they may provide for their necessities, and may the better be able to prepare the gifts to be brought to their elder brother.³⁹⁷

If indeed, royal estates were to remain under the purview of the emperor, this would have created a substantial income disparity between Lothar and his brothers.

Six years after the birth of Charles to Louis' second wife, Judith, the August 829 Partition of Worms revised these divisions: all of West Francia was to be handed over to the young step-brother Charles.³⁹⁸ To presume that the rebellions of Louis' sons that followed in 830 and 833 were wholly economically motivated would be deeply problematic, especially in light of De Jong's recent work.³⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the amount of resources allotted to each son did shift considerably by the end of the wars. The partition made at Diedenhofen in 831 reiterated that Charles the Bald would have much of what had been Lothar's part, leaving Lothar Italy. Pepin and Louis the German retained Aquitaine and Bavaria respectively. A new partition of 833 divided territory again, with Lothar rewarding Pepin and Louis the German for their loyalty to him, but afterwards, Lothar began to distribute royal lands to reward his partisans.⁴⁰⁰ The divisions of land and royal estates, always changing, determined which king might gain *fideles*.

During the scramble for resources that followed Louis' penance at Soissons in 833, and the rise of Lothar and his supporters, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, accused both laity and clergy of *cupiditas*: highly placed noblemen vied for *honores* and positions, some of which were accompanied by land-gifts, either in benefices, or

³⁹⁷ Louis the Pious, "Ordinatio Imperii," 272. "De tributis vero et censibus vel metallis, quicquid in eorum potestate exigi vel haberi potuerit, ipsi habeant, ut ex his in suis necessitatibus consulant et dona seniori fratri deferenda melius praeparare valeant."

³⁹⁸ Nithard, *Historiarum Libri IIII*, I.3; *Nithard's Histories*, 131; On the status of the fisc, see Thompson, *The Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc in the Ninth Century*, 23.

³⁹⁹ See especially *The Penitential State*, 185–251.

⁴⁰⁰ Thompson, *The Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc in the Ninth Century*, 28.

alienated property.⁴⁰¹ The *Annals of St-Bertin* record that in 836, Louis tried to force Lothar to restore to their previous lords the benefices, counties, allodial property, and bishoprics he had re-appropriated in Italy.⁴⁰² In an 838 partition following the revolt of Lothar and Louis the German after death of Pippin, Lothar, having ingratiated himself with Louis, was to receive half of the empire, and Charles the other half, so long as the elder brother protected the younger.⁴⁰³ This partition stipulated that the royal lands were partitioned along with the royal abbeys, bishoprics, and counties.⁴⁰⁴ But while in land the divisions may have been equal, Charles the Bald would inherit the richest and most fertile wine-producing lands, leaving more room for strife. In the years that followed, a scramble for *fideles* ensued, or by gift of benefices, or by other private arrangement.⁴⁰⁵ Louis the German, in rebellion against this plan that shorted him substantially of resources, fled across the Rhine and “sought in person the support of the pagan and peoples beyond the frontiers, giving them large *munera*.”⁴⁰⁶ Indeed, without lands to gift, he needed to rely on other, movable, wealth. Lothar, though he had more land-resources upon which to draw, sought the aid of mercenaries. Lothar gave parts of Frisia to the Danish pirate Harald in 841 in exchange for destroying his opponents’ coastal economic interests, something that constituted illicit exchange to his contemporaries, especially

⁴⁰¹ Thompson, 28, n35, 36, 38.

⁴⁰² Janet L. Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, Manchester Medieval Sources Series (Manchester University Press, 1991), 35.

⁴⁰³ Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris*, 60; Trans. at “The Life of the Emperor Louis,” 295. Louis “divided his whole empire with balanced judgement, except for Bavaria, which he left to Louis, and therefore included in none of the other shares.” Lothar chose the East, leaving the West for Charles, and Louis the German felt slighted. Cf. Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, 38.

⁴⁰⁴ Thompson, *The Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc in the Ninth Century*, 29.

⁴⁰⁵ Thompson, 34.

⁴⁰⁶ G. Waitz, ed., *Annales Bertiniani*, MGH Scriptorum Rerum Germanicum in Usus Scholarum Separatim Editi 4 (Hannover, 1885), a. 840, 24; Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, 49; Cited in Curta, “Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving,” 690. Nelson and Curta have understood *munera* here as bribes, but, has been discussed, *munera* encompassed both licit and illicit gifts.

because it placed the Christian people of Frisia under pagan rule.⁴⁰⁷ The gifts of land, indeed, were complicated by the exchanges of power and position; in other words, the exchanges of this resource might have severe political consequence, and were inseparable from ethical meaning.

By 842, it was decided that a survey needed to be taken of the empire to decide upon appropriate divisions:

They said that it was better to make peace among themselves, and at the same time send messengers throughout the entire empire to survey it. Only then, they argued, was it possible to swear that they were dividing safely and fairly something of which they had certain knowledge. In this way, they assured Lothar's party, it was also possible to avoid perjury and other crimes, unless blind *cupiditas* stood in the way. In total disagreement they all went back to their people, whence they had come.⁴⁰⁸

The Treaty of Verdun in 843 marked the settlement of these territorial disputes. Lothar, who had tried to assume control of the entire empire, and had carried some support toward that end, allied with his nephew, Pepin II of Aquitaine. Their efforts to gain support failed definitively with Louis the German and Charles the Bald taking East and West Francia respectively at Verdun. This peace would not last, of course, and the *Annals of St. Bertin* record continued instances of 'gifts' being offered, with Charles the Bald reportedly giving *munera* to the Bulgars to attack Louis the German in 853.⁴⁰⁹

The Kingdom of West Francia over which Charles the Bald assumed dominion in 855 was assumed in a world in which the memory of shifting boundaries of land and

⁴⁰⁷ Waitz, *Annales Bertiniani*, a.841; Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, 51.

⁴⁰⁸ Nithard, *Historiarum Libri IIII*, IV, c5, 46–47; Trans. at *Nithard's Histories*, 172. "Aiebant melius esse, ut firmaretur pax inter illos, mitterentque pariter per universum imperium, et imbreviaretur, ac tum tandem iurare quod certum est, absque periculo aequaliterque dividere posse censebant: sic quoque periuria ceteraque facinora devitare, ni ceca cupiditas impediret, posse firmabant; ac per hoc nec se ledere in sacramento velle nec cuiquam, ut faceret, licentiam dare testabantur. Qua dissentientes quique, qua venerat, ad suos secesserunt."

⁴⁰⁹ Waitz, *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 853, 43; Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, 77; Cited in Curta, "Merovingian and Carolingian Gift Giving," 690.

kingdoms was still keen. Carolingian ethico-political thinkers surely recalled the times of relative political stability under Charlemagne, but more acute was the memory of men whose loyalties to particular regents were bought with gifts, whose resources, principally land-gifts, were revoked and re-gifted. Kingly exchanges were complicated by political intrigue, and the ideals of ‘largesse’ were held in tension with the experience of gifts that usurped, rather than affirmed, social positions and hierarchies.

That these tensions underlay memory is evident, but whether they emerge in the discourse surrounding greed is yet to be discovered. Two texts addressed to Charles the Bald treat greed explicitly and at length, but neither can be ascribed a date with any certainty. The *De Rectoribus Christianis*, (DRC hereafter) was written sometime after 843, at which point Charles assumed the throne of West Francia, by the scholar of Liège, and the *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis* (DCV hereafter) sometime between 860 and Christmas of 875 by the prolific Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims.⁴¹⁰ More frequently treated among Hincmar’s work are *De Regis persona et regio ministerio* (c.873), and *De ordine palatii* addressed to Carloman in 882, as more thoroughly authentic *Fürstenspiegel*. They are more clearly ‘original’ than the highly derivative DCV, which takes ninety percent of its content from other sources, sixty percent from the works of Gregory the Great alone. Nonetheless, their engagement in the discourse of

⁴¹⁰Even that the treatise was written to Charles the Bald is disputed; Dyson regards it as on the whole more likely that it was written to Charles and not Lothar I. R. W. Dyson, "Introduction" in *De Rectoribus Christianis; On Christian rulers* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 19. The dating of *De Cavendis* has been a matter of dispute. Devisse’s foundational book, following the work of Schrörs, set the date at 869, but Doris Nachtmann’s excellent 1998 critical edition of *De Cavendis* challenged this supposition. Nachtmann set the *terminus post quem* at c.860, at which time Hincmar certainly possessed all of the sources he would use in the work.⁴¹⁰ The *terminus ante quem* is certainly 877, at the death of Charles the Bald, but more likely Dec 25th, 875, when Charles was crowned with the imperial title, because Hincmar refers to Charles simply with the title *rex*, not with the title that would have been appropriate to imperial ruler. See Doris Nachtmann, “Einleitung,” in *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis*, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, Bd. 16 (München: Monumenta Germania, 1998), 24.

greed is minimal, restricted to admonitions against greedy counsellors. As this is not an unimportant theme in itself, these texts will serve an ancillary purpose in illuminating that specific aspect of the vice. The two tracts here given centrality, however, share the characteristic of strong and direct condemnations of greed abstracted, or of the greedy king.

I. SEDULIUS SCOTTUS

Sedulius Scottus' *De Rectoribus Christianis* consists of a general treatise on kingship written in the prosymetric style reminiscent of Boethius. It includes one chapter on the ten pillars of kingship, which have close analogies in the *Proverba Graecorum*.⁴¹¹ Chapters seven and eight, titled, respectively, "What may make princes wicked," and "Concerning avaricious and ungodly kings, and the great evils with which, because of them, divine vengeance pursues both the people and themselves," shall prove most useful for discerning the boundaries between licit and illicit land and gift-exchange.⁴¹²

According to Sedulius, four things contribute to the degeneration of a good prince into a wicked one: royal license, an abundance of things, the influence of poor counsellors, and ignorance of public affairs (*rerum publicarum*).⁴¹³ Though the causes of princely moral degeneration are not in strict 'cause-and-effect' relationship to each other, their association reveals something about the discourse surrounding the princely role and its ethical limits. The king without limits, that is, with *licentia*, acquires too many goods.

⁴¹¹ Handy, "The Specula Principium in Northwestern Europe," 102.

⁴¹² Sedulius Scottus, *DRC*, 92–93. "Quae res malos principes faciat" and "De avaris et impiis regibus, et quanta per eosdem populum mala vel ipsos ultio divina consequitur".

⁴¹³ Sedulius Scottus, VII.90-91. "Ad quod dicendum jam primum regalis licentia; deinde rerum copia, cum ipsa abundantia rerum causa malorum fiat; amici praeterea improbi, satellites detestandi, eunuchi avarissimi, aulici vel stulti vel detestabiles, per quos omnes etiam illo dominatore qui videbatur bonus esse nascitur oblivio mandatorum Dei; postremo, quod negari non potest, rerum publicarum ignorantia."

This logic is predicated on the assumption there were limits to kingly acquisition, morally or ethically if not legally, except inasmuch as law drew from the discourse of vice and virtue.⁴¹⁴ ‘Abundance of things’ may make a prince wicked, according to Sedulius, because “the abundance of things becomes a cause of evil in itself.”⁴¹⁵ We recall, that in the Biblical and Patristic categories, there was something of a wide valence as far as what precisely constituted the root of all evil. *Philargyria*, the love of money, was the root of all evil, according to 1 Tim 6:10. In the monastic context in which the schema of the vices emerged and was carried to the West, complete renunciation of material goods was the antidote to greed. The Vulgate placed the emphasis on the love of money and its disorder, expanding substantially the field of meaning of Greed. At the same time, Prudentius still emphasized an ethic of sufficiency. Without repeating all of the discursive vicissitudes, we recall that Alcuin and Paulinus both conscientiously edited their sources to deemphasize material renunciation, in effect, widening the penitential

⁴¹⁴ *Licentia*’ has the richly variegated meaning of ‘freedom to do as one pleases’, ‘intemperance’, and ‘willfulness’. It seems not quite *luxuria*, which had long-been held in association with *avaritia* and *cupiditas*. ‘License’ however, derived from the impersonal verb form *licet*, ‘it is permitted’, necessarily implies the existence of limits on agency and power, and the lifting of them: that license is ‘permission’ implies the existence of some sort of objective good, limit, or law. Thus, that ‘royal license’ is what makes princes wicked suggests, in classical form, that princely power must be limited by something for a prince to exercise his authority justly. See on *luxuria*, Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 81.

⁴¹⁵ R.W. Dyson’s edition and translation points out the possible analogue to this statement found in Augustine’s *De Civitate Dei*. Augustine cites Sallust’s history of Rome at the end of the Monarchy and the beginning of the Republic. Sallust observed that good order was kept by fear of war with Carthage until Carthage was in fact, destroyed in the Third Punic War. After that, Roman patricians lived prosperously, and with that prosperity came vice: “And discord, avarice, ambition, and other vices (*mala*) that are commonly generated by *rebus*, increased more than ever after the destruction of Carthage.” (*At discordia, et avaritia, atque ambitio, et caetera secundis rebus oriri sueta mala, post Carthaginis excidium maxime aucta sunt.*) Augustine appropriated Sallust’s history for his own narrative, telling of the progressive decline of the Roman populace. Peace and order, Augustine claimed, only arose after the expulsion of the last Roman king, Tarquin, because of the fear of war. After that fear gave way to prosperity, the powerful and prosperous became more and more tyrannical, treating the less powerful as slaves, taking property, and exacting exorbitant usury. Though the textual overlap is minimal enough to make explicit quotation unlikely, the narrative may have survived in a whisper of cultural memory. Sallust, *Historiae* I.10, in Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, CCSL 47 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), II.18, 49; Sedulius Scottus, *DRC*, 91, n46.

discourse of the seven sins for general ethical application. Thus, that Sedulius discusses the abundance of things as the cause of many vices (*malorum*) is striking. Without advocating monastic material renunciation, he returns to an emphasis on the materiality of greed, reaffirmed in the poem which concludes the chapter, written about the ethical *persona* of the king. An “abundance of too many things” takes the active role of casting down rulers, like the rushing of a whirlwind.⁴¹⁶ The poetry figures the prince himself as the valuable thing that deteriorates: pure gold ‘in sacred morals’ degenerates into lead, while the abundant wine grape becomes like the worthless wild grape.⁴¹⁷

At the same time, the exchange relationship between the King and his counselors is one in which both parties are prey to greed: the counsellors desire his gifts, and the king desires their honor. Even if a lord seems to be good, “wicked friends, detestable followers, *avarissimi* officials (*eunuchi*), foolish or detestable courtiers,” can prompt “forgetfulness of God’s commandments”:

Thus, four or five people combine and fasten upon one counsel to deceive the emperor or king. They declare what is to be approved; the emperor, who is shut up in his house, does not know the truth; he is compelled to believe what these people tell him.⁴¹⁸

The good emperor is betrayed by his false counselors, and accordingly, he assigns problematic judges and banishes the trustworthy.⁴¹⁹ The fourth catalyst for regal

⁴¹⁶ Sedulius Scottus, *DRC*, 93–94. “Tamquam praecipitans turbo regentes / Subvertit nimium copia rerum.”

⁴¹⁷ Sedulius Scottus, 92–93. “Sacris qui fuerant moribus aurum / Mox plumbo similes viliter horrent, / Et qui vitis erant ubere laeti / Agrescunt veluti spreta labrusca.”

⁴¹⁸ Sedulius Scottus, 90–91. Trans. Dyson “Hinc colligunt sequatuor vel quinque atque unum consilium ad decipiendum imperatorem seu regem capiunt. Dicunt quid probandum sit; imperator, qui domi clausus est, vera non novit; cogitur hoc tantum scire quod illi loquuntur.”

⁴¹⁹ Sedulius Scottus, 90–91. Trans. Dyson “...facit iudices quos fieri non oportet, amovet a re publica quos debeat obtinere. Unde etiam venditur bonus et cautus et optimus imperator, qui eo ipso miser efficitur cum apud ipsum vera reticeantur. Hinc saepe tumultuosa indisciplinatione et Dei cultrix pietas et veritas opprimitur, cum multum derogatio praevaleat quando derogatores creduntur fide digni, quos gemina pestis corrumpit acerbissima, amor videlicet falsitatis et odium veritatis.”

wickedness, “ignorance of *rerum publicarum*” is a logical progression from these false, flattering, and deceptive friends, rather than a lack of kingly *techne*. Finally, a court that has degenerated creates a condition of regal ignorance and leads to injustice. Another poetic denunciation of unsavory counselors leads into the final denunciation of that which can make a king wicked:

For these things blind the king’s eyes: honours,
Gold, riches, concealments, errors,
Pleasure in the flattering charms (*blanda*) of a woman’s face,
The falsehoods of loved ones, pomp and power.⁴²⁰

We may justly ask whether this has to do with the ethical category of greed, and whether it carries the penitential weight of the sins’ schema, or other discursive valences. For this, though, we must turn to chapter nine, in which the ‘greedy king’ appears collapsed into the person of the unjust king.

Economic imagery is clear from the beginning: God’s title was *Summa Benefactor*, and the *impii reges* were nothing other than “great robbers of the earth,” especially with regard to the poor, to whom they are like lions or bears.⁴²¹ The image of the king as a robber seems to be derived from Augustine’s *City of God*, in which Augustine draws the analogy between the ‘kingdom’ and abstracted robbery (*latrocinia*).⁴²² Sedulius appropriates this for his work, but instead of the abstracted ‘kingdom’, he transforms this into the king himself, in essence employing this as a character-type. Though the more common adjective of this characterization is ‘ungodly,

⁴²⁰ Sedulius Scottus, 92–93. “Nam caecant oculos regis honores, / Aurum, divitiae, nubila, menda / Vultus feminei blanda voluptas, / Chari falsidici, pompa, potestas.”

⁴²¹ Sedulius Scottus, 94–95. “. . .atque Summo Benefactori placere magnopere procuret. Quid sunt autem impii reges nisi majores terrarum latrones, feroces ut leones, rabidi ut ursi? — sicut scriptum est de illo lea rugiens, et ursus esuriens, princeps impius super populum pauperum.”

⁴²² Sedulius Scottus, 96–97; Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate Dei*, IV.4; 101.

unjust, or impious,’ the characterizations contain a number of elements of greed: such kings are slaves of lust and avarice, slaves of every wickedness, always toiling and producing nothing, yawning chasms.⁴²³ This greedy person of the king is depicted as ultimately powerless, being enslaved; his labor is unproductive, and his acquisitiveness consumes indefinitely. Drawing on the titular theme of Smaragdus’ text, these greedy and impious kings “do not know how to advance along the righteous and royal road, nor do they wish to, but they understand how to turn aside to right and left.” The theme of license reappears here. The *figurae* for the greedy and impious king include Pharaoh, the punishment for whose hardness of heart included the ten plagues that destroyed the wealth of Egypt: cattle, rivers, fields, and even the firstborn sons, who worked land and livestock.⁴²⁴ We recall the Biblical narrative that Pharaoh, in his zeal for building and fear of uprising, placed unreasonable and tyrannical labor demands on his Hebrew slaves: he was trying to increase his ‘wealth’ in some sense, by compelling his force of craftsman, his laborers, to make bricks at an impossible pace, *laborem durissimum*.⁴²⁵ Other *figurae* were Antiochus, Herod, Pontius Pilate, Nero, Aegea, Julian, and Theodoric I.⁴²⁶ The *figura* of Theodoric I, “the cruelest of kings” is presented in the context of a fabled vision

⁴²³ Sedulius Scottus, *DRC*, 94–95. “Tales itaque sunt amici malorum, inimici bonorum, servi libidinis et avaritiae, servi totius nequitiae, ministri diaboli, semper laborantes ac nihil facientes, gurgites, humani generis miseriae, pabula aeternae gehennae, ut cedrus subito exaltati, sed in profunda tartari praecipitati... qui neque recte et regia via sciunt seu volunt incedere, sed ad dexteram sinistramque norunt declinare.”

⁴²⁴ Sedulius Scottus, 96–97. “Regis Pharaonis impietas, quae ex cordis duritia inoleverat, sibi suisque Aegyptiis decem plagas intulit, atque insuper 'Rubro Mari tartareique Acherontis imo ipsum suosque submersit.” Cf. Exodus 7-11.

⁴²⁵ Cf. Exodus 5.

⁴²⁶ Though Dyson, following to some extent Hellman’s critical edition, cites the likely sources of these *figura*, they would benefit from further study. For Antiochus, see 2 Macc. 9:5-28, for Herod, see Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum*; for Pontius Pilate, see Apocryphal *Mors Pilati* of sixth of seventh century. Neither Dyson nor Hellman provided satisfactory identification for ‘Aegea’, but it seems likely that this came from an apocryphal *Acts of Saint Andrew*, in which the proconsul of Patras, who pressured Andrew to worship civic gods, was named Ægeates. In the missal of Isidore for the Mozarabic rite, this name appears as ‘Egea.’ See Dyson, 97 n59-61 and PL:85-160B.

of a monk in which the unjust king was cast into a fiery crater, after ordering the deaths of Pope John and Symmachus.⁴²⁷ In some sort of witticism, Sedulius describes the ‘dual ministry’ (*ministerium*) of Theodoric, that in despoiling others, he plundered (*spoliavit*) from himself eternal life, and administered eternal glory to those he killed unjustly.⁴²⁸ The final poem returns to the imagery of theft: the greatest *latrones*, with *rapaces* claws like hawks, lose (*perdere*) their ‘brief kingdoms’ and cast themselves into hell.

The contrasting ethical type, however, is the generous and clement king, who appears in chapter 9 and is so glorious as to be characterized with a series of seven natural and cosmological elements likely appropriated from Sedulius’ *Proverbia graecorum*.⁴²⁹ Placed alongside the cloudless sky, the sun in its splendor, the full moon, a flowering field, the changing tide, and a ‘chorus justorum’ dwelling together, is the peaceful king in the glory of his kingdom, “when in the royal palace he bestows many *beneficia* by extending ‘gifts’ (*ostensis muneribus*), and distributing ‘grants’ (*donisque traditiis*).”⁴³⁰ Significantly, the gifts of kings, bestowed in peace, are categorized in terms of cosmic peace and abundance: the cloudless sky by which the sun and moon are clearest, the florid fruitfulness of the field, enabled by celestial peacefulness, the placid

⁴²⁷ Sedulius Scottus, *DRC*, 98–99. “Because he was a follower of the Arian treachery and a persecutor of good Christians, finally, as was revealed to a certain holy man, he was led between Pope John and the Patrician Symmachus, unclothed, barefoot and with his hands bound, and cast into the crater of a volcano. For, because he had slain Pope John in custody by torture and butchered the Patrician Symmachus with the sword, it appeared that he was sent into the fire by those whom he judged unjustly in this life”

⁴²⁸ Sedulius Scottus, 98–99.

⁴²⁹ Sedulius Scottus, “Proverba Graecorum,” in *Sedulius Scottus*, ed. Siegmund Hellmann, Edward Kennard Rand, and Heribert Plenkers (Frankfurt: Minerva, 1966), 121.

⁴³⁰ Sedulius Scottus, *DRC*, 102–013. “rex pacificus in gloria regni sui, quando in aula regia ostensis muneribus donisque traditis multa beneficia praestat. Rex etenim justus et pacificus laeta facie bona dividit et uniuscujusque causam diligenter meditatatur, et infirmos et pauperes populi non despiciens, cum seniorum et prudentium consilio et iudicio vera iudicia loquitur, malos humilians bonosque exaltans. D[e] eius cum gloria extendentur, et eius memoria in aeternum manebit.”

sea, peace among men.⁴³¹ This was the converse of the destruction portended by the author of *De XII Abusivis*, which he certainly knew and referenced.⁴³² It was not the king's injustice that caused destruction but king's peacefulness and largesse that reflected cosmic order. If peace, according to Sedulius, is the highest of the kingly virtues, the 'fruit' of the peaceful mind, is mercy and 'clemency,' which strengthen the throne. The clemency to which Sedulius gives pride of place was characteristic of Augustus Caesar, the Antonines, Constantine, the Theodosii, Charlemagne, and Louis the Pious.⁴³³ With reference to Louis the Pious and Charlemagne, moreover, Sedulius observes that their place in heaven is assured by the fact that they gave "not only their own goods, but even their entire selves" to the Almighty.⁴³⁴

The connection between "unjust and greedy kings" which titles chapter 8 becomes clearer: if the relationship between greed and injustice was not a strictly causal one, it was certainly correlative. The just king was peaceful and clement, and from this peace sprang cosmic abundance. The ethical obligation to pursue peacefulness and largesse, and to avoid greed and injustice, was described not terms of legal limitations on royal power, nor in terms of 'economic' rules. The limits and duties were couched in the

⁴³¹ Sedulius expands this substantially in the section that follows, citing Isaiah 5:1: "the peaceful prince is like a flowering vine and a fertile paradise close at hand,' and like an upright vine laden with abundant fruit, confounding all discord by the splendour of his countenance. . . just as the provident steersman endeavours to elude the perils of a boisterous sea by [making use of] the favourable calm of the season, so does the peaceful ruler with careful deliberation consider how to contain the violence of discords by calm tranquility of mind and the concord of peace." *Princeps pacificus tamquam floridus et fertilis est in proximo paradisis, et quasi vinea honesta copioso abundans fructus omnem a splendore conspectus. . . Sicut ergo providus gubernator procellosi maris pericula aridente temporis serenitate evader nititur, sic rector pacificus serena mentis tranquillitate ac pacis concordia impetus discordiarum sedula deliberatione compescere meditatur.*"

⁴³² See Sedulius Scottus, "De Rectoribus Christianis," in *Sedulius Scottus*, ed. Siegmund Hellmann, Edward Kennard Rand, and Heribert Plenkers (Frankfurt: Minerva, 1966), 43, n22.

⁴³³ Clearly, a thorough exploration of the Carolingian 'memory' of these pre-Carolingian figures, while perhaps very illuminating in its own right, is beyond the scope of the current enquiry and must be tabled for later work.

⁴³⁴ Sedulius Scottus, *DRC*, 109.

negative terms of threat of hell, and the positive ones of beauty and goodness, an adherence to an almost teleological ideal that was analogous to the splendor of the natural world. Nonetheless, these duties had concrete resonances in the exchanges in which the royal person participated. Duties of exchange were articulated in terms of ideals, the vices and virtues, that corresponded to larger ideals of cosmic and divine order.

Three terms for largesse, *dona*, *munera*, and *beneficia*, with the former two as instruments of the third, were presented as Charles' ethical obligations, with reference to the examples of his father and grandfather. The DRC was written in 843 at the earliest, at which point the memory of the civil wars would have been keenly present in the minds of Sedulius and his readers. Thus, when Sedulius' admonitions proceed from the action of the greedy king into the actions of the just and generous king, emphasizing the giving of *beneficia*, it is clear that he interacts with real habits of kingly exchange. Most closely related, of course, seem to be the practices of distributing benefices, or even alienating the royal lands, to curry military and political support during the land disputes among Lothar, Charles, and Louis the German. The recipient of the *DRC* would have had many examples to draw upon as he read:

Nothing should be given by a just and godly king unless it is a benefit; but a benefit is ruined and ended if it is given in exchange for the payment of some reward in this world, nor can we have the thing entire [nor can we have the whole merit of giving it] if we are paid a price for it. Hence such generosity is more to be called commerce than benefit. Benefits should be granted that, when given, do not damage the reputation and godliness and justice of the good prince, and according to the merits of persons and the advantages of things, not according to the greed of the recipients, who do not readily deny themselves, because they truculently and violently demand what is difficult or impossible... Thus in every distribution of temporal things, measure and righteous intention are to be preserved in giving, so that for the sake of the health of the *res publica*, the advantage of Holy Church and the attainment of heavenly glory, all things may be

distributed through the munificence of a serene prince to the good, the better and the best.⁴³⁵

Notably, Sedulius seems to be advocating for a system of rewards based on merit, where the virtuous person receives rewards. The practical effect of this ideal would be that the king would be surrounded by good men, the sort of counselors and judges that would help mediate and distribute kingly justice. This is similar to what the *Via Regia* says: that the king should choose his counselors with the eyes of God, that is, that the king's largesse should be distributed to the ethically good, and not to the evil. Greed thus became a sort of liability, something that, in an ideal situation, prevented one from giving service or receiving land gifts.

The other strong emphasis is on the condemnation of returns: while *beneficia* did keep the recipient in a dependent position, any appearance of commerce should be avoided. Largesse would attract loyalty and service, a different sort of capital: physical gifts in exchange for *beneficia* were out of the question. Likewise, the giving of benefices to secure the aid of mercenaries, as Lothar did when he gave parts of Frisia to the Danish pirate Harald in 841 in exchange for destroying his opponents' coastal economic interests, constituted illicit exchange, especially because it placed the Christian people of Frisia under pagan rule.⁴³⁶ Furthermore, given the strong conceptual link between kingly largesse and peacefulness, it would seem that the exchange of *beneficia* for shifting

⁴³⁵ Sedulius Scottus, 104–7. “Nihil autem ab justo et pio rege donandum est nisi quod sit beneficium. Beneficium autem, si ad aliquam mercedis remunerationem in hoc saeculo refertur, interit atque finitur, nec enim possumus id habere integrum cujus pretium nobis per solutum est. Unde non tam beneficium sed potius commercium dicenda est talis largitio. Danda sunt vero beneficia quae data boni principis famam pietatemque et justitiam non laedunt, juxta dignitates personarum et utilitates rerum, non secundum cupiditates accipientium, qui facile sibimet denegant, quia quod difficile aut impossibile est improbe atque atrociter poscunt... In omnibus itaque largitionibus temporalibus servantia est mensura rectaque in donatione intentio, ut pro salute rei publicae et sanctae utilitate Ecclesiae proque coelestis indeptione gloriae bonis melioribus optimis cuncta per sereni principis munificentiam distribuuntur.”

⁴³⁶ Waitz, *Annales Bertiniani*, a.841; Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, 51.

military and political loyalties, such as what happened between 830 and 833, was also deemed problematic. Gifts and peace are aligned, not gifts and war. If the king holds the lands, granting use of them to the good, peace ensues. His largesse ideally solidifies social bonds, rather than enabling their instability. Conversely, his vulnerability to courtly greed risks that peace, and his own greed constitutes robbery, all of which result in widespread destruction of resources for the kingdom. In a state which did not draw its economic resources primarily from taxes, and, after Charlemagne's death, was not expanding significantly and exacting plunder, the ruler's principal exchanges were in land.⁴³⁷ Thus his effect on the people of the realm was keenly recognized, but the king's greed and generosity were discussed in terms of cosmic dearth and destruction, or of peace and abundance.

II. HINCMAR

To a later moment in Charles' reign we now turn, and to another of his interlocutors. Archbishop Hincmar (c.800-882) was among the most powerful men in his time and served four successive rulers of West Francia.⁴³⁸ He wrote the *De cavendis vitiis et virtutibus exercendis* following a conversation with Charles the Bald at Senlis in which the latter requested a copy of the letter written from Gregory the Great to the Visigoth

⁴³⁷ Timothy Reuter, "The End of Carolingian Military Expansion," in *Charlemagne's Heir*, 391–408.

⁴³⁸ Rachel Stone and Charles West, eds., *Hincmar of Rheims: Life and Work* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 1–2. He served Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald, Louis the Stammerer, and Carloman. He was not merely an archbishop called to administer spiritual advice or the sacraments, but was frequently embroiled in disputes within and outside his diocese as one of its leading political figures. These disputes, though sometimes theological, were more often practical: related to topics such as discipline, the preservation of church property, his claim to the archbishopric of Reims, and severe and bitter disagreements with his nephew, Hincmar of Laon. He was a prolific writer in a wide variety of genres: history, theology, hagiography, politics, letters, moral treatises, archdiocesan regulations, legal opinions, liturgical texts, poetry, and exegesis. Charles was highly educated and interested in theology, politics, philosophy, and law. A religious man noted for his devotion to certain cults of saints and his encouragement of ritual, he was often in communication with Archbishop Hincmar.

King Reccared. Doris Nachtmann observes that older studies which dated the letter firmly at 869 did not account for the presence of Charles at Senlis in years other than 869, and places it instead between 860 and Christmas of 875.⁴³⁹ The *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, while they do record Charles' presence at Senlis in 869, also record his presence there twice in 862, once in 863 and 865, twice in 868, and once in 873 as well.⁴⁴⁰ At the same time, however, though Charles may have been at Senlis multiple times, Hincmar in the *Annals* does record that both he and Charles the Bald received letters carried by Bishop Actard of Nantes from Pope Nicholas in 868.⁴⁴¹ More interestingly, Charles' arrival at Senlis in 868 followed something of a debacle over *beneficia* involving one Count Egfrid. Hincmar reports that there were suspicions that it was because of large gifts (*exenia non modica*) from Egfrid, "who already held the abbacy of St-Hilary and many other rich benefices," that Charles the Bald "took away the county of Bourges from Count Gerald, in his absence and without making an allegation against him and granted it to Egfrid."⁴⁴² Egfrid never assumed it, however, because Gerald's men attacked and brutally killed Egfrid. Not only that, but

There were so many evil deeds done—churches broken into, poor folk oppressed, crimes of all kinds committed, and the land laid waste—that there are too many to list here: as is proved by the fact that many thousands of people died of hunger because of that devastation.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁹ Nachtmann, "Einleitung," 24. The dating of *De Cavendis* has been a matter of dispute. Devisse's foundational book, following the work of Schrörs, set the date at 869. Nachtmann set the *terminus post quem* at c.860, at which time Hincmar certainly possessed all of the sources he would use in the work. The *terminus ante quem* is certainly 877, at the death of Charles the Bald, but more likely Dec 25th, 875, when Charles was crowned with the imperial title, because Hincmar refers to Charles simply with the title *rex*, not with the title that would have been appropriate to imperial ruler.

⁴⁴⁰ Nachtmann, "Einleitung," 23, n71.

⁴⁴¹ Waitz, *Annales Bertiniani*, a.868; Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, 144.

⁴⁴² Waitz, *Annales Bertiniani*, a.867, 90; Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, 143. "Karolus denique, quoniam ab Acfrido, abbatiam Sancti Hilarii cum aliis plurimis honorabilibus beneficiis habente, sicut quidam dixerunt, exenia non modica suscipiens, comitatum Bituricum sine praesentia illius vel culpae alicuius reputatione a Gerardo comite abstulit et praefato Acfrido dedit."

⁴⁴³ Waitz, *Annales Bertiniani*, a.868, 90-91; Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, 143.

Charles moved into Berry declaring vengeance, but “not only was vengeance not taken on Gerald and his companions, but no one even drove them out of Berry.”⁴⁴⁴ Taken at the least as an example of kingly largesse gone terribly wrong, and at the most as maddening enough for Hincmar to admonish Charles the Bald in person, it is hard to ignore this event’s importance for contextualizing the interaction between Charles the Bald and Hincmar of Rheims about the exchange of the king.

The letter Charles requested was that of Gregory I congratulating the Visigoth king Reccared on his conversion and admonishing him to practice the works of mercy (August 599). Hincmar sent a copy of this letter and added as a supplement his own treatise meant to augment and complement the moral instruction given in Gregory the Great’s letter.⁴⁴⁵ Hincmar discussed “these vices” which “for anyone heading toward eternal life... must especially guarded against,” being those vices “through which the Devil hastens to drag the human race toward eternal punishments.”⁴⁴⁶ The vice section treats thirteen different sins, the six most important of which follow in this order: *avaritia, superbia, invidia, luxuria, gula, and ira*. Immediately thereafter, Hincmar devotes a reiterative section that devotes particular attention to avarice and pride. This served as a demarcation between the previous six ‘most dangerous’ sins and the

⁴⁴⁴ Waitz, *Annales Bertiniani*, a.868, 90-91; Nelson, *The Annals of St-Bertin*, 143.

⁴⁴⁵ Nachtmann, “Einleitung,” 2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, e Mus 157 (3690), fol. 1r-117r. Using notes made in the margins of the extant manuscripts, Nachtmann divided the *De Cavendis* into six major thematic segments: Hincmar’s preface letter to Charles, the requested letter from Gregory the Great to King Reccared, vices to be avoided, virtuous actions to be pursued, a section on the Eucharist, and a concluding note. As she noted in her introduction, Hincmar did not divide the *De Cavendis* this way himself: instead, he set apart his preface and the letter to Reccared, and wrote the other sections continuously. I. Vice and Its Avoidance, II. Repentance, confession, and penance, and III. The Eucharist. The vice section treats thirteen different sins, the six most important of which follow in this order: *avaritia, superbia, invidia, luxuria, gula, and ira*.

⁴⁴⁶Hincmar of Reims, *DCV*, 160. “Summopere igitur haec vitia uniuersae tendenti ad aeternam vitam cavenda sunt, per que diabolus genus humanum ad aeterna supplicia trahere festinat.”

following chapters on perjury, curiosity, discord, and slander.⁴⁴⁷ The structure suggests that these latter sins are, while worthy of being avoided, are not of the same gravity or are not part of the traditional heptad. Finally, Hincmar's brief epilogue returns once again to the vices, suggesting that Charles seek the thirty-first book of the *Moralia* for a more thorough treatment of the most dangerous sins.⁴⁴⁸

Most strikingly, Hincmar places greed, *avaritia*, before pride, *superbia*. This fact should seem most problematic considering Hincmar's heavy reliance on Gregory's *Moralia*, and specifically, that portion of the *Moralia*, book XXXI, the very section which Hincmar cited as 'further reading' for a curious Charles.⁴⁴⁹ Gregory's order, we recall, set pride firmly as the principal sin, and from this poisonous root, the other seven sins, "vainglory, envy, anger, melancholy, avarice, gluttony, [and] lust," spring.⁴⁵⁰ In book XIV of the *Moralia*, which, granted, provides another list of the deadly sins, Gregory's order was *ira*, *avaritia*, and *superbia*, followed by *vana gloria*, but this list did not purport to constitute a complete schema.⁴⁵¹ *Avaritia*, moreover, seems to be the vice that Hincmar railed the most against. There are two lengthy passages in which he treats the effects of avarice, which, as in Alcuin's account, bridge the political, social, and

⁴⁴⁷It is unclear how 'brotherly correction' relates to the other sections or if it presents virtuous action in contrast with a sin. The second set of topics, generally revolving around the theme of penance, includes an entreaty to inner conversion and self-restraint, which will be a recurring theme. It is followed by encouragement to proper almsgiving, and then by a lengthy chapter on the change of attitude necessary for the final judgement to avoid eternal damnation. Subsequent subsections treat the topics of forgiveness, intercession, correct behavior in church, sinful thoughts, virtuous action in marital sexuality, reconciliation with one's neighbor, and, finally, the sorrow over sin that should dominate the interior life. Again, it is worth noting that many of the themes reflect interior dispositions, which, if properly ordered, result in correct and virtuous action. The final major section treats the sacrament of the Eucharist in a pastoral and theological manner, emphasizing its importance for the spiritual life.

⁴⁴⁸ Hincmar of Reims, *DCV*, 225–26. "Et de quibus cetera vitia oriuntur, sicut quilibet scire volens in libro moralium tricesimo primo potest legere."

⁴⁴⁹ Noted also by Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 199.

⁴⁵⁰ No contemporary MS edition extant; Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, XXXI, 45, 87.

⁴⁵¹ Gregory the Great, IV, 30, 57.

psychological.⁴⁵² His initial engagement with the two definitive biblical texts on avarice consisted of an amalgamation of the verses: “*Cupiditas* is the root of all evil and avarice is the service of idols.”⁴⁵³ Calvet and Chelini have interpreted this as license to differentiate *cupiditas* and *avaritia* as two separate sins, but this seems dubious given the interchangeability the words *cupiditas* and *avaritia* present in later moral commentaries on the principal sins, among other things.⁴⁵⁴ This seems, rather, to be evidence of the semantic phenomenon that Newhauser placed at the seventh century, namely the overlap in usage between cupidity and avarice.⁴⁵⁵ Rather than the Isidorian or Augustinian distinction between the two, Hincmar capitalized on the fluidity of the terms. The allowed him to invoke the Biblical *auctoritas* of both 1 Tim 6:10 and Col 3:5 to make it clear that avarice was to be avoided. From this glance at only the first sentence, two important pieces of semantic evidence are discernable: the order was switched, with avarice becoming the root of all evil, and avarice and cupidity were closely linked in meaning, even equated, just as we saw with Paulinus.

With regard to both of these semantic observations, one might reasonably inquire about whether Hincmar was using *florilegia* in addition to the *Moralia*, a complex

⁴⁵² Hincmar of Reims, *DCV*, 132–40; 160–62.

⁴⁵³ Hincmar of Reims, 132. “Nam de avaritia Paulus dicit: *radix omnium malorum cupiditas*. Et: *avaritia, quae est idolorum servitus*.”

⁴⁵⁴ Calvet, “Cupiditas, avaritia, turpe lucrum: discours économique et morale chrétienne chez Hincmar de Reims (845-882),” in *Les élites et la richesse au Haut Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean-Pierre Devroey and Laurent Feller and Régine Le Jan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 102–4. Calvet has proposed that there is an octad of sins present, with cupidity being distinct from avarice, and the sin of *perjurium* being the eighth. I hesitate to accept this classification, for though she rightly sees the importance of the perjury passage, she suggests that a reliance on Isidore of Seville prompted Hincmar to differentiate cupidity from avarice, something that I would challenge by emphasizing Gregory over Isidore. Though Isidore may have differentiated cupidity from avarice, in his general order of sins, he places pride first, not avarice. This means that Isidore could not have been the source of Hincmar’s order. The *Moralia*, furthermore, from which Hincmar drew the most material, makes no distinction between the two concepts of cupidity and avarice. Hincmar is using the two terms synonymously, citing both 1 Timothy 6.10 and Colossians 3.5, merging them together and equating cupiditas with avaritia. See also Chélini, *L’aube du Moyen Âge*.

⁴⁵⁵ Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed*, 111. See footnote 91 above.

problem which Nachtmann's critical addition began to address, identifying a few discrete instances in which Hincmar indubitably relied on the epitomes of Taio and Paterius in lieu of the *Moralia*.⁴⁵⁶ Reliance on Taio and Paterius do not, however, explain the switching of sins, which seems to have been Hincmar's innovation.⁴⁵⁷ Hincmar must have had multiple texts on his desk: not only did he use *florilegia*, he also navigated the three volumes of his copy of the *Moralia*.

That Hincmar had access to the *Moralia* and was referencing it extensively is demonstrable from an analysis of his personal copies of the *Moralia* volumes, which suggests an intimate knowledge of their contents and an ability to navigate them reasonably well in order to compose a moral treatise. Hincmar was working both with the original *Moralia*, in addition to such *florilegia*, as can be demonstrated by an analysis of the first three volumes of Hincmar's own copy.⁴⁵⁸ bear Hincmar's *ex-dono*, that is, notes

⁴⁵⁶ Nachtmann, "Einleitung," 19; Hincmar of Reims, *DCV*, 145–46, n111.

⁴⁵⁷In Taio's *Sententiae IV*, *superbia* comes before *avaritia*, and none of the passages cited by Taio in Chapter XV, *De avaritia*, overlap with the passages Hincmar chose to cite in the *Avarice* section of the *De Cavendis*, aside from the shared quotation of 1 Tim 6.10. Thus the *florilegia* extant and known to have been in Hincmar's library explain neither the order of sins, nor the choice of citations in his explication of the evils of cupidity. See Taio of Saragossa, *Sententiarum Libri Quinque*, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Latina*, 80:727-990 (Paris, 1850), IV.

⁴⁵⁸The Bibliothèque Nationale de France has recently made available online digital versions of their collection of medieval manuscripts. In addition, Fredrick Carey's and Jean Devisse's work endeavored to assemble as much about Hincmar's library as can be known: we now have a reasonable sense of the sources Hincmar used along with a list of known manuscripts extant. There are three manuscripts among the known books of Hincmar's library, clearly belonging to a set, that were digitized by the BNF: Reims 99, Reims 100, and, Reims 101. Reims 102, a later volume added by Odalric, 'completes' the BNF set. See Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Job, Libri VI-VI; Reims 99" (Reims, 801), ark:/12148/btv1b84490266, Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Job, Libri VII-X; Reims 100" (Reims, 801), ark:/12148/btv1b84490266, Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France; Gregory the Great, "Moralia in Job, Libri XI-XVI; Reims 101" (Reims, 801), ark:/12148/btv1b84489794, Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France. They are labeled as volumes I-IV by the library with the title note that they do not include all of the *Moralia*. Of the thirty-five books in the *Moralia*, the Reims collection at the BNF lacks books XVII- XXXV The title given to Reims 102 of "Volume 4" is somewhat misleading: it contains books XXIII-XXIX, meaning that it is more practically the fifth of six volumes, rather than the fourth of four, and regardless, it was copied much later than the other three. See Fredrick M. Carey, "The Scriptorium of Reims During the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845-882 A.D.)," in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1938), 41–60; Devisse, *Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims 845-882*; See also Jean Devisse, "Les méthodes de travail d'Hincmar de Reims," in *Culture et travail intellectuel dans l'Occident médiéval. Bilan des "Colloques d'humanisme*

in a regular hand along the bottom of the manuscripts that say “HINCMARUS ARCHIEPISCOPUS DEDIT SANCTAE MARIAE REMENSI.”⁴⁵⁹ They are also consistent enough in their paleographical and codicological features as to be considered a linked set.⁴⁶⁰ Reims 102 does not bear the *ex-dono* that attributes the donation to Hincmar, but one that attributes it to Odalric, the archbishop of Reims in 962, nearly a century after Hincmar.⁴⁶¹ Jean Devisse included Reims 102 in his catalogue of Hincmar’s library, giving little attention to the *ex-dono*, but then, he did not make much of the collection generally, regarding it as problematic in light of the variation in the DCV’s use of *Moralia* quotations, that is, the “multiple books on the desk problem”.⁴⁶² In sum, three of the four extant manuscripts, despite the fact that they contain the text only up to book XVI, are a useful source for comparison to the DCV. This means that, in trying to discern the social and economic valences of Hincmar’s writing about greed, we have not only the identified *Moralia* passages he quoted, but also the very manuscripts from which he was

médiéval” (1960-1980) fondés par le R.P. Hubert, O.P., ed. Geneviève Hasehohr and Jean Longère (Paris: C.N.R.S., Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes, 1981), 145–53.

⁴⁵⁹ Archbishop Hincmar gave (this book) to St. Mary’s (Church) at Reims.” One of the clearest examples is on 10v-11r in Reims 99, but these notes, with certain minor variations, are scattered throughout all three of these manuscripts. These *ex-dono* marks provide evidence that the manuscripts did at one point belong to Hincmar.

⁴⁶⁰ Reims 99-101 have rubricated *incipits* and *excipits* at each chapter’s beginning and end are the few navigational tools for readers. According to the BnF digitized manuscript metadata, each of the three definitively linked volumes is between 277-300 mm by 186-222 mm, containing 167, 172, and 181 folia respectively. The hand is of the same style, though the spacing of letters and words, and even lines on the page, varies between volumes and within each volume. Marginal notes across the set are begun with a large “Nota” mark, the letter form denoting “et” is consistent, and the abbreviation conventions are uniform. Relatively few characters are abbreviated in these manuscripts—“m” and “n” are frequently denoted by a ligature above the preceding vowel, and words ending with “que” are simplified to a “q” with a dot. They are simple and intuitive abbreviations indicative of wanting to convey the meaning precisely, a habit characteristic of Carolingian educational reform manuscript production. Furthermore, punctuation habits are constant.

⁴⁶¹ It seems clear that he sought to add to the set. This would explain the decorated capital in the incipit of Reims 102 (folio 2r), a drawing of a person reading, of which there are none in Reims 99-101. As Carey’s omission suggests in the initial survey of the texts in Hincmar’s personal collection, Reims 102 is an outlier. See Carey, “The Scriptorium of Reims During the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845-882 A.D.),” 51.

⁴⁶² Devisse, *Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims 845-882*, 1494. “Les codices ne résolvent pas tous les problèmes poses par les citations, riches en variantes, de l’archevêque de Reims, particulièrement en 869.”

redacting and appropriating text for his own work.⁴⁶³ Evidence of how he was reading the work and why he chose these particular citations is perhaps more sparse than one might hope, owing to the maddeningly obscure particulars of manuscript marginalia, but nonetheless, it does provide some helpful information.⁴⁶⁴ Appendix III shows the chart which delineates the overlap between the *Moralia* and the *De cavendis*, as well as noteworthy marginalia and a sense of the proportion of citations. Through the marginal notes, we can gain some insight into the discourse of Hincmar and his community of readers.

With regard to the first question at hand, whether Hincmar deliberately switched around pride and avarice, *Moralia* IV, accessible to Hincmar via Reims 99, makes it clear that Hincmar deliberately rearranged the topical order to place *avaritia* as the primary sin.⁴⁶⁵ Gregory ordered them as first *ira*, then *avaritia*, and then *superbia*. From *Moralia* IV, 30, 57, Hincmar quotes citations regarding *avaritia*, *superbia*, and *ira*, taking two

⁴⁶³ It is possible, of course, that Hincmar only had access to those volumes with his *ex-dono* in the BNF, but it does seem unlikely. Devisse has identified a potential accompanying volume, Berlin, SPK, lat. Q n 687, but it was so badly damaged in World War I that it is essentially unreadable. Devisse also notes another copy of the *Moralia* known to have been located at Saint-Denis at the same time, Paris, BnF, lat 2792.

⁴⁶⁴ The manuscripts have red *incipits* and *excipits* to mark the beginning and ending of books, but other than that, no internal visual organization except the marginal notes. These are usually written with the name “Nota” mark shown here, and sometimes with some hint about an important topic or theme. These are fascinatingly problematic: there is often no way know who wrote them, nor when. It is possible sometimes to discern more through detailed handwriting and paleographic study, but with so few words and letters, such a study likely will not bear fruit. Thus, I have not undertaken such a project, but instead considered the ramifications of a number of possibilities. The possibilities include that Hincmar wrote them himself, and then returned to them later as he wrote the *De Cavendis* (like we would return to the marginal notes we take in a book), that they were notes taken while Hincmar wrote the *De Cavendis*, that they were written by the scribe that copied the book originally, or that were another reader’s notes. Despite all of the unanswered questions they raise, they do have the capacity to reveal something about contemporary discourse: what was important to this community of readers of Gregory’s *Moralia*. For a study which makes use of marginalia in later sources, see Daniel Wakelin, “Instructing Readers in Fifteenth-Century Poetic Manuscripts,” *Huntington Library Quarterly: Studies in English and American History and Literature*, MLA-IB, 73, no. (73:3) (2010): 433–52.

⁴⁶⁵ He took a 16-line passage about the qualities of the man ruled by *avaritia*, and another single line: 17 total lines used in *DCV* 132-33. Then, on *DCV* 140, he cites 5 lines about pride, and on pg. 153, 6 more lines about *ira*.

relevant quotations about avarice.⁴⁶⁶ In the margins of these folia are the letter form combinations indicating *notae*, under which are *de his qui se irae subdunt*, or, in place of *irae*, *superbiae* or *avaritiae*, that is “about those who are dominated by [vice].”⁴⁶⁷ While most of the text is visually undifferentiated by color or style, aside from the aforementioned rubricated *incipits and excipits*, there are clear notes that indicate the discussion of the vices.⁴⁶⁸ While a look at a modern edition or translation of the *Moralia* would make Hincmar’s citations seem perhaps random and confused—even eliciting the hypothesis that he must have used *florilegia*—the manuscript reveals that the archbishop, as he read the text, would have been able to see (or make) notes about the vices in the margins, and the process of rearranging these passages for his pastoral enterprise would have been simplified. The suggestion of this study is that Hincmar may have been crafting his ethical treatise by pulling from quotations related to the sins about which, for the king’s sake, he was most concerned.

A few important pieces of Hincmar’s account of avarice were drawn from the body of the *Moralia* based on notes signaling as much. The first is the striking theme reminiscent of Paulinus and Porcarius, that the greedy man has a soul for sale: the imagery of slavery. The first sub-topic following the definition of avarice as the root of all evil contains a description of him who “entrusts himself to the law of avarice.” Like Alcuin’s treatment, it drew attention to the psychological: the greedy man spends his days in idleness, his nights in deliberation; he is listless, worn out, anxious, contriving.⁴⁶⁹ The

⁴⁶⁶ Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 101, 125r–125v.

⁴⁶⁷ Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 101, 125r–125v.

⁴⁶⁸ As was standard procedure in early medieval *scriptoria*, biblical citations are not visually distinguished from St. Gregory’s commentary on them, except by introductory phrases like *sequitur* or *Paulus ait*.

⁴⁶⁹ *DCV*. I.2.132.6-10. Cuius iuri quisquis se tradit, fastidians propria aliena concupiscit; et plerum que concupita adipisci non valens, dies quidem in otium, noctem vero in cogitationes versat, torpet ab utili operet quia fatigatur in inlicita cogitatione, consilia multiplicat et sinum mentis cogitationum inventibus

accompanying marginal note in Reims 99 draws attention to the image of servitude to sin: “about those who are dominated by avarice” (Figure 1).⁴⁷⁰ Pointed citations about

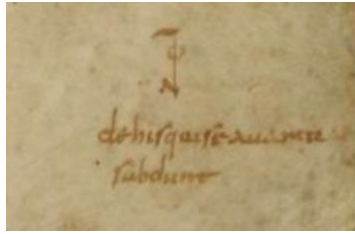


Figure 1: Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 101, f.125v

slavery, becoming enslaved to a vice, follow this citation, and by Nachtmann’s account, are of Hincmar’s own efforts.⁴⁷¹ These constitute Hincmar’s elaboration on the Gregorian text, especially because Hincmar returns to the same *Moralia* IV passage for his next moral directive, weaving that seamlessly into a citation from *Moralia* XV: together these move toward the political.⁴⁷² This second linked citation can be found in a different volume of Hincmar’s *Moralia*, but is also demarcated clearly in the marginalia.⁴⁷³

Reims 101, f.123v-124v, is noteworthy because of its stylistically unusual marginal notes compared with the remarkably regular neat notes in the rest of the collection. Instead of the commonly used *nota* sign, we have the words *Quod agit avaritia* enclosed in a circle, as shown in Figure 2. This note, inscribed in a hand

latius expandit. Pervenire ad concupita satagit atque ad obtinenda haec quosdam secretissimos causarummeatus querit. Qui mox ut in causa aliquid subtile invenisse se estimat, iam se obtinuisse, quod concupierat, exultat, iam quid etiam adeptę rei adiungat, excogitat, atque ut in meliori statu debeat excoli, pertractat. Quam quia iam quasi possidet et quasi ad meliorem statum adducit, mox insidias invidentium considerat, et quid contra se iurgii moveatur, pensat.”

⁴⁷⁰ Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 101, 125r–125v.

⁴⁷¹ John 8:24; Ps 18:15; Mt 6:21

⁴⁷² Hincmar of Reims, *DCV*, 132. “Exquirat, quid respondeat, et cum rem nullam teneat, iam in defensione rei, quam appetit, vacuus litigator elaborat. Quamvis ergo nil de concupita recoeperit, habet tamen in corde iam fructum concupiscentię, laborem rixę.”

⁴⁷³ See App. I for MS location.

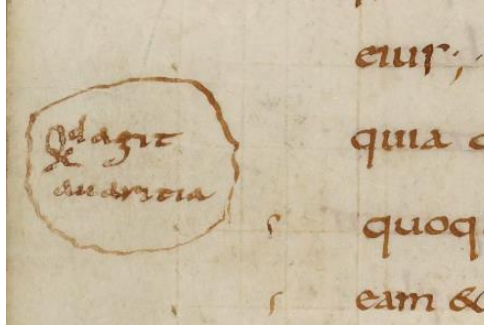


Figure 2: Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 101, f.123v

distinct from the others, seems more informal, as if a note made by a reader trying to remember something or demarcate it as particularly important.⁴⁷⁴ Indeed, from the adjacent passage, Hincmar made a number of citations (see app. I). The content of these folia, and Hincmar's synthesis, which is quite faithful to the Gregorian original, treats very specifically the problem of greedy men 'breaking down the house' of the poor, crushing them with their own power, and plundering indiscriminately. Further, Hincmar inserted sections from Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* into the midst of the *Moralia* quote in his DCV: injunctions against rich men who "often think about how much they give, but ignore how much they seize," even reckoning it as "wages" and refusing to examine their faults (*quasi mercedem numerant et perpendere culpas recusant*).⁴⁷⁵ Hincmar, drawing from the authority of Gregory, refers to those who gave largesse, but do so by means of taking spoils from the weak: "they who watch how much they give but do not examine how much they seize, put their wages into a bag with holes."⁴⁷⁶ Of these, "they think

⁴⁷⁴ Hincmar of Reims, 133, 136. Respectively, 24 and 26 lines from Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, XV, 18, 22–19, 23 and XV, 19, 23–20, 40. Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 101, 123v-126v.

⁴⁷⁵ Hincmar of Reims, DCV, 134; Trans. "On Avoiding Vices and Exercising Virtues," in *Hincmar of Rheims on Kingship, Divorce, Virtues and Vices*, trans. Priscilla Throop (Charlotte: Medieval MS, 2014), 57. Cf. *Regula Pastoralis*, II, 21.

⁴⁷⁶ Hincmar of Reims, DCV, 134–35; Trans. "On Avoiding Vices," 57. Cf. *Regula Pastoralis*, II, 20. "Et plerumque quidam divites, quanta tribuunt, pensant, quanta autem rapiunt, considerare dissimulant. Quasi mercedem numerant et perpendere culpas recusant. Audiant itaque, quod scriptum est: Qui mercedes congregavit, misit eas in sacculum pertusum. In sacculo quippe pertuso videtur, quando pecunia mittitur,

God's justice can be bought, when they take care to give money for their sins, and they suppose they can sin without punishment.”⁴⁷⁷ Avarice is reified as a social force as well as a psychological force in the textual margins as well as in the content of the commentary.

Clearly, the highly derivative ethical treatise is pointed toward the powerful and framed in economic terms such as *pecunia*, *lucre*, and *mercedes*. Engaging with habits of largesse that overlapped to greater or lesser extent with a culture of gift exchange, Hincmar spoke to the prince, he whose ethics set precedent for a kingdom, enjoining him less to largesse, which had a social function, than against tyranny. Gifts, he is careful to remind Charles, are complicated, and while they might appear as ‘generous’, they can serve as modes of oppression and tyranny. If the incident at Berry, where a bribe to a king ultimately resulted in the starvation of hundreds of his people, is any indication, “largesse” could assume a number of moral shades. The king could set the tone for the culture of the powerful, but as one whose exchanges had magnified consequences. As such, he must not be “person dominated by greed.” His rôle was to rule, not to be ruled, and a reversal of this order would lead to catastrophic social and psychological consequences.

But the invective against avarice did not end there. The portion of the *De Cavendis* pertaining to the principle vices, section I.viii, serves as a summary for the preceding six chapters and creates a demarcating line between the vices of avarice, pride,

sed quando amittitur, non videtur. Qui ergo, quanta largiuntur, aspiciunt, sed quanta rapiunt, non perpendunt, in pertuso sacculo mercedes mittunt, quia profecto has in spem suę fiducia intuentes congerunt, sed non intuentes perdunt.”

⁴⁷⁷ Hincmar of Reims, *DCV*, 135; Trans. “On Avoiding Vices,” 57. “Sunt etiam, qui iam sua misericorditer largiuntur, sed se custodire a peccatis neglegunt et venalem dei iustitiam aestimant, cum curant pro peccatis nummos tribuere et arbitrantur se posse inulte peccare.”

lust, gluttony, envy, and wrath as “these vices” which “for anyone heading toward eternal life... must especially be guarded against,” and other crimes less fraught with danger.⁴⁷⁸

In this chapter of the DCV, Hincmar refers to the sins in the order of the Biblical narrative moving from Genesis forward and thus avarice appears after the other sins. In this context appears the image of King Ahab recorded in I Kings: “the devil so fully consumed the mind of King Ahab with avarice that he committed homicide to obtain another man’s vineyard.”⁴⁷⁹ Interesting here is the comparison with Paulinus’ letter to the frontier general Erich of Friuli. Instead of typological images of pillaging conquerors like Achan and Saul that Paulinus set forth, Gregory identified greed with the *figura* of a man whose power allowed him to take his neighbor’s vineyard. In the biblical account, King Ahab asked for the vineyard so that he could have an herb garden adjacent to his house, in exchange (ostensibly) for a better vineyard. Naboth would not allow it on the grounds that it was his familial inheritance. Jezebel, seeing her husband sulking, summoned a council in her husband’s name and framed Naboth for blasphemy: he was subsequently stoned, and Ahab bought his property.⁴⁸⁰ The undertones could not have

⁴⁷⁸Hincmar of Reims, DCV, 160. These crimes were also those “through which the Devil hastens to drag the human race toward eternal tortures.” Hincmar then cited an assay of the presence of the sins in the history of the Christian people given in the Scriptures, drawing from *Moralia* XXXIII, 38, 67 (which may be in the damaged Berol MS): in this list, because of its chronological organization, pride comes first, being that by which the serpent tempted Eve to eat the apple. See Gn 3.3-7; Then comes envy, by the flame of which the devil “set the soul of on Cain on fire,” when Cain saw his brother’s more pleasing sacrifice: this led Cain to commit fratricide. See Gn 4.3-8; Solomon was incited by lust to forget “all reverence for his maker” and to worship idols. He was so enthralled with the beauty of his foreign concubines that he adopted their gods. See VG 1 Kgs 11.1-8; “Summopere igitur haec vitia unicuique tendenti ad aeternam vitam cavenda sunt, per quę diabolus genus humanum ad ęterna supplicia trahere festinat. Et hoc ab initio generis humani incepit et per omne tempus seculi huius in hoc suum studium exerit. Superbiae quidem faciem menti Evae supposuit, cum hanc ad contempnenda verba dominicę iussionis instigavit. Invidiae quoque flamma Chain animum succendit, cum de accepto fratris sacrificio doluit et per hoc usque ad fratricidii facinus pervenit. Luxuria facibus cor Salomonis exussit, quem tanto mulieribus amore subdidit, ut usque ad idolorum venerationem deductus, dum carnis delectationem sequitur, conditori reverentiae oblivisceretur.”

⁴⁷⁹ Hincmar of Reims, 160. “Avaritiae quoque igne Acab animum concremavit, cum eum ad appetendam alienam vineam impatientibus desideriis impulit et per hoc usque ad reatum homicidii pertraxit.”

⁴⁸⁰ 1 Kgs 21.1-18.

been lost on a Carolingian prince. It was not pillaging, but unbalanced exchange relations, that guided this treatment of greed. The exchange was between the powerful and the lowly, and perhaps, a ‘just price’ was being offered for it. And yet, for the king, a new vineyard was worth little, and for the peasant, his own was invaluable. Land was the object of exchange, and the critique of injustice was levelled at the person who leveraged his social and political role to create favorable circumstances of exchange, thereby making the exchange unjust. We recall again Egfrid bribing Charles for yet another benefice to be taken from a man who had but one; or earlier, Lothar’s shuffling of benefices around Italy, giving them to his partisans, such that Louis needed to ensure they were returned. It may not have been, like Ahab, that the king wanted a new garden for himself, but that he was abusing a system of land-gift-exchange for his own advantages. As in Smaragdus’ account, there was acknowledgement that the powerful must act differently in the sphere of exchange to avoid tyranny: the role of king, with all of its power and authority over land and kingdom, was not to be misused, especially in ‘largesse’.

Hincmar then proceeded to cite Gregory’s allegorical reading of Zechariah 5.6-11.⁴⁸¹ The biblical narrative is that of a vision in which Zechariah saw an ephah (lat. *amphora*) coming toward him, which the angel with whom he was speaking interpreted as the iniquity of the land. A leaden weight was covering the top, and its removal revealed a woman inside the amphora, whom the Angel called “Wickedness” (Vulg. *impietas*). The angel put the lead weight back onto the mouth of the ephah, and two women with wings like storks began to fly, lifting the basket and carrying toward a place

⁴⁸¹ Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, XIV, 53, 63–65. Reims 101, folia 104v-106r.

called Shinar, where there was a house being built for it. The *Moralia* links the imagery to Job 19 as explanation for a lead weight.⁴⁸² Gregory's interpretation was similarly complex: the ephah (Lat. *amphora*) represents allegorically *avaritia* because like the heavy lead, the sin of avarice "renders the mind it has infected so heavy, that it can never be raised to aim at sublime things."⁴⁸³

Furthermore, the main purpose of the vision was interpreted by Gregory as "God desiring to shew to the Prophet, by what sin above all others the human race fell away from Him," showed an ephah, "for avarice is like an amphora, in that it keeps the mouth of the heart open and agape on the stretch [in ambitu]."⁴⁸⁴ The woman represents *impietas*, or Wickedness, because avarice always takes in impiety; thus, the weight pressed down upon the woman in the mouth of the amphora "because the impiety of avarice is pressed down upon by the weight of its own sin."⁴⁸⁵ The women who carry the ephah are *superbia* and *gloria inanem*, the two principle vices (*principalia vitia*) which are "without a doubt" linked to impiety.⁴⁸⁶ They lift the mind trapped in avaricious impiety above other people in ambition and boasting, as the women lift the ephah, and they carry her to Shinar.⁴⁸⁷ This complex explanation was concluded with 1 Tim 6:10 by

⁴⁸² VG Job 19:23-24: "Quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur sermones mei? Quis mihi det ut exarentur in libro stylo ferreo et plumbi lamina, vel celte sculpantur in silice?"; Gregory the Great, XIV.53.63-67.

⁴⁸³ Gregory the Great, XIV, 53, 63: 27-29. "...peccatum avaritiae speciliter designatur, quod mentem quam infecerit ita graven reddit, ut ad appetenda sublimia attolli nequaquam possit."

⁴⁸⁴ Gregory the Great, XIV, 53, 63: 47-50. Trans. J.H. Parker. "Avaritia quippe velut amphora est, quae os cordis in ambitu apertum tenet."

⁴⁸⁵ Gregory the Great, XIV, 53, 66: 66-67. "Ecclesia sermones suos cordibus avaritia gravibus, et duris insculpi postulat--Haec paucis per excessum diximus, ut peccati pondus exprimi per plumbi laminam monstraremus."

⁴⁸⁶ Gregory the Great, 53, 66: 66-67. "Quid aliud in his duabus mulieribus accipimus, nisi duo principalia vitia, superbiam videlicet, et gloriam inanem, quae impietati absque ulla dubitatione conjuncta sunt?"

⁴⁸⁷ Gregory took this to mean "their stench." Evil always creates a stench, unlike the sweet odor of that which is holy: the ephah goes to Shinar where it stinks, because avarice, the root of evil, cannot dwell in a holy, sweet smelling place.

Gregory with its *cupiditas* variant.⁴⁸⁸ Pope Gregory I used biblical imagery to help explain the complex relationship between these key sins, pride and avarice, and prioritized avarice (in this passage, at least) as that which habitually separated man from God, i.e. as the root of the greatest evil.

Hincmar summarized the text rather than citing it directly, but he included all the major elements of Gregory's exegesis.⁴⁸⁹ Folio 104v contains two *nota* marks written in

⁴⁸⁸ This might well explain why there is semantic overlap between the two terms in the preceding section. *Cupiditas* and *avaritia* seem to be employed as synonyms here as in the earlier passage.

⁴⁸⁹ As Reims 101 reveals, the passage covered at least one, if not two full folia, 88 lines. The redacted text, found at Hincmar of Reims, *DCV*, 159–61 is as follows. “Haec est enim amphora os apertum habens, quam vidit Zacharias propheta ferri a duabus mulieribus, quae habebant alas quasi alas milvi, ad rapacitatem volantes. In cuius *amphorę medio* sedebat mulier, *quę proiecta est* in medio amphorę; *et missa est in os eius massa plumbea*. Duae enim mulieres, habentes alas quasi alas milvi, *duo sunt principalia vitia*, superbia videlicet et vana gloria. Ferentes amphoram os apertum habentem, id est avaritiam lucris inhiantem. In cuius medio sedit mulier, id est impietas, in cuius scilicet impietatis os massa plumbea mittitur. *Quę impietas avaritiae suae pondere gravatur*, quia cuius *mentem avaritia infecerit, ita gravem reddit, ut ad appetenda sublimia attolli nequaquam possit*. Unde praecipit dominus: *Gibbum* tolerans, id est terrenis inhians, *non offerat panes deo suo*. Et superbia et vana gloria habent spiritum in alis s milvinis, *quoniam actiones eorum diabolo sunt procul dubio similes, qui insidiatur semper vitam parvulorum*. Et levant ipsam amphoram, scilicet cupiditatem, inter terram et caelum, *quia superbia et vana gloria habent hoc proprium, ut eum, quem infecerint, in cogitatione sua super ceteros homines extollant. Et modo per ambitum rerum, modo per desiderium dignitatum, quem semel captum tenuerint, quasi in honore altitudinis elevant; et mentem per avaritiam ita elevant, ut quoslibet proximos despicientes quasi deserant et alta gloriantes expectant. Sed tales quique, dum superbiunt, et eos mente transeunt, cum quibus sunt, et superioribus civibus minime iunguntur*. Et ipsa amphora dicitur portari *in terram Sennaar*, quę interpretatur *fetor eorum*, quia *radix est omnium malorum cupiditas. Et quia quodlibet malum per avaritiam gignitur, dignum est, ut domus avaritiae in fetore construatur*, quae nonnullos cogit timoris vel amoris dei oblivisci et boni nominis opinionem relinquere et sanctae religionis ac fidei odorem, unde scriptum est: *Christi bonus odor sumus deo*, negligere.”; Hincmar of Rheims, “On Avoiding Vices,” 74–76. Trans. Priscilla Throop: “This is the ‘amphora’ with the open mouth which the prophet Zechariah saw being carried by two women who had wings like the wings of a kite, flying for the purpose of stealing. In the middle of the amphora the woman was sitting. She was thrust back into the center of the amphora and a mass of lead was put over the opening. The two women with the wings of as if of a kite, are the two principal vices: pride and vainglory. They carry the amphora which has a mouth opened, that is, gaping with greed for lucre. In the middle of the amphora sits a woman, impiety; into the mouth of this impiety a mass of lead is put. This impiety of avarice is made heavy by its own weight, since the mind which avarice taints, it renders so heavy so that in no way can it be lifted up to strive for heavenly things. Whence the Lord orders that a hunchback, that is gaping for earthly things, not be allowed to make offerings of bread to his Lord. Pride and vainglory have their spirit in the wings of that kite since their actions are, far from doubt, similar to those of the devil who always lies in ambush against the life of little people. And they lift the amphora, that is, greedy desire, between earth and heaven, since pride and vainglory have this property, that they life the one they corrupt—in his town thinking—above other people. And at one time, through ambition for things, at another time, through desire for high offices, they life up the person, once they hold him captive, as if in a position of great height, so that they life their mind through avarice and, looking down on their neighbors, as if deserting them, they boasting, seek things on high. But such people, while thy boast and in their mind, pass by those with whom they life, are in now are joined with the citizens

careful script indicating the passage that Hincmar cites as shown in Figure 3: “[note] how grave is avarice!” and “[note] concerning those people who are deafened by their senses and affected by their evil deeds.”⁴⁹⁰ The first is adjacent to the introduction of the

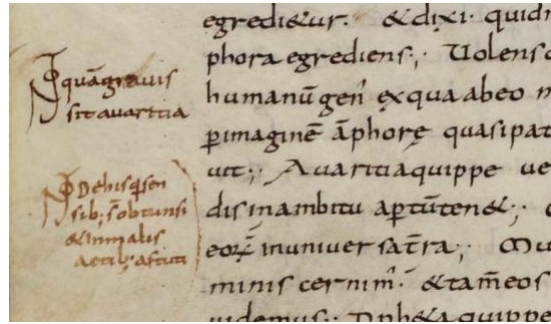


Figure 3: Reims, Bibliothèque municipale, 101, f.104v

commentary on Zechariah’s vision, in which Gregory reads the woman in the amphora being crushed by a lead weight as avarice, and the second note, slightly lower, points to the lines about the two women lifting the amphora.⁴⁹¹ Unmistakably, these must be the dominant unitive principle for Hincmar’s treatment of the sin of greed, and very clearly, in this note, we see that though he may have talked about ‘the principle sins,’ the primary ethical purpose was the interrogation of and invective against venality.

This section has been regarded as simple paraphrase of Gregory’s text, though highly condensed, as its source covers some four MS folia in Reims 101. Interestingly, however, Hincmar punctuated his summary with a reference to Leviticus not present in

above. And the amphora is said to be carried into the land of Shinar, which mean, “their stench” since cupidity is the root of all evil. And since any evil is engendered by avarice, it is fitting for the house of avarice to be constructed with a stench which compels some people to forget the fear or love of God, and to abandon the reputation of a good name and the odor of holy religion and faith. Whence it is written, we are, for God, the sweet smell of Christ.”

⁴⁹⁰ Nota quam gravis est avaritia and nota de his qui sensibus sunt obtunsi et in malis actibus affecti. For clarity, I underline my own expansions of abbreviated texts. Text without underlining is original to the manuscript. There are two notes in two different colors, both lighter than the main text, though in different inks, and the *a*’s are slanted as to indicate a more informal script. Reims 101, Fol. 104v.

⁴⁹¹ Reims Fol. 104v. It is difficult to tell how much the second note relates to the Gregorian commentary, and this may require further study. The first, however, is an obvious textual bookmark, pointing out that “avarice” is the topic of import.

his source—right in the middle. Referring to the “impiety of avarice, made heavy by its own weight,” Hincmar observes that the mind tainted by avarice is too heavy to be lifted up to strive for heavenly things. Thus, he writes, “the Lord orders that a hunchback, who is gaping for earthly things, not be allowed to make offerings of bread to his Lord.”⁴⁹² This hearkens back powerfully to the tension between largesse and spoils which was the subject of the Paulinus’ engagement with greed: the tensions between giving and receiving, between high and low. The image of the man hunched over likens moral turpitude in the realm of exchange to debilitating physical illness, a turning of whole mind and body toward the earth, entirely away from heavenly things.⁴⁹³ This undoubtedly carried Augustinian resonances of *cupiditas* with its opposition to sanctifying *caritas*.

Why, then, would Archbishop Hincmar have placed such emphasis on avarice, and characterized it thus? Gaëlle Calvet described him as a member of the economic elite whose role necessitated prudent economic management of his diocese.⁴⁹⁴ She observed

⁴⁹² Hincmar of Reims, *DCV*, 160. “Unde praecipit dominus: Gibbum tolerans, id est terrenis inhians, non offerat panes deo suo.” Cf. Lev. 21, 17–20. This is absent from the *Moralia*.

⁴⁹³ Moreover, it was a common artistic type found in Carolingian psalters for the ‘penitent’. Frequently adjacent to penitential psalms like Psalm 51 was depicted the man bowing before a judge seated on a throne, bending over with a prominent stoop on his back. Vercelli LXII is a particularly rich source for these images: no less than four versions of the hunched man before the judge appear. Angers, Bibl. mun., ms. 18, f.14r has another example in the right corner, the man leaning before a scribe. The clear penitential meaning in the figure of the hunchback seems to suggest that Hincmar was adding an almost threatening penitential gravity to the already grim *Moralia* diagnosis of the sin of greed. My sincere thanks to Melissa Kapitan, fellow graduate student at the University of Kentucky, for sharing her MSS notes on this subject with me, and for drawing to my attention these particular MSS. See “Benedictine Psalter: Angers, Bibl. Mun., Ms. 14(18)” (Angers, ca. 843-0850), f.14r, Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux, bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=3146.

⁴⁹⁴ Gaëlle Calvet’s contribution to the study of Hincmar’s thought on avaritia is a thorough study of Hincmar’s economic discourse across the extant corpus of his writings. She argues that there was a strong distinction between *cupiditas*, *avaritia*, and *turpe lucrum* (shameful gain) across his writings, and observes the importance of *avaritia* as a subject in the *De Cavendis*: she sees the opposition to greed as of paramount importance in Hincmar’s social thought, though she reads him far more as a pragmatic moralist than a philosophically-minded spiritual director. Her ultimate assessment is that his treatment of avarice in the *De Cavendis* contributes little new to the moral discourse about wealth, even as it is consistent with his other

that while accusations, condemnations, or admonitions against *cupiditas*, *avaritia*, or *turpe lucrum* are a dominant theme across all of his writings, his most explicit condemnations are addressed to clerics: the mismanagement of ecclesial property, simony, or other manifestations of greed within the church, receive his primary attention.⁴⁹⁵ This provides some useful context, but why did Hincmar emphasize this topic so much to a king in particular? The danger of avarice is a theme that can be identified in Hincmar's other writings to princes: the theme of greed appears in *Novi Regis Instructio ad Rectam Regni Administrationem*, which was written in 877 to the son of Charles the Bald, Louis the Stammerer, upon his ascension to the throne of West Francia. The moral types of 'greedy counselors' appear in *De regia persona* and *De Ordine palatii* as well.⁴⁹⁶ Not only was "cupidity is the root of all evil" in a person's spiritual life, as one might assume from reading *De Cavendis* as purely a personal text: these other, more administrative letters specified that it is the root of all evils in a polity and fortifies our reading of the DCV as a political text with economic meanings.

One could argue that Bishop Hincmar's denunciation of avarice at this historical moment to Charles the Bald engaged economically problematic elements of his reign. Janet Nelson observed that there had been no established system of taxation in this realm since the fall of the Roman empire, so that the Carolingian rulers had no stable source of income. The expansion which had funded the fisc and the royal treasury, was over: there

writings. Calvet, "Cupiditas, avaritia, turpe lucrum," in *Les élites et la richesse*, ed. Jean-Pierre Devroey, Laurent Feller and Régine Le Jan (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 102-4, 99-100.

⁴⁹⁵ Calvet, 110. Calvet cites a dispute over the see of Beauvais. One Odacre was accused of covetousness by Hincmar when he sought to maintain the seat of the diocese of Beauvais despite what was best for the church.

⁴⁹⁶ Børn, "The Specula Principis of the Carolingian Renaissance," Børn, 605, 608. 582, 585. See Reg. Inst. 9 and Pro. Inst. 10. This last idea appeared also in the 882 *De Ordine Palatii*, written to call the leading men of the state to support the young king Carloman.

was not, as there had been for Charlemagne, a great deal of land into which they could expand. Charles the Bald “lacked the institutional means to exploit even what wealth there was within his realm.”⁴⁹⁷ This observation speaks keenly to the image of Ahab, and the associated and more well-articulated problem in the *De cavendis* of nobles appropriating (or expropriating) land as though it was their “wages.” In addition, Jean Devisse has argued that Hincmar employed his material resources, as well as his mental energies, to dealing with the problem of poverty in the Carolingian world. In his account, “*cupiditas* and *avaritia* are the main culprits of all the evils of which the kingdom suffers.” The increasingly large gap between rich and poor was that which provoked Hincmar’s ire and remained a theme across his rhetoric. Considered in light of the major habits of kingly exchange, namely of the benefices of the fisc, and the consequences thereof, it is hard to imagine that these realities did not also underlie Hincmar’s anti-venal rhetoric.

We see in the *DCV* the expectations that were being articulated for a king. What were the duties of exchange, what were the theories of *noblesse oblige*, and, in essence, what were the limits of his power? Here, Hincmar’s focus seems to be on land, though there is some question of the representation of the amphora in relation to trade in moveable goods. Hincmar’s rhetoric almost builds on an assumption of an ethic of *noblesse oblige* rather than articulating one. He engaged it when he noted that persons

⁴⁹⁷ Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 21, 35–36. He “could no longer lead successful plundering raids against surrounding peoples, nor keep his aristocracy happy with regular share-outs of loot.” Using numismatic evidence, Nelson argued that one of Charles’ projects for attempting to stabilize his kingdom economically was to control mints, and to mandate that foreign coinage be converted into local coinage with a tax of approximately five percent. This became the form of taxation. Furthermore, there had been complaints from Vikings and rebellious aristocrats against Charles’ policy of taxation in 858 and 875, which is substantiated by the amount of treasure recorded in his possession in 876 and 877. The way Charles spent his money is also noteworthy: he paid cash (bullion) for allies, imported luxuries, and initiated grand building projects.

value largesse but do so without concern for that which they take in the process as their own 'wages.' Though written some three centuries prior by Gregory, the words took on distinct meanings in the dialogue between Charles the Bald and Hincmar.

III. CONCLUSION

Moving into a wider frame, the question must be asked again: what consistent limits and expectations were placed on kings through the discourse of greed that was at once pertinent to spiritual life and to political life? Or rather, what imperatives, tacit or stated, were created by a discourse that ignored the conceptual boundary lines between a private, autonomous individual and the community? Qualifying the original claim that such a division is predicated on modern philosophical and social categories, we grant that the king alone in Carolingian society may have been understood to interact with a broad sense of community: the virtue or lack thereof proper to his person had, for some theorists, cosmological correspondences, if not outright consequences. While a dichotomy between king and 'public' may have existed conceptually, royal exchange relations through the delegation of the lands were heavily mediated by his subordinates, the direct recipients of the *beneficia*, and principally in this way did the person of the king interact with the 'populace' as a whole. His duty involved ensuring just and generous service of good men, and their merit was to be rewarded with material goods; giving benefices to the good constituted building a good state analogized as a large household, while either benefices or outright alienation of property to gain greedy *fideles* constituted its destruction.

The king was head of the household in analogical extrapolation from the smallest social building blocks, he whose morality and virtue contributed to the flourishing of the

polity, or whose vice destroyed it. There was not a 'Crown' from which the person of the Carolingian king was detached. Imperial resources were at his personal disposal, but not in the sense of being private, isolated, or individual. Because the resources were to be used by the king's person, they were subject to moral judgement, and authors explored the problems of ethically licit royal exchange.

For Smaragdus, the greed of labor exploitation was at the forefront. Having received substantial resources from his father before him, Louis the Pious was expected to, in Smaragdus' articulation, honor the gifts, offerings, and resources of the powerful, and to use those resources to fulfill royal building projects, rather than exploit them from the poor. Greed consisted in tyrannical exploitation of the labor of lower 'estates'. This system was to have two effects: by restricting gift exchanges and largesse to the powerful, Louis would ideally ensure a just judicial system with properly placed gifts, providing for imperial *missi*, and second, he would keep resources circulating among the powerful, and avoid exploiting the poor. In times of dearth, such exploitation may principally have been in the form of labor. The painful reality of labor demands on the impoverished families surrounding Gondreville was recorded by Frothar in his letter to Hilduin. While post-dating the *Via Regia* by some years, this incident speaks to a system of exchange, that was susceptible to abuse and needed ethical, if not legal, limit. The labor of slaves was called into question as well: while Smaragdus did not go so far as to call the exploitation of slave labor, with slavery not a 'natural' condition, he did employ the moral imperative to largesse and charity to encourage Louis to free slaves acquired during Charlemagne's late conquests.

At least thirty years later, Sedulius wrote to Charles the Bald about the inconsonance between greed and peace, between injustice and abundance, and focused upon the exchanges of *beneficia*. For Sedulius, greed consisted in a sense of royal limitlessness and license. Emphasizing the more material valence of greed which was to be countered only by sufficiency, Sedulius followed the lead of monastic writers and Prudentius before him: “an abundance of things” as such caused the king to become unjust. Ideally, the resources of the royal domains were to be devoted toward building a meritocracy: from counselors to counts to imperial *missi*, the virtuous were to be rewarded, not the greedy (who might hide information from the king and thereby cause him to become unjust). Peace and its associated abundance in terrestrial production were the result of justice and rightly practiced largesse, but by contrast, economic destruction came of using the resources of the royal court for buying the loyalties of partisans, or funding mercenary pirates to attack one’s enemies (e.g. Lothar’s hire of the Danish pirate Harald). Greed led to shifting alliances, and alliances to war. Sedulius’ home in Liège was at the center of boundary disputes, as was Hincmar’s at Reims, and the former’s desire for peace speaks to his experience during those troubled years. The moral type of ‘the greedy king’, aligned with ‘the unjust king’ was one known to our writers in the particular instantiations of Lothar, Charles, and Louis the German as they bought *fideles* from each other with *munera* and *beneficia*, and destroyed tracts of land in the wake of their disputes. The “gang of robbers” image borrowed from Gregory would not have required much imagination.

Hincmar’s world was that of tyrannical exchange between persons of the same realm, exploitation and corruption disguised as generosity and even piety. The

complexities of land-exchanges principally in the form of *beneficia* reveal a complex form of exchange in which the king, to whom the resources of the empire were accessible, participated in a way that his nobles could not. Giving, though, could quickly go poorly if accompanied by greed, as in the case of Egfrid in 867, and result in catastrophe for an entire region. The king's rôle was to set the tone of just exchange, at once eschewing the greed of trade in tyranny, and embracing true charity—the gift of his own goods. Interesting in this sense is that the *DCV* was intended, at least so we are told in the prologue, to be an addendum to Gregory's letter to Reccared on the works of mercy, the foremost of which was charity. Avarice posed an enormous threat to charity, and to mercy more generally.

So indeed, there were limits on kingly exchange, and boundaries around the exchange of land and its use. As is clear from the confusion of Louis the Pious in Aquitaine, giving away too freely the royal lands, or the deliberate conniving of Lothar in Italy, rewarding his partisans by re-distributing benefices long-held by faithful families, the gift of benefices might build social bonds between a particular king and his partisans. Carolingian ethico-political writers envisioned the ideal just king whose largesse creates a just and peaceful kingdom. The Carolingians, by the 870s, would have had many evidences to the contrary, no matter what limits were being set through the discourse of greed on their exchanges. Whether always effective or not, the language of to discuss licit exchange was largesse, and illicit exchange, greed, in all of its variants, with each carrying slightly different valence and weight. The king's vice and virtue, enacted on a material level principally in land exchanges and gifts, were at once instantiated in the state of his soul, and in the state of his state. More 'individual' in one sense than the

person of the count in that his action carried cosmic and civic weight, the person of the king might build the realm or destroy it with his own habits of vice or virtue.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS REGARDING OTHER GREEDY PEOPLE, OTHER GLITTERING THINGS, AND NEW DIRECTIONS

This thesis interrogates our assumptions about pre-modern ethical and social categories by examining the structure of social rôles and their potential for ethical imperatives. It does not claim to be a comprehensive social and economic survey, but only an experiment in method and categorization with lay persons as subjects. Even in the exploration of two lay rôles, those of the count and the king, we see that ethical counsel for each of these rôles was grounded in particular spaces and historical moments, creating a wide valence of the meaning of greed and charity. While patterns might be discernable between the roles of count and prince, and between highly commercial regions and peripheral areas of the empire, it is likely that future research will find the starkest contrast in comparison to the persons of clerics, bishops and monks. The person of the *christianus*, as well, is a richly complex rôle that participates in the dimension of a theological economy. A bounded enquiry illuminates much, but inevitably leaves us with many more questions about the sources yet untouched.

We began with a series of questions, asking which categorizations would hold firm if tested, and which would weaken. To the question of whether the dichotomy between individual and community holds true in medieval sources on ‘greed’, many pieces of our evidence did in fact substantiate the initial skepticism about this dichotomy. The ‘progeny’ of greed articulated by Alcuin, the species of vice conceived of in familial terms, synthesized the interior and exterior, the political and the psychological. Drawing from Cassian’s monastic influence and the thought of Gregory the Great on the *Moralia*, these progeny associated the disquietude of the heart with theft and rapine also

characteristic of the vice. The understanding of greed as a vice of individualism inherited from a monastic discourse in which the community was of paramount importance, has been challenged, to say the least. ‘Individualism’, it would seem, fails to describe the sense of duty that was particular to times, places, and social rôles.

To the question of whether there might have been economic meanings present in the religious discourse so frequently deplored as dyspeptic moralism, a number of examples point to the contrary. Paulinus’ appropriation of a fifth-century monastic text for dialogue regarding the situation at Rižana and the Avar war, if not also the prominent slave trade along the Amber Trail, would suggest that his use of particular images might have had resonances with his hearer and good friend, Erich of Friuli. Alcuin’s nuanced and philosophically robust treatment of greed as excessive desire seemed consistent with the conditions in the commercially-robust region of the Loire Valley, enriched by the local salt trade and monastic participation in it. Count Wido, undoubtedly familiar with exchange in flourishing local markets, if not the full-fledge *emporia* such as existed in Dorestad and Quentovic, was admonished against commercial fraud of all things, and exhorted to largesse on the grounds of such generosity being a profitable investment. The theory articulated was one of the curbing of desire to invest for later gain, in the poor. *Noblesse oblige* was couched in commercial language.

Jonas of Orléans articulated to Matfrid, who was likely in charge of a local abbey at least, and perhaps a private church in addition, the particular manifestation of comital greed that was the appropriation of civically-required tithe. This was a specifically Carolingian problem, as tithe legislation was moving from penitential discourse, in which it was a salubrious practice, but perhaps not a legally required one, into political duty, and

Jonas used the *gravitas* of a ‘deadly sin’ to articulate his opposition, even while he did not associate ‘greed’ as heavily with theft. Finally, Dhuoda tried to teach her son the important lesson that property could only be maintained with appropriate virtue. That her treatise accompanied what were the ‘scientific’ manuals of Carolingian learning in its transmission, furthermore, speaks to the fact that its readers did not relegate it to anything like ‘individual’ or ‘private’ spirituality, and that it travelled next to Alcuin’s *Liber* suggests that she wanted to draw upon the rich metaphysical inheritance of the ‘vices and virtues’ even while she herself built up other numerologically significant concepts. Articulating something like the maxim of gift exchange, *do ut des*, in her exposition on charity and avoiding greed, she herself accumulated substantial debt meeting her needs while simultaneously giving away. She trusted her investment on behalf of her family would result in the continued prosperity of her children.

The king’s largesse was to be wholly gratuitous in a theory of exchange deeply intertwined with political theology of king as borrowing his own authority from the Divine King. In some sense, he may have fit the categories of “individual and community” better than did the count in that his action did relate to a large and broad political body, his kingdom. Conceptually, his action had cosmological consequences for the entire polity, but practically, it was heavily mediated by the practical restrictions of pre-modern commerce: the major exchange the king undertook was in the form of gift, land, its use, or movable goods. With these gifts, he was to solidify political relations among the virtuous, thereby creating a more just society. An ideal just and peaceful society created by these exchanges stood in stark and painful contrast to the realities of Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald’s reign: gifts were given as a part of war, with the

effect of securing the loyalties of or rewarding political and military partisans, or sometimes even ‘pagan’ mercenaries. While never explicit (indeed, any appearance of commerce in these exchanges was of course to be eschewed), gifts substantiated social relations, and bridged political and economic exchange.

Smaragus of St. Mihiel articulated to Louis the Pious a theory of *noblesse oblige* located in the materiality of labor. Sedulius for Charles the Bald, a theory located in the reality of the abundant production of peace time. Finally, Hincmar, employing the cumbersome but extremely powerful ethical content of the *Moralia*, enjoined Charles the Bald almost against largesse because the reality of “gift” was complicated by extortion of the less powerful. *Noblesse oblige* in a substantivist economy in which gift-exchange solidified social roles needed limits. Largesse might take on particularly insidious manifestations: the destruction of the kingdom or political tyranny.

In some sense, then, this project has been a reaction against what Moreland calls “the underlying belief that essentially [the same] patterns of economic behavior link the modern world with the middle ages.”⁴⁹⁸ It bears, perhaps, some resemblance to Mauss’s project in asserting a fundamentally ethical system of exchange founded on persons and relations between them. But building on Mauss’ project, John Moreland has argued compellingly that not only the social and political consequences of gift exchange, but also the *kinds* of gifts exchanged, should draw the scholar’s attention: that which glittered, metaphorically, did affect the exchange relations substantially.⁴⁹⁹ Additionally, we have focused on the rôles of the persons who exchanged glittering things. In this sense, the

⁴⁹⁸John Moreland, “Concepts of the Early Medieval Economy,” in *The Long Eighth Century*, ed. Inge Lyse Hansen and Chris Wickham, The Transformation of the Roman World 11 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000). Moreland, “Concepts of the Early Medieval Economy,” 4.

⁴⁹⁹ Moreland, 7.

questions of what glittered have followed this, serving as window into the variety of Carolingian exchange relations among nobles in the roles of counts and kings, each with specific associated duties in the realm of exchange.

The major theoretical thrust of this essay, thus, is to press scholars of the Carolingian economy to give more weight to ethical categorizations in their formulations on the grounds of social structure, i.e. to take a more personal approach, where persons are neither autonomous nor limitless. Ethical duties particular to rôle and specific historical times and places, I have argued, may have been more real to the pre-modern exchanging person, the *homo oeconomicus*, than they are to the modern capitalistic consumer who is endowed with rights more than he is restricted by duties. A method that applies the categories of modern exchange, formulated after social life in the West was re-conceptualized in terms of a dichotomy between the individual and the community, while profitable in many ways (as seen in the huge burst of historical research into the Carolingian economy in the last twenty years), may not fully encompass the structure of a pre-modern exchange system in which ethical imperative was reified. As John Jeffries Martin has put it in his important revision of the Burkhardtian narrative with attention to the early modern period, “before the end of the sixteenth-century, prevailing notions of the self...were far removed from that of the ‘individualist’ self that strode confidently onto the European stage in the seventeenth century.”⁵⁰⁰ A pre-modern pattern of personhood that framed persons in terms of political roles, and exchange in terms of the interactions of those roles, may impel scholars of the economy to incorporate the

⁵⁰⁰ John Jeffries Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism*, Early Modern History: Society and Culture (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 124.

discourses surrounding social structure and ethico-political duty into ‘economic’ conceptualizations.

Similarly, restricting ethical considerations to the “history of ideas”, ideals which are pertinent only to “individual piety” or “private spirituality”, is equally, if not more, problematic than economic historians neglecting them. Far from a vague spiritualization in the Carolingian period, greed as an ethico-political category was rooted in complex particularities. The discourse of vice and virtue carried legal and penitential gravity, and was not simply something an “individual” might pursue in his pious meditations. Virtue and vice were categories of political consequence, particular to social rôle. Greed, furthermore, was far from detached from economic realities: this vice and its correlative virtue, largesse, constituted the language in which Carolingian writers discussed economic exploitation, tyranny, plunder, investment, credit, and *noblesse oblige*.

APPENDIX: COMPARISON BETWEEN THE REIMS MSS OF THE *MORALIA* AND THE *DCV*

The content of the four Reims volumes includes eighty percent of the total ninety-eight citations.⁵⁰¹ Doris Nachtmann counted seventy-three, condensing large but topically similar passages from which Hincmar took five to ten separate quotations into single entries.⁵⁰² I expanded these to see exactly what characterized Hincmar's citation decisions. I looked at each of the roughly eighty separate citations for accompanying marginalia, small changes in spelling or grammar, length of citation, the frequency or infrequency of the citations about any given topic in the letter, and to what extent each passage was summarized or quoted verbatim.⁵⁰³

From this survey, I was able to confirm that Hincmar knew the *Moralia* well, and that he was not simply relying on notes to find his citations: many were embedded in the middle of a block of text with nothing offsetting them visually. It seems to be the case that he had read and knew this very rich and lengthy text quite well, and while he may also have been using Taio and Paterius to help locate things in an age before searchable text, he was still a careful reader and thinker in his use of the *Moralia*.⁵⁰⁴ Although many

⁵⁰¹ Hincmar of Reims, *DCV*; Gregory the Great, *Moralia*; "Reims 99"; "Reims 100"; "Reims 101."

⁵⁰² Nachtmann, "Introduction," 2 and "Quellenregister," 281-282.

⁵⁰³ Lines were counted in the Reims manuscripts, not in the critical edition of the *Moralia*, nor in the *DCV*: due to the human craftsmanship involved in the making of the books, the word sizing and spacing is not always regular. Within each volume, they generally are, but Reims BnF100 is written in a notably more spacious hand than Reims BnF 99 and 101. Lines per folio are between 25 and 29. Accordingly, quantitative analysis would require significant measures to ensure consistency. The general tendencies in size of quote and accuracy of citation are apparent from the chart. While my choice of numbering—I chose to list a passage as two entries when it was quoted twice, or when I chose to list a passage as eight separate entries rather than one large one encompassing four folia—may further inhibit quantitative analysis, I offer with this chart an attempt to discern Hincmar's intention in using the *Moralia*. I have placed the source manuscript on the left side, and the *DCV* page number in the middle, having ordered the information to give the viewer the ability to see how Hincmar was working as he wrote sequentially through the topics of the letter.

⁵⁰⁴ Nachtmann, "Einleitung," 17. Nachtmann's analysis revealed that on some occasions, Hincmar was relying on *florilegia*, such as the *Sententiarum Libri Quinque* of Taio of Saragossa, or the *Liber De*

of the passages cited are located adjacent to prominent marginal notes pointing to the topic at hand, other small passages (quotations of just one or two lines), dispersed throughout the letter, do not have the prominent marginalia, and were very difficult to locate among many folia of visually undifferentiated prose. This does not, however, necessarily mean that Hincmar used *florilegia* to find them: they are present in the Reims volumes, which means he could have used them directly.⁵⁰⁵

Expositione Veteris Ac Novi Testamenti of Paterius. Nachtmann did not, however, claim that Hincmar's potential use of the *florilegia* would preclude the use of original texts. She pointed out a few passages which are from Gregory possibly by means of an extra link. One example that provides indisputable proof that Hincmar was relying on Taio, is in in *De Cavendis* I.4, 145, n.111: the archbishop's letter includes a line from *Sententiae IV (Quid—experimentur)* that is not in Gregory's original, but is cited is cited by Taio as a part of Gregory's original. See Nachtmann, 145–46. As no critical edition of this text exists yet, see PL 80, Sp. 947 B/A.

⁵⁰⁵ A medieval reader may have had particular advantage over a modern one as well: if a book were in his possession, there is a strong chance that he read it repeatedly, books being extremely difficult to make and expensive to obtain. For more on the relation of reading to memory in larger medieval culture, see Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Nonetheless, because of the amount of commentary that Hincmar cites verbatim, it seems unlikely that he had memorized all of the relevant *Moralia* passages, and the simplest explanation of how he was reading and writing seems to be that he saw the marginalia noting "avarice" and chose to cite relevant passages.

Manuscript	Location in <i>Moralia</i>: Book	Folio in Reims MS	DCV page and line		Lines quoted	Marginal Notes?	Topical Location in DCV⁵⁰⁶
Reims 100	X, 30, 49	163v	103	13	7		Introduction
Reims 100	X, 30, 49	163v-164r	103	22	9		Introduction
Reims 100	X, 23, 41	160v-161r	104	11	11		Introduction
Reims 100	VIII, 22, 38	68r	106	1	8		Introduction
Reims 100	VIII, 24, 41	70v	107	12	5	1	Introduction
Reims 100	IX, 34, 53	118r-119v	108	11	16	2	Introduction
Reims 100	IX, 25, 37-38	111v-112r	109	11	22	1	Introduction
Reims 99	IV, 27, 51	121v	111	5	1		Introduction
Reims 99	IV, 27, 52	121v-122r	111	9	22	1	Introduction
Reims 100	VIII, 48, 82	91r	112	11	5		Introduction
Reims 101	XII, 51, 57	51v-52r	120	24	16		I.i Repentance, Confession, Penitence
Reims 100	VIII, 20, 36	67r	124	20	8		I.i Repentance, Confession, Penitence
Reims 100	IX, 43, 66-67	124v	124	4	12		I.i Repentance, Confession, Penitence
Reims 100	VIII, 21, 37	67v	125	9	3		I.i Repentance, Confession, Penitence
Reims 100	VIII, 21, 37	67v	125	19	12		I.i Repentance, Confession, Penitence
Reims 99	IV, 14, 26	112v	128	11	6	1	I.i Repentance, Confession, Penitence
Reims 99	IV, 15, 27	112v	128	17	4	1	I.i Repentance, Confession, Penitence
Reims 99	IV, 16, 31	114r-114v	128	7	4	1	I.i Repentance, Confession, Penitence

⁵⁰⁶ Recall that topics come from Nachtmann's division of the text, not from one that Hincmar himself denoted. She relied on marginal notes of the *De cavendis* for her division.

Reims 99	IV, 18, 34	115r	129	2	2	1	I.i Repentance, Confession, Penitence
Reims 99	IV, 30, 57	125r-125v	132	6	16	1	I.ii Avarice
Reims 99	IV, 30, 57	125v	133	8	1		I.ii Avarice
Reims 101	XV, 18, 22-19, 23	123v	133	10	24	1	I.ii Avarice
Reims 101	XV, 19, 23-20, 40	124r-124v	136	15	26		I.ii Avarice
Reims 101	XV, 22, 26	124v-125r	137	10	19		I.ii Avarice
Reims 101	XV, 23, 27-28	125r-126r	137	16	31		I.ii Avarice
Reims 101	XV, 26, 32	128r	138	10	4		I.ii Avarice
Reims 101	XV, 28, 34-29, 35	129r	138	12	20	1	I.ii Avarice
Reims 101	XIV, 13, 15	83r	139	14	16		I.ii Avarice
Reims 101	XV, 30, 36	129v-130r	139	5	11		I.ii Avarice
Reims 101	XV, 52, 60	140r	139	17	7		I.ii Avarice
Reims 99	IV, 30, 57	125v	140	11	5	1	I.iii Pride
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687 ⁵⁰⁷	XXXIV, 23, 48		141	6			I.iii Pride
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXXIV, 23, 49		142	23			I.iii Pride
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXXIV, 23, 52		142	11			I.iii Pride
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXXIII, 3, 9		143	10			I.iv Lust
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXXIII, 3, 9		144	5			I.iv Lust
Reims 101	XIV, 19, 23	86r-86v	145	26	10		I.iv Lust
Vol 4 not extant	XXI, 12, 19		146	19			I.iv Lust
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXX, 18, 59		147	15			I.v Gluttony
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXX, 18, 60		149	12			I.v Gluttony
Reims 99	V, 46, 85- 86	171r-172r	151	3	48	1	I.vi Envy

⁵⁰⁷ This MS is one thought to contain Hincmar's ex-dono and to be another volume in Hincmar's set. It was badly damaged, and has not been digitized. See Devisse, Vol II, 1494.

Reims 99	IV, 30, 57	125r	153	4	6	1	I.vii Anger and Zeal for the Just Cause
Reims 99	V, 45, 78-83	168v-170v	153	10	>120		I.vii Anger and Zeal for the Just Cause
Reims 101	XIV, 29, 34	91v and 92r	159	15	16	1	I.vii Anger and Zeal for the Just Cause
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXXIII, 38, 67		160	6			I.viii Principle Vices
Reims 101	XIV, 53, 63-65	104v-106r	161	3	88 ⁵⁰⁸	2	I.viii Principle Vices
Reims 101	XI, 23, 34	15v	166	5	6		I.ix Perjury and swearing of oaths
Reims 101	XII, 42, 47	48r-48v	167	6	8		I.ix Perjury and swearing of oaths
Reims 101	XII, 21, 26	40v	168	18	3	1	I.ix Perjury and swearing of oaths
Vol 4 not extant	XXII, 13, 26		171	17			I.xi Curiosity (skipped I.x, Brotherly Correction)
Reims 101	XIV, 52, 61	102v-103r	173	5	16	1	I.xiii Slander (skipped I.xii Discord)
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXXIV, 15, 29		174	2			I.xiii Slander
Vol 4 not extant	XIX, 30, 53		180	13			II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Vol 4 not extant	XXII, 4, 7		180	20			II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	135r	186	10	7		II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	136r-136v	186		38		II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	136v-137r	186		11		II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation

⁵⁰⁸ These 88 lines were substantially paraphrased and compressed.

Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	137r	186		5	1	II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	137v	186		4	1	II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	137v	186		2		II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	137v-138r	186		14		II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	138v	186		4		II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	138v	186		7		II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	139r	186		13		II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	139r	186		5		II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 61,92-66, 103	139v-140r	186		18	1	II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 100	IX, 66, 104	140r	192	8	11	1	II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 101	XV, 29, 35	129r	192	1	8	1	II.iii Conversion, Final Judgement, Damnation
Reims 99	IV 27, 49	119v	194	1	3	1	II.iv Kinds of sin; Repentance
Reims 100	VII, 28, 36	36r-36v	194	3	10		II.iv Kinds of sin; Repentance
Reims 99	IV, 18, 34	115r	195	23	2	1	II.iv Kinds of sin; Repentance
Reims 99	IV 27, 49	120r	195	1	4		II.iv Kinds of sin; Repentance
Reims 100	VII, 28, 36	36r	195	6	3		II.iv Kinds of sin; Repentance
Reims 101	XV, 27, 34-28, 34	128v-129r	195	8	14		II.iv Kinds of sin; Repentance

Reims 99	III, 22, 43	89v-90r	196	3	7	2	II.iv Kinds of sin; Repentance
Reims 99	III, 36, 68	97v	196	2	1	1	II.iv Kinds of sin; Repentance
Reims 100	IX, 36, 56	120r-120v	196	11	13	1	II.iv Kinds of sin; Repentance
Reims 99	II, 51, 81	68v	197	13	4	1	II.iv Kinds of sin; Repentance
Reims 100	X, 15, 30	156r	198	4	14	3	II.v Forgiveness
Reims 101	XVI, 5, 6	148r-148v	200	9	21		II.v Forgiveness
Reims 101	XVI, 51, 64	173r	202	10	5		II.vi Intercession and Correct Behavior in Church
Reims 101	XVI, 51, 64	173r	204	14	7		II.vi Intercession and Correct Behavior in Church
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXXIII, 23, 43		213	5			II.vi Intercession and Correct Behavior in Church
Reims 101	XV, 47, 53	136v	214	7	28		II.vi Intercession and Correct Behavior in Church
Reims 101	XVI, 42, 53	168v	214	4	4	1	II.vi Intercession and Correct Behavior in Church
Reims 101	XVI, 42, 53	168v	215	6	8		II.vi Intercession and Correct Behavior in Church
Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXXI, 27, 53		215	12			II.vi Intercession and Correct Behavior in Church
Reims 102 ⁵⁰⁹	XXVI, 14, 24	85v-86r	216	11	7	1	II.vi Intercession and Correct Behavior in Church
Reims 100	VIII, 15, 30	64v-65r	223	23	11		II.x Sorrow unto Salvation
Reims 99	I, 24, 32	26r	226	8	7	1	II.x Sorrow unto Salvation
Reims 99	III, 26, 51	92r	226	17	6	1	III.i The Incarnation
Vol 4 not extant	XVII, 30, 46		227	5			III.i The Incarnation

⁵⁰⁹ As noted, this volume is verifiably not a part of the set: I include it to give the reader an idea of the volume of cited material in this extant text.

Berol. Qu. Lat. 687	XXX, 4, 17		227	21			III.i The Incarnation
Vol 4 not extant	XVIII, 52, 85		228	14			III.i The Incarnation
Reims 99	V, 36, 66	162r	237	18	6	2	III.ii The Eucharist
Reims 101	XIII, 22, 25-23, 26	66v-67r	238	6	29		III.ii The Eucharist
Vol 4 not extant	XXII, 13, 26		238	3			III.ii The Eucharist
Reims 101	XII, 6, 9	32v	247	8	1		III.ii The Eucharist

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Kentucky Opportunity Fellowship, University of Kentucky, 2016 – 2017
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Regent's Gold Scholarship, Baylor University, 2011 –2015
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