

# The Clergy in the Medieval World

Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers  
in North-Western Europe, c. 800–c. 1200



JULIA BARROW

# **The Clergy in the Medieval World**

Unlike monks and nuns, clergy have hitherto been sidelined in accounts of the Middle Ages, but they played an important role in medieval society. This first broad-ranging study in English of the secular clergy examines how ordination provided a framework for clerical life cycles and outlines the influence exerted on secular clergy by monastic ideals before tracing typical career paths for clerics. Concentrating on northern France, England and Germany in the period c.800–c.1200, Julia Barrow explores how entry into the clergy usually occurred in childhood, with parents making decisions for their sons, although other relatives, chiefly clerical uncles, were also influential. By comparing two main types of family structure, Barrow supplies an explanation of why Gregorian reformers faced little serious opposition in demanding an end to clerical marriage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Changes in educational provision c.1100 also help to explain growing social and geographical mobility among clerics.

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# Abbreviations

## Archives and libraries

A-D

Archives départementales

Bodl.

Oxford, Bodleian Library

## Publications

AASS

*Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur*, ed. Jean Bolland, 66 vols. in 67 (Brussels, 1863–1925)

Alcuin, *Ep.*

*Alcuini sive Albini epistolae*, in *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, II, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp. (Berlin, 1895), 1–493

ANS

*Anglo-Norman Studies*

*Antiquus cartularius*

*Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae Baiocensis (Livre Noir)*, ed. Valentin Bourrienne, 2 vols. (Rouen and Paris, 1902–3)

ASC

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

ASE

*Anglo-Saxon England*

BAACT

British Archaeological Association  
Conference Transactions

Bede, *HE*

*Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and tr. Bertram



Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors  
(Oxford, 1969)

*Cartulaire d'Amiens*

*Cartulaire du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens*, ed. Joseph Roux, 2 vols., Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie: Documents inédits concernant la province, 14, 18 (Amiens and Paris, 1905–12)

*Cartulaire d'Angers*

*Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale d'Angers*, ed. Charles Urseau (Paris, 1908)

*Cartulaire d'Arras*

*Le cartulaire du chapitre d'Arras*, ed. Auguste de Loisne (Arras, 1896)

*Cartulaire d'Autun*

*Cartulaire de l'église d'Autun*, ed. Anatole de Charmasse (Paris and Autun, 1865)

*Cartulaire de Béthune*

*Le cartulaire de Saint-Barthélemy de Béthune*, ed. Auguste de Loisne, Société des antiquaires de la Morinie (Saint-Omer, 1895)

*Cartulaire de Chartres*

*Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, ed. Eugène de Lépine and Lucien Merlet, 3 vols. (Chartres, 1862–5)

*Cartulaire de Compiègne*

*Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne*, ed. Émile-Épiphanius Morel, Société historique de Compiègne, 3 vols. (Montdidier and Paris, 1904–9)

*Cartulaire de Langres*

*Cartulaire du chapitre cathédral de Langres*, ed. Hubert Flammarion, Atelier de recherche sur les textes médiévaux, 7 (Turnhout, 2004)

*Cartulaire de Lille*

*Cartulaire de l'église collégiale Saint-Pierre de Lille*, ed. Édouard Hautcoeur, 2 vols. (Lille and Paris, 1894)

*Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Dunois)*

*Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Dunois*, ed. Émile Mabille (Châteaudun, 1874)

*Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Perche)*

*Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche*, ed. Philibert Barret (Mortagne, 1894)

*Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Vendômois)*

*Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Vendômois*, ed. Charles-Auguste de Trémault (Paris and Vendôme, 1893)

*Cartulaire d'Orléans*

*Cartulaire de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans (814–1300)*, ed. Joseph Thillier and Eugène Jarry (Orléans, 1906)

*Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*

*Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. Benjamin Guérard, 4 vols. (Paris, 1850)

*Cartulaire de Redon*

*Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Redon en Bretagne*, ed. Aurélien de Courson (Paris, 1863)

*Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*

*Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes. Cartulaire de la collégiale Saint-Urbain de Troyes*, ed. Charles

Lalore, Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes, 5 (Paris and Troyes, 1880)

*Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*

*Cartulaire de l'église Saint-Lambert de Liège*, ed. S. Bormans and E. Schoolmeesters, 6 vols. (Brussels, 1893–1933)

*Cartulaire de l'Yonne*

*Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, ed. Maximilien Quantin, 2 vols. (Auxerre, 1854–60)

*Cartulaires de Grenoble*

*Cartulaires de l'église cathédrale de Grenoble*, ed. J. Marion (Paris, 1869)

*Cartulaires de Térouane*

*Cartulaires de l'église de Térouane*, ed. Théodore Duchet and Arthur Giry, Société des antiquaires de la Morinie (Saint-Omer, 1881)

Charte ARTEM/CMJS

*Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, ed. Cédric Giraud, Jean-Baptiste Renault and Benoît-Michel Tock (Nancy, Centre de Médiévistique Jean Schneider, and Orléans, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2010), at [www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/index](http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/index), consulted 31 March 2014

*Chartularium ecclesiae Cenomannensis*

*Chartularium insignis ecclesiae Cenomannensis quod dicitur Liber Albus Capituli*, ed. A. Cauvin (Le Mans, 1869)

CCM

*Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*

CCCM

Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio  
Mediaevalis

CCSL

Corpus Christianorum, Series  
Latina

CS I

*Councils and Synods, with Other  
Documents Relating to the English  
Church, I: A.D. 871–1204*, ed.  
Dorothy Whitelock, Martin Brett  
and C.N.L. Brooke, 2 parts  
(Oxford, 1981)

*DACL*

*Dictionnaire d'archéologie  
chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed.  
Fernand Cabrol, Henri Leclerc and  
Henri Marrou, 15 vols. (Paris,  
1907–53)

DB

Domesday Book

*DHGE*

*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de  
géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed.  
Alfred Baudrillart and Roger  
Aubert, 30 vols. to date, in progress  
(Paris, 1912–)

*DTC*

*Dictionnaire de théologie  
catholique*, ed. Alfred Vacant,  
Eugène Mangenot and Émile  
Amann, 15 vols. in 34 (1930–50)

*EEA*

*English Episcopal Acta*, British  
Academy, 44 vols. to date, in  
progress (London, 1980–6; Oxford,  
1988–)

*EHR*

*English Historical Review*

Enlarged RC

*Fasti*

FEG

*Gallia Christiana*

*HMC Wells*

Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang

*Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300*, ed. D.E. Greenway (I–VII and X), J.S. Barrow (VIII), M. Pearson (IX), Christopher Brooke, Jeffrey Denton and Diana Greenway (XI) (London 1968–2011)

*Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, 1: *Diocèse d’Amiens*, ed. Pierre Desportes and Hélène Millet (Turnhout, 1996); *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, 3: *Diocèse de Reims*, ed. Pierre Desportes (Turnhout, 1998); *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, 7: *Diocèse d’Angers*, ed. Jean-Michel Matz and François Comte (Turnhout, 2003); *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, 9: *Diocèse de Sées*, ed. Pierre Desportes, Jean-Pascal Foucher, Françoise Loddé and Laurent Vallière (Turnhout, 2005); *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, 11: *Diocèse de Sens*, ed. Vincent Tabbagh (Turnhout, 2009); *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, 12: *Diocèse d’Autun*, ed. Jacques Madignier (Turnhout, 2010)

*Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa*, ed. Denis de Sainte-Marthe and continued by B. Hauréau, 16 vols. (Paris, 1716–1865)

*Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, 2 vols., Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, 1907–14)

IC

Institutio Canoniorum (Rule of Aachen): *Concilia Aevi Karolini*, ed. Albert Werminghoff, 2 parts, MGH Concilia, 2 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906–8), i, 308–421

*JEH*

*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*

Lesne, *Les écoles*

Émile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, V: *Les écoles* (Lille, 1940)

*Lincoln Statutes*

*Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. Henry Bradshaw and Christopher Wordsworth, 2 vols. in 3 parts (Cambridge, 1892–7)

*LMA*

*Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 9 vols. (Munich, 1980–98)

Mansi

*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, completed by Louis Petit and Jean-Baptiste Martin, 54 vols. in 59 (repr. Graz 1960–1 from Paris 1901 edition)

MGH

Monumenta Germaniae Historica

*MGH Capitularia*

*Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius, 2 vols., MGH Leges, 2 (Hanover, 1883–97)

*MGH Capit. ep.*

*Capitula Episcoporum*, ed. Peter Brommer, Rudolf Pokorny and Martina Stratmann, MGH, 4 vols. (Hanover, 1984–2005)

MGH *Conc.*

*Concilia Aevi Karolini*, ed. Albert Werminghoff, 2 parts, MGH Concilia, 2 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1906–8)

MGH DD

MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae

MGH Epp.

MGH Epistolae

MGH SRG

MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum

MGH SRM

MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum

MGH SS

MGH Scriptores (in folio)

*Mon. Boica*

*Monumenta Boica*, 60 vols. (Munich, 1763–1956)

*MUB*

*Mainzer Urkundenbuch*, ed. M. Stimming and Peter Acht, 2 vols. in 3 (Darmstadt, 1931–71)

*NCMH*, II

*The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II: c.700–c.900, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995)

*NCMH*, III

*The New Cambridge Medieval History*, III: c.900–c.1024, ed. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge, 1999)

*OB Utrecht*

*Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, ed. S. Muller and

A.C. Bouman, 5 vols. in 7 (Utrecht 1920)

ODNB

*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols. plus index of contributors (Oxford, 2004)

OV

*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969–80)

PG

*Patrologiae cursus completus, accurante J.-P. Migne, Series Graeca*, 161 vols. in 167 (Paris, 1857–1904)

PL

*Patrologiae cursus completus, accurante J.-P. Migne, Series Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–65)

RB

Rule of Benedict

RC

Rule of Chrodegang

*Rev. bén.*

*Revue bénédictine*

*RHE*

*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*

RRAN

*Regesta regum anglo-normannorum, 1066–1154*, ed. H.W.C. Davis, H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1913–69)

RRAN: *William I*, ed. Bates



*Regesta regum anglo-normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. David Bates (Oxford, 1998)

RS

Rolls Series

RSO

*Vetus registrum Sarisberiense, alias dictum Registrum Sancti Osmundi*, ed. W.H. Rich Jones, Rolls Series, 78, 2 vols. (London, 1883–4)

S

*Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, ed. P.H. Sawyer, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 8 (London, 1968)

UB Halberstadt

*Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Halberstadt und seiner Bischöfe*, ed. Gustrav Schmidt, 4 vols. (Osnabrück, 1883–9)

UB Hildesheim

*Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Hildesheim und seiner Bischöfe*, ed. Karl Janicke and Hermann Hoogeweg, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1896–1911)

UB Magdeburg

*Urkundenbuch des Erzstifts Magdeburg*, I, ed. Friedrich Israel and Walter Möllenberg (Magdeburg, 1937)

UBMRh

*Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der jetzt die preussischen Regierungsbezirke Coblenz und Trier bildenden mittelrheinischen Territorien*, ed. H. Beyer, L. Eltester and A. Goerz, 3 vols.

(Koblenz, 1860–74)

*UB Naumburg*

*Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Naumburg*, I, ed. Felix Rosenfeld (Magdeburg, 1925)

*UBNRh*

*Urkundenbuch für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, ed. Theodor Josef Lacomblet, 4 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1840–58)

*UB Osnabrück*

*Osnabrücker Urkundenbuch*, ed. Friedrich Philippi and Max Bär, 4 vols. (Osnabrück, 1892–1902)

*UB Speyer*

*Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Bischöfe zu Speyer*, ed. Franz Xaver Remling, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1852–3)

*UB Strassburg*

*Urkundenbuch der Stadt Strassburg*, I, ed. Wilhelm Wiegand (Strasbourg, 1879)

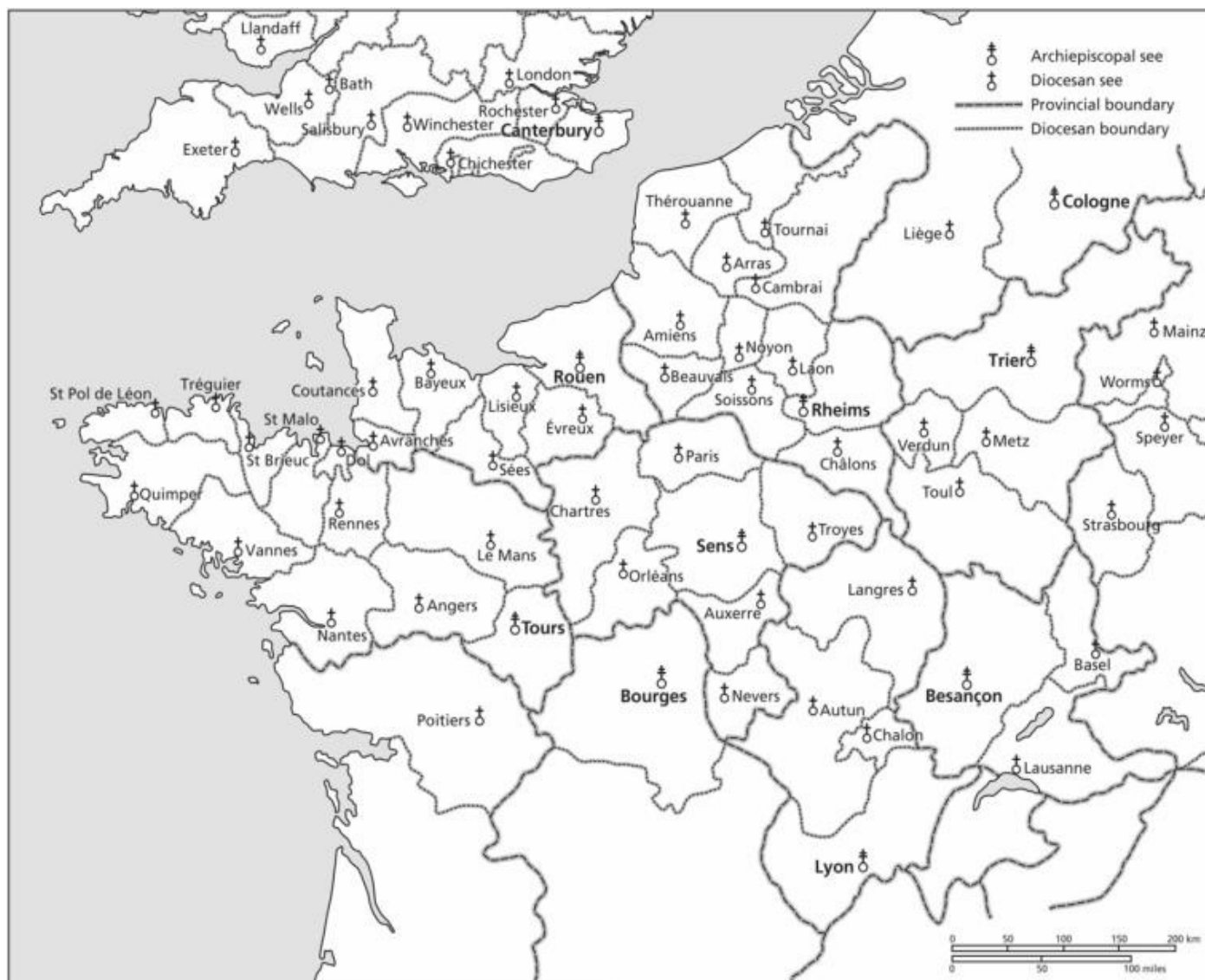
*VCH*

*Victoria History of the Counties of England*, ed. H. Arthur Doubleday, William Page, Louis F. Salzman, Ralph B. Pugh, Christopher Elrington and others, many volumes, in progress (London and Westminster, 1900–34; London, 1935–75; Oxford, 1976–2002; Woodbridge, 2003–)

*Westf. UB*

*Westfälisches Urkundenbuch*, 11 vols., in progress (Münster, 1847 to date); I–II published under the title *Regesta historiae Westfaliae: accedit codex diplomaticus*, ed. H.A. Erhard (Münster, 1847–51),

III: *Die Urkunden des Bisthums  
Münster 1201–1300*, ed. Roger  
Wilmans (Münster, 1871); IV: *Die  
Urkunden des Bistums Paderborn  
1201–1300*, ed. Roger Wilmans  
(Münster, 1874); VI: *Die Urkunden  
des Bisthums Minden vom Jahre  
1201–1300*, ed. Hermann  
Hoogeweg (Münster, 1898)



**Map 1** Bishoprics in northern France c.1200



**Map 2** Bishoprics in the empire c.1200



**Map 3** Bishoprics in England, Wales and Scotland c.1200

# 1 Introduction

## Opening remarks

How did clerics build their careers in the western church in the Middle Ages? At what stage in their lives was the decision taken that they should enter the clergy, and who made this decision? Did they continue to maintain ties with their families, and if so, how? How were they trained for their roles in the Church? Attempting to answer these questions sheds light on central aspects of western European society: family networks, education, administration, pastoral care and ecclesiastical institutions. Unlike monks and nuns, however, whose career patterns and family background have attracted considerable attention,<sup>1</sup> the clergy of the period from 800 to 1200 have suffered neglect, but unjustly so, on several counts: they were numerous, and their lives and activities were woven into those of the laity of the societies in which they lived. Moreover, though the majority had significance only as part of a larger whole, a sizeable minority were doers and thinkers, many at the forefront of the whole range of cultural developments. No history of Europe in the central Middle Ages could overlook the contributions of – to take a few examples – Gerbert of Aurillac, Peter Abelard, Stephen Langton or Robert Grosseteste, all of them the products of a clerical formation and education.<sup>2</sup> At the highest level of the clergy, all bishops, most of whom had built up their ecclesiastical careers as secular clerics, had at least some political influence, and many had appreciable political power.<sup>3</sup> Rulers expected bishops to assist them as political advisers, and employed numerous other clerics lower down the hierarchy to act for them as scribes, attendants, envoys, propagandists, chaplains, physicians and almsgivers.<sup>4</sup> The educational training undergone by clergy is also a necessary subject of investigation for those studying the culture and society of medieval Europe, and, while the intellectual, scholarly and literary dimensions of the process have been worked on by scholars for centuries and are reasonably well understood, the more practical aspects of obtaining an education have attracted rather less attention, even though they too helped to shape the careers of young clerics.<sup>5</sup> Although ordination was what principally distinguished clergy from laity, education was another distinguishing feature, since it was required for clergy but not for laity. Here, however, (unlike ordination) the difference was not absolute, since laity could be educated, and even, in some cases, learned.<sup>6</sup> Beyond this, clergy were visibly different, marked out from the rest of society by tonsure and dress.<sup>7</sup> These visual and cultural differences between clergy and laity helped to underline the importance of the Eucharist. Only bishops and priests, members of the senior ranks of the clergy, could celebrate this, though clerics in lower grades assisted them.

Clerics are often confused with monks (an understandable confusion, given that monks can be ordained within the clerical grades),<sup>8</sup> but the two are not synonymous. Clergy are those members of the Church who perform sacraments, or assist in their performance; their origins lie in the very earliest beginnings of the Church. From early on, clerical office was, to all intents and purposes, restricted to men;<sup>9</sup> in the western church, although the grade of deaconess survived in a shadowy form and rites for it were copied into pontificals, it was in practice restricted to abbesses and did not allow them access to the

altar.<sup>10</sup> Monks make vows of obedience, stability and conversion, live under a Rule, renounce personal property and are supposed to withdraw from the world, but clergy can own property, do not necessarily have to live under a rule, and can engage with the world.<sup>11</sup> The adjective ‘secular’, or ‘worldly’, began to be applied to the bulk of the clergy in the twelfth century, and at first it was used as a pejorative term to mark them off from those clerics who were trying to live a more monastic existence, following a rule, and who thus were called ‘regular clergy’, from the Latin word *regula*, meaning rule,<sup>12</sup> though the ‘worldly’ jibe lost some of its edge after it had become widely accepted.<sup>13</sup>

Clergy faced criticism, often savage, from monks, who were irked by what they saw as clerical laxity (as opposed to monastic asceticism) and clerical disobedience (as opposed to monastic discipline). The harshest outbursts of criticism occurred at times when monasticism was being redefined, notably in the mid-tenth century and over the period from the end of the eleventh century to the early twelfth, but in general, throughout the entire period of existence of the Church, monastic authors have proclaimed their superior spiritual qualities vis-à-vis those of the clergy.<sup>14</sup> The reason for this is easy to grasp: monks were members of communities with a strong sense of identity, to join which they had had to sacrifice individual freedom. Self-justification helped them to maintain morale, and an effective way of doing this was to attack possible rivals. Clerics, more likely even when living in communities to have some individual existence of their own, produced a much smaller quantity of apologetic literature than monks, and these texts tended to explain the various features of the liturgy, a branch of writing to which monks themselves also made a sizeable contribution.<sup>15</sup> The twelfth century produced considerable debate literature as monks and regular canons tried to define their own positions vis-à-vis each other and the rest of the clergy (the ‘secular’ clergy).<sup>16</sup> Few clerics attacked monks in a sustained way, though the courtier-cleric Walter Map (d. 1209/10) wrote a counterblast against monkdom (*monachia*) and included this in his *De Nugis Curialium*.<sup>17</sup> It should be noted, however, that a surprisingly large number of monastic leaders, especially ones active in foundations and refoundations, had enjoyed a clerical formation, opting to become monks only in adulthood; evidently a clerical formation was better at encouraging initiative and qualities of leadership than a monastic one.<sup>18</sup>

The opening date chosen for this book, the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries, makes it possible to examine how the Carolingians shaped ecclesiastical institutions in western Europe for the rest of the Middle Ages. As far as a history of the clergy is concerned, the tenth century and much of the eleventh century can, indeed, be viewed as a continuation of the Carolingian era, the time when we can observe the full implementation of Carolingian innovations over the long term.<sup>19</sup> However, sources for the clergy began to diversify from the tenth century on. Whereas for the pre-900 period the fullest sources tend to be prescriptive, for example the diocesan statutes of Hincmar (archbishop of Rheims 845–82) and his episcopal colleagues,<sup>20</sup> after about 900 the range of charter material, especially charters issued by people other than rulers, begins to increase, almost imperceptibly in the tenth century but more noticeably in the eleventh and massively in the twelfth.<sup>21</sup> The steep rise in documentation coincides roughly with the period when the process known as the ‘Gregorian Reform’ slowly got put into effect within the ecclesiastical institutions. The Gregorian Reform was the eleventh-century movement which demanded clerical celibacy



and an end to the sale of ecclesiastical office, and in a wider sense (but this was an aim which was much less capable of achievement) the separation of the sacred from the secular.<sup>22</sup> One of the principal results of this, though it was not one intended or desired by the leaders of the movement, was the tightening up of legal structures in the Church, which in turn necessitated a great increase in documentation and in education, especially in law.<sup>23</sup> Although the principles of the Gregorian 'Reform' movement were spelled out in the late eleventh century, it was a long time before they were generally and fully accepted. Ending hereditary succession among the clergy was a slow process.<sup>24</sup> However, by the opening years of the thirteenth century, many of the changes demanded by Gregory VII had been put into practice, and the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 show how, over a huge range of issues and with great attention to detail, the papacy was directing the activities of the Church.<sup>25</sup> Many of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran concerned the clergy, and encouraged the intensive production of diocesan statutes intended further to regulate the behaviour of clergy, in the following decades.<sup>26</sup> The early thirteenth century is a suitable point to close this study, since it marks the end of a period of development in ecclesiastical administration.

In geographical terms, the areas studied here are principally France north of (roughly) the Massif Central, the kingdom of Germany, and England, with some attention to Scotland and Wales. The documentation available for southern Europe, particularly Italy, is vast, and the ratio of unpublished to published charters is much higher there than in more northerly areas of Europe. The time is not yet ripe for an overview of Italian clergy in the central Middle Ages, highly desirable though it would be.<sup>27</sup> Apart from the volume of material, there are good reasons for splitting up the clergy of northern and southern Europe. Communities of cathedral clergy quite often became bodies of Augustinian, or regular, canons in southern France, Italy and Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but rarely did so in northern Europe.<sup>28</sup> They thus adopted a more monastic pattern of life and their inmates had much less scope to pursue individual careers. None of this is to argue, of course, that the two areas did not influence each other. Developments in Italy had a profound effect on northern Europe, and significant numbers of Italian clerics travelled there to find employment. Examples include Stephen of Novara in the tenth century, Lanfranc in the eleventh, Master Vacarius in the mid-twelfth century and many members of the chapter of York Minster in the late twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.<sup>29</sup> Nor is it to argue that northern Europe itself formed a socially and culturally united whole; this was far from being the case, as will emerge in what follows.

## **The structure of this book**

The aim of this book is to examine the entry of boys and men into the clergy and the various stages of the careers they formed once there. Fundamental to these questions are, first, an understanding of the clerical office itself and, second, an understanding of the ways in which clerical life was influenced by monasticism. Accordingly, [Chapter 2](#) deals with the clerical office and its relation to the clerical life cycle, and [Chapter 3](#) with the creation of rules for clerical life and with the wider question of monastic attitudes to the clergy. These two chapters aim to explain the ground rules under which clerical careers operated. The remaining chapters deal with the relationship between clergy and their families, the fostering of young clerics, education, the work of clerics in courts and

households, clergy in cathedrals and collegiate churches, and parish clergy.

The clerical office ([Chapter 2](#)) had been long established by the outset of our period, but some adjustments in how it operated and how it was bestowed are visible in the period from 800 to 1200, and these are worth exploring for the light they shed on clerical life cycles. Entry into the clergy was effected by ordination, which was not a one-off event but a series of rites conducted at intervals usually spread over about two decades, though canon law allowed that this could be greatly speeded up for adult recruits to the clergy. But although canon law allowed this and although entry of both children and adults is visible in late antiquity and the very early Middle Ages, by the outset of our period adult entry into the clergy had more or less disappeared. The reasons for this, and even more the consequences of this, are worth exploring for the light they shed on western medieval society between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, in particular the influence that parents could exercise over their children's futures and also the consequences of child entry into the clergy for the pattern of education. Another shift is visible in the later eleventh century when grades of ordination cease to be mentioned as much as they had been in hagiographies, biographies and charters. Here too is a pointer to educational developments. Similarly, tonsure, the visible sign of being a cleric, ceases to be mentioned much in narrative sources from the later eleventh century onwards, though references to it in administrative sources continue. Also of significance when reflecting on grades of ordination is the question of which grade clerics found it convenient to remain in without attempting further progression (it was not necessary to progress through all the grades, and many clerics stopped before reaching the priesthood). Discussion of the opportunities open to priests, deacons, subdeacons and so on over the 800–1200 time span helps to explain some features of the internal organisation of churches and also of clerical careers.

Looking over the shoulders of the secular clergy were their regular colleagues, monks, and, from the mid-eleventh century, regular canons as well, and these are the subject of [Chapter 3](#). Since it was normal for monks in the western church to be ordained from the ninth century onwards (indeed, there are several examples of monks being ordained before this point), there was much overlap between monks and clergy in terms of sacramental and liturgical provision; monks, who were more vigorous in promoting their own cause, found it useful to upbraid clergy for what they saw as failings, and at intervals throughout our period clergy came under pressure to be more like monks. This led to the creation of a variety of rules for clerics living in communities, some composed in the eighth and ninth centuries, and with further work in the eleventh century, when the fourth-century Rule of St Augustine was revised and considerably expanded. Monastic pressure on clergy was also manifested in demands from the tenth century onwards for individual churches run by secular clergy to be taken over by monks, a process which (when successful) limited opportunities for secular clerics. Examining this development from the point of view of the latter rather than (as has been more normal hitherto) their adversaries helps to provide some fresh insights into the powers of patrons and pressure groups over the period from c.900 onwards. The chronology of the monastic pressure points on the clergy is also worth attention.

Having set out the clerical framework and the responses it excited among the regulars the book proceeds to examine three facets of the early careers of clergy. [Chapter 4](#) examines the relationship of clerics with their immediate families. Unsurprisingly, parents

were the relatives with the most influence over young clerics, including the decision about entry into the office. This was true whether the fathers of future clerics were themselves clerics or were laymen. This question needs careful reflection. First of all, is it safe to assume (as some recent general studies of the eleventh and twelfth centuries have done) that clerical marriage and hereditary succession were widely accepted down to the later eleventh century and beyond and that they did not meet with serious opposition until the Gregorian Reform?<sup>30</sup> After all, moves to prevent clergy from marrying after ordination in the higher grades had been routine in canon law since the early fifth century. Examination of the family networking of high-ranking clerics over the period from 800 to 1100 shows a rather different picture in Francia and most of its successor states, apart from some peripheral areas, notably Brittany. By and large, the secular aristocracy seems to have embraced clerical celibacy with enthusiasm as far as their younger sons were concerned, as a useful strategy for limiting the numbers of heirs in subsequent generations, and parents sought reinforcement from brothers already in ecclesiastical careers to guide the careers of their young nephews. The role of the clerical uncle was a significant one during the Middle Ages. Father–son clerical dynasties certainly existed – chiefly in the British Isles, Brittany and eleventh- and twelfth-century Normandy – but outside these areas not at a high enough social level to be influential. Clergy were influenced not only by their parents and their uncles but also by their siblings, and the relationships between clerics and their brothers and sisters help to shed light on the varying patterns of inheritance operating across northern Europe in the high Middle Ages. Where family property was supposed to be shared among siblings clerics were least likely to have freedom of manoeuvre in career terms.

Not only biological kin but also artificial kin helped to guide the earlier years of clerics in our period, and this is the subject of [Chapter 5](#). Boys of good family in the earlier Middle Ages were expected to be fostered in their teens by their fathers' overlords, a system that ensured the military training of the aristocracy and also provided rulers and other senior figures with hostages for the good behaviour of the fathers of their young charges. Although the system was essentially designed for boys intended for a military career, boys intended for ecclesiastical careers were swept up into it also, though this could impose some difficulties for them, as fosterage had to be combined with ecclesiastical education.

Literacy, like ordination and tonsure, was one of the determining features of clerics. Education in letters was a requirement for them, and the role of education in clerical careers is discussed in [Chapters 6](#) and [7](#). [Chapter 6](#) looks at the range of schools available across this period and also at less 'official', less formal patterns of education. One-to-one teaching was often practised in sparsely populated areas of western Europe in the earlier Middle Ages, and could be viewed as a sort of clerical apprenticeship. Schools were not numerous between the seventh century and the later eleventh century; they tended to be run by monastic or clerical communities, and although entry to them was by no means limited to inmates of these churches, in practice parents might feel pressured into promising to hand over their boys, very young, not merely to be educated but to become monks or canons. From the end of the eleventh century onwards the number of schools expanded; competition between them made the educational system rather freer and, even more significantly, higher schools emerged in the early twelfth century, offering a wider

range of opportunities to high-fliers than had hitherto been available. [Chapter 7](#) examines schoolmasters (who were clerics) and their career paths, before moving on to look at the school curriculum and finally at the effects of education on clerics. Education increased social and geographical mobility, especially after c.1100, partly thanks to the expansion in the number of schools, and partly thanks to the development of higher schools, which aimed to open up advanced study to the more ambitious among the clergy. However, this was not equally true across all areas of northern Europe, and regional comparisons show significant variations in clerical career paths.

The final three chapters look at opportunities available to clerics once they had received an education. [Chapter 8](#) deals with chaplains and other clerics in the households of rulers, magnates and bishops. Scholarship on household chaplains has tended to concentrate on their role in writing charters, but this was only one of the tasks they were supposed to perform and not necessarily a time-consuming one. Liturgical duties appear to have been their primary responsibility. The forms of patronage available to household chaplains are worthy of examination, too, as they give us insight into how rulers built up networks of supporters, and into how clerics made their early moves up the career ladder.

[Chapter 9](#) looks at the clergy serving cathedrals and collegiate churches. The liturgical responsibilities of these organisations required large forces of clergy; some cathedral communities had over seventy or eighty canons. The complexity of their operations grew steadily throughout our period. As a result, bishops were usually happy to allow cathedral chapters increasing independence, and the dignities (offices) in these churches became administrative positions of some importance, often a good preparation for episcopal office. Being a cathedral canon gave a cleric an established income and from quite early on it might be possible for canons to be absent from their churches if required for royal service. By the twelfth century, absenteeism and pluralism were built into the system in England and much of northern France, allowing cathedral canons the opportunity to pursue a variety of activities. Their absence could be more than compensated for by employing vicars choral and chaplains to undertake the bulk of the liturgy.

[Chapter 10](#) looks at the roles of clerics serving local churches. To do this, it is necessary to look at the development of minor local churches into what became the parish system – a tidy network of churches across western Christendom supplying pastoral care to the faithful. The very varied beginnings of local churches meant that the forms of patronage also varied, and it is necessary to understand these in order to find out about the clerics who were appointed to serve these churches.

## Sources

Since clergy were by definition supposed to be literate, and in practice usually were, primary sources mentioning or describing them survive in greater numbers, proportionately, than those mentioning medieval laymen and -women.<sup>31</sup> Research for this book is principally based on charters, narrative sources and letters, but has also drawn on liturgical compilations and administrative sources other than charters.

Clerics figure frequently in narratives, often forming the subject matter. This is particularly true of biographical writing: bishops figure very numerous among the subjects of Lives written in this period,<sup>32</sup> and their biographies often trace the clerical

*cursus honorum* quite carefully.<sup>33</sup> With a few exceptions, most of them had had an exclusively clerical training;<sup>34</sup> indeed, several of those who had been monks before becoming bishop, such as Lanfranc, had begun their careers as clerks.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, some Lives of monastic figures show clerical training at the outset. John of Gorze's early (and unsatisfactory) educational experiences were clerical; Æthelwold and Dunstan began their education as clerics.<sup>36</sup> Authors of episcopal Lives of this period can be either clerical or monastic; as such, they show some differences of approach,<sup>37</sup> but more similarities, probably partly to please their intended audiences. The usual intended audience of an episcopal Life consisted of his successor and his cathedral chapter.<sup>38</sup> Cathedral chapters were also the chief audiences for (and often supplied the authors of) diocesan histories, usually termed *Gesta Episcoporum* (Deeds of Bishops), which were made up of short biographies of each of the bishops who had held a particular see.<sup>39</sup> Episcopal Lives and *Gesta Episcoporum* were produced in greatest quantities in the empire and the western parts of the old Carolingian heartlands in the tenth and eleventh centuries; thereafter they both, especially the biographies, spread out over a wider geographical area.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, autobiography, though never frequent, became a little more common.<sup>41</sup> Here too clergy made their mark. Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum* contains rather more detail about his early life as a clerk than it does about his subsequent existence as monk and abbot.<sup>42</sup> Gerald of Wales's *De invectionibus* and many of his other writings, almost all of which contain autobiographical material, are informative about the life of the higher clergy in south Wales in the later twelfth century.<sup>43</sup> Information about clergy in political histories is much more sporadic, but nonetheless useful, as for example Henry of Huntingdon's comments about the canons of Lincoln Cathedral in the early twelfth century.<sup>44</sup> Narratives of the foundation of monastic or Augustinian houses can also be revealing: the *Restoration of the Monastery of St Martin, Tournai* traces the conversion of a cleric, Master Odo, scholasticus of Tournai, first to the Augustinian life, and then to the monastic one.<sup>45</sup> Meanwhile a counterblast to the regulars can be found in the *Chronicle of Waltham Abbey*, which traces the history of a collegiate church of secular canons that was turned into an Augustinian abbey by Henry II in the 1170s in partial expiation for the murder of Thomas Becket.<sup>46</sup> Miracle collections can also be a rewarding source of stories about clergy: one of the richest sources for late twelfth-century Cologne and its numerous clergy is the *Dialogue of Miracles* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, a Cistercian novice-master who had been a boy canon at the collegiate church of St Andreas in Cologne.<sup>47</sup>

Many of the higher clergy were prolific letter-writers. Writing letters was an important part of clerical life:<sup>48</sup> through them, long-standing friendships and acquaintances could be maintained, new contacts could be created, pleas could be made on behalf of protégés,<sup>49</sup> character statements could be provided,<sup>50</sup> short treatises could be composed on any number of subjects, kings and queens could be flattered and cajoled, and rhetorical skills could be displayed.<sup>51</sup> Rhetoric was an important part of the clerical education, at least for the wealthier clergy, and one of its principal branches was *dictamen*, training in the correct drafting of letters and charters so that the authors of these would marshal their arguments and persuasive pleas in the right order and use the most appropriate vocabulary to win over their chosen audience.<sup>52</sup> Although most medieval letters would have been ephemera



and it is probably safe to assume that the vast majority of what was written has subsequently been lost, enough letters survive to give us some impression of the significance they had for clerics. Several clerics of our period were so proud of their literary abilities that they kept copies of outgoing correspondence and then formed letter collections which they had copied and circulated as literary works – Arnulf of Lisieux, John of Salisbury, Peter of Blois and the Augustinian Stephen of Tournai<sup>53</sup> – while in other cases pupils made collections.<sup>54</sup>

Liturgical writings help to explain much of the framework of clerical activities, but are relatively little drawn on for this book, which concentrates on clergy in the world rather than on clergy in the choir or the sanctuary. Nevertheless there was a certain overlap between worldly and spiritual arrangements. The cycle of feasts (in the liturgical sense) in the ecclesiastical year could be reflected (as at Bamberg Cathedral, for example) in detailed lists of ingredients for the feasts (in the gastronomic sense) held to celebrate them.<sup>55</sup> Such lists might name the groups of estates which would be expected to provide the food required for each meal.<sup>56</sup> Elaborate endowments were made for anniversary prayers and services at cathedrals and other major churches right across Europe.<sup>57</sup> In consequence, churches would record the names of the dead in necrologies or obit books, in which individuals would be entered under the day of the month on which they had died, often with a record of the financial arrangements made to provide prayers.<sup>58</sup> Canons of the church in question were expected to make suitable arrangements for their commemoration. Lists of living inmates and benefactors, known as *libri vitae* after the Book of Life in Revelation, tended usually to be a feature of monastic rather than of clerical communities, but could often include clergy from elsewhere.<sup>59</sup>

Administrative sources provide by far the largest body of material for the study of the clergy in the high Middle Ages. Most valuable for all areas are charter collections, which can be used to build up bodies of information about clergy serving churches on particular groups of estates or the canons and minor clergy of particular cathedrals or collegiate churches. Since the body of surviving charter material for the whole area is so vast, especially in the twelfth century, this study will concentrate on materials in print. For most of this period the overwhelming majority of charters are land grants, which convey information about clergy usually only incidentally, for example if they occur as witnesses or (occasionally) as grantors or beneficiaries; grants of land to cathedrals quite often reveal the internal administrative structures of these institutions and sometimes also shed light on the careers and family relationships of individual canons. Quite often, and increasingly so towards the end of our period, grants made to cathedrals were made by their own canons, especially to set up their own anniversary services in advance of their deaths.<sup>60</sup> These documents are particularly revealing about clerical family networks, and so too, from the early thirteenth century, are written wills, which bishops began to expect their clergy (and eventually also better-off laity) to make to dispose of all property whose disposition would not otherwise be accounted for by common or customary law: in practice this meant most moveables.<sup>61</sup> Increasing in number throughout this period are charters recording the grants of churches or other forms of ecclesiastical property, such as tithes, which can shed light on the clergy serving these churches. From the late eleventh century onwards, ecclesiastical strictures against secular ownership of churches tightened

and quite a few landowners, finding themselves unable to benefit much financially from the patronage (advowson) of parish churches, gave away their rights to monastic houses.<sup>62</sup> During this period it became necessary to obtain episcopal approval for such grants, and numbers of episcopal charters rose.<sup>63</sup> Soon after this, bishops began to be concerned that the monastic houses were abusing their position by taking over the rectories of these churches, extracting far too much money from them, and leaving too little for the vicars – that is, the clerics serving them – and had to regulate the system by insisting that monasteries could only obtain rectories by licence.<sup>64</sup> Often, especially by about the end of the twelfth century, bishops specified how the church income should be split up between monastery and vicar.<sup>65</sup> These sources often name the clergy involved and are also useful for explaining the income the latter would receive.

The preservation of charters is uneven: major churches such as cathedrals and monasteries were best at keeping archives, and as a result much of the material which survives was issued in favour of ecclesiastical institutions, or else concerns property which eventually ended up in the control of such bodies. The latter frequently compiled collections of the charters they had received and had them copied into books known as cartularies.<sup>66</sup> Charters in this form (copies made by the beneficiary rather than by the issuer) were not authenticated and were thus not suitable for presenting as evidence in lawcourts; the point of gathering them together in cartularies was to create a useful reference tool, often containing references to the locations of the originals in the archive.<sup>67</sup> A cartulary rarely contains copies of more than a minority of the charters received by an institution,<sup>68</sup> and different institutions applied a variety of criteria for selection, sometimes recording the principal title deeds for particular estates, or the results of legal disputes, or providing information on the endowments for anniversary services, or listing grants in the chronological order in which they were made.<sup>69</sup>

Publication of charters, like their preservation, is uneven, both regionally across Europe and in the selection of materials for publication. Furthermore, the selection and organisation of material for publication also shows regional variation. While the publication of cartularies, sometimes with the addition of original charters, is frequent in France, Belgium and the United Kingdom, it has traditionally been less favoured in Germany. More characteristic there are editorial compilations (*Urkundenbücher*) of all the charters concerning a particular geographical area, or else associated with a major church.<sup>70</sup> Compilations of this sort for episcopal churches contain charters concerning the episcopal estates as well as the property of the cathedral chapter.<sup>71</sup> Another form of editorial compilation, long practised in respect of royal and papal charters, brings together all items issued by one single person or authority. For England, Wales and, to a growing extent, France, this is now being carried out for charters issued by bishops of a particular diocese.<sup>72</sup> Compilations of episcopal acta are of considerable value for the study of the clergy, because of the duty incumbent on bishops of regulating the lives and activities of the latter.

Estate inventories (polyptychs) and related fiscal records, where available, can be informative about clergy.<sup>73</sup> For English clergy in the eleventh century much information can be gleaned from Domesday Book,<sup>74</sup> which allows us to observe a network of clergy at

a variety of social levels, and in particular at the higher levels gives us some information about their income and patronage networks.<sup>75</sup>

## Reasons for writing this book

There are no book-length overviews of the social history of the medieval clergy, save for the clergy of Merovingian Francia, the subject of Robert Godding's *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*,<sup>76</sup> though there have been some outlines of the topic for other areas and periods.<sup>77</sup> For the first six or so centuries of the Church's history work on clergy has been intensive, with ecclesiologists tracing the process by which the various grades of ordination emerged and were defined in relation to each other, and prosopographers building up collections of biographical information about individual clerics, especially bishops.<sup>78</sup> Thereafter there is a noticeable falling off, though several specialised areas of study on the medieval clergy are long-established. Historians of canon law have traced the development of law on clerical marriage and concubinage,<sup>79</sup> the office of the archdeacon,<sup>80</sup> the legal status of benefices and prebends,<sup>81</sup> the operation of patronage or advowson,<sup>82</sup> and the takeover of churches by monastic houses (known as appropriation in England or incorporation on the Continent).<sup>83</sup> These studies have tended to concentrate on the evolution of legal thinking and usually say little about individual clergy, or even about the definition of clergy as a group. Quite recently there have been attempts to consider clergy as a group, but only for specific aspects of their activities and behaviour: the sexuality of the medieval clergy, the question whether they can be viewed as a 'third gender' and their role as court intellectuals.<sup>84</sup>

Studies of medieval education, which are numerous, tend to concentrate on the subjects of study, the books copied or collected and the intellectual interests or achievements of authors, rather than on the practicalities of how medieval schools operated.<sup>85</sup> However, students of the medieval clergy owe a great debt to Emile Lesne, whose *Les écoles*, the fifth volume of his great work *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, surveys the history of each cathedral, collegiate and monastic school in France, Flanders and the Rhineland, in other words the entire area that had formed Roman Gaul, from the earliest origins of the Church down to the early thirteenth century, in the process listing as many masters and pupils as he could find references to.<sup>86</sup>

Much more has been done on the study of individual clerics, notably bishops and those clerics who made a name for themselves as scholars or administrators: for these, numerous biographies, often book-length, exist.<sup>87</sup> Such works do not usually devote much attention to the clerical status of their subjects, however.<sup>88</sup> But prosopography can be used to shed light on the clergy as a group. Since Aloys Schulte published his groundbreaking work *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche* in 1910 it has been used to investigate the social status of clergy, allowing scholars to ascertain whether, for example, noble birth was necessary for entry into particular cathedrals or for promotion to the episcopate. Studies of the social status of the clergy have been most extensive in Germany, Austria and eastern areas of France, probably as a result of the fact that social hierarchies were clearer cut in these regions than in areas further west.<sup>89</sup> Dictionaries or registers of university graduates allow comparison of the careers of clerics with a higher education from the twelfth century



onwards.<sup>90</sup> For cathedral canons, the new edition of *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, now nearly complete, provides details on the careers of English and Welsh canons from 1066 to 1300;<sup>91</sup> *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae* is beginning to do the same for French cathedral canons from 1200 to 1500.<sup>92</sup> Equivalent information on German and on Swiss cathedral clergy can be drawn from, respectively, *Germania Sacra* and *Helvetia Sacra*, both of which are much wider-ranging projects, covering monasteries and collegiate churches as well as cathedrals:<sup>93</sup> *Germania Sacra*, however, though it has been in progress since the 1920s, has covered hardly any cathedrals to date, though the number of collegiate churches dealt with is rapidly expanding.<sup>94</sup> The process of compiling information on the careers of parish clergy has barely begun.<sup>95</sup>

The institutional frameworks of cathedrals have in two cases been the subject of national surveys: Kathleen Edwards's study, mostly based on later medieval cathedral statutes, of English secular cathedrals,<sup>96</sup> and Rudolf Schieffer's study of the spread of Carolingian clerical reforms in German cathedrals in the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>97</sup> Far more common are individual cathedral histories, sometimes commissioned by the cathedrals themselves,<sup>98</sup> or, more rarely, monographs on the development of individual cathedral chapters in the high Middle Ages.<sup>99</sup> Collegiate churches have begun to arouse interest among historians recently, leading to the publication of several volumes of collected essays on German *Stifte*,<sup>100</sup> the development of a research project in France<sup>101</sup> and some work on individual houses in England.<sup>102</sup>

A final branch of historical scholarship that has shed light on the circumstances in which clergy operated is the study of the development of parishes. While some of the work on this was done by historians of canon law,<sup>103</sup> much more has been done by scholars of topography and of social history, who have often approached parochial development as a branch of the development of lordship and manorialism (as it often was);<sup>104</sup> a large and increasing contribution has been made by archaeologists, who have often managed to narrow down the dating limits of local churches, and who have also revealed more details about the topographical contexts of such churches (e.g. whether near manorial halls, whether in defended graveyards).<sup>105</sup> However, there has been little work on parish clergy in the period before the late Middle Ages.<sup>106</sup>

What has largely been lacking among studies of the clergy hitherto is an analysis of how the clerical office shaped their careers, and more widely their lives. Clerical lives often follow distinctive patterns, markedly different from those of the laity. Clerical training was usually fairly long (about fifteen to twenty years in normal circumstances) and was often accompanied by an elaborate academic education, itself lasting up to twenty years; both processes are worth studying in relation to clerical life cycles. Also relatively little studied to date is how clerical careers were shaped by the family networks in which they grew up, in particular the roles of uncles and brothers, which were of crucial importance. Clerical marriage has received more attention, but here too more can be said about dynastic succession patterns. Patronage, and the roles of royal, episcopal and seigneurial households in shaping clerical careers, have often been studied in detail but less so in the round. The aim of this book is to explore these areas and to provide an overview of the forces that shaped the lives of clerics.

[1](#) For some idea of the range of literature on monks and nuns, see *NCMH*, II, 995–1002; III, 759–62; IV (2), 817–22; Thomas F.X. Noble and Julia M.H. Smith, eds., *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, III: *Early Medieval Christianities, c.600–c.1100* (Cambridge, 2008), 704–12.

[2](#) Pierre Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac: Le pape de l'an mil* (Paris, 1987); Michael Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford, 1997); F.M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928); Christopher Holdsworth, 'Stephen Langton', in *ODNB*, XXXII, 516–21; R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986).

[3](#) Among a large literature see e.g. Timothy Reuter, 'Episcopi cum sua militia: the prelate as warrior in the early Staufer era', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1992), 79–94; Timothy Reuter, 'Filii matris nostrae pugnant adversum nos: bonds and tensions between prelates and their milites in the German high Middle Ages', in *Chiesa e mondo feudale nei secoli X–XII*, Atti della dodicesima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 24–28 agosto 1992 (Milan, 1995), 247–76; Reinhold Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstenmacht: Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, Pariser historische Studien, 17 (Bonn, 1981); Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes: Affirmation et déclin de la seigneurie épiscopale au nord du royaume de France (Beauvais-Noyon, Xe–début XIIIe siècle)* (Geneva and Paris, 1987); Olivier Guyotjeannin, 'La seigneurie épiscopale dans le royaume de France (Xe–XIIIe siècles)', in *Chiesa e mondo feudale*, 151–88; J.-L. Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale XIe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1981), esp. 421–85; Steffen Patzold, 'L'épiscopat du haut Moyen Âge du point de vue de la médiévisque allemande', *CCM*, 48 (2005), 341–58; Steffen Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 2008).

[4](#) On royal household clergy, see [Chapter 8](#) below.

[5](#) See literature cited in [Chapter 6](#) below.

[6](#) For debate on lay literacy, see e.g. Rosamond McKitterick, ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990); Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), 211–70; Patrick Wormald and Janet Nelson, eds., *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2007).

[7](#) On tonsure and dress see [Chapter 2](#) below.

[8](#) The proportion of monks in the western church seeking ordination grew in this period; it was already high at Fulda in the ninth century: Karl Schmid, 'Mönchslisten und Klosterkonvent von Fulda zur Zeit der Karolinger', in *Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, II, *Untersuchungen*, ed. Karl Schmid, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften (Munich, 1978), Part 2, 571–639, 621–4. In general on this theme see C.N.L. Brooke, 'Priest, deacon and layman, from St Peter Damian to St Francis', in *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, ed. W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History*, 26 (Oxford, 1989), 65–85. See also [Chapters 2–3](#) below.

[9](#) For some of the consequences of this see e.g. R.N. Swanson, 'Angels incarnate: clergy and masculinity from Gregorian reform to Reformation', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D.M. Hadley (London, 1999), 174–7; Gisela Muschiol, 'Men, women and

liturgical practice in the early medieval west', in *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and J.M.H. Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 198–216, on gender and liturgy.

[10](#) Deaconesses were rare in the western church and the office appears to have survived in the west only within female monastic communities, and without any sacramental role: see Gisela Muschiol, *Famula Dei: Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern* (Münster, 1994), 295–300; indeed, several church councils in fifth- and sixth-century Gaul forbade bishops to ordain deaconesses ([ibid.](#), 296–7); women were not supposed to place items on the altar or touch the altar cloth ([ibid.](#), 203–7). Deaconesses were more common in the eastern church, but there was ambivalence among eastern ecclesiastical authorities as to their precise status; see Valerie A. Karras, 'Female deacons in the Byzantine church', *Church History*, 73 (2004), 272–316; see also J.G. Davies, 'Deacons, deaconesses and the minor orders in the patristic period', *JEH*, 14 (1963), 1–15. The recent attempt by Gary Macy (*The Hidden History of Women's Ordination* (New York, 2008)) to prove that women were ordained as clergy in the western church down to the era of the Gregorian reform builds too ambitious a case on sparse and ambiguous evidence.

[11](#) François Mugnier, 'Cléricature', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, II, ed. Marcel Viller (Paris, 1953), part 1, 963–72; Jacques Dubois, 'Monachisme, IV: L'ordo monasticus chrétien', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, X, ed. Marcel Viller (Paris, 1980), 1557–71, esp. 1557–69.

[12](#) Alain Boureau, 'Hypothèses sur l'émergence lexicale et théorique de la catégorie de séculier au XIIe siècle', in *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Âge*, ed. Francis Rapp, Publications de la Sorbonne, Série histoire ancienne et médiévale, 27 (Paris, 1993), 35–43. Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Epistola cuiusdam presbyteri missa ad Innocentium papam quid distet inter clericos seculares et regulares*, ed. Ernst Sackur, in *Libelli de Lite*, III, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH (Hanover, 1897), 202–39, is a dialogue between a secular and a regular canon defending the latter's position. For an example of the continuing tradition of criticism of seculars, see *The Historia Occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition*, ed. John Frederick Hinnebusch, O.P. (Fribourg, 1972), 152: 'Sicut enim homo pictus non est homo, et denarius falsus denarius non est, ita qui huiusmodi sunt canonici seculares non sunt canonici'. The term 'secular cleric' does occur before the high Middle Ages, in a seventh-century exchange of poems between Bishop Frodebert of Tours and Bishop Importunus of Paris: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH Leges (Hanover, 1886), 220–6, 222, but here the distinction might be between a cleric brought up at court and a cleric brought up in an episcopal household: I am grateful to Danuta Shanzer for informing me about this passage and for discussing it with me.

[13](#) See discussion by Guy P. Marchal, 'Was war das weltliche Kanonikerinstitut im Mittelalter? Dom- und Kollegiatstifte: Eine Einführung und eine neue Perspektive', *RHE*, 94 (1999), 761–807, and 95 (2000), 7–53, 35–6. Godwin, precentor of Salisbury Cathedral in the early twelfth century, argued that clerics ought not to be called 'irregular' on the basis of property ownership: Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Manchester, 1967), 7; Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c.1075–c.1125* (Oxford, 1992), 128.

[14](#) For a few examples of monastic authors critical of clerks, cf Æthelwold (CS, I, i, 125–

6, 136, 150); Bernard of Clairvaux, Ep. 2, in *Opera di San Bernardo*, ed. Ferruccio Gastaldelli, 5 vols. in 7 parts to date (Rome, 1984–), VI, part 1, 26–45, addressed to Fulk, a regular canon who had been persuaded by his uncle, a dean, to become a (secular) canon at the Cathedral of Langres. On Fulk (of Aigremont, later archdeacon of Langres), see *Cartulaire de Langres*, nos 18–19, 38, 299; for an English translation of Bernard’s letter, see *The Letters of St Bernard of Clairvaux*, tr. Bruno Scott James (London, 1953), 10–18, no 2; Bernard, *De conversione ad clericos*, PL 182: 833–56; for a twelfth-century debate between Master Theobald of Étampes and an anonymous monk in which the monk is critical of clergy, see Raymonde Foreville and Dom Jean Leclercq, ‘Un débat sur le sacerdoce des moines au XIIe siècle’, in *Analecta Monastica*, 4 (= *Studia Anselmiana*, 41) (Rome, 1957), 8–118.

[15](#) On the genre of *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, see [Chapter 2 below, at nn. 58–64](#). By the twelfth century, much of this was being written by monks or by regular canons. Monastic writers had also made a contribution to commentary on the clerical life earlier on, notably Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856) with his *De Institutione Clericorum* (Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres*, ed. Detlev Zimpel (Frankfurt am Main, 1996)).

[16](#) *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia*, ed. and tr. Giles Constable and Bernard Smith (Oxford, 1972) is a work by a canon in the city of Liège (perhaps Raimbald of the collegiate church of St John the Evangelist), which divides up the orders and callings of religious and canons into hermits, monks living close to laymen, monks living far from laymen, ‘secular’ monks, canons living far from laymen, canons living close to laymen (this group subdivided into three) and ‘secular’ canons living among laymen, and works out the spiritual significance of each *ordo* (cf pp. xxiii–xxv). Foreville and Leclercq, ‘Un débat sur le sacerdoce des moines au XIIe siècle’, 8–118, edit (with commentary) a letter of the secular cleric Theobald of Étampes to Archbishop Thurstan of York claiming the superiority of clerics over monks (at 52–3), followed by a treatise written in reaction to this by an angry anonymous monk (at 54–118), which points out among other matters that monks can be clerks (at 55–6). See also Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Epistola cuiusdam presbyteri missa ad Innocentium*.

[17](#) Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers’ Trifles*, ed. and tr. M.R. James, C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), 85–113 (Dist. i, c. 25), and see also 113–29 (Dist. i, cc. 26–31): these following chapters deal with Grandmontines, Gilbertines and Carthusians, and then also with various forms of heresy, clearly placed next to the discussion of the monastic orders to put the latter in a bad light. Walter’s close contemporary Gerald of Wales was critical of the Cistercians: *Speculum Ecclesiae*, III, cc. 1–19 (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera Omnia*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock and G.F. Warner, 8 vols., RS, 21 (London, 1861–91), IV, 129–48.

[18](#) See examples in [Chapter 2 below](#).

[19](#) Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln in Deutschland*, Bonner historische Forschungen, 43 (Bonn, 1976), *passim*, but esp. 254–5, on how and when the Rule of Aachen came to be applied in East Frankish cathedral communities: in the ninth century in the valleys of the Rhine, Meuse and Moselle but not until the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries further east.



[20](#) MGH *Capit. ep.*; Alain Dierkens, ‘La christianisation des campagnes de l’Empire de Louis le Pieux: L’exemple du diocèse de Liège sous l’épiscopat de Walcaud (c.809–c.831)’, in *Charlemagne’s Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1990), 309–29; Wilfried Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900*, Schrifttender MGH, 58 (Hanover, 2008), 78–83; for application of Carolingian episcopal statutes as a group to the study of the clergy see Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 6 (Turnhout, 2007).

[21](#) On the rise in charter output see e.g. M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1993), 44–80.

[22](#) I.S. Robinson, ‘Reform and the Church, 1073–1122’, in *NCMH*, IV, part 1, 268–334; Kathleen G. Cushing, *Reform and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century: Spirituality and Social Change* (Manchester, 2005); on debate over whether ‘reform’ is a suitable term, see Julia Barrow, ‘The ideas and application of reform’, in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, III, 345–62.

[23](#) Paul Fournier, ‘Un tournant de l’histoire du droit: 1060–1140’, in Paul Fournier, *Mélanges de droit canonique*, ed. Theo Kölzer, 2 vols. (Aalen, 1983), II, 373–424; Stephan Kuttner, ‘The revival of jurisprudence’, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R.L. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 299–323; Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington, *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX* (Washington, DC, 2008); Charles Duggan, *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections and Their Importance in English History* (London, 1963).

[24](#) See [Chapter 4](#) below.

[25](#) Helene Tillmann, *Pope Innocent III*, tr. Walter Sax (Amsterdam, 1980), 189–201, 237–40; C.R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976), 43–9; Raymonde Foreville, *Le pape Innocent III et la France* (Stuttgart, 1992), 313–40.

[26](#) C.R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1941); *Les statuts synodaux français du XIIIe siècle*, ed. Odette Pontal and Joseph Avril, 6 vols. to date (Paris, 1971–2011); Raymonde Foreville, *Gouvernement et vie de l’Église au Moyen Âge* (London, 1979).

[27](#) But cf Emanuele Curzel, ‘Le quinte e il palcoscenico. Appunti storiografici sui capitoli delle cattedrali italiani’, in *Canonici delle cattedrali nel medioevo*, Quaderni di storia religiosa (Verona, 2003), 39–67; Emanuele Curzel, *I canonici e il capitolo della cattedrale di Trento dal XII al XV secolo* (Bologna, 2001). Southern Tirol, unsurprisingly, had many similarities with cathedrals in Austria and in southern Germany; see also Leo Santifaller, *Das Brixner Domkapitel in seiner persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter*, Schlern-Schriften, 7 (Innsbruck, 1924).

[28](#) For the few northern European exceptions (the Augustinian Salzburg, Gurk, Sées, Carlisle, St Andrews and Christ Church Dublin, and the Premonstratensian Ratzeburg, Havelberg, Brandenburg and Whithorn, see [Chapter 3 at nn. 196–7, 228, 230–1, 234](#)). In general on Augustinian cathedral chapters, see Dereine, ‘Chanoines’, *DHGE*, XII, 353–

405; on southern France see Jean Becquet, 'L'évolution des chapitres cathédraux: Régularisations et sécularisations', in *Le monde des chanoines (XIe–XIVe siècles)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 24 (Toulouse, 1989), 19–39; and Hélène Millet, 'Les chanoines des cathédrales du Midi', in *La cathédrale (XIIe–XIVe siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 30 (Toulouse, 1995), 121–44.

[29](#) On Stephen of Novara see Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Die ältere Burchardvita, die jüngere Kilianspassio und Stephan von Novara', *Deutsches Archiv*, 62 (2006), 485–503. Lanfranc taught at Avranches before entering Bec; Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), 15, 20; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 10; on Vacarius see R.W. Southern, 'Master Vacarius and the beginning of an English academic tradition', in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 257–86; also R.M. Thomson, 'Serlo of Wilton and the schools of Oxford', *Medium Aevum*, 68 (1999), 1–12; and Michael Jones, 'Master Vacarius, civil lawyer, canon of Southwell and parson of Norwell, Nottinghamshire', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 53 (2009), 1–20; on York see *Fasti*, VI, 9, 24–7, 40, 50, 53, 66–7, 69, 72–4, 77, 83, 86, 88–91, 94–5, 109–10, 113–14, 116, 123–4, 127, 129–30, and cf 11 (mostly later thirteenth century).

[30](#) R.I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c.970–1215* (Oxford, 2000), 10–11, 15–16, 62, 88; Henrietta Leyser, 'Clerical purity and the re-ordered world', in *The Cambridge History of Christianity, IV: Christianity in Western Europe, c.1100–c.1500*, ed. Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (Cambridge, 2009), 11–21.

[31](#) The disproportion is noticeable if we consider the proportion of clergy among the population as a whole: for a brief overview of ecclesiastical statistics, see Bernard Guillemin, 'Chiffres et statistiques pour l'histoire ecclésiastique du Moyen Âge', *Le Moyen Âge*, 59 (1953), 341–65.

[32](#) Michel Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum*, Typologie des sources, 37 (Turnhout, 1981); Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart, 2000); C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994); Theo Riches, 'The changing political horizons of *Gesta Episcoporum* from the ninth to eleventh centuries', in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe. Strukturen bischöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 51–62.

[33](#) Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, 264–311, esp. 269–88. See also [Chapter 2](#) below.

[34](#) Of about 133 new bishops in the German kingdom between 983 and 1056, only eleven definitely had monastic backgrounds; the overwhelming majority were drawn from the secular clergy and had probably mostly had clerical educations: see Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, II: *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, Schriften der MGH, 16, 2 (Stuttgart, 1966), 114–15, 211–12, 225–6, 289–90. Calculating figures for Germany for 1002–25, Herbert Zielinski reckoned that out of 400 bishops, forty can be shown to have had monastic and 212 clerical

backgrounds; the training of the remainder is not known: Herbert Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002–1125)*, I. Teil (Stuttgart, 1984), 125. Monastic training and experience were frequent among English bishops in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, after which there was a revival in numbers of bishops with clerical backgrounds (who included several Lotharingians): Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd edn (London, 1979), 62–95; Catherine Cubitt, ‘Bishops and succession crises in tenth- and eleventh-century England’ in *Patterns of Episcopal Power*, ed. Körntgen and Waßenhoven, 111–26, 121–6.

[35](#) For examples of a clerk–monk–bishop sequence note the careers of Oswald of Worcester and York (Byrhtferth, *Vita Oswaldi*, in Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine*, ed. and tr. Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2009), 1–203, at 32–51, 59); Lanfranc (*Vita Lanfranci* ed. Margaret Gibson in *Lanfranco di Pavia*, ed. Giulio D’Onofrio (Rome, 1993), 661–715, at 668–70, 681–92); Otto of Freising (Otto and Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. Georg Waitz and B. de Simson, 3rd edn, MGH SRG, 46 (Hanover, 1912), 248–54 (IV, c. 14)); Baldwin of Ford (Christopher Holdsworth, ‘Baldwin [Baldwin of Forde] (c.1125–1190)’, in *ODNB*, iii, 442–5).

[36](#) *La vie de Jean, abbé de Gorze*, ed. and tr. Michel Parisse (Paris, 1999), 48–53; Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. and tr. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), 8–13; *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2012), 14–16. See also *The Book of St Gilbert*, ed. and tr. Raymonde Foreville and Gillian Keir (Oxford, 1987), 12–17, and [Chapters 2](#) and [6](#) below.

[37](#) C.S. Jaeger is keen to stress the differences: *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals* (Philadelphia, 1985), 25–6; *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), 36–75.

[38](#) Stephanie Coué, *Hagiographie im Kontext: Schreibanlass und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus den 11. und vom Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1997), 1–25.

[39](#) Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum*, and literature there cited; see also Riches, ‘The changing political horizons’.

[40](#) Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum*; Robert-Henri Bautier, ‘L’historiographie en France aux Xe et XIe siècles’, in *La storiografia altomedievale*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 17, in 2 parts (Spoleto, 1970), II, 793–850, at 809–16. William of Malmesbury’s *Gesta Pontificum* was written as an omnibus *Gesta Episcoporum* for the whole English church (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom, with commentary by R.M. Thomson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007)).

[41](#) Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (London, 1972), 79–86. Some monastic autobiography can contain useful information on clergy: for example, Guibert of Nogent’s *Monodiae* is informative about clerical education in the later eleventh century (Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and tr. Edmond-René Labande (Paris, 1981), 24–42 (I, cc. 4–6); John F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France* (New York, 1970), 44–50).

[42](#) Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, in *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise*, ed. and tr. David Luscombe (Oxford, 2013), 2–121; for older editions see J.T. Muckle, ‘Abelard’s letter of consolation to a friend’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 12 (1950), 175–211; and Jacques Monfrin, ed., *Abélard: Historia Calamitatum, texte critique avec une introduction* (Paris, 1959); note also *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, tr. Betty Radice, revised with new introduction by Michael Clanchy (Harmondsworth, 2004).

[43](#) Giraldus Cambrensis, *De invectionibus*, ed. W.S. Davies, *Y Cymmrodor*, 30 (1920); Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Duorum or a Mirror of Two Men*, ed. Yves Lefèvre and R.B.C. Huygens, tr. Brian Dawson (Cardiff, 1974), esp. discussion at xxi–lvii.

[44](#) Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and tr. Diana Greenway (Oxford, 1996), 588–92.

[45](#) *Herimanni liber de restauratione monasterii Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 14 (Hanover, 1883), 274–317; translated as Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of St Martin of Tournai*, tr. Lynn H. Nelson (Washington, DC, 1996); St Martin’s was Augustinian to start with, then quickly became Benedictine. For examples of Augustinian foundation narratives, note the foundation narrative for Holy Trinity Aldgate in the priory’s cartulary: *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, ed. Gerald Hodgett, London Record Society, 7 (London, 1971); Merton: London, College of Arms, Arundel MS 28, for a digest of which see A.C. Heales, *Records of Merton Priory in the County of Surrey* (London, 1898).

[46](#) *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. and tr. Leslie Watkiss and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1994).

[47](#) *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851); for an (unfortunately unsatisfactory) translation of this work, see Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, tr. H. von E. Scott and C.S. Bland, 2 vols. (London, 1929).

[48](#) Peter von Moos, *Hildebert von Lavardin, 1056–1133: Humanitas an der Schwelle des höfischen Zeitalter*, *Pariser historische Studien*, 3 (Stuttgart, 1965), esp. 147–78; Julian Haseldine, ‘Thomas Becket: martyr, saint – and friend?’, in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford, 2001), 305–17; John Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, DC, 2009), 49–95.

[49](#) E.g. Gerald of Wales’s letter to William de Vere (Bishop of Hereford 1186–98) on behalf of Robert Grosseteste: Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera Omnia*, i, 249, commented on by Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 65.

[50](#) E.g. *Lettres d’Étienne de Tournai*, ed. Jules Desilve (Valenciennes and Paris, 1893), nos 23, 25–6, 38, 93, 96, 122, 185, 187.

[51](#) R.W. Southern, ‘Peter of Blois: a twelfth-century humanist’, in R.W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), 105–32.

[52](#) Giles Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, *Typologie des sources*, 17 (Turnhout, 1976).



[53](#) *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. Frank Barlow, Camden Society, 3rd series, 61 (London, 1939); *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W.J. Millor, H.E. Butler and C.N.L. Brooke, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1979–86); *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, ed. Elizabeth Revell, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi*, 13 (Oxford, 1993); Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*; *Lettres d'Étienne de Tournai*.

[54](#) *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. Frederick Behrends (Oxford, 1976): see xxxviii–xxxix. Note also collections connected with cathedral schools: *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung*, ed. Walther Bulst, MGH, *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 3 (Weimar, 1949), 4; *Die jüngere Hildesheimer Briefsammlung*, ed. Rolf de Kegel, MGH, *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 7 (Munich, 1995), 21.

[55](#) *Urbare und Wirtschaftsordnungen des Domstifts zu Bamberg*, ed. E. von Guttenberg and A. Wendehorst, *Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte*, 10.7 (Würzburg, 1969), 112–14; see also *MUB*, I, no 492 (Archbishop Adalbert I of Mainz, 25 September 1121), for a similar arrangement for the canons of St Severus in Erfurt.

[56](#) *Urbare und Wirtschaftsordnungen*, 107–12; Samuel Muller, 'Der Haushalt des Utrechter Domkapitels um das Jahr 1200', *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, 22 (1903), 286–320, at 313–16.

[57](#) See discussion by Jan Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen: Mit einem Katalog der libri vitae und Necrologien* (Berlin, 1988), 87–106.

[58](#) E.g., for Chartres: *Obituaires de la province de Sens*, ed. A. Molinier and A. Longnon, 4 vols. (Paris, 1902–23), II, *Diocèse de Chartres*, ed. A. Molinier (1906); for Exeter: *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter*, ed. David Levine and Nicholas Orme, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series, 46 (Exeter, 2003) tr. of Exeter obit book; for Hereford: *Fasti*, VIII, 99–158; for Liège: *L'obituaire de Saint-Lambert Liège (XIe–XVe siècles)*, ed. Alain Marchandise (Brussels, 1991); for Minden: *Necrologien, Anniversarien- und Obödienzverzeichnisse des Mindener Domkapitels aus dem 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ulrich Rasche, MGH *Libri Memoriales et necrologia*, nova series, 5 (Hanover, 1998). For an obit book from a collegiate church: *Die Stiftskirche des hl. Viktor zu Xanten: Das älteste Totenbuch des Stiftes Xanten*, ed. F.W. Oediger (Kevelaer, 1958).

[59](#) *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944*, ed. Simon Keynes (Copenhagen, 1996); and see below [Chapter 6 n. 129](#).

[60](#) For examples of canons setting up anniversary services see *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London*, ed. M. Gibbs, Camden Society, 3rd series, 58 (London, 1939), nos 103, 119, 126, 169, 206, 277; and *Antiquus cartularius ecclesiae Baiocensis (Livre Noir)*, ed. Valentin Bourrienne, 2 vols. (Rouen and Paris, 1902–3), II, nos 343, 369–70, 376, 381–4, 387–8.

[61](#) See [Chapters 4](#) and [9](#) below; Michael Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England: from the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto, 1963).

[62](#) For discussion of parish churches in monastic hands, see Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964); B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic possession of parish churches in England in the twelfth century', *JEH*, 31 (1980), 133–60; C. Harper-Bill, 'The struggle for benefices in twelfth-century East

Anglia', *ANS*, 11 (1989), 113–32. For general context, see Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), esp. 851–82.

**63** On the reasons for the increase in numbers of episcopal *acta* in the twelfth century, see F.M. Stenton, 'Acta episcoporum', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 3 (1929), 1–14; C.R. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100–1250* (Manchester, 1950), 3; Martin Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), 144, 146, 184–5; C.N.L. Brooke, 'English episcopal acta of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies: In Honour of Dorothy M. Owen*, ed. M.J. Franklin and Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1995), 41–56, esp. 44–7; Julia Barrow, 'From the lease to the certificate: the evolution of episcopal acts in England and Wales (c.700–c.1250)', in *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250*, ed. Christoph Haidacher and Werner Köfler (Innsbruck 1995), 529–42, at 529, 535; see also Michel Parisse, ed., *A propos des actes d'évêques: Hommage à Lucie Fossier* (Nancy, 1991).

**64** Wolfgang Petke, 'Von der klösterlichen Eigenkirche zur Inkorporation in Lothringen und Nordfrankreich im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', *RHE*, 87 (1992), 34–72 and 375–404; Harper-Bill, 'The struggle for benefices'; Ulrich Rasche, 'The early phase of appropriation of parish churches in medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), 213–37; Peter McNeill and Hector MacQueen, eds., *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), 366–8.

**65** For one example among many: *EEA*, VII, no 313.

**66** Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle and Michel Parisse, eds., *Les cartulaires: Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École nationale des Chartes et le GDR 121 du CNRS* (Paris, 1993); David Walker, 'The organization of material in medieval cartularies', in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, ed. Donald Bullough and R. Storey (Oxford, 1971), 132–50; G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (London, 1958).

**67** Cf Walker, 'The organization', 134–5 on topographical arrangement of cartulary materials, 135–7 on arrangement by document type, 139–40 on arrangement by archival system.

**68** For example, in their edition of the main cartulary of Lincoln Cathedral, which contains 1,073 charters, C.W. Foster and Kathleen Major included nearly 2,000 further charters not copied into the cartulary: *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, ed. C.W. Foster and Kathleen Major, 10 vols., Lincoln Record Society, 27–9, 32, 34, 41, 46, 51, 62, 67 (Lincoln, 1931–73).

**69** For comment on a cartulary designed to record obit grants, see Robin Fleming, 'Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman cartulary', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. C. Warren Hollister (Woodbridge, 1997), 83–155.

**70** *Vocabulaire international de la diplomatie*, ed. Maria Milagros Cárcel Ortí, 2nd edn (Valencia, 1997), 24 (no 21), 36 (no 75). Note also comments on types of modern charter collections in Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke and Benoît-Michel Tock, *Diplomatique médiévale*, L'atelier du médiéviste, 2 (Turnhout, 1993), 414–17.

**71** e.g. *UBMRh*; *UB Hildesheim*; *UB Halberstadt*.

[72](#) EEA; *Llandaff Episcopal Acta, 1140–1287*, ed. David Crouch, South Wales Record Society, 5 (Cardiff, 1988); *St Davids Episcopal Acta, 1085–1280*, ed. Julia Barrow, South Wales Record Society, 13 (Cardiff, 1998); *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras*, ed. B.-M. Tock (Paris, 1991); *Actes des évêques de Limoges des origines à 1197*, ed. Jean Becquet (Paris, 1999); *Actes des évêques de Laon des origines à 1151*, ed. Annie Dufour-Malbezin (Paris, 2001); *Les chartes de Gérard Ier, Liébert et Gérard II, évêques de Cambrai et d'Arras, comtes du Cambrésis (1012–1092/3)*, ed. Erik Van Mingroot (Leuven, 2005).

[73](#) Andreas Hedwig, 'Die Eigenkirche in den urbarialen Quellen zur fränkischen Grundherrschaft zwischen Loire und Rhein', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 109 (1992), 1–64.

[74](#) Most easily consulted in *Domesday Book*, gen. ed. John Morris, 38 vols. (Chichester, 1975–92); for prosopographical analysis, see [www.pase.ac.uk](http://www.pase.ac.uk); for churches in Domesday, see John Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1985), 104–42; John Blair, 'Local churches in Domesday Book and before', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), 263–78; for named clergy in Domesday see Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100*, Brixworth Lecture no 28 (Leicester, 2013).

[75](#) Mary Frances Smith, 'The preferment of royal clerks in the reign of Edward the Confessor', *Haskins Society Journal*, 9 (1997), 159–73; Mary Frances Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand and the eye of the needle', *ANS*, 16 (1994), 199–219; Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS*, 10 (1988), 185–222; Julia Barrow, 'Bishops and clergy in English, Scottish and Welsh dioceses, 900–1215', in *La pastorale della Chiesa in occidente dall'età ottoniana al concilio lateranense IV*, ed. G. Andenna, Atti della quindicesima Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 27–31 agosto 2001 (Milan, 2004), 223–50; Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*.

[76](#) Robert Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, Subsidia hagiographica, 82 (Brussels, 2001).

[77](#) For Anglo-Saxon England, see Catherine Cubitt, 'The clergy in early Anglo-Saxon England', *Historical Research*, 78 (2005), 273–87, and Catherine Cubitt, 'Images of St Peter: the clergy and the religious life in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: Approaches to Current Scholarship and Teaching*, ed. Paul Cavill (Cambridge, 2004), 41–54; on various aspects of French clergy in the high Middle Ages, see *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Âge*; on clergy in late medieval England, see P.H. Cullum, 'Learning to be a man, learning to be a priest in late medieval England', in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees-Jones (Turnhout, 2003), 135–54, and P.H. Cullum, 'Boy/man into clerk/priest: the making of the late medieval clergy', in *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. N.F. McDonald and W.M. Ormrod (Cambridge, 2004), 51–66.

[78](#) On clerical grades, see [Chapter 2](#) below; for prosopography, see *Prosopographie chrétienne du bas empire*, I, *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303–533)*, ed. André Mandouze (Paris, Editions du CNRS, 1982); II (in 2 parts.), *Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne*, ed. Charles and Luce Piétri (Rome, 1999–2000).

[79](#) Bernd Schimmelpfennig, 'Zölibat und Lage der "Priestersöhne" vom 11.–14. Jahrhundert', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 227 (1978), 1–44.

[80](#) See [Chapter 9](#) below.

[81](#) Émile Lesne, 'Les origines de la prébende', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th series, 8 (1929), 242–90; and Émile Lesne, 'Praebenda: Le sens primitif du mot prébende', in *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (Paris, 1929), 443–53.

[82](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West*, 892–904.

[83](#) On appropriation or incorporation see literature cited in [Chapter 10 below](#), nn. 79, 88.

[84](#) On clerical sexuality and gender, see e.g. Martin Irvine, 'Abelard and (re)writing the male body: castration, identity and remasculinization', in *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler (New York, 1997), 87–106; and Bonnie Wheeler, 'Origenary fantasies: Abelard's castration and confession', in [ibid.](#), 107–28. Robert Swanson, 'Angels incarnate: clergy and masculinity from Gregorian reform to reformation', in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dawn Hadley (London, 1999), 160–77; and P.H. Cullum, 'Clergy, masculinity and transgression in late medieval England', in [ibid.](#), 178–96. Megan McLaughlin, 'Secular and spiritual fatherhood in the eleventh century', in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray (New York, 1999), 25–43; and Jacqueline Murray, 'Mystical castration: some reflections on Peter Abelard, Hugh of Lincoln and sexual control', in [ibid.](#), 73–91. Robert Mills, 'The signification of the tonsure', in *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Patricia H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis (Cardiff, 2004), 109–26; Kirsten A. Fenton, 'The question of masculinity in William of Malmesbury's presentation of Wulfstan of Worcester', *ANS*, 28 (Woodbridge, 2006), 124–37. On court clergy, cf Hugh M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066–1216* (Oxford, forthcoming 2014), and Egbert Türk, *Nugae Curialium: Le règne d'Henri II Plantagenêt (1145–1189) et l'éthique politique* (Geneva, 1977), esp. 8–29, 46–51, 55–112, 124–63.

[85](#) See [Chapters 6–7](#) below.

[86](#) Émile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, V: *Les écoles de la fin du VIIIe siècle à la fin du XIIe* (Lille, 1940).

[87](#) See [n. 1](#) above (on Gerbert, Langton and Grosseteste); see also e.g. Jean Devisse, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims, 845–62*, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1975–6); Wilfried Hartmann, ed., *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000–1025* (Mainz, 2000); Carolyn Poling Schriber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux: New Ideas versus Old Ideals* (Bloomington, IN, 1990).

[88](#) Clanchy, *Abelard*, 43, 48–50, is an exception.

[89](#) Aloys Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter* (originally publ. Stuttgart, 1910; 3rd edn, Darmstadt, 1958), and, for an overview of the historiography, see Patzold, 'L'épiscopat du haut Moyen Âge'; for some studies of the social origins of clergy of particular churches, see Georg Lamay, 'Das Ständeverhältnisse des Hildesheimer Domkapitels im Mittelalter', Diss. Phil. Bonn 1909; Leo Santifaller, *Das Brixner Domkapitel in seiner persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter*, Schlern-Schriften, 7 (Innsbruck, 1924); Rudolf Meier, *Die Domkapitel zu Goslar und Halberstadt in ihrer persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter, mit Beiträgen über die Ständeverhältnisse*



der bis zum 1200 nachweisbaren Hildesheimer Domherren, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 5, Studien zur Germania Sacra, 1 (Göttingen, 1967); Léopold Genicot, 'Haute clergé et noblesse dans le diocèse de Liège du XIe au XIVe siècle', in *Adel und Kirche*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Karl Schmid (Freiburg, 1968), 237–58; Michel Parisse, *La noblesse lorraine, XIe–XIIIe s.*, 2 vols. (Lille and Paris, 1976), I, 6–58, 402–41; Constance B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter and Cloister* (Ithaca, NY, 1987). On the social origins of bishops in western areas of France, and in France generally, see Jacques Boussard, 'Les évêques en Neustrie avant la réforme grégorienne (950–1050 environ)', *Journal des savants* (1970), 170–86; Guy Devailly, 'Les grandes familles et l'épiscopat dans l'ouest de la France et les pays de la Loire', *CCM*, 27 (1984), 49–55; Jean Gaudemet, 'Recherches sur l'épiscopat médiéval en France', in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Stephan Kuttner and J.J. Ryan (Vatican City, 1965), 139–54; Bernard Guillemain, 'Les origines des évêques en France aux XIe et XIIe siècles', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI–XII: Papato, cardinalato e episcopato*, Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali, 7 (Milan, 1974), 374–402. Study of the topic for twelfth-century England is complicated by the difficulty of defining social status below knightly level; many English clerics emerged from non-knightly families.

**90** A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957–9); A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963); D.E.R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish University Graduates to AD 1410* (Oxford, 1977) – most of these individuals are from the post-1215 period. For graduates in the medieval Empire post-1250, see *Repertorium Academicum Germanicum*, directed by Rainer Christoph Schwinges, online at [www.rag-online.org](http://www.rag-online.org).

**91** *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066–1300*, ed. D.E. Greenway with J.S. Barrow, C.N.L. Brooke, Jeffrey Denton and M. Pearson, 11 vols. (London, 1968–2012, hereafter *Fasti*).

**92** *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, gen. ed. Hélène Millet, 13 vols. to date (Turnhout, 1996–, hereafter FEG). For Norman cathedral canons in the ducal period (up to 1204), see David Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911–1204* (London, 2006).

**93** *Germania Sacra*, 63 vols. to date (Berlin, 1917–), with 33 vols. of studies to date (Göttingen and Berlin, 1967–): for more details see [www.germania-sacra.de](http://www.germania-sacra.de) (consulted 9 January 2013). *Helvetia Sacra*, 28 vols. in 10 sections (Bern, Basel and Frankfurt am Main, 1974–2007): for more details see [www.helvetiasacra.ch/index.html](http://www.helvetiasacra.ch/index.html) (consulted 9 January 2013).

**94** The only cathedral so far completed in detail is Münster: Wilhelm Kohl, *Das Bistum Münster*, IV, *Das Domstift St. Paulus zu Münster*, 4 vols., *Germania Sacra*, neue Folge, 17 (Berlin, 1982–9); for examples of collegiate churches, see Helmut Maurer, *Das Bistum Konstanz*, I: *Das Stift St. Stephan in Konstanz*, *Germania Sacra*, neue Folge, 15 (Berlin, 1981); Ferdinand Pauly, *Das Erzbistum Trier*, III, *Das Stift St. Kastor in Karden an der Mosel*, *Germania Sacra*, neue Folge, 19 (Berlin, 1986); Alfred Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, IV, *Das Stift Neumünster in Würzburg*, *Germania Sacra*, neue Folge, 26 (Berlin, 1989).

95 A set of *Fasti* was begun for Yorkshire parishes but is incomplete: A. Hamilton Thompson, C.T. Clay, Norah Gurney and N.A.H. Lawrance (eds.), *Fasti Parochiales*, 5 vols., Yorkshire Archaeological Society Records Series, 85, 107, 129, 133, 143 (Leeds and Wakefield, 1933–85).

96 Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*.

97 Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln*.

98 E.g. Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint, eds., *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604–2004* (New Haven and London, 2004); Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller, eds., *Hereford Cathedral: A History* (London, 2000); Dorothy Owen, ed., *A History of Lincoln Minster* (Cambridge, 1994).

99 E.g. Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle: Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres* (Louvain-la-Neuve and Brussels, 1986); Patrick Demouy, *Reims: La cathédrale* (Paris, 2000). Note also, though on a narrower theme, Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral*.

100 Peter Moraw, 'Über Typologie, Chronologie und Geographie der Stiftskirche im deutschen Mittelalter', in *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 68, Studien zur Germania Sacra, 14 (Göttingen, 1980), 9–37; Irene Crusius, ed., *Studien zum Weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1995); Sönke Lorenz and Oliver Auge, eds., *Die Stiftskirche in Südwestdeutschland: Aufgaben und Perspektiven der Forschung: Erste wissenschaftliche Fachtagung zum Stiftskirchenprojekt des Instituts für geschichtliche Landeskunde und historische Hilfswissenschaften der Universität Tübingen (17.–19. März, Weingarten)*, Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, 35 (Leinfelden-Echterdingen, 2003); Sönke Lorenz, Martin Kintzinger and Oliver Auge, eds., *Stiftsschulen in der Region: Wissenstransfer zwischen Kirche und Territorium*, Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, 50 (Stuttgart, 2005); Sönke Lorenz and Thomas Zotz, eds., *Frühformen von Stiftskirchen in Europa: Funktion und Wandel religiöser Gemeinschaften vom 6. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts: Festgabe für Dieter Mertens zum 65. Geburtstag*, Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, 54 (Leinfelden-Echterdingen, 2005); Sönke Lorenz and Andreas Meyer, eds., *Stift und Wirtschaft: Die Finanzierung geistlichen Lebens im Mittelalter* (Ostfildern, 2007).

101 Groupe 'Collégiales' at <http://lamop-appli.univ-paris1.fr/collégiales> (consulted 31 March 2014).

102 *The Cartulary of St Mary's Collegiate Church, Warwick*, ed. Charles Fonge (Woodbridge, 2004); Charles Fonge, 'Patriarchy and patrimony: investing in the medieval college', in *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith*, ed. Philippa Hoskin, Christopher Brooke and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge, 2005), 77–93.

103 Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses rurales du 4e au 11e siècle* (Paris, 1900); Olga Dobiache-Rozhdestvenskaia, *La vie paroissiale en France au XIIIe siècle d'après les actes épiscopaux* (Paris, 1911); Michel Aubrun, *La paroisse en France des origines au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1986).

[104](#) E.g. John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), esp. 368–505; Steven Bassett, ‘Church and diocese in the West Midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control’, in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), 13–40; Dawn Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c.800–1100* (London, 2000), 216–97. See also [Chapter 10](#) below.

[105](#) Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, 216–97; Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*; Élisabeth Zadora-Rio, *Aux origines de la paroisse rurale en Gaule méridionale (IVe–IXe siècles)*, ed. Christine Delaplace (Paris, 2005); Michel Lauwers, *Naissance du cimetière: Lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l’Occident médiéval* (Paris, 2005). See also [Chapter 10](#) below.

[106](#) Henry Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1066–1272* (Harlow, 2011), 95–129; Andrew Brown, *Church and Society in England 1000–1500* (Basingstoke, 2003), 95–8.

## 2 The clerical office, grades of ordination and clerical careers

In a passage at the end of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* Bede sums up his life thus:

I was born in the territory of this monastery. When I was seven years of age I was, by the care of my kinsmen, put into the charge [*datus sum*] of the reverend Abbot Benedict and then of Ceolfrith, to be educated. From then on I have spent all my life in this monastery, applying myself entirely to the study of the Scriptures; and, amid the observance of the discipline of the Rule and the daily task of singing in the church, it has always been my delight to learn or to teach or to write. At the age of nineteen I was ordained deacon and at the age of thirty, priest, both times through the ministration of the reverend Bishop John on the direction of Abbot Ceolfrith. From the time I became a priest until the fifty-ninth year of my life I have made it my business, for my own benefit and that of my brothers, to make brief extracts from the works of the venerable fathers on the holy Scriptures, or to add notes of my own to clarify their sense and interpretation.

(*HE*, v. 24)<sup>1</sup>

For Bede, the defining dates in his life were his entry into the monastery at Wearmouth and his ordination as deacon and priest, and the rest of his life was divided up into study, teaching, writing and divine service, activities as suitable for a cleric as for a monk. Grades of clerical ordination provided the framework for male ecclesiastical careers in the Middle Ages and beyond. However, from about the last quarter of the eleventh century onwards education began to acquire greater importance than ordination in forming the framework for the careers of the most ambitious among the clergy. It is not clear what drove this process, but it was connected with a greater willingness on the part of major churches to accept recruits in early adulthood rather than in boyhood, and these features are first visible in France, then England, and only much later in the empire. In addition to ordination we must also consider tonsure, the starting point of the process. Bede did not mention it in his case, but we may perhaps assume that it occurred at the time of his handover to Benedict Biscop. Tonsure and ordination gave clerics their identity; in the western church, monks – including Bede, of course – shared these identifiers with clerics (it is interesting that Bede in the passage above principally identifies himself in clerical terms), though their principal distinctive feature was the cowl. Usually, though not invariably, these events in the lives of clerics and monks were related to particular phases in the life cycle, in particular boyhood, adolescence and arrival at adulthood.<sup>2</sup> Entry into the clergy was marked by the ritual of tonsure, but could also be, for clergy of high birth during much of the earlier Middle Ages, connected with a form of fostering called *nutritio* (literally ‘nourishing’), which followed a ceremony called commendation.<sup>3</sup> At various stages throughout boyhood, adolescence and early adulthood the young cleric would be ordained in the various clerical grades; ordination marked out the steps of advancement through the system. This chapter will therefore look at, in turn, tonsure and ordination; in dealing with the latter, it will investigate changes over time in the use by clerics of their grades to define their status, and also in the proportions of clerics in each grade.



To examine the topic of the clerical office and its associated rituals of entry and advancement it is necessary to go beyond the chronological bounds fixed for the book.<sup>4</sup> The formative period for grades of ordination was the first six or so centuries of the Christian era, and the process of sorting out which offices were grades of ordination was complex and prolonged,<sup>5</sup> reaching a final resolution only in the earlier ninth century, under Hrabanus Maurus and Amalarius.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, modern literature on the subject has concentrated more on the earlier Middle Ages than on the high Middle Ages. Thus Roger Reynolds, among others, has shed light on the development of the clerical grades in the early Middle Ages through discussion of *ordines* and of treatises on ecclesiastical offices, particularly the works of Isidore,<sup>7</sup> while Robert Godding's work on the priest in Merovingian Gaul provides a prosopographical survey of Merovingian priests – mostly ones occurring in saints' lives – and analyses the events in these to show the normal career patterns for clergy in the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>8</sup>

## Tonsure

Entry into the clergy in the Middle Ages was effected by tonsure, the shaving of the crown of the head, leaving a fringe of hair round the edge. This rite was – in terms of the history of Christianity – a relatively late arrival on the scene. Shaved heads had been associated with slavery in the ancient world.<sup>9</sup> Late antique clergy were not expected to look like slaves. Instead, they had to look respectable, and thus had to look like laymen of good standing: shortish hair and long garments were preferred.<sup>10</sup> In the fourth century, Donatists urged the shaving of heads,<sup>11</sup> and although Donatism and related heresies were combated by the authorities, they began to have an influence on some branches of mainstream Christianity. Ascetics like St Martin of Tours, a friend of the semi-heretical Priscillian, insisted on short hair, but not, as yet, tonsure.<sup>12</sup> The demand for very short hair was almost certainly linked with stress on sexual abstinence, which, in the form of abstinence within marriage, was another characteristic of Priscillianism (and of Gnosticism).<sup>13</sup> The authorities began by attacking short hair and sexual abstinence within marriage, but, later, accepted them and then imposed them on those clergy who were married:<sup>14</sup> it is, however, worth noting that although tonsure was accepted by clergy in the eastern church, celibacy was not.<sup>15</sup> By about the time of Priscillian's execution in 383, opinion among the authorities in the western church was definitely in favour of continence; deacons, priests and bishops, if married, were to live chastely.<sup>16</sup> Subdeacons were added to this list in various decrees from the mid-fifth century onwards, though many authorities saw fit to exclude them from this group in the period before the eleventh century.<sup>17</sup> The Third Council of Orléans (538) forbade clerics ordained as deacon or priest who were already married from having intercourse with their wives. Heinrich Böhmer argued in 1916 that the reluctance of church authorities to prohibit married men from being ordained meant that clerical marriage remained firmly ensconced over a long period (canon law from the fourth century onwards stipulated that married clerks should practise continence within marriage, and that unmarried clerks should not marry after taking orders, rather than insisting on all clergy being celibate from the outset of their careers).<sup>18</sup>

Tonsure as such – that is, the shaving of the crown – appears to have become the accepted mark of clerics in Gaul not before the beginning of the sixth century, according

to Robert Godding.<sup>19</sup> In 506 the Council of Agde (c. 20), following the late fifth-century *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* (c. 25), said that a clerk should not ‘nourish’ (*nec ... nutriat*) his hair; if he did so, the archdeacon was to cut it;<sup>20</sup> Godding translates *nutrire* as *soigner*, ‘to care for’, but the meaning here may be ‘to grow’. The Second Council of Toledo in 527 decreed that children given by their parents to the clerical office must be tonsured immediately.<sup>21</sup> Tonsure as a mark of entry into the clergy must have won rapid acceptance in Gaul in the sixth century, because Gregory of Tours makes frequent reference to it.<sup>22</sup> The Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 even sneered at Gallic tonsure, saying the area shaved by Gallic lectors was too small.<sup>23</sup> As Godding argues, the political significance of long hair in Merovingian Gaul – a sign of freedom and especially of kingly status – would have given added emphasis to the choice of would-be clerics to adopt the tonsure; entry into the clergy in any case required political permission (as laid down by the Council of Orléans, 511, c. 4).<sup>24</sup> Godding also points out that it was in the sixth century that lay and clerical clothing began to diverge: clergy retained the respectable long garments of the upper-class Roman male, while Gallo-Roman laymen of the sixth century adopted knee-length tunics, breeches and short cloaks, not unlike the garb of the upper-class Franks.<sup>25</sup> Ankle-length clothing remained the norm for clerics throughout the Middle Ages; clergy wearing knee-length tunics were regarded as disreputable, and the designer of the Bayeux Tapestry was making a point about the sexual *mores* of Anglo-Saxon clergy in depicting all of them thus, apart from Ealdred and Stigand.<sup>26</sup>

From the sixth century on, tonsure acted as a marker of clerical status, and was applied to aspirant clerks of all ages, including children. It was carried out ahead of, and usually quite separately from, ordination to any of the clerical grades. The first tonsure was supposed to be carried out by the bishop of the diocese;<sup>27</sup> subsequent reshaving could be done by other clergy. For example, a cleric called Beccel visited the seventh-century hermit Guthlac every twenty days or so to keep his tonsure trim.<sup>28</sup> It was normally accepted that a cleric should be tonsured and ordained by the bishop of his diocese; that is, the one in which he had been born and baptised.<sup>29</sup> Councils agreed that tonsure could not be renounced, even if the person tonsured had been a child at the time, or had adopted tonsure for penitential reasons.<sup>30</sup> Norman church councils of the later eleventh century ordered measures to be taken against clerics who failed to maintain their tonsures.<sup>31</sup> In the thirteenth century we find Archbishop Gautier Cornut of Sens (1221–41)<sup>32</sup> ordering bishops, archdeacons and rural deans to shave completely the heads of ‘ribald clerks, especially those who are vulgarly said to be of the family of Goliath’, leaving no clerical fringe.<sup>33</sup> Undisciplined clerics, in other words, must be shamed by being made entirely bald.

In literary and historical accounts, references to the actual act of tonsure occur relatively infrequently; when tonsure is mentioned it is clearly accepted as a matter of course in the lives of clerics and monks (the latter received tonsure because they were to be ordained as clergy, not because of their monastic status).<sup>34</sup> In 879, according to Flodoard, Hincmar reminded Gozlin, abbot of Saint-Germain, of his debt to the church of Rheims: in that church Gozlin had been baptised and tonsured as a clerk, and had progressed through all the grades of clerical ordination to deacon.<sup>35</sup> More often, we have to take tonsure as read,

since it is not mentioned frequently by biographers of clerics – at least, not often after the eighth century.<sup>36</sup> Orderic Vitalis devotes some space in his *Ecclesiastical History* to Ralph Malacorona ('the ill-tonsure'), a member of the Giroie family who, in spite of attending the schools, was interested in martial pursuits and whose clerical vocation was thus regarded as suspect, but he does not say where or by whom Ralph was tonsured.<sup>37</sup> A tonsure plate engraved with a lion rampant survives from St Paul's cathedral in the thirteenth century: it was placed on the head to mark out the area that had to be shaved.<sup>38</sup> The relative shortage of high medieval references to tonsure is a pity, as it would be interesting to look at when and how and by whom tonsure was carried out in the twelfth century, by which time the early education of young clerics had begun to get separated from their clerical *cursus honorum*.

## Ordination

Tonsure was only a small part of inception as a cleric. The principal factor was ordination. This part of the chapter will start with an overview of how the number of clerical orders was fixed at seven; it will proceed to discuss the ages of clergy at ordination to the various grades, and will then look generally at the ways in which individual grades might influence particular phases of clerical careers; then some individual clerical careers will be examined for information about how the system worked in practice. Finally it will survey the information on clerical career patterns that can be supplied by charters.

There were several distinct grades of ordination, and these had to be gone through in due order, with some time spent in each grade. It was perfectly acceptable for clerics to stop in any of the lower grades and not progress to the top (the priesthood), but those who wanted to become priest could not miss out any of the grades lower down.<sup>39</sup> Before each ordination ceremony, bishops were supposed to test candidates on their knowledge.<sup>40</sup> Sometimes bishops might demand oaths of loyalty also.<sup>41</sup> As in the case of tonsure, clerics were expected to obtain ordination from the bishop of the diocese into which they had been born and in which they had been baptised, though it was possible to be ordained by another bishop if permission from one's own had been given. This seems to have been adhered to fairly carefully in the Carolingian empire and its successor states, as we can see from a number of *epistolae formatae* surviving from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. *Epistolae formatae* were letters written by a bishop to a fellow bishop requesting permission for one of the clergy of his diocese to move to the latter's diocese for education or to hold a benefice; letters of this sort survive from an unnamed bishop of Langres to Frothar, bishop of Toul (c.813–47);<sup>42</sup> from Salomo II, bishop of Constance, to Witgar, bishop of Augsburg (datable 878/9); and from Salomo to Andrew, perhaps bishop of Florence;<sup>43</sup> and also from Dado, bishop of Verdun, to Ratbold, archbishop of Trier, in 906; and from Durand, bishop of Clermont to Ralph, archbishop of Tours, in the late eleventh century. Bishops continued to claim the right to ordain clerics born in their dioceses later also.<sup>44</sup> The position of clerics holding posts or seeking preferment in a diocese other than the one in which they had been born could be a weak one: note, for example, the treatment of Bruno, founder of the Carthusians, by Archbishop Manasses of Rheims: 'he is not our clerk, he is not ours by birth nor by rebirth' (by which Manasses meant that Bruno had not been ordained or born or baptised in the diocese of Rheims).<sup>45</sup>

By about the end of the eighth century the clerical grades had been fixed as the following: doorkeeper (*ostiarius*), exorcist, reader (*lector*), acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and priest.<sup>46</sup> These were already the grades fixed in the Roman church in the middle of the third century,<sup>47</sup> but outside Rome the process of sorting out clerical grades had lasted seven or eight centuries: during this time, several of the original grades, the grave-digger, the psalmist and the cantor, had been edged out or merged with other grades (psalmists and cantors were assimilated to readers, for example) in order to attain a desirable septiformity for the whole framework.<sup>48</sup> Likewise, bishops, though they had originally been included in lists of the clerical grades, had ended up outside and above the list in order to allow a total of seven.<sup>49</sup> The idea that there should be seven orders began with *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*, attributed to Jerome but in fact written in north-eastern Iberia or the Roussillon in the fifth or sixth century; the desirability of having seven orders was subsequently stressed in Irish and British texts,<sup>50</sup> which also tried to prove a link between each of the orders and some aspect of the career of Christ: this helps to explain the disappearance of the cantor from the seven.<sup>51</sup> Finally, the subdeacon and the acolyte had to be fitted in. These two grades, which differed from the rest in having no biblical precedent, evolved through the necessity of creating assistants to the deacons in the city of Rome. Here, thanks to the stipulation in Acts 6:3 that there should be seven deacons in the church at Jerusalem, there was a serious bottleneck in the system by as early as the third century; at this time, according to a letter of Bishop Cornelius of Rome to Bishop Fabius of Antioch cited in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, each deacon had a subdeacon and six acolytes.<sup>52</sup> By the time the number of deacons in Rome was finally allowed to expand beyond seven the junior positions had become firmly entrenched, and slowly penetrated into other areas of western Christendom, though acolytes only begin to be found in Gaul as late as the sixth century<sup>53</sup> and Isidore, who provided a definition for them in his *Etymologies*, omitted them from his *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.<sup>54</sup>

The texts establishing these positions were a mixture of the legal, the liturgical and the expository. Sometimes the approaches overlapped; thus the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* winds up with a set of instructions for ordination rites.<sup>55</sup> Among the liturgical texts, the late sixth-century Leonian Sacramentary gives ordination prayers for deacon, priest and bishop; the Gellone sacramentary, produced in the late eighth century, gives ordination prayers but not rites for all seven orders plus the bishop; the mid-tenth-century Romano-German pontifical gives ordination prayers and rites for eight orders, beginning with the psalmist, whose order could be conferred by a priest in the bishop's absence, and also the consecration rite for the bishop.<sup>56</sup> The tenth-century Egbert Pontifical gives a prayer for the archdeacon to say over the cantor and then ordination prayers for the seven orders as they had become established (doorkeeper, reader, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and priest) but prefixes them with a text showing that Christ had performed the roles of each order in his ministry in a group of seven orders which omits the acolyte and includes the bishop.<sup>57</sup>

At first the expository texts were short, but in the early seventh century, Isidore, taking as his basis Ambrose's *De officiis*, a work spelling out the moral responsibilities of clergy,<sup>58</sup> wrote the *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, detailing the duties of the clergy in their

various grades.<sup>59</sup> Isidore's work created a new genre and was enduringly popular, but to some extent it was supplanted by the much fuller *Liber officialis* of Amalarius, written in 823, which included an Isidorian account of the clerical grades in a much larger work that essentially explained the theological significance of the liturgy.<sup>60</sup> Within the eastern Frankish kingdom a more detailed work, the *De institutione clericorum* of Hrabanus Maurus, written in 819, became influential. Hrabanus was probably responding to the great body of legislation on clergy, monks and nuns produced by the Aachen councils of 816–19 summoned by Louis the Pious. His work concentrated on how clergy should be educated, unlike the *De officiis ecclesiasticis* genre.<sup>61</sup> In Anglo-Saxon England, Amalarius' work was influential from the later tenth century onwards, and was used extensively by Wulfstan the Homilist.<sup>62</sup> After the ninth century, the writing of commentaries on the liturgy slackened somewhat,<sup>63</sup> but revived under John of Avranches (d. 1079) and flowered in the twelfth century and beyond, following the Amalarian model.<sup>64</sup> The Carolingian period, especially the decades at the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries, was crucial in fixing the clerical grades for the rest of the Middle Ages, and this was achieved through the wide circulation of liturgical texts and Amalarius' *Liber officialis*. Also widely circulated was Pseudo-Isidore (written probably between 835 and 838), which mentioned the need for clergy to pass through the seven clerical grades before they would be eligible to be bishops. This was spelled out in a forged letter in the name of Pope Gaius, with this section of the letter being based on the biography of the pope in *Liber Pontificalis*.<sup>65</sup>

## **Appropriate ages for the various grades of ordination**

Canon law provided few guidelines about suitable ages for ordination, and what regulation it did provide was not internally consistent. In the late antique period there was a need to cope simultaneously with two very different types of entrant into the clergy. On the one hand were children and adolescents, who were expected to proceed slowly through all grades, and on the other hand were adults, to whom licence had to be given to move more quickly through the system. Pope Gelasius in 494 suggested a year and a half for adult laymen – six months for a liturgical crash course, followed by three months each as lector, acolyte, subdeacon and deacon and then ordination as priest.<sup>66</sup> The Fourth Council of Arles in 524 (c. 1) laid down minimum ages of twenty-five for deacons and thirty for priests, clearly with adult entrants in mind, though the regulations applied to all.<sup>67</sup> This council also proposed a year-long spell of *conversio* for married adult laymen (c. 2): they were required to prove their commitment by living apart from their wives for a year.<sup>68</sup> The Council of Toledo in 527 proposed twenty as the minimum age for ordination to the subdiaconate,<sup>69</sup> a requirement also featuring in the Quinisext Council in Trullo of 691 or 692.<sup>70</sup> Gregory I complained about laymen in late sixth-century Gaul seeking tonsure on the deaths of bishops in order to succeed them without going through the grades of ordination first.<sup>71</sup> In the seventh century, Saints Eligius (d. 660) and Audoenus (d. 684) were both still laymen when they were elected bishop and had to undergo a year's *conversio*. Audoenus' biographer says he went through the grades of clerical ordination during this time, while Eligius' biographer merely mentions the priesthood.<sup>72</sup> A little later, Guthlac, born in the territory of the Middle Angles, became a cleric in adulthood so that



he could live as a hermit, but he had to undergo a two-year educational crash course at Repton, probably in 698–9.<sup>73</sup> From the late seventh century onwards the supply of adult laymen trying to enter the higher ranks of the clergy began to dry up, almost certainly because secular education was on its last legs and ecclesiastical education, growing to fill the gap, was coming to be more and more closely linked to the clerical *cursus honorum*. It was possible to undergo education in adulthood, as Guthlac did, but difficult. Adult entry into the monastic life, however, remained a possibility.

On the basis of surviving evidence, which is, admittedly, very sparse, most entrants to the clergy in the Carolingian period and the following two or more centuries were children and teenagers. The Fourth Council of Arles guideline ages of twenty-five for deacons and thirty for priests remained in force. They were repeated frequently, for example in the Fourth Council of Toledo (633).<sup>74</sup> Various canon law collections contained these rulings, including, eventually, Gratian's *Decretum*, though Gratian, following proposals by some of the eleventh-century papal reformers, preferred a less severe arrangement and added his own comment, based on biblical examples, that ordination to the priesthood should be allowed *in adolescentia* (that is, under the age of twenty-eight).<sup>75</sup> Likewise, in the twelfth century, Ivo of Chartres and Hugh of St Victor both argued for twenty as a minimum age for deacons (though, in his *Decretum*, Ivo cited the canon law requirement for twenty-five).<sup>76</sup> In the eastern church, twenty was fixed as the appropriate age for ordination to the subdiaconate at the Council in Trullo (the Quinisext) of 691 or 692,<sup>77</sup> and although most of the canons of the council were rejected or ignored by the western church, nonetheless a full Latin translation seems to have been available in Rome from the eighth century, from which certain canons, including this one, were taken up by Ivo of Chartres in his *Tripartita*, and then by Gratian through Ivo's work.<sup>78</sup> Two much older pieces of legislation, also included by Gratian in his *Decretum*, provided helpful guidelines about appropriate lengths of time in each grade and thus by extension some help in working out suitable ages for ordination. One of these was a decree of Pope Zosimus of 21 February 418 laying down that those entering the clergy from infancy (*ab infantia*) should spend five years each as reader and exorcist and then four years each as acolyte and subdeacon, followed by five years as deacon, before ordination as priest.<sup>79</sup> This can be made to fit the Arles guidelines if ordination as reader occurred at seven. The second was a letter of Pope Siricius in 385 proposing that those devoting themselves to ecclesiastical service from infancy should become lectors before puberty and then proceed duly through the grades of acolyte, subdeacon, and deacon, spending five years as deacon, and then priest, with ten years as priest before becoming bishop.<sup>80</sup>

## **The characteristics of the different grades of ordination**

Grades of ordination determined what clergy did. We need to begin by noting two somewhat contradictory trends. The first of these was a steady increase in the frequency of the Eucharist, the sacrament which had most effect on determining the roles of the various orders, over the whole period from the start of the fourth century to the later Middle Ages. Masses became more frequent partly because more churches were established, and partly because the number of Masses said in each church rose, first in the fourth century and then in the ninth. The fourth century saw a rise in the establishment of lesser churches subordinate to the episcopal churches and an intensification in the frequency of Mass,

from Sundays only to daily Masses, in the episcopal churches; this marked a significant change, and was presumably responsible for hastening an already developing tendency for the 'elders', the *presbyteroi*, to be able to say Mass independently of bishops. A further significant shift began in the eighth century, though it was more noticeable from the ninth century onwards: this was the development of private Masses in major churches, which was to be one of the forces driving the Benedictine reform of the tenth century.<sup>81</sup> Benedictine monks, in particular, were encouraged by their superiors to seek ordination, at any rate as long as they had entered their communities as child oblates and had thus received a sufficient level of education.<sup>82</sup> Roughly parallel to this was a rise in the number of rural churches, leading to the establishment of the parish system. Rather later, beginning in the twelfth century, but more noticeably from the thirteenth century onwards, came the development of chantries. All these developments meant more frequent Masses, and thus a bigger demand for priests, who, alone among clergy, could celebrate Mass.

Somewhat at variance with this, however, we can sometimes see a lack of enthusiasm amongst non-monastic clergy for ordination to the priesthood. Traditionally in communities of clergy the priest or bishop celebrating Mass would be backed up by numerous assistants in grades lower than his own. Hence communities of clergy would have one bishop (if the church were a cathedral), a small number of presbyters and deacons, and a rather larger group of junior clerics, who would not only be assistants but also trainees with expectation of promotion. Communities of clergy might sometimes have a wide ratio between a tiny number of priests and deacons on the one hand and a very much larger number of clerics in junior grades on the other, and this pattern probably remained normal until a very late date in Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>83</sup> The *raison d'être* for junior clergy received a boost at the end of the fourth century as clerical communities began to adopt their own version of the monastic office, the daily sequence of services of prayers and psalms.<sup>84</sup> Clergy of all grades could participate equally in the office as long as they knew their Psalter and other prayers by heart; memorising the Psalter was almost the earliest stage in schooling, following learning how to read letters and syllables.<sup>85</sup> Clergy could also undertake to chant psalms for the laity.<sup>86</sup> However, from the tenth century onwards, the lay population, though continuing to appreciate having psalms chanted for them,<sup>87</sup> began to take an interest in private Masses; meanwhile the endowments for new parish churches could support only a priest and perhaps at most also a clerk. Within clerical communities, there was continuing demand for a spread of grades of ordination, but the proportion of churches staffed by secular clerical communities was in decline in proportion to the total; in France and England many were turned into Benedictine and, from the end of the eleventh century, Augustinian foundations.<sup>88</sup>

As we have seen, the orders known to and accepted by the Carolingian church were seven all told: (to recap) doorkeeper, reader, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and priest.<sup>89</sup> But already long before Amalarius' time two of the junior grades, the doorkeeper and the exorcist, had in most places become dead letters. In the early church, doorkeepers had had the role of excluding catechumens from the Mass after the readings and the sermon, but once child baptism had become normal their duties could be performed by lay servants. Exorcists can be found in episcopal entourages at the council of Arles, 314,<sup>90</sup> but not at later councils, and it is extremely rare to find clerics mentioned as belonging to this

grade in the high Middle Ages.<sup>91</sup> The grade of reader (*lector*) lost status because so many children or adolescents were ordained to it: readings of Scripture became the duty of deacons and subdeacons, leaving readers with nothing to do during the Mass.<sup>92</sup> In Merovingian Gaul the grade of reader occurs often<sup>93</sup> and tended to be held by boys or adolescents training for the higher grades, but at Rome references to *lectores* dry up in the sixth century, and Gregory I refers to them once only, when quoting Justinian.<sup>94</sup> Chrodegang in his mid-eighth-century Rule for his cathedral clergy at Metz laid down that there should be separate tables in the refectory for the bishop and his guests, for priests, for deacons and for subdeacons, and then a table for all the other clergy of the cathedral community, meaning that he was lumping together all the junior members of the community: it was unnecessary to differentiate between doorkeepers and exorcists, for example, at Metz in the 750s.<sup>95</sup> For rites of ordination and ceremonial purposes, however, doorkeepers, lectors and exorcists continue to be mentioned; for example, Angilbert of Saint-Riquier mentions seven clergy in each grade from deacon down to doorkeeper following three priests carrying reliquaries at his abbey during the solemn litanies on Easter Day and Christmas Day.<sup>96</sup> Clergy in the four higher grades – the acolytes, subdeacons, deacons and priests – all had fixed duties to perform during the Mass. The priest celebrated Mass, the deacon read the Gospel, the subdeacon read the Epistle and the acolyte carried a candle. Thus by the eleventh century the normal grade for a young, trainee cleric was that of acolyte, with references to *lectores* relatively unusual, and mention of the other two grades non-existent except in ordination liturgies.<sup>97</sup> At some point between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries there appears to have been a shift from bestowing the three most junior orders separately from each other to bestowing them in swift succession on the same day. In an ordination list of 1203 surviving from the diocese of Hildesheim,<sup>98</sup> the grade of acolyte is the lowest mentioned and this suggests that the most junior clergy had perhaps been put through the four most junior orders at once. Similarly, further into the thirteenth century, English episcopal registers, which can provide very full information about ordination, mention no grade lower than acolyte.<sup>99</sup> Near the end of the thirteenth century, the register of Bishop Richard Swinfield of Hereford specifically says two clerics were put through all four minor orders on the same day.<sup>100</sup> In the mid-1380s John de Burgh in his *Pupilla Oculi* remarked, ‘one may receive all minor orders on the same day unless custom prohibits, the contrary of which might lead to scandal. But in no way can one be promoted to any major and minor orders or to two major orders at all on the same day’.<sup>101</sup> Clergy in minor orders could marry, provided that they were not members of cathedral communities, and, from the twelfth century, many urban clerics took advantage of widening opportunities to make a living by writing charters, and did not seek ordination in the higher grades.<sup>102</sup> Otherwise, the minor orders were for schoolboys, who had often been handed over (the verb used is *tradere*) at a young age by their parents to become canons of cathedral or collegiate churches, in a parallel system to monastic oblation. Child entry into cathedrals died out in France and England from about the year 1100, but remained strong in the empire until considerably later.<sup>103</sup>

The subdiaconate occupied a pivotal position. Down to the earlier eleventh century it was often considered to be a minor order (and remains so in the eastern church), and, in



spite of some conciliar decrees prescribing chastity for subdeacons, on the whole there was little pressure on them to be celibate.<sup>104</sup> In the first half of the eleventh century, however, various church councils insisted on celibacy for the subdiaconate as for deacons and priests,<sup>105</sup> and the subdiaconate was generally accepted as being a major order.<sup>106</sup> It was pivotal in another sense too: since at least the early Middle Ages the bestowal of the subdiaconate normally marked the end of formal education (higher study not included).<sup>107</sup> Because ordination to the subdiaconate often took place at the age of twenty or twenty-one it formed a sort of coming-of-age ceremony, and several cathedrals insisted that a canon had to have attained the subdiaconate before he could have his own stall and a voice in chapter.<sup>108</sup> In the empire, where child entry into cathedral communities was normal, the shift from being a schoolboy canon under the control of the scholasticus (the dignitary in charge of the school) to being an 'emancipated' canon with a voice in chapter came, at least by the twelfth century, with ordination to the subdiaconate.<sup>109</sup> The very early twenties were the normal age for ordination to the subdiaconate in the period down to the eleventh century and beyond in northern Europe.<sup>110</sup>

The diaconate had traditionally been a grade to which a high degree of responsibility was attached.<sup>111</sup> In the period before the ninth century, the leading deacon, or 'archdeacon', in the community of clergy attached to the bishop had the duty of training junior clergy in their ecclesiastical duties; the archdeacon was one of the senior figures in the Rule of Chrodegang in the mid-eighth century.<sup>112</sup> Over the course of the ninth and tenth centuries in eastern France, Lotharingia and western Germany the title 'archdeacon' was taken over for the cleric who acted as the bishop's deputy in jurisdictional matters; there were usually several in each diocese. Bit by bit, the new system spread more widely. The office of archdeacon remained linked to the diaconate, certainly in theory, but very often, when it is possible to check this, in practice too.<sup>113</sup> Peter of Blois, an archdeacon in deacon's orders, informed his diocesan (Richard fitz Neal, bishop of London (1189–98)), who was urging him to be ordained priest, that for an archdeacon to be ordained priest was not to increase his honour but to diminish it.<sup>114</sup> In Germany it was normal for archdeaconries to be attached to the provostships of the cathedral and of collegiate churches, and provosts often occur as deacons.<sup>115</sup> In 1078 the Council of Poitiers, headed by Bishop Hugh of Die, insisted that all clerks holding archdeaconries should be deacons.<sup>116</sup> For high-flying clerics in the twelfth century, those whose birth or whose education put them in the running for the episcopate, the diaconate was the best place to be, provided that a suitable position could be found: this ideally was a prebend in a cathedral (and, even better, an archdeaconry), though being rector of a parish church was possible if a vicar could be employed to say services. Although there were many more archdeaconries (or, in Germany, provostships) than bishoprics, becoming an archdeacon or a provost did improve the chances of promotion to the episcopate in the twelfth century and later. Thus, thirteen or fourteen out of twenty bishops of Würzburg between the 1080s and the middle of the thirteenth century had been provosts; eight out of nineteen bishops of Liège in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had been provosts or archdeacons.<sup>117</sup> In Normandy between 911 and 1204 at least twenty out of ninety-one or ninety-two bishops had been archdeacons before their elevation; in England and Wales at least seventy-eight out of 321 bishops between 1066 and 1300 had been archdeacons.<sup>118</sup> Even if, for the

majority of archdeacons, further promotion was unlikely, at least the grade of deacon allowed freedom of movement for members of those cathedral communities that did not enforce residence strictly. Deacons and subdeacons in cathedral and collegiate churches were usually at liberty to appoint substitutes to stand in for them at Mass, as at Le Mans in the early thirteenth century;<sup>119</sup> they were not attached to the service of a particular altar in the way that a priest was. It is likely that there was usually no serious shortage of candidates for the diaconate in cathedral chapters, but at Liège in 1203 a visiting papal legate requested the dean to persuade reluctant canons to be ordained deacon.<sup>120</sup>

The priesthood was the top grade and only priests were able to celebrate Mass. However, this responsibility often worked to their disadvantage in terms of social status and political influence. They were supposed to celebrate Mass daily and were attached to particular altars to do so. In a cathedral, the normal practice was for the priest canons to take it in turns to serve the high altar for a week or weeks at a time, as hebdomadary ('weekly') canon.<sup>121</sup> It was possible for them to arrange substitutes but harder than for clergy in other grades, and some major churches prevented this altogether.<sup>122</sup> Admittedly, becoming dean, a dignity usually only granted to priests,<sup>123</sup> had become quite a good jumping-off point for becoming a bishop in France and England by the end of the twelfth century,<sup>124</sup> but markedly fewer deans than archdeacons became bishops.

There is an observable preoccupation with the number of priest canons in many eastern French and German cathedrals in the later twelfth century and the early thirteenth century; it is noticeable first in eastern France and in Lotharingia, then later on further east in Germany also.<sup>125</sup> This was the area where observance of the Rule of Aachen lasted longest in cathedrals. There are frequent complaints that too few canons were seeking ordination as priests, and to supply the lack several churches stipulated that a particular prebend should be held by a priest, sometimes dividing it in two to form two 'priest-prebends', to be held by permanently resident priests, who would be of lower social status than the canons.<sup>126</sup> The cathedrals of Osnabrück and Paderborn converted prebends previously reserved for schoolboy canons to the support of priests.<sup>127</sup> Where there is information on the grades of clergy at these churches it does not appear that the proportion of priests was noticeably lower in the later twelfth century than it had been; what probably caused the strain was an increasing demand for private Masses focused on particular altars (many positions for priests to serve altars were being founded at this time).<sup>128</sup> In France apart from the north-east, and in England, cathedral chapters or individual canons simply appointed chaplains and vicars choral to enlarge the number of services.<sup>129</sup>

## **Individual careers: examples**

Some impression of the impact of ordination on career structure may be gained by looking at the lives of a few individuals of the tenth and eleventh centuries for whom we have some biographical, or occasionally autobiographical, information. The information in biographies or hagiographies is, of course, shaped to fit the expectations of the audiences for whom they were written, but this does at least provide us with an idea of what was regarded as normal or acceptable. The individuals picked out below are clerics whose biographical details include some account of their ordination. Most of them became bishops or else monks (and sometimes bishops as well later on), and so their careers are

therefore not typical of the wider whole, and we need to take care when extrapolating from their examples. Biographers were usually careful, when describing the early stages of their subjects' careers, to state which period of life the latter were passing through when they entered the Church: *infantia*, or infancy (to age seven), *pueritia*, or boyhood (seven to fourteen), which was the normal age at which parents would hand over boys intended for a clerical career to a bishop or other ecclesiastical figure, and *adolescentia*, which in classical Latin covers the age from puberty (say fourteen or fifteen) to twenty-eight. The sequence of career sketches given below starts in the seventh century: patterns of clerical careers from the early Middle Ages down to the twelfth century were surprisingly durable.

## Wilfrid

According to Stephanus, Wilfrid left his father, with the latter's blessing, when he was fourteen and he was commended by some companions of the king, who had enjoyed Wilfrid's father's hospitality, to Queen Eanfled.<sup>[130](#)</sup> When she discovered that Wilfrid wished to devote himself to the service of God she commended him to Cudda, a paralysed nobleman who was becoming a monk at Lindisfarne. Here Wilfrid learned the Psalter.<sup>[131](#)</sup> After a few years, seeking to visit Rome, he set out with royal encouragement for the Continent, though he had to wait a year in Kent for an older companion to be found.<sup>[132](#)</sup> When Wilfrid reached Lyon he stayed there and the bishop of Lyon ('Dalfinus', according to Wilfrid's hagiographer, but in fact Aunemundus) offered to adopt him as his son, but Wilfrid said that he first must go to Rome.<sup>[133](#)</sup> In Rome he spent many months undergoing education in the practices of the Roman church from Archdeacon Boniface (as noted above, in the earlier Middle Ages the archdeacon was the official in a cathedral community who trained the junior clergy). Wilfrid then went back to Lyon, staying three years with the bishop and obtaining a Petrine tonsure.<sup>[134](#)</sup> Thereafter he returned to Northumbria, and was given the monastery of Ripon by King Alhfrith. After this he was made priest by Bishop Agilbert before the Synod of Whitby of 664. At this point he might have been in his thirtieth year; Stephanus remarks that when he was elected bishop immediately after the Synod of Whitby he was thirty.<sup>[135](#)</sup>

## Archbishop Ælberht of York

Archbishop Ælberht of York (767–79/80) was, according to Alcuin's poem *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, given to York Minster in boyhood years and was educated while an adolescent there. He became deacon *condigno ordine*, while he was still *adolescens*;<sup>[136](#)</sup> Alcuin would have been following Isidore's definition of *adolescentia* as running from fourteen to twenty-eight.<sup>[137](#)</sup> Ælberht was ordained priest while he was a young man (*iuvenis*), in Isidorian terms between twenty-eight and fifty.<sup>[138](#)</sup>

## Alcuin

Alcuin, who was probably born c.740,<sup>[139](#)</sup> was entered into the cathedral community of York and its school at an early age by his parents. His biographer at Ferrières says that he was entered at York after being weaned,<sup>[140](#)</sup> while he himself says the community looked after him in his infancy as well as in his boyhood, so he might have joined the community before the age of seven.<sup>[141](#)</sup> According to his biographer he was tonsured on the Feast of

the Purification (2 February), and he was ordained deacon on the same feast probably during the pontificate of Archbishop Ælberht (24 April 767–8 November 780); as Donald Bullough pointed out, the choice of Candlemas rather than one of the Ember Days for ordination is unusual in this period.<sup>142</sup> Alcuin's earlier ordinations are not recorded and he remained in deacon's orders for the rest of his life; this has aroused surprise in some quarters but may in fact reflect his hopes of becoming bishop (perhaps archbishop of York); election or appointment as bishop from the diaconate was common throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>143</sup>

## **Bishop Aldric of Le Mans**

Bishop Aldric of Le Mans was nourished (*enutritus*) from infancy with bishops and was taught by them,<sup>144</sup> but when he was twelve his father took him to the Carolingian court where he was 'honourably commended' to Charlemagne and then to Louis the Pious and was received by the latter, who hoped to train him up for lay service.<sup>145</sup> However, Aldric had his heart set on an ecclesiastical career. Although he made himself agreeable to Louis by training as a warrior by day, he spent the night in prayers and vigils. While still young ('he also was up to this point of tender age and had just reached puberty'<sup>146</sup>) he begged for a prebend at Metz, to which Louis agreed. He was tonsured, vested and ordained by the bishop there, 'and was placed among the senior brothers'.<sup>147</sup> After two years in the clergy (literally 'of his clergy'), spent studying Roman chant, grammar and Scripture, he was made deacon by Bishop Gundulf (816–22), evidently in 819, since he had been deacon for just three years when Gundulf died and was succeeded as bishop by Drogo.<sup>148</sup> Drogo insisted on Aldric's being ordained priest; the canons elected him senior cantor and he became master in the schools and then *primicerius*.<sup>149</sup>

## **Bishop Hincmar of Laon**

Bishop Hincmar of Laon, nephew of Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, was received as an orphan<sup>150</sup> by his uncle at an early age<sup>151</sup> to be fostered (*nutriendum*). His uncle tonsured (*totondi*) him and taught him his letters, partly himself and partly through others, and promoted (*provexi*) him through each of the grades up to the episcopate.<sup>152</sup>

## **Rigrannus, canon of Le Mans**

Rigrannus, nephew of Urso, canon of Le Mans, born perhaps c.860, was vowed to the monastic life by his father in his earliest years. However, on his father's death, when he was still a boy (the use of the term *puer* suggests he was under fifteen), he was chosen by his uncle Urso to be his successor, and Urso offered him to the bishop and church of Le Mans to receive 'the honour of the clergy' (presumably tonsure). The bishop then commended the boy to Urso, who thus undertook charge of Rigrannus' upbringing and handed him over (*traditus*) to the abbot of a monastery belonging to the bishop, to be educated. Rigrannus then tried to become a monk and eventually obtained the permission of his uncle and of his bishop to do so, at the age of eighteen. After five years as a monk he was released into the charge of his relatives, but pleaded to be allowed to return to the monastery and went back and was ordained in all five orders up to subdeacon 'when he had already passed the time of accepting the first ecclesiastical grades' (*cum autem tempus accipiendi primos gradus ecclesiasticos pertransiret*: he would then have been at least

twenty-three). After another two years, he was finally persuaded by his dying uncle to become a canon.<sup>153</sup>

## **Abbot Odo of Cluny**

Odo, abbot of Cluny (927–42), recounted to his biographer John of Salerno that he had been devoted by his father to the service of St Martin in babyhood. After being weaned (*ablactatum*) he was handed over by his father to a priest in his service to be brought up and taught to read. On his return to his parents, he grew up into a fine youth and his father little by little removed him from the ecclesiastical *ordo* and applied him to military exercises. To further this he handed over Odo to the service of Duke William of Aquitaine (d. 918).<sup>154</sup> Odo gave up literary study and took up hunting, but from his sixteenth year suffered for two years from nightmares and fatigue and could only obtain a cure when his father admitted that he had long ago promised him to St Martin. Odo accordingly became a cleric and a canon at the basilica of St Martin of Tours in his nineteenth year.<sup>155</sup> According to John of Salerno, Odo became a monk in his thirtieth year, at Baume, and was subsequently ordained priest by the bishop of Limoges.<sup>156</sup>

## **Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester**

Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester 963–84,<sup>157</sup> had a wet nurse when he was an infant (*infantem*)<sup>158</sup> and studied sacred letters in his boyhood (*pueritia*).<sup>159</sup> When he reached the start of adolescence (*cumque florentis adolescentiae contingeret aetatem*), therefore presumably at about fifteen, King Athelstan (924–39) sent for him and he spent time at the royal court as the king's companion: probably Athelstan intended him for a lay career at this point.<sup>160</sup> At length (*demum*) Athelstan commanded that he be 'tonsured to clerical office' by Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester (934–51), and a few years after this he was consecrated priest, again by Ælfheah.<sup>161</sup> Æthelwold's consecration as priest occurred on the same day as the priesting of Dunstan and a certain Athelstan.<sup>162</sup> Æthelwold then studied with Ælfheah and it was only after this that he went to Glastonbury to take the monastic habit under Dunstan.<sup>163</sup>

## **Archbishop Hugh of Rheims**

Archbishop Hugh of Rheims was elected archbishop in 925 on the insistence of his father Count Heribert while Hugh was still *parvulus* and not yet five years old. He spent the next fifteen years at Auxerre 'occupied with the study of letters' (*litterarum studiis occupatus*), in the charge of Guy, bishop of Auxerre (933–61); however, he received ordination in the inferior grades, including the subdiaconate, still an inferior grade before the eleventh century, from Abbo, bishop of Soissons (909–37), who had been given the duty of performing archiepiscopal duties during Hugh's minority, though for much of this time the diocese of Rheims was held by the usurping Archbishop Artold. Bishop Guy of Auxerre ordained Hugh deacon in or by 940, at which point he would probably have been in his twentieth year. In 940 Hugh was restored to Rheims and three months after his return Bishop Guy of Soissons (937–72) ordained him priest; in 941 he was consecrated archbishop.<sup>164</sup>

## **Dunstan**



If Dunstan's earliest biographer, B., is correct in his statement that Dunstan was born in the reign of Athelstan and thus between 924 and 939,<sup>165</sup> we should probably view Dunstan as a high-flier who was fast-tracked through the system. His father, Heorstan, is perhaps identifiable with the Heorstan who occurs, almost certainly as a cleric of either Old or New Minster in Winchester, in S 1417 (924 × 933).<sup>166</sup> Dunstan may well have been born in Winchester, since he was later ordained priest by the bishop of that diocese. However, Heorstan also had connections in Somerset and Glastonbury is described as being in his *confinium* or neighbourhood;<sup>167</sup> he may perhaps have had property, or indeed a church, in Somerset as well as a position in one of the Winchester churches. B. does not say where Dunstan received his earliest education; it may perhaps have been in the church up whose roof he climbed in boyhood while suffering from a fever.<sup>168</sup> When he reached puberty his parents sent him to Glastonbury to be tonsured as a cleric and to further his education.<sup>169</sup> B. gives no further information about Dunstan's clerical career, but says that he spent time at court and was then urged to become a monk (this may merely mean that, at this stage, Dunstan renounced marriage) by Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester 934–51.<sup>170</sup> From Wulfstan of Winchester's *Life of Æthelwold* we learn that Bishop Ælfheah ordained Æthelwold and Dunstan as priests,<sup>171</sup> presumably before 946, since it was King Edmund (939–46) who installed Dunstan in the 'priestly throne' at Glastonbury.<sup>172</sup>

## **Bishop Gerard of Toul**

According to his biographer Widric (Wéry), Gerard's parents handed him over (*tradiderunt*) to Cologne to be taught the liberal arts and to serve Christ 'under the clerical order', which presumably means that he was tonsured on entry. Widric remarks that he entered Cologne Cathedral at the outset of boyhood (therefore at about seven), and that he went through each of the grades of the sacred office in due order.<sup>173</sup> Widric does not give specific details of Gerard's ordination, but he was evidently young when the dean of Cologne Cathedral recommended him to Archbishop Brun of Cologne to fill the vacant see of Toul in 963.

## **Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg**

Our information about Thietmar is autobiographical, and derives from his *Chronicon*. He was born in the summer of 975 and was taught his letters by his great-aunt Ennilda or Emnilde at Quedlinburg until he was twelve. His father then commended him to Abbot Ricdag of Kloster Berge at Magdeburg,<sup>174</sup> but after three years at Berge Thietmar could not become a monk,<sup>175</sup> because his father – perhaps for financial reasons, though Thietmar is not explicit – could not offer him at the altar; fifteen was the last possible age for oblation.<sup>176</sup> Instead, Thietmar joined the cathedral community at Magdeburg on 30 November 990.<sup>177</sup> In 994, when he would have been nineteen, he was still under the authority of the master of the cathedral school: we know this because Thietmar says his family sought the permission of the master of the school to release him from the cathedral so that he could be a hostage to obtain the release of his uncle from pagan captivity.<sup>178</sup> This suggests that Thietmar was not yet subdeacon, since evidence for twelfth-century German cathedral schools shows that 'emancipation' from the school into the chapter occurred with ordination as subdeacon, and before this point canons were under the

authority of the scholasticus.<sup>179</sup> As it happened, Thietmar did not have to become a hostage. On 21 December 1004, when he would have been twenty-nine and a half, he was ordained priest by Archbishop Tagino of Magdeburg.<sup>180</sup> In 1009 he became bishop of Merseburg, by which point he was suitably older than the minimum age of thirty.<sup>181</sup>

## **Halinard, archbishop of Lyon**

Halinard was born in Burgundy of noble parentage, his father from Langres and his mother from Autun;<sup>182</sup> he was brought up by his godfather, Bishop Walter of Autun (979–1018), and then, at the end of his boyhood and start of his adolescence (*decursa pueritia, cum eum iam sibi vindicaret adolescentia*), he was handed over (*traditus*) by his father to Bishop Bruno of Langres (980–1015), who entered him into a college of canons to study, and put him through the grades of ordination (*collatis ecclesiasticis gradibus*), wanting to promote him to a high position. At this point, against the wishes of his parents, Halinard expressed a strong wish to be a monk and managed to persuade the bishop to let him go.<sup>183</sup>

## **Leo IX (Bishop Bruno of Toul)**

Bruno of Toul, the future Pope Leo IX, was born 21 June 1002; he was, according to the longest of his Lives,<sup>184</sup> weaned ‘at the appropriate time’ and was then entrusted by his mother at the age of five to Bishop Berthold of Toul.<sup>185</sup> Berthold ‘received the little child and caused him to be instructed in literature with all the honour appropriate to noble boys’.<sup>186</sup> The Life does not specifically state that Bruno entered the cathedral school of Toul, but we can assume this from the context; likewise it is fairly safe to assume that Bruno was tonsured and became a cathedral canon on entry into the school. Berthold, Bruno’s *nutritor*,<sup>187</sup> died in 1019, at which point Bruno would have been seventeen. He then obeyed Berthold’s successor, Hermann. Under Hermann Bruno looked after the *prebenda* of the canons of Toul, which suggests that he was provost of the cathedral.<sup>188</sup> While he was still *adolescens* he became a chaplain at the court of the emperor Conrad II.<sup>189</sup> In 1025, in his twenty-third year and now having, according to his biographer, entered ‘the second stage of his adolescence’, Bruno, by now deacon, was put in charge of leading Bishop Hermann’s military contingent to Italy.<sup>190</sup> During Lent 1026 Hermann died and the clergy and people of the diocese of Toul wrote to Conrad asking that Bruno become bishop: among other points they raised in his favour was the fact that he had proceeded *regulariter* through all the clerical grades to that of deacon.<sup>191</sup>

## **Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (the saint)**

Wulfstan was born in about 1008;<sup>192</sup> his father was a priest, and had been one probably since the 980s.<sup>193</sup> He was educated at the abbeys of first Evesham and then Peterborough, but without entering either of them as a monk; he had entered *adolescentia* before he left Peterborough.<sup>194</sup> He then returned home to his parents. When they decided to enter religious life, Wulfstan gave himself (*sese ... dedit*) to the *curia* of Bishop Brihtheah of Worcester (1033–8), by which time he would have been in his mid-twenties.<sup>195</sup> William of Malmesbury says twice that Brihtheah ‘promoted’ Wulfstan to be priest; on the second occasion he says Brihtheah ‘had promoted’ Wulfstan ‘from the first grades of ordination

into the priesthood', and gave him a church.<sup>[196](#)</sup> It was only after this that Wulfstan decided to become a monk.<sup>[197](#)</sup>

## **Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai**

Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai (1051–76), after being weaned, was taught 'in the elements of letters' (presumably how to read).<sup>[198](#)</sup> His kinsman, Bishop Gerard of Cambrai, heard that he was a promising pupil, and had him transferred into the episcopal hall. Lietbert was still a boy (*puer*) at this stage.<sup>[199](#)</sup> Gerard handed him over to teachers in the school so that Lietbert could serve with pastoral care the 'flocks of the shorn, which go up from the well'.<sup>[200](#)</sup> The choice of this quotation from the Song of Songs, with the participle *tonsarum*, may have been made deliberately to encourage the reader to infer that Lietbert was himself tonsured at this point and that he was going to be trained to teach boys who had been tonsured, but there is no specific mention of his tonsure or ordination. As an adolescent, he shone at his studies; he was put in charge of the schools and later he became archdeacon and also provost of Cambrai.<sup>[201](#)</sup>

## **Matthew of Albano**

Matthew, born perhaps about 1085, 'handed over to the study of letters in boyhood, obtained clerical office in the church of Laon after he had reached adolescence'. Once a member of the cathedral community at Laon, he associated with its more respectable elements, Master Anselm and Ralph the treasurer.<sup>[202](#)</sup>

## **Moving away from using ordination to mark out life cycles**

From the later eleventh century onwards it seems to have become much less common to note the ordination process in Lives of bishops (William of Malmesbury in mentioning Wulfstan's ordination was translating the Old English *Life of Wulfstan* by Coleman, who was a stickler for old traditions).<sup>[203](#)</sup> In the Lives of Bishop Benno II of Osnabrück (1067–88)<sup>[204](#)</sup> and Archbishop Adalbert II of Mainz (1138–41)<sup>[205](#)</sup> and in the narrative about Bishop Bartholomew of Laon (1113–51) in Hermann of Tournai's *Miracles of Notre-Dame of Laon*,<sup>[206](#)</sup> the career structure is described principally in terms of education, and in Bartholomew's and Adalbert's cases also in terms of entering cathedral churches as canons. Adalbert is referred to as a cleric 'in a definite grade', but this is not further specified, perhaps to disguise the fact that he had been made provost of a collegiate church extremely young.<sup>[207](#)</sup> Similarly, Peter Abelard describes his decision to renounce his right as first-born to train as a knight in favour of becoming a cleric as giving up the court of Mars to be brought up in the lap of Minerva:<sup>[208](#)</sup> for him, it was education that defined clergy, and he nowhere mentions clerical grades. There are, however, some exceptions. One is the obscure figure of Guy of Merton, an Italian cleric who went to England to teach at Merton Priory's school, and, with the encouragement of Prior Robert of Merton (1114–50), was promoted up the clerical ladder and became deacon and, later, priest.<sup>[209](#)</sup> Another is Thomas Becket in Herbert of Bosham's *Life*. According to Herbert, Theobald ordained Thomas to all the orders up to subdeacon, and then, later, as deacon at the point at which he made Thomas archdeacon of Canterbury. Thomas remained in deacon's orders until after his election as archbishop in 1162; then, on the Saturday after Whitsunday he was



priested and on the following day, Trinity Sunday, he was made archbishop. William fitz Stephen, by contrast, takes no interest in Thomas's progression through the clerical grades.<sup>210</sup> In other words, boys and men were continuing to be tonsured and ordained, but biographers were not necessarily interested in reporting this and concentrated on where they had been taught instead. This development is probably linked to the increasing freedom young clerics had to move between schools, without trying to enter a specific ecclesiastical community until adulthood. However, detailed information about when individual clerics were ordained to particular grades can sometimes emerge from other types of source in the twelfth century, for example charters or letter collections.<sup>211</sup>

## **Proportions of clergy in various grades in communities, and progression**

In what follows a sketch will be offered of some further lines of enquiry to be undertaken on cathedral clergy, to find out how many were in each grade at any one point and also how quickly they tended to move from one grade to another. Witness statements in inquests can be very helpful here, but they survive only rarely.<sup>212</sup> Information about the clerical grades of cathedral clergy is preserved most fully in two types of source, necrologies (obit books) and charter witness lists. Of the two types of source, necrologies are the less useful. The canons named in them often lack by-names or surnames and can be hard to identify, since such compilations were often built up over a century or more.<sup>213</sup> They only record a canon's clerical grade at the end of his life, if they do so at all,<sup>214</sup> and they provide no information about his age, except for boy canons in Germany,<sup>215</sup> so it is hard to guess, for example, how long the canon had stayed in that grade. *Libri vitae*, however, can be more helpful; a Reichenau confraternity book provides a snapshot of Constance Cathedral chapter c.850, when it had a chorepiscopus, eleven priests, seven deacons, two subdeacons and four clerks (twenty-five in total).<sup>216</sup> Charter witness lists, where a sequence of charters witnessed by a community survives over several decades, are much more helpful. The period best represented is from the later eleventh century to the later twelfth century, occasionally later; the geographical areas best represented are France and the empire, though most cathedrals in western areas of France had given up mentioning the grades of canons by the early twelfth century; Angers ceased to do so in the mid-eleventh century.<sup>217</sup> By contrast, Burgundy, Champagne, Picardy, Flanders and northern Germany were keen to class canons by grade down to the later twelfth century; this probably represents a longer survival of use of the Rule of Aachen, which opens with quotes from Isidore's *De officiis ecclesiasticis* on the clerical grades.<sup>218</sup> In Anglo-Saxon England, clerks were quite often given their grade of ordination in the tenth century, but sufficient numbers of charters for analysis survive only for Worcester Cathedral and, to a lesser extent, Canterbury and Winchester, and all of these communities became monastic during the century before the Norman Conquest. Post-Conquest English canons are hardly ever identified by their grade of ordination in witness lists; this is largely also true for twelfth-century Normandy, with the exception of some Rouen witness lists.<sup>219</sup>

Turning first to proportions in each grade, we can start with the charters for tenth-century Worcester. For much of the tenth century at Worcester it is normal to find only one or two priests and one or two deacons and then about eleven or twelve *clerici*.<sup>220</sup> The term 'clerk' presumably here covers all those in minor orders, which at this point still included

the subdiaconate. The large number of clergy not in major orders suggests that private Masses were unusual and that private devotion would have centred on the Psalter; it might also be safe to infer that many of the clerks did not want to advance to major orders because they were married. The proportion of priests and deacons rose from 966,<sup>221</sup> after Oswald had set up a monastic church in the cathedral precinct,<sup>222</sup> and this may possibly reflect the growing proportion of members of the community who had decided to adopt a monastic life.

Far fewer charters survive for Winchester Old Minster (the cathedral) from the period before it was monasticised in 964, but from the few that do, plus some references to clerics (presumably of Winchester) in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,<sup>223</sup> we can see that before monks were installed in Old Minster priests and deacons could form a minority in witness lists (one charter, exceptionally, was witnessed by nineteen priests and two deacons, but it is possible that here the priests came from several different churches). Information about other non-monastic cathedral communities in England over the following century and a half is extremely limited, but from a letter written by Archbishop Gerard of York to Anselm between 1100 and 1108 we can see that canons of York Minster felt no strong urge to seek ordination above the grade of subdeacon in the early years of the twelfth century.<sup>224</sup>

Witness lists listing French and German cathedral canons in the eleventh and twelfth centuries usually list all the dignitaries first (but not always: sometimes they are classed with other members of their particular clerical grade), and then identify the other canons as priests, deacons, subdeacons and, sometimes, acolytes. At Arras a few early twelfth-century witness lists also mention a reader (*lector*).<sup>225</sup> Most witness lists lack acolytes; this is probably because they were not usually regarded as full members of the community rather than because they did not exist. Sometimes the junior members of the community are referred to as boys (*pueri*) instead. Numbers of canons in each grade fluctuate: sometimes there are specifically two or three of each, in a deliberate effort to be representative, but more often they are uneven. However, at most cathedrals the overall picture suggests roughly equal proportions of the three major orders if we reckon that the dignitaries are more likely to have been priests or deacons than subdeacons.<sup>226</sup> Evidence for progression is harder to estimate, since the same canons did not always witness. Jacques Pycke in his prosopographical study of the canons of Tournai estimated that movement from grade to grade was very limited.<sup>227</sup> The episcopal charters of Arras, however, show a mixture of stagnation and movement in the cathedral chapter in the twelfth century.<sup>228</sup> Rather more movement is visible at twelfth-century Hildesheim, where (to take two out of many examples) Esico moved from subdeacon (1143, 1149) to deacon (1151)<sup>229</sup> and Werno moved from subdeacon (1146) to deacon (by 1147, and until at least 1152) and then to priest (in 1155);<sup>230</sup> he spent at least five years in the diaconate, thus meeting the requirements of canon law. But more striking than the moves from grade to grade at Hildesheim are the promotions to dignities. By the twelfth century, these were what counted much more.

## Conclusion

In conclusion we may note that during the late eleventh and the twelfth centuries

individual clerics became less interested in recording orders and ordination when commenting on their careers, and more interested in their education. This shift in attitudes occurred earliest in western France, and soon afterwards in England; it was appreciably slower in eastern France and especially in the empire. On the other hand, bishops were keen to regulate ordination, and, when episcopal registers began to be kept in the thirteenth century, lists of clerks ordained to particular orders became a prominent feature. As far as the significance of individual orders is concerned, the Carolingian church inherited and preserved a set of orders of which the lowest three were already little more than fossils. The other four orders, however, all retained their usefulness not only within the celebration of the Mass but also in the social fabric: acolytes could be boys already launched on a clerical education, or adults who wanted to remain clerks in minor orders, and marry; subdeacons could play a full role in clerical communities; for high-flying clerics the diaconate provided seniority and good prospects for promotion to the episcopate, and, by the end of our period, the priesthood offered access to a large number of secure positions, including the many chaplaincies and chantries responding to a strong public demand for private Masses.

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1 Bede, *HE*, v, 24.

2 P.H. Cullum, ‘Boy/man into clerk/priest’, in *Rites of Passage*, ed. Nicola McDonald and W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 2004), 51–65; Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (London, 2001), 213–16; P.H. Cullum, ‘Life-cycle and life-course in a clerical and celibate milieu: northern England in the later Middle Ages’, in *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riano (Brepols, 2003), 271–81.

3 See [Chapter 5](#) below, and, in general on commendation, Matthew Innes, ‘“A place of discipline”: Carolingian courts and aristocratic youth’, in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003), 59–76, at 61–6.

4 The term ‘clerical office’ (*officium clericatus*) in this chapter is used to refer to the state of being a cleric, as opposed to the liturgical Office of the type chanted by clerics, for which see [Chapter 3](#).

5 See pp. 35–9 below.

6 Amalarius, *Liber officialis* (II, cc. 6–13): *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. Jean-Michel Hanssens, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1948–50), II, 213–32; Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres*, ed. Detlev Zimpel (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 17, 295–308; Pseudo-Isidore, Part I, letter of Gaius (final section): <http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/058.htm> between textual footnotes 571 and 577.

7 Roger Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image*, Variorum Collected Studies, 669 (Aldershot, 1999); Roger Reynolds, *Clerical Orders in the Early Middle Ages: Duties and Ordination*, Variorum Collected Studies, 670 (Aldershot, 1999).

8 Robert Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, Subsidia hagiographica, 82

(Brussels, 2001).

[9](#) A. Michel, 'Tonsure', in *DTC*, XV, 1228–35. In Egypt, shaving was associated with priesthood because, while it had been customary under the pharaohs for all men to shave their heads, priests did not, unlike other men, wear wigs: Louis Trichet, *La tonsure: Vie et mort d'une pratique ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1990), 27, 42.

[10](#) Louis Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution*, tr. M.L. McClure, 5th edn (London, 1927), 379–84; Godding, *Prêtres*, 23–7, on tonsure, and 27–32 on dress in the sixth century.

[11](#) H. Leclercq, 'Tonsure', in *DACL*, XV, 2430–43, at 2435, citing Optatus of Milevum; for a different interpretation, see Trichet, *La tonsure*, 42.

[12](#) Leclercq, 'Tonsure', 2435.

[13](#) Robert Bartlett, 'Symbolic meanings of hair in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 4 (1994), 43–60, at 57–8.

[14](#) Maurice Meigne, 'Concile ou collection d'Elvire?', *RHE*, 70 (1975), 361–87, esp. 384–7.

[15](#) Leclercq, 'Tonsure', 2433–5.

[16](#) Cf letter of Pope Siricius to Bishop Himerius of Tarragona, 10 February 385 (PL 13: 1138–41). Although the earliest injunction in favour of clerical celibacy in the west is often held to be Canon 33 of the early fourth-century Council of Elvira (*La colección canonica hispana*, IV: *Concilios galos; concilios hispanos, primera parte*, ed. Gonzalo Martinez Diez and Felix Rodriguez (Madrid, 1984), 253), this canon is in fact part of a later set of additions to Elvira and the text originated in the Apostolic Canons of c.400; for discussion of dating and relationship of canons to Apostolic Canons, see Meigne, 'Concile ou collection d'Elvire?'; he further argued that the text that became Canon 33 had originally urged clergy not to abstain from sexual intercourse with their wives. Meigne's arguments that the canons of the Council of Elvira are in fact a composite text, with Canon 33 being part of a set of later additions, were accepted by Roger Gryson, 'Dix ans de recherches sur les origines du célibat ecclésiastique: Réflexion sur les publications des années 1970–1979', *Revue théologique de Louvain*, 11 (1980), 157–85, at 162–4, though Gryson (*ibid.*, 161–2) rejects Meigne's argument that the canon was originally intended to order clergy not to abstain from sexual intercourse with their wives. Élie Griffe, 'Le concile d'Elvire et les origines du célibat ecclésiastique', *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, 77 (1976), 123–7; followed by Stefan Heid, *Zölibat in der frühen Kirche: Die Anfänge einer Enthaltensamkeitspflicht für Kleriker in Ost und West* (Paderborn, 2003), 100, argues that the grammatical construction of Canon 33 must mean that clergy are being told to abstain from sexual intercourse.

[17](#) PL 54, 672–3; for comment see Godding, *Prêtres*, 114.

[18](#) *Concilia aevi merovingici*, ed. F. Maassen, MGH Concilia, 1 (Hanover, 1893), 73 (c. 2); Heinrich Böhmer, 'Die Entstehung des Zölibates', in *Geschichtliche Studien Albert Hauck zum 70. Geburtstage dargebracht*, editor anonymous (Leipzig, 1916), 6–24.

[19](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 23–4.

[20](#) *Concilia Galliae A. 314– A. 506*, ed. C. Munier, CCSL, 148 (Turnhout, 1963), 202.

[21](#) *La colección canonica hispana*, IV, 347–9 (Concilium Toletanum II, c. 1), cited by Trichet, *La tonsure*, 57.

[22](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 24–5. See also Conrad Leyser, ‘Long-haired kings and short-haired nuns: writing on the body in Caesarius of Arles’, *Studia Patristica*, 24 (1993), 143–50.

[23](#) Mansi, X, 630 (IV Toledo, 633, c. 41): ‘Omnes clerici, vel lectores, sicut levitae, et sacerdotes detonso superius toto capite, inferius solam circuli coronam relinquant: non sicut hucusque in Galliae partibus facere lectores videntur, qui facere prolixis, ut laici, comis, in solo capitis apice modicum circulum tondent’.

[24](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 24–5, on long hair as a sign of free condition in Merovingian Gaul; see also Leyser, ‘Long-haired kings and short-haired nuns’, and, chiefly on hair-lengths for laymen and laywomen, Bartlett, ‘Symbolic meanings of hair in the Middle Ages’; Mansi, VIII, 352 (Orléans 511, c. 4).

[25](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 27–32, on clerical dress in the sixth and seventh centuries. See also [n. 10](#) above.

[26](#) In the scene depicting Edward the Confessor’s funeral procession, all the clergy, even the bishop (holding a crook), are shown wearing short tunics; so is the lascivious cleric in the *Ubi unus clericus et Ælfgyva* scene. By contrast Ealdred (not named, but bearded, probably as a sign of age) is shown in full pontificals in the *Et hic defunctus est* scene, as is Stigand (clean-shaven) leading the acclamations at Harold’s coronation.

[27](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 25, citing Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 1, i (Hanover, 1951), 285 (vi, 15); cf also the ninth-century case of Bishop Salomo I of Constance tonsuring his young kinsman (probably Waldo) before commending him to a monk at St Gall, described in a formula letter written by Bishop Salomo II of Constance 878/9 (*Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH Leges, Sectio V (Hanover, 1886), 410). The Council of Poitiers of 1100 devoted its first two canons to tonsure, saying that only bishops and abbots should bless first tonsures, and abbots could only do this for those becoming monks, while no one should charge for tonsure by insisting on supplying the scissors and towel required to perform it (Mansi, XX, 1123). At Troyes Cathedral in 1225 the bishop and the cantor made an agreement over their respective jurisdictions over cathedral clergy, including supplying the scissors for the boys’ first tonsure (*Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, no 176). In Brittany a young cleric (or monk?) called Uuorcomin was tonsured by his godfather Iarncolin, whose status is not mentioned, c.832: *Cartulaire de Redon*, 98–9, no 129; also [Chapter 4 below at n. 49](#).

[28](#) *Felix’s Life of St Guthlac*, ed. and tr. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), 112 (c. 35).

[29](#) E.g. Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux wrote to Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter to ask the latter to forgive a cleric who had been born in the diocese of Exeter but who had been ordained priest by Arnulf: *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. Frank Barlow, Camden Society, 3rd series, 61 (London, 1939), 137, no 83. See also text at nn. 43–5 below.

[30](#) Council of Mainz, 813, c. 23 (MGH *Conc.*, I, 267): ‘De clericis vero hoc statuimus, ut hi, qui hactenus inventi sunt, sive in canonico sive in monachico ordine, tonsorati sine



eorum voluntate, si liberi sunt, ut ita permaneant, et deinceps cavendum, ut nullus tondatur nisi legitima aetate et spontanea voluntate vel cum licentia domini sui'. The Council of Tribur, 895, c. 27 (Mansi, XVIII, col. 145, with discussion by Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996), 97), laid down that a cleric *ecclesiastice nutritus* ('brought up ecclesiastically') who had read or chanted in a church should not be allowed to abandon his tonsure.

[31](#) Mansi XX, cols. 37, 558 (excommunication was ordered for clerics letting their hair grow at the Council of Rouen in 1072 (c. 11), but according to the Council of Lillebonne in 1080 (c. 13) they had to pay a fine); no punishment was specified in the 1102 Council of London (c. 12): CS I, ii, 676; see discussion in Trichet, *La tonsure*, 102.

[32](#) PL 132: 720, followed by some literary commentators, attributed the command to the Archbishop Walter of Sens of the late Carolingian period, 887–923: see P.G. Walsh, 'Goliath and Goliardic poetry', *Medium Ævum*, 52 (1983), 1–9, at 2. However, since the statutes refer to Benedictines as 'black monks' (i.e. to distinguish them from the Cistercians) they cannot be Carolingian.

[33](#) Goliath spawned the French term *goliard*, on which see Walsh, 'Goliath', 1.

[34](#) Cf discussion by Catherine Cubitt, 'Images of St Peter: the clergy and the religious life in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Paul Cavill (Cambridge, 2004), 41–54, at 45–6. The form of tonsure was disputed in seventh-century Northumbria: for discussion see John Higgitt, 'The iconography of St Peter in Anglo-Saxon England, and St Cuthbert's coffin', in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner, David Rollason and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge, 1989), 267–85, esp. 273–5, 277.

[35](#) MGH SS, 13, 536; cf also *Les gestes des évêques d'Auxerre*, ed. and tr. Michel Sot, Guy Lobrichon and Monique Goullet, 3 vols. (Paris, 2002–9), I, 169, on the tonsure of Herifrid, bishop of Auxerre 887–909, at Chartres in the later ninth century.

[36](#) Bede, *HE*, 296–8 (iii, 35 on Wilfrid) and 330 (iv, 1 on Theodore); *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and tr. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), 14 (c. 6) on Wilfrid receiving a suitably Roman tonsure in the form of a crown of thorns; *Felix's Life of St Guthlac*, 112, c. 35; cf also Cubitt, 'Images', 44–6.

[37](#) OV, II, 28, 74–6; Ralph eventually became a monk, and died 19 January, probably 1062: [ibid.](#), 29 n. 3.

[38](#) W. Sparrow Simpson, 'The tonsure-plate in use at St Paul's cathedral during the thirteenth century', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 38 (1882), 278–90, pl. opposite 278.

[39](#) John St H. Gibaut, *The Cursus Honorum: A Study of the Origins and Evolution of Sequential Ordination* (Bern, 2000), *passim*, but esp. 151–7, 224–9. Down to the tenth century, deacons could be elected pope without receiving priestly ordination, but as a rule the priesthood was an essential step on the road to becoming a bishop, even though ordination to the priesthood often took place the day before episcopal consecration ([ibid.](#), 233–4).

[40](#) For an overview of the examination of ordinands in Carolingian Francia, see Ernest

Vykoukal, 'Les examens du clergé paroissial à l'époque carolingienne', *RHE*, 14 (1913), 81–96; some guidelines for examining ordinands to the priesthood are preserved in a manuscript of texts by and connected with Bishop Halitgar of Cambrai: Wilfried Hartmann, 'Neue Texte zur bischöflichen Reformgesetzgebung aus den Jahren 829/31: Vier Diözesansynoden Halitgars von Cambrai', *Deutsches Archiv*, 35 (1979), 368–94, at 392–4; a set of guidelines for examining candidates for the diaconate and the priesthood was compiled in Old English in the early eleventh century, probably by Wulfstan the Homilist (CS I, i, 422–7); on the education of clergy and the examination of ordinands in the province of York in the thirteenth century, see Helen Birkett, 'The pastoral application of the Lateran IV reforms in the Northern Province, 1215–1348', *Northern History*, 43 (2006), 199–219, at 212–16.

[41](#) Stefan Esders and Heike Johanna Mierau, *Der althochdeutsche Klerikereid: Bischöfliche Diözesangewalt, kirchliches Benefizialwesen und volkssprachliche Rechtspraxis im frühmittelalterlichen Baiern*, MGH Studien und Texte, 28 (Hanover, 2000), 4.

[42](#) *La correspondance d'un évêque carolingien: Frothaire de Toul (ca. 813–847)*, ed. Michel Parisse (Paris, 1998), 144–5, no 30.

[43](#) *Formulae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, 409–11. On the genre of *epistolae formatae*, see Richard Fletcher, 'An *epistola formata* from León', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 45 (1972), 122–8; Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord* (Turnhout, 2007), 175–6.

[44](#) *De antiquis episcoporum promotionibus*, ed. Jacques Sirmond, in PL 129: 1381–98. See also [n. 29](#) above.

[45](#) *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Léopold Delisle, 24 vols. in 25 (Paris, 1840–1904), XIV, 783 (letter of Archbishop Manasses to Bishop Hugh of Die, 1080): 'nec noster clericus, nec noster natus aut renatus est'.

[46](#) These are the grades listed in the Gellone sacramentary of the end of the eighth century, and also in a set of episcopal *capitula* from Mainz, probably the work of Archbishop Riculf (787–813), though this source places the reader above the acolyte: *presbiter, diaconus, subdiaconus, lector, acolitus, exorcista, hostiarius*: MGH *Capit. ep.*, III, 180. This was perhaps the result of Spanish influence, since the office of the acolyte had been slow to be accepted in Spain: see Walter Croce, 'Die niederen Weihen und ihre hierarchische Wertung', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 70 (1948), 251–314, at 282–5; and Roger E. Reynolds, 'A florilegium on the ecclesiastical grades in Clm 19414: testimony to ninth-century clerical instruction', *Harvard Theological Review*, 63 (1970), 235–59, at 237. For the full number of grades in the order in which they were to be established for the rest of the Middle Ages, see, in the earlier ninth century, the 816 *Institutio Canonorum* or Rule of Aachen, *Concilia aevi Karolini*, ed. Albert Werminghoff, 2 vols., MGH *Conc.*, I, 308–421, at 319–22; Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* (1996), 295–308 (Book I, cc. 6–11); and Amalarius, *Liber officialis*, II, cc. 7–13: *Amalarii episcopi opera*, II, 215–32.

[47](#) Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Kirsopp Lake and H.J. Lawlor, tr. Kirsopp Lake and J.E.L. Oulton, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1926–32), II, 118 (VI, 43), citing a mid-



third-century letter of Pope Cornelius listing the clergy and recipients of charity in the Church of Rome: one bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers and doorkeepers, more than 1,500 widows and distressed persons. According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, written (so far as this section is concerned) in the earlier sixth century, Pope Gaius (282–95) decreed that a bishop should previously have progressed through being doorkeeper, reader, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and priest: *Libri pontificalis pars prior*, ed. Theodor Mommsen, MGH Gestorum Pontificum Romanorum, 1 (Berlin, 1898), 39; for translation, see *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)*, tr. Raymond Davis (Liverpool, 1989), 12.

[48](#) Roger E. Reynolds, ‘The *De officiis vii graduum*: its origins and development’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 34 (1972), 113–51, reprinted in Reynolds, *Clerical Orders*, [Chapter 2](#), retaining original pagination; Joseph Crehan, ‘The seven orders of Christ’, *Theological Studies*, 19 (1958), 81–93.

[49](#) Priests (presbyters) had begun to celebrate the Eucharist independently from bishops in churches other than cathedrals by the early fourth century (Franz Pototschnig, ‘Priester; lateinischer Westen; historische Bedeutung und kirchenrechtliche Entwicklung’, *LMA*, VII, 203–5, at 204); during the course of the sixth century the term *sacerdos*, originally used chiefly to mean ‘bishop’ in Christian sources, came to be used predominantly to mean ‘priest’ (Georg Schöllgen, ‘Priester, VI: christlich’, in *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, 12 vols. in 13 (Stuttgart and Weimar, 1996–2003), X, 322–3).

[50](#) Roger E. Reynolds, ‘The Pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*: notes on its origins, abridgments, and use in early medieval canonical collections’, *Rev. bén.*, 80 (1970), 238–52.

[51](#) André Wilmart, ‘Les ordres de Christ’, *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 3 (1923), 305–27; Crehan, ‘The seven orders’; Roger E. Reynolds, ‘An ordinal of Christ in medieval Catalan’, *Harvard Theological Review* 99 (2006), 103–10.

[52](#) Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, II, 118.

[53](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 36. In the eastern church there are only five grades – bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon and *anagnostes*, i.e. reader (Aristeides Papadakis, ‘Clergy’, in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A.P. Kazhdan and others, 3 vols. (New York and Oxford, 1991), I, 471).

[54](#) *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1911), I, not paginated (Book VII, c. 12, ¶ 3, 29) on acolytes; for a translation, see *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. and tr. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge, 2006), 170, 172; Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. Christopher M. Lawson (Turnhout, 1989), 69–71.

[55](#) *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua in Concilia Galliae A. 314 –A. 506*, ed. Charles Munier, CCL, 148 (Turnhout, 1963), 162–88, at 181–5 (date is c.475).

[56](#) D.M. Hope, *The Leonine Sacramentary: A Reassessment of Its Nature and Purpose* (London, 1971), 118 on dating (the manuscript is c.600), and 33, 91–5, 122 on ordination prayers; *Liber sacramentorum gellonensis*, ed. A. Dumas, O.S.B., 2 vols., CCL, 159 and

159a (Turnhout, 1981), contains liturgies for ordination of doorkeepers (I, 381), lectors (I, 382), exorcists (I, 382–3), acolytes (I, 383), subdeacons (I, 384–6), deacons (I, 384, 386–8, 391–2) and priests (I, 384, 388–92), and for the consecration of bishops (I, 392–5); *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze, 2 vols., Studi e testi, 226–7 (Vatican City, 1963), I, 12–13 (brief exposition of seven grades ‘of Isidore’), 13–19 on minor orders (here five of them: psalmist or cantor, doorkeeper, lector, exorcist and acolyte), and 20–38 on the orders of subdeacon, deacon and priest; cf also 4 ‘Oratio ad puerum tonsurandum’, 4–6 ‘Prefatio ad clericum faciendum’ and 6–7 ‘Oratio ad barbam tondendam’.

[57](#) *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals (the Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals)*, ed. H.M.J. Banting, Henry Bradshaw Society, 104 (London, 1989), 17–31; the explanation of how Christ had fulfilled the seven grades is at 17–18.

[58](#) Ambrose, *De officiis*, ed. Maurice Testard, CCSL, 15 (Turnhout, 2000).

[59](#) Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, ed. C.M. Lawson, CCSL, 113 (Turnhout, 1989).

[60](#) Amalarius, *Liber officialis: Amalarii episcopi opera*, II, 9–543. On the development of the *De officiis* genre, see Reynolds, ‘The *De Officiis VII Graduum*’, 113–51; Roger E. Reynolds, ‘The “Isidorian” *Epistola ad Leudefredum*: an early medieval epitome of clerical duties’, *Medieval Studies*, 41 (1979), 252–320, repr. in Reynolds, *Clerical Orders*, [Chapter 3](#).

[61](#) Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres*, ed. Detlev Zimpel, Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, 7 (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), 11–33 on the aim of the work, and 95–112 on manuscript transmission. Hrabanus was influenced by the *Institutio Canonorum*: Hanns-Christoph Picker, *Pastor Doctus: Klerikerbild und karolingische Reformen bei Hrabanus Maurus*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte 186 (Mainz, 2001), 56–7.

[62](#) Cf Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ, 2001), nos 40, 59, 61, 73, 174, 394, 741, 803, 925; by contrast, Isidore’s *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, though at least one copy had been available in eighth-century England, was cited much less than Amalarius by Anglo-Saxons in the tenth and eleventh centuries ([ibid.](#), nos 263, 391, 713, 845).

[63](#) Roger E. Reynolds, ‘Liturgical scholarship at the time of the Investiture Controversy: past research and future opportunities’, *Harvard Theological Review*, 71 (1978), 109–24, at 111. One contribution made in the mid-tenth century was Ps. Alcuin, *De divinis officiis* (PL 101: 1173–1286), used by the compiler of the Romano-German Pontifical: see Michel Andrieu, ‘L’ordo romanus antiquus et le *Liber de divinis officiis* du Pseudo-Alcuin’, *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 5 (1925), 642–50, and J.J. Ryan, ‘Pseudo-Alcuin’s *Liber de divinis officiis* and the *Liber Dominus vobiscum* of St Peter Damiani’, *Medieval Studies*, 14 (1952), 159–63, esp. 162.

[64](#) *Le De officiis ecclesiasticis de Jean d’Avranches, archevêque de Rouen (1067–1079)*, ed. R. Delamare (Paris, 1923); Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, ed. Hrabanus Haacke, CCCM, 7 (Turnhout, 1967); the thirteenth-century Sarum *De officiis ecclesiasticis tractatus*, in *RSO*, I, 1–185. Arnulf of Lisieux recommended a book on the divine office,

possibly John of Avranches's or Rupert of Deutz's, to Richard of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers, in about 1173 (*Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 151–2, no 93).

[65](#) *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. Paul Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863), 218; [www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/058.htm](http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/html/058.htm). For the dating, see Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, 'Auf Pseudoisidors Spur. Oder: Versuch, einen dichten Schleier zu lüften', in *Fortschritt durch Fälschungen? Ursprung, Gestalt und Wirkungen der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Gerhard Schmitz (Hanover, 2002), 1–28, at 9–11.

[66](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 33–4.

[67](#) *Concilia aevi merovingici*, 36.

[68](#) *Concilia aevi merovingici*, 36–7.

[69](#) *La colección canonica hispana*, IV, 348 (c. 1); Croce, 'Die niederen Weihen', 285.

[70](#) See [nn. 77](#)–8 below.

[71](#) Gregory I, *Registrum Epistolarum*, ed. Paul Ewald and Ludwig Hartmann, 2 vols., MGH Epp., 1–2 (Berlin, 1887–99), I, 373–5 (Book V, 60).

[72](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 45.

[73](#) *Felix's Life of St Guthlac*, 72, 82 (Guthlac abandoned life as a layman when he was twenty-three), 84–6; for the dates see [ibid.](#), 2–4.

[74](#) IV Toledo c. 20: Mansi, X, 625, pointing out that twenty-five was the age for Levites in Numbers 8:24; similarly thirty was the age at which Christ entered his ministry (Luke 3:23).

[75](#) Gratian, *Decretum*, Dist. LXXVIII, c. 4 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1879–81), I, col. 273); in [ibid.](#), c. 5, he quoted Pope Zacharias to the effect that if there were no suitable candidates for the priesthood aged thirty or over, men of twenty-five might be considered. For Isidore's definition of *adolescentia* as between fourteen and twenty-eight, see *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, II, Book XI, I, 2.

[76](#) Gibaut, *Cursus Honorum*, 290, 292–3, citing Ivo's *Sermo* II and Hugh of St Victor's *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei*; see [ibid.](#), 275, for discussion of Ivo's *Decretum*. Lower age limits for ordination to the subdiaconate were normal in southern Europe from the eleventh century onwards, especially Italy: see [ibid.](#), 304–5.

[77](#) 'The canons of the council in Trullo', in *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, ed. George Nedungatt and Michael Featherstone, *Kanonika*, 6 (Rome, 1995), 41–186, at 88 (c. 15); although the Quinisext was (at least in theory) rejected by the western church, this item was cited by Gratian, D 77 c. 4.

[78](#) For these and other western borrowings from the Council in Trullo, see Peter Landau, 'Überlieferung und Bedeutung der Kanones des Trullanischen Konzils im westlichen kanonischen Recht', in *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, ed. Nedungatt and Featherstone, 215–27, esp. 220, 226.

[79](#) Gratian, Dist. LXXVII, c. 2 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, I, col. 272), a somewhat altered

version of the original, for which see PL, 66, 572–3.

[80](#) Pope Siricius in 385, cited by Gratian, Dist. LXXVII c. 3 (*Corpus iuris canonici*, I, cols. 272–3). According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Pope Sylvester I (314–35) decreed that anyone seeking preferment in the Church should be a reader for thirty years, an exorcist for thirty days, an acolyte for five years, a subdeacon for five years, a guardian of the martyrs for five years, a deacon for seven years and a priest for three years before he could hope to become bishop (*Book of Pontiffs*, tr. Davis, 16).

[81](#) In about the fifth century in the west, major churches began to undertake daily celebration of the Eucharist: Raymund Kottje, ‘Das Aufkommen der täglichen Eucharistiefeier in der Westkirche und die Zölibatsforderung’, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 82 (1971), 218–28. Masses in monasteries in Gaul were still celebrated only on Sundays and feast days in the sixth century: see Gisela Muschiol, *Famula Dei: Zur Liturgie in merowingischen Frauenklöstern* (Münster, 1994), 193. From the seventh century, though more markedly from c.800, there was an increase in private Masses, especially as a form of private devotion: Gisela Muschiol, ‘Men, women and liturgical practice in the early medieval west’, in *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900*, ed. Leslie Brubaker and J.M.H. Smith (Cambridge, 2004), 198–216; Otto Nussbaum, *Kloster, Priester und Privatmesse* (Bonn, 1961), 73–5, 78–80; de Jong, *In Samuel’s Image*, 138–41. The move towards encouraging every priest to say Mass every day if possible came in the tenth century: see S.J.P. Van Dijk and J.H. Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (London, 1960), 51.

[82](#) In 1031 at New Minster, Winchester (Benedictine from 964), seventeen of the thirty-seven monks were priests, eleven were deacons and nine were boys; among the seventy-six New Minster monks recorded for the period from 964 to 1030 four were abbots and presumably were priests, thirty-five others were priests and eighteen were deacons, while at Old Minster, Winchester, from 964 to c.1031, over a third were priests, a quarter were deacons and about a fifth were boys. See *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. Simon Keynes (Copenhagen, 1996), fo. 21v for the thirty-seven monks in the 1031 list, and fos. 20v–21v for the New Minster monks 964–1030 and 18r–20r for the Old Minster monks 964–c.1031.

[83](#) One priest and two deacons witness S 1417 from Old Minster Winchester (925 × 933); charters from Worcester in 962–3 list, usually, two priests and one deacon, with the number of priests rising to four and above from 966, the year in which Oswald set up a monastic community next to his clerical one: cf S 1297, 1299, 1300, 1302, 1309–11.

[84](#) James W. McKinnon, ‘The origins of the Western office’, in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford, 2000), 63–73; Jesse D. Billett, ‘The Divine Office and the secular clergy in later Anglo-Saxon England’, in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947)*, ed. David Rollason, Conrad Leyser and Hannah Williams (Turnhout, 2010), 429–71. The clerical office was heavily influenced in the fourth century and later by the monastic office.

[85](#) Pierre Riché, *Les écoles et l’enseignement dans l’Occident chrétien de la fin du Ve siècle au milieu du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1979), 223; see also [Chapter 7](#) below.



[86](#) E.g. S 193, 422; this could be enforced by kings, cf V Æthelstan 3; VI Æthelstan 8, 6; and VII Æthelred the Unready 3, 2: *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Felix Liebermann, 3 vols. (Halle, 1898–1916), I, 168, 180, 261. The first fifty psalms, chanting which was a penitential duty, were usually the ones specified.

[87](#) A prebend existed at Minden in the early thirteenth century to fund a canon who would say the Psalter, though it was then split up to provide prebends for two boy canons: *Westf. UB*, VI, no 59 (1213 × 1236). Count Philip of Namur granted property to the canons of Saint-Aubain, Namur, in return for them singing the seven penitential psalms every day for him: Joseph Barbier, ‘Documents extraits du cartulaire du chapitre Saint-Aubain, à Namur, concernant le village de Mellet (Hainaut)’, *Analectes pour servir à l’histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 5 (1868), 198–204, at 200–2 (no 3).

[88](#) See [Chapter 3](#) below.

[89](#) Amalarius, *Liber officialis* (II, cc. 7–13): *Amalarii episcopi opera*, II, 215–32.

[90](#) *Concilia Galliae*, 14–22, cited by Godding, *Prêtres*, 34–5.

[91](#) ‘Pinewald exorc(ista)’ witnesses S 75 of 692, supposedly issued by Æthelred of Mercia for Oslaf, but this charter is a Worcester forgery of the eleventh century.

[92](#) Gregory I, *Registrum*, i, 363 (Book V, no 57): Gregory I said that subdeacons should be responsible for readings other than the Gospel, but if necessary this task could be performed by clerks in minor orders; for comment see Detlef Illmer, *Formen der Erziehung und Wissensvermittlung im frühen Mittelalter: Quellenstudien zur Frage der Kontinuität des abendländischen Erziehungswesens* (Munich, 1971), 120.

[93](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 61–2, 123, 124, 481; in Spain, lectors and also doorkeepers are mentioned in the Council of Tarragona (516), c. 9: *La colección canonica hispana*, IV, 277.

[94](#) Illmer, *Formen der Erziehung*, 121, citing *Gregorii I Registrum*, ii, 415 (Book XIII, no 50).

[95](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, ed. Wilhelm Schmitz (Hanover, 1889), 14 (c. 21); for a translation, see *The Chrodegang Rules*, ed. and tr. Jerome Bertram (Aldershot, 2005), 68–9.

[96](#) ‘Institutio Sancti Angilberti abbatis de diversitate officiorum’, in Hariulf, *Chronique de l’abbaye de Saint-Riquier (Ve siècle–1104)*, ed. Ferdinand Lot (Paris, 1894), 300. The abbey of Fulda still retained some specific duties for the doorkeeper in the celebration of the Mass as late as the mid-ninth century: Picker, *Pastor doctus*, 155.

[97](#) Junior canons in the grade of *lector* occur in the early twelfth century at Arras Cathedral: *Les chartes des évêques d’Arras (1093–1203)*, ed. Benoît-Michel Tock, Collection de documents inédits sur l’histoire de France, Section d’histoire médiévale et de philologie, 21 (Paris, 1991), nos 15 (1109), 16 (1110) and 20 (1113); a *lector* occurring [ibid.](#), no 2 (1097) appears from his position in the witness list to have been a senior member of the chapter and the term here may possibly refer to a dignity rather than to the grade of ordination. The term *lector* could refer to a teacher rather than to a cleric in the grade of *lector*; see, for example, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric*

Bata, ed. Scott Gwara, tr. David W. Porter (Woodbridge, 1997), 118. See also [Chapter 7](#) (on schoolmasters) below.

[98](#) *UB Hildesheim*, I, 557–9, no 582 of 1203. See also *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Goslar*, ed. G. Bode and U. Hölscher, 5 vols. (Halle, 1893–1922), I, nos 473 of 1226 and 502 of 1226 × 1232: the former is a report by Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim on an ordination ceremony where a canon of Goslar (who was also parish priest of Gandersheim) was made priest and several *scolares* presented by the scholasticus were ordained subdeacon and acolytes, and the latter is a letter from the collegiate church of Saints Simeon and Jude in Goslar to Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim requesting ordination for a canon as deacon, another canon as subdeacon, a vicar as subdeacon and three *scolares* or schoolboy canons in minor orders.

[99](#) E.g. *Registrum Thome de Cantilupo, episcopi Herefordensis, AD MCCLXXV–MCCLXXXII*, ed. R.G. Griffiths and W.W. Capes, Canterbury and York Society, 2 (London, 1907), 299–312; *The Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury 1279–1292*, ed. F.N. Davies and Decima Douie, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society, 64–5 (London, 1968–9), I, 184–6, 190–2, 194–7, 199–201, 203–4, 208–15, 220–56, II, 1–35; *The Register of Walter Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, 1296–1321*, ed. J.B. Hughes, 2 vols., Canterbury and York Society, 91 and 97 (London, 2001–7), II, 8–10, 11–12, 26–7, 70, 94–5. The registers of Bishop Oliver Sutton of Lincoln do not name the clerks being ordained in minor orders, though they name the ones ordained in major orders and specify which major order was bestowed: *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280–1299*, ed. R.M.T. Hill, 8 vols., Lincoln Record Society, 39, 43, 48, 52, 60, 64, 69, 76 (Lincoln 1948–86), VII, 37, 38, 51, 66. See also, for comment on the fourteenth century and later, Cullum, ‘Boy/man into clerk/priest’, 55–6, where it is argued that ‘first tonsure effectively subsumed the lower minor orders’.

[100](#) *Registrum Ricardi de Swinfield, episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCLXXXIII–MCCCXVII*, ed. W.W. Capes, Canterbury and York Society, 6 (London, 1909), 549, at Reading, 27 March 1288; the only ordinations recorded in Swinfield’s register were performed in the diocese of Salisbury under licence, while notifications of ordinations carried out by Swinfield himself have been lost.

[101](#) John Borough (de Burgh), *Pupilla Oculi* (London, 1510), fo. 74v (VII, 3, 4); tr. in John Shinnars and William J. Dohar, eds., *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN, 1998), 57.

[102](#) For some late medieval examples, see Margaret Harvey, *Lay Religious Life in Late Medieval Durham* (Woodbridge, 2006), 114–19.

[103](#) There was some attempt to limit it at Minden in 1230, at both the cathedral and the Marienstift, where it was laid down that no one should be elected to a prebend under the age of fourteen (possibly at ordination to acolyte): *Westf. UB*, VI, nos 207, 211. Likewise in the same year at Paderborn prebends previously set aside for boys (*pueriles prebende*) were earmarked for priests acting as chaplains, below the status of cathedral canons: *Westf. UB*, IV, no 185. See also [Chapter 6](#) below.

[104](#) Roger E. Reynolds, ‘The subdiaconate as a sacred and superior order’, in Roger E. Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages: Hierarchy and Image*, Variorum Collected



Studies 669 (Aldershot, 1999), 1–39 ([Chapter 4](#)); on the eastern church see Papadakis, ‘Clergy’, 471.

[105](#) Council of Pavia (1012 × 1024), c. 1 (Mansi, XIX, 353); Council of Bourges 1031, cc. 5–6: c. 6 stipulated that a cleric wishing to be ordained as subdeacon had to promise that he would not take a wife or a concubine (Mansi, XIX, 503); these were followed by a steady stream of prescriptions from the Gregorians; see Reynolds, ‘The subdiaconate’, 10–23. See also Charles Hilken, ‘Necrological evidence of the place and permanence of the subdiaconate’, in *Ritual, Text and Law: Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds*, ed. K.G. Cushing and R.F. Gyug (Aldershot, 2004), 51–66. But acceptance of the idea that subdeacons should be celibate could be slow; at York Minster under Archbishop Gerard (1100–8) celibacy could only be expected of priests and deacons, and then only of those ordained by Gerard himself, who had to make a profession to him; those already in priests’ and deacons’ orders did not feel obliged to observe it (*Historians of the Church of York*, ed. James Raine, 3 vols., RS, 71 (London, 1879–94), III, 24).

[106](#) Urban II is said to have commented that the subdiaconate had become one of the ‘sacred orders’ (quoted in *Decretalium Gregorii IX Compilatio*, I, xiv, c. 9: *Corpus iuris canonici*, II, col. 243); the text is discussed by Reynolds, ‘The subdiaconate’, 2; and see also C.R. Cheney, ‘Three decretal collections before Compilatio IV: Pragensis, Palatina I, and Abrincensis I’, *Traditio*, 15 (1959), 464–83, at 480–3.

[107](#) Cf Detlev Illmer, *Erziehung und Wissensvermittlung im frühen Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Schule* (Kastellaun and Hunsrück, 1979), 124–35.

[108](#) *Bremisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. D.R. Ehmck and W. von Bippen, 5 vols. (Bremen, 1873–1902), I, no 133 (1224); and cf also [ibid.](#), no 151 of 1229, where a canon of St Anskar, Bremen, is ordained subdeacon and given a stall and hebdomadal duties; Alois Weisstanner, ‘Regesten des Freisinger Bischofs Otto I. (1138–1158)’, *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 14 (1958), 151–222, no 172; *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, no 84 (1203): ‘Nullus acolitus vocem habet in capitulo’ (‘no acolyte has a voice in chapter’) at Liège cathedral; AD Aisne G1850 [1], fos. 187v–188v (Laon, 1159: no canon to have a ‘whole prebend’ before ordination as subdeacon); *Chartularium ecclesiae Cenomannensis*, no 221 (Le Mans, 1225/6: canons could be admitted over twenty-one after swearing an oath of loyalty to the chapter, and if they were not already subdeacons they had to sit in the lower stalls). Cf also *OB Utrecht*, I, no 299 (1121), stipulating that provosts of collegiate churches in the city and diocese of Utrecht had to be cathedral canons in subdeacon’s or deacon’s orders, and *Westf. UB*, III, no 67 (1212), which said that canons still *in scholis* could not hold obediences.

[109](#) Julia Barrow, ‘Education and the recruitment of cathedral canons in England and Germany 1100–1225’, *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117–138, at 121–2; see also *MUB*, II, part 2, nos 517, 532 and, as a source for twelfth-century rather than tenth-century behaviour, the Aschaffenburg Schulprivileg, supposedly of 976, but forged or heavily interpolated, *Urkundenbuch des Stifts St. Peter und Alexander zu Aschaffenburg*, I, 861–1325, ed. Matthias Thiel (Aschaffenburg, 1986), no 8. A passage in the *Chronicle* of Thietmar saying that Archbishop Tagino of Magdeburg’s stipulations about clothing payments to his chapter separated the higher grades of clergy, including the subdeacons, from the ‘infants’

suggests that this system already existed at Magdeburg by the early eleventh century: see *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, ed. Robert Holtzmann, MGH SRG, nova series, 9 (Berlin, 1935), 354–5 (Book V1, c. 64); for a translation see *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, tr. and annotated by David Warner (Manchester, 2001), 281.

[110](#) At Le Mans, cf the case of the ninth-century cleric Rigrannus, ordained to all the grades up to subdeacon soon after the age of twenty-three: Giles Constable, ‘Monks and canons in Carolingian Gaul: the case of Rigrannus of Le Mans’, in *After Rome’s Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History: Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. A.C. Murray (Toronto, 1998), 320–36, at 335; and much later, in 1225/6, statutes stipulating twenty-one as the minimum age for cathedral canons to be made subdeacon: *Chartularium ecclesiae Cenomannensis*, no 221.

[111](#) Cf *Amalarii episcopi opera*, II, 213.

[112](#) In the *Epistola ad Leudefredum*, probably of the late seventh century, the archdeacon trained the subdeacons and deacons while the *primicerius* trained clerics in the lower grades: Reynolds, ‘The “Isidorian” *Epistola ad Leudefredum*’, 261; for the dating, see Roger E. Reynolds, ‘The “Isidorian” *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: its origins, early manuscript tradition and editions’, in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. Edward James (Oxford, 1980), 251–72; for Chrodegang, see *S. Chrodegangi regula canonicorum*, ed. Schmitz, 16–17 (c. 25); for a translation, see *The Chrodegang Rules*, 71–2.

[113](#) E.g. *Vita Sancti Thomae, archiepiscopi et martyris, auctore Herberto de Boseham*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. James Craigie Robertson, 7 vols., RS, 67 (London, 1875–85), III, 155–534, at 168; however, see also Hildebert of Lavardin, *Epistolae*, Book II, ep. 29 (PL CLXXI, 248–53), concerning a subdeacon being made archdeacon in the diocese of Clermont between 1111 and 1125. Hincmar of Rheims’s fifth capitulary is a set of instructions written for two archdeacons, Gunthar and Odelhard, whom he refers to as *archdiaconis presbyteris* (MGH *Capit. ep.*, II, 86–9, at 86). Between 1100 and 1108 Archbishop Gerard of York commented that some of his archdeacons were reluctant to seek ordination to the diaconate, while another archdeacon was in priest’s orders (*Historians of the Church of York*, III, 25).

[114](#) PL 207: 358–67, at 365. At the start of the letter, however, Peter says that it is reverence and not contempt that is holding him back from ordination.

[115](#) Julia Barrow, ‘Cathedrals, provosts and prebends: a comparison of twelfth-century German and English practice’, *JEH*, 37 (1986), 536–64, at 545 (on provostships being linked to archdeaconries); at Münster, most of the dignitaries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries for whom the information is available were either deacon or priest: Wilhelm Kohl, *Das Domstift St. Paulus zu Münster*, Germania Sacra, neue Folge, 17.2 (Berlin, 1982), 3–8, 81–93, 162–6, 207–11, 247–50, 281–3, 324–7.

[116](#) Mansi, XX, 498 (quoted in *Decretalium Gregorii IX Compilatio*, I, xiv, c. 1: *Corpus iuris canonici*, II, col. 125). At Minden in 1230 it was laid down that archdeaconries were not to be held by boys but by ‘prudent and faithful men’, and that no one should be elected to a dignity under the age of twenty-five, the traditional minimum age for ordination to the diaconate: *Westf. UB*, VI, nos 207 (cathedral) and 211 (Marienstift). At Le Mans in 1230 it

was laid down that the *maior archidiaconatus* was to be held by a deacon and all the other archdeacons by priests: *Chartularium ecclesiae Cenomannensis*, no 232, in an *inspeximus* of 1232 × 1234.

[117](#) Alfred Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, Teil 1, *Germania Sacra*, neue Folge, 1, Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Mainz (Berlin, 1962), 117–226; Léopold Genicot, ‘Haute clergé et noblesse dans le diocèse de Liège du XI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in *Adel und Kirche*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Karl Schmid (Freiburg, 1968), 237–58, at 242. At Bremen the archbishops Libentius (988–1013), Hermann (1032–5) and Adalbert (1043–72) had all been cathedral provosts: *Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH SRG in usum scholarum (Hanover and Leipzig, 1917), 123, 128, 144 (Book II, 63 and 68; Book III, 2).

[118](#) Figures calculated from (for Normandy) David Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911–1204* (London, 2006); and, for England and Wales, *Fasti*. Even where bishops cannot be shown to have been archdeacons, they were not infrequently appointed or elected to the episcopate from the diaconate, being priested shortly before their consecration, as in the case of Bishop Bernard of St Davids: *St Davids Episcopal Acta 1085–1280*, ed. Julia Barrow, South Wales Record Society, 13 (Cardiff, 1998), 3; this also occurred in the cases of several archdeacons, for example Roger de Clinton and Thomas Becket.

[119](#) *Cartulaire de l’évêché du Mans 965–1786*, ed. A. Bertrand de Broussillon, Société des Archives historiques du Mans, 9 (Le Mans, 1908), nos 1010 (c.1200), 1033 (1220).

[120](#) *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, no 84 (1203).

[121](#) *Cartulaire de l’évêché du Mans 965–1786*, no 1010 of c.1200 and esp. no 1033 of 1220, where the dean and priest canons were ordered to serve their hebdomadal weeks; *Cartulaire d’Amiens*, I, no 160, dated 1219; at Troyes Cathedral in 1183 Lucius III limited the people who served at high altar to cut out the ‘unknown and less suitable persons’ (*innote persone atque minus idonee*), *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, no 38; *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. Henry Bradshaw and Christopher Wordsworth, 2 vols. in 3 (Cambridge, 1892–7), II, 45–6, for the role of the hebdomadary canon in the earliest Hereford cathedral statutes, compiled between 1246 and 1256.

[122](#) *Cartulaire d’Amiens*, I, no 160.

[123](#) Stephen of Tournai asked Archbishop William of Rheims in 1192/3 for special permission for Arnulf, dean of Tournai, to have more time before being ordained priest (*Lettres d’Étienne de Tournai*, ed. Jules Desilve (Valenciennes and Paris, 1893), no 249; the archbishop agreed, *ibid.*, no 251). For the grades of ordination of the seventeen deans of Tournai Cathedral, 1080–1300, see [Chapter 9, n. 190](#), below.

[124](#) Only five out of ninety-one or ninety-two Norman bishops between 911 and 1204 had previously been deans (Spear, *Personnel*, 4, 5, 33, 92, 197) – Richard of Subligny, bishop of Avranches 1143–53; William Burel, bishop of Avranches, d. 1194; Henry de Beaumont, bishop of Bayeux 1165–1205; William of Tournebu, bishop of Coutances 1184–1202; Geoffrey Brito, archbishop of Rouen 1111–18 – but the number was on the increase in the late twelfth century; thirty-six bishops of English and Welsh sees had been deans at some point in their careers over the period from 1066 to 1300, mostly in the

thirteenth century (*Fasti, passim*).

[125](#) Julia Barrow, 'The origins of vicars choral to c.1300', in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals: Cantate Domino: History, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford, 2005), 11–16, at 15.

[126](#) *Cartulaire de Béthune*, nos 3 (1170 × 1181), 6 (1183); AD Aisne G1850 [1], fo. 123r–v (1185); *Cartulaire d'Amiens*, I, no 77 (1190); *Cartulaire d'Autun*, part 2, no 29 (1195: Saint-Lazare); *Actes des princes-évêques de Liège: Hugues de Pierrepont, 1200–1229*, ed. Édouard Poncelet (Brussels, 1941), no 20; *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, no 84; cf also *Urkundenbuch der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Verden*, I, ed. Arend Mindermann (Stade, 2001), no 191 (1197); *Cartulaire de Langres*, no 326 (1215); *Cartulaires de Térouane*, nos 70, 85 (1184, 1192); J. Barbier, 'Documents extraits du cartulaire du chapitre de Saint-Aubain, à Namur', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 5 (1868), 198–204 and 480–91, 6 (1869), 182–203, 7 (1870), 465–6, 9 (1872), 495–501 and 11 (1874), 99–128, at 5 (1868), 480–2 (1207) and 11 (1874), 102–3 (1212); *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, no 36 (1182).

[127](#) *UB Osnabrück*, II, no 266 (1230); *Westf. UB*, IV, no 185 (1230).

[128](#) *UBMRh*, III, no 2 (1212); *Westf. UB*, II, no 417 (1181); *Mon. Boica*, XXXVII, no 141 (1188, Würzburg cathedral); AD Aisne G1850 [1], fo. 113v (Laon, 1131), and fos. 192v–194 (several charters establishing chaplaincies at Laon).

[129](#) Barrow, 'The origins of vicars choral', 12–15. Cf also *Antiquus cartularius*, I, nos 248 (1205 × 1213: vicars), 270 (1207: priest-prebends), and II, no 327 (1198); *Chartularium ecclesiae Cenomannensis*, no 7 (1161).

[130](#) Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, 7 (c. 2).

[131](#) Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, 7 (c. 2).

[132](#) Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, 9 (c. 3).

[133](#) Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, 10 (c. 4). On Wilfrid's time in Lyon, see J.L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: the careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history', in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), 31–77, at 65–6, repr. in J.L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 1–48; Paul Fouracre, 'Forgetting and remembering Dagobert II: the English connection', in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (Manchester, 2008), 70–89, at 85–6.

[134](#) Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, 11–15 (cc. 5–6).

[135](#) Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, 17–27 (cc. 8–12). Wilfrid's ordination as priest is described, 19 (c. 9), and he is referred to as 'priest and abbot', in the account of the Synod of Whitby, 20 (c. 10); for his episcopal election and consecration see 23–7 (cc. 11–12).

[136](#) Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. Peter Godman (Oxford, 1982), 110, ll. 1415–26; Godman translates *condigno ordine* as 'at the proper time', though 'in the appropriate grade' would probably be closer to Alcuin's meaning.



[137](#) Discussion of Alcuin's use of the term *adolescentia* by Donald Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004), 105–6; cf *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum libri XX*, II, Book XI, ii, 1–4 – boyhood until fourteen, adolescence to twenty-eight. Hildemar applies the same definition in his *Expositio* of RB: *Expositio Regulae ab Hildemaro tradita*, ed. Rupert Mittermüller (Regensburg, 1880), 371.

[138](#) Alcuin, *York*, 110, l. 1425. For Isidore's definition of the age limits of *iuventus*, between twenty-eight and fifty years, see *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi etymologiarum libri XX*, II, Book XI, i, 2.

[139](#) Bullough, *Alcuin*, 34.

[140](#) *Vita Alcuini*, ed. Arndt, MGH SS, 15 (1) (Hanover, 1887), 182–97, at 185 (c. 1): 'qui cum matris ablactaretur carnalibus, ecclesiae traditur mysticis imbuendus uberibus' ('who when he was weaned from the fleshly breasts of his mother was handed over to be suckled by the mystic breasts of the Church'); see also Bullough, *Alcuin*, 164.

[141](#) Alcuin, *Ep.* no 42; Alcuin refers to being in the church at York in boyhood: Alcuin, *York*, 130, ll. 1600–5 and 134, l. 1653; see also Bullough, *Alcuin*, 164.

[142](#) *Vita Alcuini*, 189 (c. 8), discussed by Bullough, *Alcuin*, 30–3. The choice of Candlemas, commemorating the presentation of Christ in the Temple, for Alcuin's original tonsure would have been particularly appropriate if this was the day of his entry into the York community.

[143](#) See discussion by Bullough, *Alcuin*, 306–8. Down to the later tenth century, deacons elected pope did not need ordination as priest before consecration as pope; thereafter, and for bishoprics elsewhere, it was common to ordain the bishop-elect priest on the eve of his consecration, as happened in the cases of Thomas Becket and Innocent III: Gibaut, *Cursus Honorum*, 233–4, 298, 300.

[144](#) *Geschichte des Bistums Le Mans von der Spätantike bis zur Karolingerzeit: Actus pontificum cenomannis in urbe degentium und Gesta Aldrici*, ed. Margarete Weidemann, 3 vols., Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Monographien, 56, 1–3 (Mainz and Bonn, 2002), I, 118: *Gesta Domni Aldrici*, c. 1.

[145](#) *Geschichte des Bistums Le Mans*, I, 119 (*Gesta Domni Aldrici*, c. 2).

[146](#) 'Ipse quoque tenere adhuc aetatis erat atque pube tenus'.

[147](#) *Geschichte des Bistums Le Mans*, I, 119 (*Gesta Domni Aldrici*, c. 2): 'clericus ap episcopo eiusdem civitatis et cuncto clero divinis benedictionibus decantantibus et hymnis spiritualibus modulantibus tonsoratus est, et vestibus clericalibus indutus, et manuum impositionibus ab episcopo et a cunctis sacerdotibus clericali benedictione consecratus, inter seniores fratres est collocatus'.

[148](#) *Geschichte des Bistums Le Mans*, I, 119 (c. 2).

[149](#) *Geschichte des Bistums Le Mans*, I, 120 (c. 2).

[150](#) *Die Streitschriften Hinkmars von Reims und Hinkmars von Laon 869–871*, ed. Rudolf Schieffer, MGH Concilia, 4, supplementum ii (Hanover, 2003), 303, l. 15.

[151](#) *Die Streitschriften Hinkmars*, 195, ll. 17–18.

[152](#) *Die Streitschriften Hinkmars*, 303, ll. 15–17.

[153](#) Constable, ‘Monks and canons’, 332–5; for the dating of Rigrannus’ career see p. 321.

[154](#) At a slightly later point in the *Vita*, John of Salerno says that Count Fulk of Anjou ‘had nourished’ (*nutrierat*) Odo; perhaps he had been Odo’s original *nutritor*, while the latter’s father was still educating him for a clerical career. The relationship proved useful when Odo entered the basilica of Saint-Martin, since Fulk was able to acquire a position for him there as a canon, with a ‘cell’ (presumably a very small house) and ‘daily food’ (i.e. a prebend): PL 133: 48.

[155](#) PL 133: 47–8; for a translation, see *St Odo of Cluny, Being the Life of St Odo of Cluny by John of Salerno and the Life of St Gerald of Aurillac by St Odo*, tr. Gerard Sitwell (London, 1958), 7–14. For discussion of Odo’s early career, see Isabelle Cochelin, ‘Quête de liberté et réécriture des origines: Odon et les portraits corrigés de Baume, Géraud et Guillaume’, in *Guerriers et moines: Conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l’occident médiéval (IXe–XIIe siècle)*, ed. Michel Lauwers (Antibes, 2002), 183–215, at 187–9.

[156](#) PL 133: 45, 60; *St Odo of Cluny*, 7, 39.

[157](#) Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom suggest that he was born 904/5 × 909, to allow for him to have become a priest at the age of thirty while Athelstan was still king, but it is not clear that Æthelwold was made priest in Athelstan’s lifetime or that he had reached thirty when he was priested: Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. and tr. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford 1991: hereafter *Vita Æthelwoldi*), xl.

[158](#) *Vita Æthelwoldi*, 8, c. 5.

[159](#) *Vita Æthelwoldi*, 8, c. 6, presumably between seven and fifteen.

[160](#) *Vita Æthelwoldi*, 10, c. 7; Barbara Yorke, ‘Æthelwold and the politics of the tenth century’, in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), 65–88, at 68.

[161](#) *Vita Æthelwoldi*, 10, c. 7: ‘ac deinde, paucis labentibus annorum curriculis, in gradum sacerdotalem consecratus est’. Michael Lapidge, ‘Dunstan’, *ODNB*, argued that Æthelwold’s priesting happened during Athelstan’s reign, but this does not have to have been the case; more recently he has argued for the priesting happening ‘in the early 940s’ (i.e. a few years after 939): *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2012), xvii, but this may compress Dunstan’s career too much: see [n. 165](#) below.

[162](#) *Vita Æthelwoldi*, 12, c. 8.

[163](#) *Vita Æthelwoldi*, 14, c. 9.

[164](#) Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, ed. J. Heller and G. Waitz, MGH SS, 13 (Hanover, 1881), 578, 581–2 (Book IV, cc. 20, 28–9).

[165](#) *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 10 (c. 3); on B.’s probable identification (Byrthelm), see now [ibid.](#), lxiv–lxxviii, building on an earlier outline in Michael Lapidge, ‘B. and the *Vita*



*Sancti Dunstani*', in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), 247–59, at 257. The verb used by 'B.' is *oritur* ('he arises'), which has sometimes been interpreted as 'emerged' rather than 'is born' (for references, see *Early Lives*, xvii, which argues for *oriri* meaning 'to be born'). *Oriri* is used fairly frequently in German episcopal *vitae* of the tenth and eleventh centuries to refer to birth, and since B. was living in Liège and would thus have good knowledge of contemporary texts from elsewhere in the empire, B. probably means that Dunstan was born in Athelstan's reign. How accurate B.'s dating was, however, is another question. Lapidge ([ibid.](#), xvi–xx) argues that he is more likely to have been born no later than 921, since he was ordained priest no later than 951 and became abbot by 946, but, although priests were supposed to be ordained no earlier than their thirtieth year, there were some exceptions and it is possible that Dunstan was one of them.

[166](#) *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 10 (c. 3), and xv, for the names of Dunstan's parents; N.P. Brooks, 'The career of St Dunstan', in *St Dunstan*, ed. Ramsay, Sparks and Tatton-Brown, 1–23, at 6, on the possible identity of the two Heorstans. Heorstan's name occurs in S 1417 without a descriptive term but within a group of people who include clerics – the name immediately before his is 'Petrus', unlikely to have been borne by a layman, and about twelve names ahead of them are three deacons, while the *ministri* (thegns) start to occur about eleven names below. See Barrow, 'Grades of ordination and clerical careers, c.900–c.1200', 54; *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, xv n. 15.

[167](#) *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 12 (c. 3).

[168](#) *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 14–16 (c. 4).

[169](#) *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 16–18 (c. 5). On Dunstan's education in adolescence see also [Chapter 4](#) below.

[170](#) *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 18–25 (cc. 5–6; court), 26–30 (cc. 7–8; Ælfheah). See also [Chapter 5](#) below.

[171](#) *Vita Æthelwoldi*, 12 (c. 8).

[172](#) *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 48–50 (c. 14). If B. is correct about Dunstan being born in Athelstan's reign he might have been only about twenty-two on becoming priest, or at most twenty-seven.

[173](#) *Widrici vita S. Gerardi episcopi Tullensis*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS, 4 (Hanover, 1841), 485–505, at 492: 'Ab ipsis ergo pueritiae exordiis in iam dicto commoratus clericorum coenobio, per singulos sacri officii gradus more ascendit ecclesiastico'. Gerard was bishop of Toul 963–94.

[174](#) *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, ed. Holtzmann, 150–1 (Book IV, c. 16); for a translation see *Ottonian Germany*, 162. Nuns and canonesses were forbidden to teach boys, but canon law rulings on this point were often ignored.

[175](#) Thietmar, *Chronik*, 150–1 (Book IV, c. 16); *Ottonian Germany*, 162.

[176](#) *La règle de Saint Benoît*, ed. and tr. Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville, 7 vols., Sources chrétiennes, 181–6 (Paris, 1972–7), II, 666 ('infantes usque quindecim annorum aetates'); see de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, 61–4, for comment.

[177](#) Thietmar, *Chronik*, 150–1 (Book IV, c. 16); *Ottonian Germany*, 162.

[178](#) Thietmar, *Chronik*, 158–61 (Book IV, cc. 24–5); *Ottonian Germany*, 168–9.

[179](#) See [n. 109](#) above. On the other hand, Archbishop Tagino of Magdeburg (1004–12), when he increased clothing allowances for his canons, treated the subdeacon canons on a par with the child canons, and gave more to priests and deacons: see Thietmar, *Chronik*, 354–5 (Book VI, c. 64); *Ottonian Germany*, 281.

[180](#) Thietmar, *Chronik*, 330–1 (Book VI, c. 46); *Ottonian Germany*, 269, wrongly says 2 December.

[181](#) Thietmar, *Chronik*, 322–7 (Book VI, cc. 39–40, 42); *Ottonian Germany*, 264–5, 267.

[182](#) On the basis of a Saint-Bénigne obit entry, it is possible to identify Halinard as the son of Warner of Sombernon and Istisburgis, probably connected with the Vergy family: François Grignard, ‘Conjectures sur la famille d’Halinard abbé de Saint-Bénigne’, *Bulletin d’histoire et d’archéologie religieuses du diocèse de Dijon*, 2 (1884), 202–6.

[183](#) *Vita venerabilis Halinardi* (PL 142: 1337–9); Halinard of Sombernon was abbot of Saint-Bénigne 1031–52 and archbishop of Lyon 1046–52; he was probably born c.990; see Constance B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca, NY, 1987), 425, and 386 for Bishop Walter.

[184](#) *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX.*, ed. and tr. Hans-Georg Krause, with Detlev Jasper and Veronika Lukas, MGH SRG, 70 (Hanover, 2007); *La vie du pape Léon IX (Brunon, évêque de Toul)*, ed. Michel Parisse, tr. Monique Goullet, 2nd edn (Paris, 2009); for an English translation see *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII*, tr. and annotated by I. S. Robinson (Manchester, 2004).

[185](#) *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX.*, 92; *La vie du pape Léon IX*, 10 (I, c. 2): *Quem congruo tempore ablactatum, Bertholdo sanctae Tullensis ecclesiae antistiti tradidit iam quinquennem*; for translation, see *The Papal Reform*, 101.

[186](#) *La vie du pape Léon IX*, 10 (I, c. 3): ‘Tam idoneus itaque vir infantulum praefatum gratanter susceptum et litteris fecit erudiri et omni honestate ingenuis pueris competentī’; translation from *The Papal Reform*, 101, with adaptations.

[187](#) *La vie du pape Léon IX*, 20 (I, c. 6): ‘decedente domino Bertoldo suo nutritore’; for translation, see *The Papal Reform*, 105.

[188](#) *La vie du pape Léon IX*, 20 (I, c. 6): ‘Ejus etiam adnitente auctoritate ... integerrime permansit sub Herimanno institutio et praebenda canonica’; for translation, see *The Papal Reform*, 106. For the duty of the provost to distribute the *prebenda* to canons, see [Chapter 9](#) below.

[189](#) *La vie du pape Léon IX*, 20 (I, c. 6): ‘ut eximius adolescens’; for translation, see *The Papal Reform*, 106.

[190](#) *La vie du pape Léon IX*, 24 (I, c. 7): ‘Anno igitur aetatis suae vigesimo tertio, cum jam alteram adolescentiae epdomadam fuisset ingressus’; for translation, see *The Papal Reform*, 107–8.

[191](#) *La vie du pape Léon IX*, 28 (I, c. 8): ‘per singulos gradus ecclesiae regulariter ad

leviticum ordinem provectum'; for translation, see *The Papal Reform*, 109–10.

[192](#) Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c.1008–1085* (Oxford, 1990), 28; Wulfstan is described as having been in about his eighty-seventh year when he died in January 1095.

[193](#) Mason, *St Wulfstan*, 30–1; I. Atkins, 'The church of Worcester from the eighth to the twelfth century', Part 2, *Antiquaries Journal*, 20 (1940), 1–38 and 203–28, at 30; Nicholas Brooks, 'Introduction: how do we know about St Wulfstan?', in *St Wulfstan and His World*, ed. Julia S. Barrow and N.P. Brooks (Aldershot, 2005), 1–21, at 18; see also [Chapter 4](#) below.

[194](#) William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 14–17.

[195](#) Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, 20–1.

[196](#) Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, 22–3 and 108–9: 'Brihtegus, ut premissum est, episcopus eum a primis ordinibus in presbiteratum promouerat'.

[197](#) Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, 22–5.

[198](#) *Vita Lietberti Episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rodulfo monacho S. Sepulcri Cameracensis*, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SS, 30, ii (Hanover, 1934), 838–68, at 844; the Life was written 1092 × 1133.

[199](#) *Vita Lietberti*, 844.

[200](#) *Vita Lietberti*, 844; the quote is from the Song of Songs, 4:2.

[201](#) *Vita Lietberti*, 844–5; see also *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. Ludwig Bethmann, MGH SS, 7 (Hanover, 1846), 393–525, at 489.

[202](#) *Petri Cluniacensis abbatis de miraculis libri duo*, ed. Dionysia Bouthillier, CCCM, 83 (Turnhout, 1988), 103 (II, c. 4); for discussion of Matthew at Laon, see Cédric Giraud, 'Per verba magistri': *Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout, 2010), 138–40; and Julian Führer, *König Ludwig VI. von Frankreich und die Kanonikerreform* (Frankfurt am Main, 2008), 245–6. Matthew made profession at Cluny c.1110, entering the priory of Saint-Martin-des-Champs; in late 1126 or early 1127 Honorius II made him a cardinal: Ursmar Berlière, 'Le cardinal Matthieu d'Albano (c.1085–1135)', *Rev. bén.*, 18 (1901), 113–40 and 280–303.

[203](#) On William's translation of Coleman's work, see Andy Orchard, 'Parallel lives: Wulfstan, William, Coleman and Christ', in *St Wulfstan*, ed. Barrow and Brooks, 39–58: William made several changes, but much of Coleman's approach remains.

[204](#) *Vita Bennonis II episcopi Osnabrugensis, auctore Nortberto abbate Iburgensi*, ed. Harry Bresslau, MGH SRG in usum scholarum (Hanover and Leipzig, 1902), 3–6; the Life was written 1090 × 1100, [ibid.](#), p. v.

[205](#) *Anselmi Havelbergensis vita Adelberti II Moguntini*, in *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Philipp Jaffé, Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum 3 (Berlin, 1866; repr. Aalen, 1964), 565–603.

[206](#) Hermann monachi, *De miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis*, Book I, c. 2 (PL 156: 962–1020, at 965–7).

[207](#) *Anselmi Havelbergensis vita Adelberti*, 570; the collegiate church was St Mary's, Erfurt, where Adalbert became provost in 1128.

[208](#) Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, in *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise*, ed. and tr. David Luscombe (Oxford, 2013), 4: 'Martis curie penitus abdicarem ut Minerve gremio educarer'. For discussion, see M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford, 1997), 47–50.

[209](#) M.L. Colker, 'The Life of Guy of Merton by Rainald of Merton', *Mediaeval Studies*, 31 (1969), 250–61, at 256: 'ad sacros illum ordines festinavit provehere, et de clerico usque ad diaconatus officium se indignum reclamantem promoveri fecit'. Guy was so pious that he never celebrated Mass twice in a single day without crying ([ibid.](#), 257). But the fact that Guy was an Augustinian (his ordination to the diaconate and priesthood occurred after he had become an Augustinian) may be significant here.

[210](#) For Herbert of Bosham's account of Thomas's progression as far as the diaconate, see his *Vita Sancti Thomae*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, III, 155–534, at 168; for his account of Thomas's ordination as priest, see [ibid.](#), 188; for comment, see Gibaut, *Cursus Honorum*, 300–1; for William fitz Stephen, see *Vita Sancti Thomae, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martyris, auctore Willelmo filio Stephani*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, III, 1–154.

[211](#) E.g. *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. Barlow, no 83.

[212](#) Witness statements in legal inquests can also be helpful in showing how long canons might stay in grades: in Bayeux in 1164 several canons gave evidence about events decades previously; at least one of them was still only a subdeacon in 1164: *Antiquus cartularius*, I, no 49. A similar document survives from Chartres 1194/5, in which several canons still in subdeacons' orders give evidence about events dating back to the 1160s: *Cartulaire de Chartres*, I, no 121.

[213](#) For some examples of this material see *Necrologien, Anniversarien- und Obödienzverzeichnisse des Mindener Domkapitels aus dem 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ulrich Rasche, MGH Libri Memoriales et necrologia, nova series, 5 (Hanover, 1998), 35–52, for how to approach the material; *Corpus regulae seu kalendarium domus S. Kiliani Wirceburgensis*, ed. F.X. Wegele, Abhandlungen der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, III Klasse, 13, part 2 (Munich, 1877); *Die Stiftskirche des hl. Viktor zu Xanten: Das älteste Totenbuch des Stifts Xanten*, ed. F.W. Oediger (Kevelaer, 1958); *Fasti*, VIII, 99–158.

[214](#) Information on grade of ordination is supplied for only thirty-nine out of 158 canons in the Hereford obit book (the total omits bishops and canons mentioned in entries for their relatives); the proportion is much higher at Minden, but here the number of canons listed is much smaller, about fifty.

[215](#) E.g. *Die Stiftskirche des hl. Viktor*, 10 (*scolaris* (name entered in the twelfth century)), 17 (*puer frater noster*, a boy canon (twelfth-century)); acolyte canon (1147)), 22 (acolyte (1075 × 1099)), 24 (acolyte canon (1046 × 1082)), 27 (*puerulus* and canon (c.1100)), 28 (three acolyte canons (eleventh century)), 29 (boy and acolyte canon (1075 × 1099)), 36 (boy canon (1075 × 1099)), 41 (two acolyte canons, 1156 and 1137), 43 (acolyte canon, 1075 × 1099), 47 (*scolaris et puer*, twelfth century), 51 (boy canon, 1158),



53 (*puerulus* and canon, later twelfth century), 56 (acolyte canon, 1143), 60 (*puer scholaris bone memorie natus (de) Dacia*, a schoolboy born in Denmark, 1075 × 1099), 66 (*puerulus frater noster*, 1075 × 1099) 67 (*puerulus frater noster*, i.e. a boy canon, early twelfth century), 69 (two acolyte canons, eleventh and twelfth centuries), 72 (acolyte canon, earlier twelfth century), 77 (acolyte canon, 1188), 78 (acolyte canon, 1075 × 1099), 91 (acolyte canon, c.1100), 94 (acolyte canon, 1046 × 1082); quite a few of the acolytes were probably also fairly young when they died.

[216](#) Helmut Maurer, *Das Bistum Konstanz, 2: Die Konstanzer Bischöfe vom Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts bis 1206*, *Germania Sacra*, neue Folge, 42, 1 (Berlin, 2003), 73.

[217](#) *Cartulaire d'Angers*, nos 45 (1049), 46 (1047 × 1055), 49 (1077), 77 (1109): the cathedral canons in the witness lists of nos 45–6 are defined by their grades of ordination, while those in nos 49 and 77 are not.

[218](#) The *Institutio Canonicorum* selected carefully from Isidore to make sure that the seven grades of doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon and priest were included: see *Concilia aevi Karolini*, II, 319–22.

[219](#) For the Rouen canons, see entries in Spear, *Personnel*, 200–68.

[220](#) Thus, for example, in the charters issued by Bishop Oswald (961–92) in the years 962–3, there are never more than three priests (usually two) or two deacons (often one), and there are between ten and twelve *clerici* and occasionally a ‘churchward’ or sacrist (S 1297, 1299–1307).

[221](#) In the leases issued by Oswald in 966 the number of priests varies between three and seven and there are no deacons (S 1309–1311); thereafter the number of priests can be as high as eight (though more often about six) and the number of deacons can be as high as five: e.g. S 1327 of 969, S 1332 of 977, S 1335 of 977 (? for 974) and S 1372 of 975 × 978.

[222](#) Julia Barrow, ‘The community of Worcester, 961–c.1100’, in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (Leicester, 1996), 84–99, at 89–91.

[223](#) The charters are: S 1443 (three priests), S 1285 (nineteen priests and two deacons), S 1287 (one deacon and sixteen clerics) and S 385 (seven priests, one deacon and twenty-three clerics); S 1205 for Malmesbury has two priests and a cleric among its witnesses; for discussion, see Simon Keynes, ‘The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and his sons’, *EHR*, 109 (1994), 1109–49, at 1146–7. The A version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records, s.a. 962–3, the deaths of two priests and a deacon of an unspecified church, presumably either Old Minster or New Minster in Winchester. References to deaths of clergy below the rank of bishop are rare in the ASC and these must therefore have been significant.

[224](#) *Historians of the Church of York*, III, 24.

[225](#) *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras*, nos 15, 16, 20. Hubard, the lector in nos 15–16, had become an acolyte by no 24.

[226](#) Lists examined here are for the cathedrals of Amiens, Arras, Chartres, Hildesheim,

Langres and Troyes and the collegiate churches of Goslar and Lille (for the last-named, see *Cartulaire de Lille*, nos 1, 13, 73–4).

[227](#) Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle: Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres*, Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 6e série, 30 (Louvain-la-Neuve and Brussels, 1986), 243–7; *Répertoire biographique des chanoines de Notre-Dame de Tournai, 1080–1300*, ed. Jacques Pycke (Louvain-la-Neuve and Brussels, 1988).

[228](#) One cleric who did not move was Saswalo, acolyte 1106–17: *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras*, nos 10, 16–18, 25; for cases of movement, see Frumald, subdeacon in no 57 (1133) and then deacon in no 71 (1141), and Guy, Saswalo (a younger namesake) and Matthew, subdeacons in no 128 (1161) and then deacons in no 160 (1171).

[229](#) *UB Hildesheim*, I, nos 231, 253, 272–3.

[230](#) *UB Hildesheim*, I, nos 239, 243, 253, 280, 296.



### 3 Rules for life

#### Monastic influence on the secular clergy

Clergy spent relatively little time debating their *raison d'être*. Writings of the *De officiis ecclesiasticis* genre, written to define the essence of the clerical office, concentrate on the duties of clerics in the various grades of ordination and on the liturgy.<sup>1</sup> However, monks, who spent a great deal of time debating their own *raison d'être*, also devoted attention to the task of advising clerics how to live. Monastic influence was strong on the clergy from the fourth century onwards, and in the eighth and ninth centuries rules influenced by the Benedictine Rule were proposed for, though not necessarily followed by, those clerics who lived in communities.<sup>2</sup> In the tenth century, leading Benedictines, irked by clerical freedom and in particular by clerical marriage, won the support of secular rulers to convert a number of houses of secular clerics into Benedictine foundations,<sup>3</sup> and in the eleventh century a new fashion emerged for communities of clerics to live according to the precepts of the Apostles, holding all things in common.<sup>4</sup> These communities also followed a Rule, not a Carolingian one but one composed by Augustine of Hippo, adapted and expanded in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>5</sup> Highly conscious of following a Rule, they defined themselves as 'regular' clerics to differentiate themselves from all other clerks, and led a life much closer to that of monks than any previous form of communal living for clerics had been (though ecclesiastical commentators of the twelfth century were careful to specify that they were different from monks).<sup>6</sup> As a consequence of these developments, the evolution of the clergy in the Middle Ages was, to quite a large extent, shaped from without, by a group of people (monks) whose own formative processes, viewpoints and ambitions were significantly different from those of clerics, since they were ascetic and lived in strictly run communities. From the middle of the eleventh century, the clergy also faced pressure from regular canons to conform to a stricter form of life, one in which there would be no personal property. At no stage did the monasticising and regularising trends succeed in sweeping the board, even though for a time in France under Louis VI and Louis VII it appeared that Augustinian canons were carrying all before them;<sup>7</sup> nonetheless they exercised an influence on clergy and clerical career paths, and therefore they need discussion here.

In addition, historical treatment of the subject of canons, especially where canons have been studied globally and not at the level of an individual cathedral or collegiate community, has been dominated by historians interested in *vita communis* (the common life). Charles Dereine in his article 'Chanoines' in *DHGE* was deeply hostile to secular canons (e.g. 'Les sources qui nous renseignent sur la décadence de la vie canoniale sont malheureusement assez rares') and made almost no reference to canons of non-Augustinian foundations in the period after the appearance of the Augustinian order;<sup>8</sup> Josef Siegwart measured up all communities of canons in the empire in the Middle Ages against the yardstick of *vita communis*, ticking off those which lapsed away from the standard.<sup>9</sup> Scholars interested in the development of the Augustinian order, for example J.C. Dickinson and Jean Châtillon, show little patience with those clergy who did not live by a rule.<sup>10</sup> Curiously enough, almost none of these authors has paid any attention to the

development of the term *vita communis* itself in the western church in a specifically clerical context.<sup>11</sup>

Monastic influence on clerical life began early, by at latest the later fourth century. It was at about this time that clerics began to observe a version of the office, the services of prayers, readings and psalms (the Hours), held at regular intervals throughout the day, that were a feature of the monastic life.<sup>12</sup> In some Italian cities, for example Brescia, two adjacent cathedrals might be built, now referred to as ‘summer’ and ‘winter’ cathedrals, but in fact originating in a wish for episcopal clergy to have separate churches for office and Mass.<sup>13</sup> This was a significant shift in the development of clerical duties, immediately expanding the amount of time clerics spent in church. Daily celebration of Mass was practised in North Africa as early as the middle of the third century, since it is referred to by Cyprian, but this may have been a short-lived phenomenon at that time; frequent references to daily celebration start in the later fourth century, in both Italy and North Africa.<sup>14</sup>

Also in the fourth century, some bishops began to make their clergy live lives of greater asceticism. Bishop Eusebius of Vercelli (d. 371), who was interested in monasticism, tried, according to Ambrose, to make his clergy combine monastic abstinence with clerical decorum (*commoditatem*: ‘fitness’, but also ‘pleasantness’) and morality (*moralitatem*):<sup>15</sup> Ambrose comments that the clerical offices are a public spectacle, while monastic customs are secret and hidden away.<sup>16</sup> St Martin of Tours (bishop c.371–97) had a community of monks at Marmoutier and a community of clerics in his cathedral, but the former accompanied him on at least one of his visitations and he tried to inspire the latter with a spirit of asceticism.<sup>17</sup> Augustine had already built up a community of ascetics at his estate at Thagaste before he was made coadjutor bishop of Hippo in 395, and he found it natural to found ‘a monastery of clerics’ (*monasterium clericorum*) in his episcopal house (*in domo episcopi*).<sup>18</sup> Julianus Pomerius, an African rhetor who took refuge in Gaul in the late fifth century and who influenced Bishop Caesarius of Arles (bishop 502–42) commended common ownership of possessions by clergy in his *De vita contemplativa*.<sup>19</sup> Early bishops were expected to be able to impose some sort of discipline on the clergy living in their *domus episcopi*; these would be clerics serving the bishop’s own basilica.<sup>20</sup> Baudinus, bishop of Tours 546–52, established a table (*mensa*) for his canons.<sup>21</sup> However, it is likely that only a few bishops tried to make their clergy live like monks.

From the fourth century the term *canonici* began to be applied to clergy whose names were listed on the *kanon* or *matricula* of a church, the official register of names of people who had a right to financial support from it.<sup>22</sup> The term *matricularii*, originally with a similar meaning,<sup>23</sup> came by the high Middle Ages in France to be restricted to servants (*marguilliers*), often laymen, carrying out menial tasks in churches.<sup>24</sup> In return for the financial support the clerics on the list were expected to perform services.<sup>25</sup> Dereine preferred to derive *canonicus* from another meaning of the word *kanon*, ‘rule’: thus *canonicus* ‘acts as a doublet to *regularis*’,<sup>26</sup> and he was convinced that from at least the sixth century, when it begins to occur as a descriptive of the word *clericus* and even on its own as a noun in the decrees of the Council of Clermont of 535,<sup>27</sup> the word means ‘living by the *regula canonica*’. Since there are no clerical rules known before Chrodegang’s of

the mid-eighth century,<sup>28</sup> this belief has weak foundations. But it is certainly true that Carolingian canon lawyers believed that *canonicus* derived from *canones*, meaning the rulings of ancient church councils, rather than from *canon* meaning a register of those suitable for aid.<sup>29</sup>

## The Rule of Chrodegang

During the eighth century, more decisive attempts were made to give clergy something approaching a monastic rule and to encourage them to lead a more disciplined life. The leading figure in this was Bishop Chrodegang of Metz (742?–66), the dominant figure in the Frankish church already before the death of Boniface in 754 (though he did not start to preside over synods until after the latter's death).<sup>30</sup> Since the 560s Metz had been an important Frankish city, favoured by the Merovingian rulers of Austrasia as their capital.<sup>31</sup> The Carolingians claimed a bishop of Metz, Arnulf, as one of their ancestors, thus ensuring the city's continuing significance after the change of dynasty in the eighth century.<sup>32</sup> By the mid-eighth century there were at least forty-three churches in the town, thirty-six of which occur in a list drawn up possibly by Chrodegang himself.<sup>33</sup> The list mapped out the order in which each church would be visited by the bishop during Lent and Easter Week; in other words, Chrodegang was making them 'stational' churches, standing in a particular liturgical relationship to the cathedral, to make Metz resemble Rome.<sup>34</sup> Since Metz Cathedral was arguably the leading Frankish church in Chrodegang's time, it was important that its performance of the liturgy should be to a high standard to impress its numerous important visitors. Paul the Deacon informs us that Chrodegang introduced Roman liturgy into his cathedral to ensure this.<sup>35</sup> Chrodegang wished to regulate the behaviour of the clergy serving his cathedral, and to lay down guidelines for the relationship between them and the clergy of outlying churches.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly he drew up a rule in thirty-four chapters, probably in 755 in connection with the Council of Ver.<sup>37</sup>

Chrodegang drew heavily on the Rule of Benedict in drafting his Rule, both in terms of the topics defined in it and quite often for much of the actual wording. Only ten chapters of RC have no basis in RB, four chapters (13, 16, 17, 24) are essentially or wholly the same as chapters of RB, and there are many other quotations in the remaining chapters.<sup>38</sup> The choice of RB as a source was probably forced on Chrodegang because of the lack of any suitable alternative, but in any case he was an enthusiastic monastic patron and founded the monasteries of Gorze and Lorsch; at Gorze, he insisted on the exclusive use of RB from the outset, and Lorsch was founded with monks from Gorze.<sup>39</sup> Monastic influence was, therefore, Chrodegang's starting point, and the fundamental aspects of his rule, such as the stipulation that there should be a cloister and a dormitory (c. 3) and that members of the community should sit at seven tables for meals (c. 21, and cf also cc. 20–4 as a whole), and the regulations about daily chapter-meetings (c. 8), the office (c. 7) and the observance of silence at night-time from Compline onwards (c. 4), are in essence monastic.<sup>40</sup>

Yet there are also numerous differences. For one thing, Chrodegang allowed that some clergy might live in their own houses (*mansiones*) with episcopal permission, provided that these dwellings were in the precinct (*in clauastro*).<sup>41</sup> He also laid down that clergy

should at prayer and meal-times (c. 21) stand or sit according to a hierarchy established by their grades of ordination, with junior clerics standing up on the approach of senior ones and giving place to them (c. 2): this conflicts with the resistance to giving place to persons displayed by RB, c. 63, and, moreover, while Benedict had laid down that seniority within a monastic community should be determined according to date of entry into the community and not by grade of ordination, Chrodegang stipulated that the canons of Metz should be ranked according to their clerical grades.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, he allowed generous quantities of food and drink (RC, cc. 22–3), and permitted the eating of meat except during periods of fasting (c. 20).<sup>43</sup> M.A. Claussen has recently underlined Chrodegang's stress on pastoral care in his Rule, especially in the Prologue, where Christ is referred to as *pastor pastorum*, and in the final chapter (c. 34), where he outlines the relationship between the cathedral and its *matricularii* or registered poor: this is another point of difference between RC and RB.<sup>44</sup>

Like Benedict, Chrodegang expected his community to include boys and *adolescentes* (c. 2), but no ceremony for child recruits is mentioned in RC, unlike in RB, which devotes a chapter to child oblation.<sup>45</sup> The terminology for the ecclesiastical hierarchy in charge of the canons is strictly clerical in RC, with the bishop at the top and the archdeacon and *primicerius* next in line; a little later on, secular canons were to import monastic terminology (provost and dean) for their principal office-bearers, but Chrodegang does not do so (the term *primicerius* came from the papal entourage, where it was used to describe the official in charge of the notaries).<sup>46</sup> Perhaps the biggest difference between RC and RB is in c. 31 of RC, where Chrodegang, while ordering clergy to grant their possessions to their church, says that they may retain usufruct of them in their lifetimes; he even anticipates that all entrant canons will have moveable and immoveable property.<sup>47</sup> Chrodegang hesitated to impose on his canons the communal possession of goods urged for all Christians in the Acts of the Apostles, though he did hold this out as an ideal for those canons who desired to live in that way. It is worth noting that the adjective *communis* only appears rarely in RC (twice in c. 31, on one of these occasions in a quotation from Acts 2:44), and not in the sections dealing with the dormitory and refectory.<sup>48</sup>

Chrodegang's Rule was not superseded at Metz, though by the twelfth century it had ceased to be strictly observed.<sup>49</sup> Its reception elsewhere, however, is somewhat harder to determine. Few copies of RC in its purest form survive; even interpolated versions do not survive in numerous copies.<sup>50</sup> It is likely that it was not imposed on other churches in the Frankish empire verbatim. On the other hand, it very probably did influence Charlemagne and his advisers in their ecclesiastical legislation in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Metz acted as a model for other cathedral communities in the ninth century. Archbishop Leidrad of Lyon thanked Charlemagne for allowing him to import a clerk from Metz to Lyon to teach the Lyon clergy how to improve their chanting of the Psalter.<sup>51</sup> References in the *Admonitio Generalis* of 789 and the 813 Council of Mainz to clergy being expected to live *canonice* ('as canons' or perhaps 'according to canon law') may suggest that guidelines extrapolated from RC were being held up to other cathedrals in the Frankish empire as a standard, but might more probably mean that bishops were supposed to enforce the relevant parts of patristic teaching and ecclesiastical law.<sup>52</sup>

Very probably, this trend in thinking also influenced Archbishop Wulfred of Canterbury (805–32), since his early ninth-century charters show that the cathedral community of Canterbury had their own *mensa* and its inmates were living according to a *regula*.<sup>53</sup> Brigitte Langefeld has argued that Wulfred is more likely to have been referring to a monastic rule, since the adjective used to qualify *regula* is *monasterialis*,<sup>54</sup> but *monasterialis* need not refer to a specifically monastic community,<sup>55</sup> since *monasterium* in Anglo-Saxon England in the earlier Middle Ages was used indiscriminately for all sorts of ecclesiastical communities, not only those observing a monastic rule.<sup>56</sup> As Nicholas Brooks has more recently argued, it is clear that Wulfred was reorganising a community of clerics along the line of changes being discussed within those circles of the Frankish church that were working towards a more developed canonical rule in the latter years of Charlemagne's reign.<sup>57</sup> It should also be noted that Alcuin refers in two letters to York, probably of 794, to the *regularis disciplina* of its cathedral community, which perhaps suggests similar developments;<sup>58</sup> likewise, a charter for Old Minster, Winchester, of c.900 (but perhaps with later remodelling) refers to a wattle church with a stone dormitory.<sup>59</sup>

There seems, however, to have been at least one alternative Rule available in Francia in the earlier ninth century, a fragment of which survives in a manuscript of the second quarter of the ninth century now preserved in Berne. This text makes use of what André Wilmart referred to as the 'authentic' rather than the 'interpolated' text of RB and it also cites a verse from the hymn 'Congregavit nos in unum Christi amor'; furthermore, it makes mention of a dean and a *magister* among the dignitaries of the community it is legislating for, and all of these tend to suggest a date in the ninth century.<sup>60</sup> The liturgical arrangements reflect a model typical in cathedrals throughout the Middle Ages, with each canon in priest's orders being responsible for celebrating Mass for a week at a time. Canons have individual houses rather than a shared dormitory, but eat together on special occasions.

## **The Rule of Aachen (Institutio Canonorum)**

Charlemagne died in 814 before the new rule that he had requested could be completed, however, and it was left to his son Louis the Pious to issue it at Aachen in 816. It formed, in fact, only part of an ambitious sequence of legislation over the years 816–17 that defined more clearly than had hitherto been attempted the roles of clerics, monks and nuns: the two latter were now ordered to live according to RB and no other rule.<sup>61</sup> The process of separating clergy from monks meant, somewhat contradictorily, expecting them to live according to a semi-monastic rule similar in form to RC. Authorship of the rule for clergy, the *Institutio Canonorum* or Rule of Aachen, is unclear;<sup>62</sup> it was not by Amalarius of Metz, though it has sometimes been attributed to him.<sup>63</sup> The text suggests the work of a committee.<sup>64</sup> Far longer than RC, IC consists of 145 chapters. The opening thirty-eight chapters are excerpts from the writings of patristic and early medieval authors on the subject of the behaviour of clergy: Isidore, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory I and Julianus Pomerius (always misidentified in IC as Prosper of Aquitaine).<sup>65</sup> Chapters 39–113 form a second section, headed 'Here begin the canons', though in fact only cc. 39–93 consist of canon law decrees: cc. 39–91 are canons of early church councils and cc. 92–3 are papal decrees. Chapters 94–113 consist of further patristic quotations on the moral



duties of the clergy, mostly from Jerome, though also from Isidore, Gregory I, Julianus Pomerius and Augustine.<sup>66</sup> The patristic quotations tend to be exhortatory, rather than narrowly prescriptive. Chapter 114 of IC explains the difference between what monks are expected to do and what Christians in general are to do; c. 115 defines the main differences between canons and monks.<sup>67</sup>

The remaining chapters cover essentially the same ground as RC.<sup>68</sup> Isidore's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* is quoted in cc. 126–30, outlining the Hours, which suggests that the compilers of IC thought that more detail was needed on liturgical practices than was available in RC.<sup>69</sup> IC provided more detail on food and drink than RC had done, allowing divergence in the quantity of drink according to the landed endowments of the church in question, and also divergence in the choice of drink according to whether or not the community was in an area where wine was plentiful (c. 122).<sup>70</sup> IC's compilers also thought it necessary to comment on the recruitment of canons, who were, they advised, not to be chosen exclusively from the church's unfree tenantry (*familia*), but also from the nobility, so that the canons would not obey their superiors simply out of fear of beatings (c. 119).<sup>71</sup> As in RC, boys and *adolescentes* are expected to form part of the community of canons in IC, which anticipates that they will be 'nourished' and taught (*nutriuntur vel erudiuntur*) within the community, and which specifies that they should be under the authority of a 'highly experienced' (*probatissimo*) senior canon, even though they might be educated by another member of the community (c. 135).<sup>72</sup> Different terminology is supplied for the main authority figure within the community: the dignitaries or *praelati* (cf c. 134) included a provost (*praepositus*), who headed the community of canons, though IC also recognised that the term *praepositi* might be used of 'all who are in charge' (c. 139).<sup>73</sup> Otherwise, the only dignitary named is the cellarer (also mentioned in RC). At the very end of IC, the compilers thought it necessary to compose a short summary of the principles of the life of a canon, beginning with the two great commandments and those of the ten commandments regulating relations with other human beings (c. 145).<sup>74</sup> Overall, IC seems to mark a deliberate attempt by the Carolingian religious hierarchy to form a rule for clergy which was more encyclopedic than was RC; hence the lengthy excerpts on clergy from Jerome, Julianus Pomerius and the rest, together with the sequence of decrees on the behaviour of clergy from early ecclesiastical councils. Like RC, IC stresses the importance of the precinct (*claustrum*) for clergy living in communities.<sup>75</sup>

The Rule of Aachen/IC formed the basic framework for cathedral communities throughout the territory which formed the Frankish empire, and the large number of surviving manuscripts shows that it circulated widely.<sup>76</sup> However, the speed with which it was adopted by cathedrals varied considerably across the area.<sup>77</sup> As Rudolf Schieffer showed, in the eastern Frankish kingdom it was in the tenth and early eleventh centuries that the rule was adopted systematically in the areas east of the Rhine: this can be assumed from the dissemination of copies of IC and from the terminology used in charters to describe members of cathedral communities.<sup>78</sup>

In the western Frankish kingdom, adoption of IC seems generally to have been earlier. It was certainly used at Laon in the ninth century, where the cathedral *magister* Martin Hiberniensis annotated the copy in Laon MS 336, especially c. 36 on discipline, and also



c. 131 (no staffs were to be brought into choir except for the infirm) and c. 134 (there was to be no wandering about outside the *claustrum* without the agreement of authorities).<sup>79</sup> However, some of the effects of IC were modified in western Francia by the practice, coming to be adopted from at least the second half of the ninth century, of having a dean in overall charge of the community (under the bishop, or under an abbot in a major non-episcopal church such as Saint-Martin of Tours).<sup>80</sup> The office of provost might be abandoned altogether, or might be demoted to a position below the dean,<sup>81</sup> or might be split up so that there were several provosts simultaneously.<sup>82</sup> Both these developments helped to limit the power of provosts over the community. The office of dean was borrowed from eighth- and ninth-century Carolingian monastic customals.<sup>83</sup> In eastern Frankish cathedrals, deans, who lacked overall control of the community's property, were less powerful over the individual canons than provosts were, and churches which were headed by deans were more likely to allow freedom to individual canons, including the right to have their own houses: during the twelfth century, the difference between the freer 'Gallican' style and the more communal 'German' style became noticeable and was commented on by Stephen of Tournai.<sup>84</sup>

The office of dean was taken from the monastic life: the term *decanus*, meaning someone at the head of a group of ten men, had been taken over from Roman army usage by Pachomius in third-century Egypt, who grouped his monks in tens.<sup>85</sup> Deans also had an important role in Benedict's Rule,<sup>86</sup> and the 'senior dean' was usually the third in command, after the abbot and the provost, in late eighth- and ninth-century Carolingian monastic customals.<sup>87</sup> Only in the tenth century did Cluny throw out deans in favour of priors.<sup>88</sup> In spite of the monastic origins of the dean, communities of secular clergy headed by deans were less likely to have a communal form of existence than communities headed by provosts,<sup>89</sup> this was because provosts controlled the distribution of the chapter's income among the canons.

## **The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang**

In about the middle of the ninth century a version of RC with considerable admixture of IC was compiled in the Frankish empire, perhaps in the Loire valley.<sup>90</sup> This version with eighty-six (later eighty-four) chapters, known as the Enlarged RC, aroused only limited interest in the Frankish empire, but rather more in territories outside it, in northern Spain<sup>91</sup> and in Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>92</sup> It appears to have been brought to England no later than the first half of the tenth century,<sup>93</sup> a possible explanation for its import at this date might be Athelstan's patronage of Breton clerics, by which means a number of Frankish works entered England.<sup>94</sup> Within England, interest in Enlarged RC seems to have been limited, until the middle decades of the eleventh century, to Benedictine communities, especially Old Minster, Winchester (Winchester Cathedral), which had been converted to Benedictine monasticism by Bishop Æthelwold in 964.<sup>95</sup> Communities of clergy in England were not responsive to Enlarged RC during the tenth century, probably because they preferred a less structured form of existence; several, probably many, clerics were married and would doubtless have viewed this rule as a threat to their family life.<sup>96</sup> However, St Paul's cathedral in London did have some awareness of IC, perhaps thanks to

Bishop Theodred (909 × 926–951 × 953), whose name suggests that he may have been of German origin.<sup>97</sup> In the eleventh century, interest in Enlarged RC widened in England and can be observed in the circles of Wulfstan the Homilist, Leofric of Exeter and (probably) Canterbury Cathedral, after it had become Benedictine.<sup>98</sup> The reasons for this interest were probably diverse, and would have included the following: an interest in texts offering ideas about the liturgy,<sup>99</sup> a need to have a text spelling out the relationship between the bishop and the community serving his cathedral (a need not foreseen in RB but one which would have become pressing at Old Minster in Winchester after 964),<sup>100</sup> the interest taken by English Benedictines in Carolingian canon law, and the need to provide advice for religious women, including canonesses: Enlarged RC could have been useful in tenth-century English nunneries, which appear to have been less keen to take up RB than were male houses in tenth-century England.<sup>101</sup> The Old English translation of Enlarged RC was made in the middle years of the tenth century.<sup>102</sup>

In the eleventh century, however, partly thanks to monastic urging (for example, Ælfric of Eynsham's letters for Wulfsize of Sherborne at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries),<sup>103</sup> some bishops began slowly to impose clerical rules on their cathedral clergy. One early sign of this may have been Wulfstan of York's quotation of c. 145 of IC in his *Institutes of Polity* as a guideline for clerks;<sup>104</sup> rather later, between the 1020s and the 1070s, the archbishops of York supplied communal buildings for their canons at York, Beverley and Southwell, which makes it possible that they also imposed a clerical rule of life (perhaps Enlarged RC) on their canons.<sup>105</sup> In the middle of the eleventh century, when Bishop Leofric moved his see from Crediton to Exeter (1050), he introduced Enlarged RC to his canons there and the manuscript now known as Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 190 was brought to Exeter for them.<sup>106</sup> Earl Leofric of Mercia and his wife Godgifu, with the help of Bishop Wulfwig of Dorchester, refounded Stow Minster in Lincolnshire and laid down that the clerks (*preostan*) who were to serve it were to perform the office in the manner of the clerks of St Paul's, London;<sup>107</sup> it may be the case that the clergy of Stow also adopted a rule, but office and rule are by no means synonymous. Canonical rules were probably also imposed at Wells under Bishop Giso (1061–88),<sup>108</sup> briefly at Durham under Bishop Walcher (1071–80)<sup>109</sup> and at Harold Godwineson's collegiate church of Holy Cross at Waltham.<sup>110</sup> In all three cases Lotharingian influence is visible – Giso was from Saint-Trond,<sup>111</sup> Walcher was also from Lotharingia<sup>112</sup> and Adelard, scholasticus of Waltham, had been born in Liège and educated in Traiectum, probably Utrecht or perhaps Maastricht.<sup>113</sup> There were also Lotharingian bishops at Hereford and Ramsbury, but there is no evidence for a rule of communal life at either.<sup>114</sup> But observance of rules faded quickly in English secular cathedrals in the twelfth century, apart from Exeter, where traces of Enlarged RC survived much later, chiefly manifested in the lack of a dean until 1225 and in the long survival of a system of distribution of prebendal income, rather than the establishment of territorial prebends.<sup>115</sup> By the reign of William Rufus bishops were much more interested in imposing on their cathedral communities the kind of structure which was already being developed in northern French cathedrals and which was being rapidly imposed on the swiftly developing Norman cathedrals in the eleventh century.<sup>116</sup>

## **Benedictines and secular clergy**

Louis the Pious in his legislation at Aachen in 816–17 had aimed at enforcing observance of the Benedictine Rule on all monasteries within the Frankish empire; there is considerable documentation to show how the legislation was publicised.<sup>117</sup> Not all monastic houses, however, were keen to follow all the regulations swiftly.<sup>118</sup> More importantly, there were numerous houses which, though headed by an abbot, were unwilling to become Benedictine: St-Martin of Tours was perhaps the most prominent of these.<sup>119</sup> In the tenth century, however, the attraction of the Benedictine Rule, both to ecclesiastical leaders and more especially to lay patrons, became stronger. One reason was that Benedictine monks were increasingly encouraged by their superiors to obtain priestly ordination, which meant that in each house there would be a large number of priests available and thus plenty of scope for private Masses.<sup>120</sup> Already in the ninth century, major monasteries had encouraged their inmates to seek ordination as far as possible; Fulda, for example, had a high proportion of priests among its adult monks in the mid-ninth century; their main function was to celebrate Masses within the abbey, since Masses for the living and the dead were becoming increasingly important, but in addition many served Fulda's dependent cells in the later decades of the ninth century.<sup>121</sup> Monasteries generally show rising numbers of priests in the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>122</sup> In the 930s and 940s numerous ecclesiastical establishments which had hitherto been served by clerks were converted into Benedictine houses.<sup>123</sup> Gorze, which Chrodegang had founded as an episcopal monastery in the diocese of Metz, and which had by the early tenth century come to be served by clerks, was refounded as a Benedictine house by Bishop Adalbero of Metz in 933.<sup>124</sup> In the diocese of Rheims, the church of Mouzon, which had been a nunnery in Merovingian times and had subsequently come to be served by clerics, was re-endowed by Archbishop Hervey (900–22) as a more elaborate foundation of canons, but in 971 Archbishop Adalbero, displeased by the fact that they were married, expelled them and replaced them with monks from a small monastery called Thin.<sup>125</sup> Quite a few of the churches involved had been monastic foundations in the seventh and eighth centuries, but were now served by only small communities of clerics; most would have been financially run-down and not able to put up resistance, while Mouzon, whose fortunes had been restored, was an archiepiscopal proprietary church and had to obey the wishes of its patrons.<sup>126</sup>

The Benedictine conversion process, backed by lay patrons and their benefactions, challenged the position of clerics, who found themselves unable to put up any effective opposition to what was happening, either politically or intellectually. There are no traces of any clerical literature to counter the propaganda produced by the Benedictines, who justified their takeovers of old monasteries on the grounds that they had become 'filthy' (a coded reference to the tendency of many clerks to marry and produce children) and that they needed to be restored to monastic observance, with a community living under a rule.<sup>127</sup> The stress on purity reminds us that it was the Mass, and not the office, which was the main bone of contention between Benedictines and secular clerics in the tenth century. Benedictines were worried about married clergy celebrating Mass; by contrast, they could show approval for the Roman office, the form of liturgical office performed by the clergy, as Jesse Billett has recently argued; indeed, down to the middle of the tenth century, the form of the office normally used by monks, on the Continent and probably also in

England, was identical to that used by secular canons.<sup>128</sup>

Tenth-century Benedictine propaganda was at its sharpest in England in the 960s, where, under Edgar (959–75), opportunities had opened up for the installation of Benedictine monasticism under royal patronage, occasionally at new sites, but far more often in ancient monasteries (minsters) of the seventh and eighth centuries, such as Ely.<sup>129</sup> Æthelwold (bishop of Winchester 963–84) was especially fond of such sites so that he could take over and develop the cults of ancient saints.<sup>130</sup> Edgar's marriage to Ælfthryth in 964 seems to have encouraged the process (Ælfthryth's family supervised the refoundation of Tavistock as a Benedictine abbey).<sup>131</sup> The leading figures in the movement were Benedictines who were made bishops by Edgar; two of them, Dunstan and Oswald, had spent time in continental Benedictine houses, St Peter's in Ghent in Dunstan's case and Fleury in Oswald's, and were well versed in continental monastic customs.<sup>132</sup> The third, Æthelwold, although he had not left England, was also well informed about Fleury, and was the leading propagandist of the three, producing almost all the literature which supported the monasticisation process in Edgar's reign.<sup>133</sup> Within the space of three years, from 963 to 966, he had become bishop of Winchester (late 963); had expelled the clerks of Winchester Cathedral (the Old Minster) and replaced them with monks from Abingdon early in 964; had expelled clerks from Winchester's other major foundation for men, New Minster, also in 964; had drafted a lengthy charter in Edgar's name to justify the removal of clerks and installation of monks in the great royal collegiate church of New Minster, Winchester (966); and had probably also compiled *Regularis Concordia* (usually dated to the early 970s, but quite possibly written as early as 966), a customal designed for all English Benedictine houses.<sup>134</sup> He also wrote a short narrative in Old English of Edgar's activities in setting up Benedictine houses in England as a preface to his Old English translation of the Benedictine Rule.<sup>135</sup> All three pieces of writing are hostile to clerks and canons, often linking terms such as 'foul' or 'filth' to them; the New Minster charter goes further and accuses them of the pride which had led to the fall of Lucifer from heaven before creation, and it explicitly compares the expulsion of clerics from New Minster with the expulsion of the disobedient angels from heaven and with the fall of Adam and Eve.<sup>136</sup> The accusation of filth probably refers to clerical marriage, which Æthelwold would have interpreted as a pollution of the altar, and the accusation of pride refers to the failure of canons to be obedient, in other words, to failure to obey a rule, unlike monks.<sup>137</sup>

Æthelwold had to go to extremes to justify the expulsion of clerics from Old Minster and New Minster because his own legal position rested on weak foundations. He did enjoy the support of Edgar and Ælfthryth, but he could not count on this outlasting Edgar's death. There was a backlash under Edgar's immediate successor, his son Edward the Martyr, in which several Benedictine houses suffered; then when Edward was murdered in 978 the status quo was restored under Ælfthryth's son Æthelred.<sup>138</sup> The behaviour of the clergy of both churches was probably no different from that in any other clerical community in pre-Conquest England; clerical marriage was, to judge from admittedly very limited evidence, fairly common and socially acceptable in tenth- and eleventh-century England,<sup>139</sup> and it is clear from the descriptions in Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita Æthelwoldi* that Æthelwold offered the clergy no opportunity to live by a clerical rule, but simply had them driven out under threat of royal force.<sup>140</sup> It is likely that Dunstan's father



had been a member of the community of either Old Minster or New Minster in Winchester, and, since Æthelwold himself was born in Winchester into a family living near one of its churches, he too may just possibly have belonged to a clerical milieu.<sup>141</sup>

The most unusual part of the proceedings was the conversion of a cathedral church from a clerical community to a monastic one, a phenomenon for which there seems to have been no clear precedent.<sup>142</sup> Even seventh- and eighth-century bishops of Lindisfarne were not usually at the head of the monastic community there; it was normally ruled by an abbot.<sup>143</sup> But Æthelwold's conversion of Old Minster created an important example for the future, though it was slow to be copied elsewhere. His colleague Oswald set up a monastic community in its own church next to his cathedral community at Worcester, probably in 966, and although there is evidence for the survival of this duopoly until at least the 990s, by the middle decades of the eleventh century the clerical community at Worcester had been subsumed into the monastic one.<sup>144</sup> The cathedral community at Sherborne was monasticised in 998,<sup>145</sup> and that at Canterbury by, but probably not long before, the 1020s.<sup>146</sup> Canterbury and Winchester were the two richest and culturally the most influential English cathedrals, and in the period after the Norman Conquest their example, though it at first puzzled Lanfranc, eventually won his support and was adopted in some other dioceses (Durham and Rochester),<sup>147</sup> while some bishops who moved their sees chose, or founded, monastic churches as their new bases of operations.<sup>148</sup> An attempt by Walkelin of Winchester to replace the monks of Old Minster in Winchester with canons was prevented by Alexander II at Lanfranc's request.<sup>149</sup> By the early years of the twelfth century, therefore, English cathedrals were roughly evenly divided between secular and monastic foundations. The idea of having a Benedictine cathedral community had also been briefly adopted in late eleventh-century Dublin (from a point between 1074 and 1084 until c.1100 at Christ Church, which had strong connections with Worcester and with Canterbury).<sup>150</sup> Similarly, Odense Cathedral in Denmark was colonised by Benedictine monks from Evesham in 1095.<sup>151</sup> The idea of Benedictine cathedral chapters aroused no interest in French- or German-speaking areas,<sup>152</sup> and remained firmly within an English sphere of influence. It did not even affect all areas closely under English cultural influence, for no Welsh or Scottish cathedral chapters became Benedictine (though here financial factors may also have come into play, since Benedictine establishments required substantial endowments).<sup>153</sup> However, collegiate foundations in France could be vulnerable to Benedictine takeover, as in the case of Saint-Corneille at Compiègne, a major royal collegiate church taken over by Benedictines under the inspiration of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis in 1150.<sup>154</sup> Many clerical establishments, both rich and poor, became cells or dependent priories of Benedictine abbeys in France, Flanders and England in the late eleventh and the early twelfth centuries.<sup>155</sup>

Twelfth- and thirteenth-century English bishops were, however, not always happy with monastic chapters. The fact that monks were permanently resident meant that they could offer a full liturgical round and act as very effective impresarios of saints' cults, but it also meant that they (or, at any rate, most of them) could not travel about with their bishop.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, their very existence in the cathedral limited the amount of patronage their bishops could exercise, since they could not collate their household clerks to cathedral

prebends.<sup>157</sup> Between the end of the eleventh century and the 1140s, but especially in the 1120s, several Benedictine communities were so worried about threats to their status that they forged charters to secure their position.<sup>158</sup> But by the middle of the twelfth century, bishops seem to have abandoned ideas of expelling monks in favour of canons. With the exception of Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Coventry (1188–98), who did put just such a scheme into effect, driving out the monks of Coventry and replacing them with secular canons in 1189,<sup>159</sup> English bishops with monastic chapters tried to set up separate collegiate churches. Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury (whose career had involved being a secular cleric, as an archdeacon in the diocese of Exeter, and then a Cistercian monk and abbot of Forde in Devon) tried hard to set up a collegiate foundation at Hackington, just outside Canterbury, where he could reward his clerks by giving them prebends, but this was successfully resisted by the powerful cathedral priory of Canterbury, which sought support from many influential figures within Christendom in their campaign; although the campaign was renewed by Baldwin's successor Hubert Walter, this time aiming at a community of canons at Lambeth, pressure from Christ Church forced a settlement in 1200, under the terms of which the proposed community would have to be Augustinian (the scheme was subsequently shelved).<sup>160</sup> The twelfth-century bishops of Worcester used the church of Westbury-on-Trym to provide prebends for clerics even though the monks of Worcester Cathedral priory claimed the church by means of a genuine charter of Bishop Wulfstan dated 1093 and a later forgery.<sup>161</sup> Thirteenth-century bishops of Bath and of Coventry raised the former cathedral communities of each see, Wells and Lichfield, to joint status, but already in the mid-twelfth century their importance had been recognised by their bishops, who had increased their numbers of canons.<sup>162</sup>

## Early use of the term *vita communis* in the west

The phrase *vita communis* is relatively uncommon in Latin sources before c.1000. In patristic sources it is used to describe the community of Christian believers (lay and clerical, in other words) described in the Acts of the Apostles, but it occurs only sparsely. In the eastern church, however, the term *koinos bios* was popularised by St Basil (d. 379)<sup>163</sup> and came to be a shorthand for the monastic life, also spawning *coenobium* for the sort of community which lived it. Basilian influence was strong in southern Italy and may well have been the source of inspiration for the development of the term *vita communis* in the west; however, that inspiration was slow to enter common currency. Gregory I uses the term in one of his letters to Augustine, when describing the form of life to be lived by Augustine's closest supporters at Canterbury, presumably the monks but perhaps also the senior clerics in his entourage (clerics in minor orders are specifically excluded).<sup>164</sup> Under the Carolingians, 'common life' began to be applied to clergy specifically; the Council of Chalon-sur-Saône of 813 refers to the 'stipends of the brothers living in common',<sup>165</sup> while Pseudo-Isidore (834–5) uses *vita communis* to mean 'common life' of clergy independently of monks, in a forged decree attributed to Pope Urban I.<sup>166</sup> Nearly half a century later John the Deacon (880s?) used it in his Life of St Gregory the Great, to describe the communal life of monks and clerks encouraged by Gregory in his household.<sup>167</sup> Even so, use of *vita communis* to describe a communal form of life for clergy remained relatively unusual until the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries, as



Dereine showed in a study of charters relating to canons.<sup>168</sup> In 1059 the Lateran synod called on clergy to return to the apostolic life and possess things in common.<sup>169</sup> The apostolic life, and the life of the primitive church, became especially associated with regular canons in the eyes of the reforming popes from the end of the eleventh century onwards.<sup>170</sup>

## The Augustinian Rule

In Italy and other Mediterranean areas in the mid-eleventh century, anxiety over wealth and the uses to which it could be put led to fierce denunciations of simony, the purchase of ecclesiastical office.<sup>171</sup> Burgundian churchmen had expressed strong views on this matter already, but from the middle of the eleventh century the degree of angst seems to have been more acute south of the Alps.<sup>172</sup> Worries about property more generally appear also to have affected Italian clerical communities in the 1030s and onwards, leading them, or more often the bishops in charge of them, to impose a stricter form of communal life.<sup>173</sup> Words such as *communiter* and *communis* (in the phrase *communis vita*) occur more frequently.<sup>174</sup> They show new inspirations beyond simply a wish to strengthen observance of IC, since the latter uses the term *vita communis* only once, in a long quotation from Augustine.<sup>175</sup> Religious thinkers in the eleventh century were developing views about, and definitions of, the form of life described in the early part of the Acts of the Apostles, *vita communis* or *vita apostolica*, and its application to the clergy: some northern Italian clerical communities appear to have been influenced by the strict ideas on poverty propagated by monastic leaders such as Romuald (d. 1027) and John Gualberti (d. 1073), which entailed rejection of personal property as much as possible.<sup>176</sup> A similar process took place at Saint-Ruf in Avignon in 1039 where the bishop of Avignon allowed four cathedral canons to set up their own community in order to live *religiose*. To begin with, the community followed the portions of IC which quoted from the Fathers and the canons of councils.<sup>177</sup> At Rome, Hildebrand took an interest in the organisation of the lives of clergy, and had IC read aloud at the Lateran synod held by Nicholas II in 1059.<sup>178</sup> The final portion of IC, with its generous allowances of food and drink for canons, shocked the assembly; their criticism was aroused even more by IC's acceptance of personal property.<sup>179</sup> Gregory continued to support the cause of regular canons once he became Pope.<sup>180</sup> He hoped that these would serve as the basis for all clerical communities in western Christendom.<sup>181</sup> But he need not have bothered to compose new material: among those groups of clergy who were seeking to live a more communal life, interest was emerging instead in the use of the Rule of Augustine. The first reference to the Rule of Augustine occurs in the church of Saint-Denys in Rheims in 1067.<sup>182</sup> The expansion of the Rule and the creation of customs to go with it (highly necessary because the Rule of Augustine in its original form was insufficiently detailed) has been outlined by Dereine.<sup>183</sup>

In the second half of the eleventh century the rulings of the 1059 Roman Council gave an impetus to clergy seeking to live communally, and to bishops who wished them to do so.<sup>184</sup> However, the impetus was not felt everywhere. It was strongest in northern Italy: here some bishops converted cathedral communities to regular observance. By the end of the eleventh century, Catalonia and parts of southern France were following suit.<sup>185</sup> In

Europe north of the Alps the earliest area where these developments occurred was north-eastern France, particularly within the province of Rheims (and thus also in the diocese of Cambrai, in the empire).<sup>186</sup> Here, bishops did not seek to impose the Rule of Augustine on cathedral chapters but instead on collegiate foundations (for example, Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai expelled secular clergy and installed regular ones at Saint-Autbert in Cambrai in 1066,<sup>187</sup> while Archbishop Gervase of Rheims turned Saint-Denys, Rheims, into an Augustinian house in 1067).<sup>188</sup> Sometimes the impetus for change came from below. Another example is the group of clergy (mostly originally canons of Tournai Cathedral) which formed around Master Odo of Tournai c.1090 and took over a decaying church dedicated to St Martin to help people suffering from ergotism as a community of regular canons in 1092.<sup>189</sup> Of the foundations in north-eastern France, one of the earliest and most influential, Saint-Quentin, Beauvais (founded by Bishop Guy of Beauvais in 1067), was a new foundation; one of the most influential houses in Flanders, Mont-Saint-Éloi, Arras (Augustinian from 1074/5), was converted from an older community of seculars.<sup>190</sup> The first abbot of Saint-Quentin was Ivo, who became bishop of Chartres in 1090 and refounded a community of secular canons at Saint-Jean-en-Vallée on the edge of the city as an Augustinian house in 1100; Ivo was unable to persuade his cathedral canons to adopt the Augustinian Rule, but he ensured that they would follow the Rule of Aachen strictly and he laid down that the abbot of Saint-Jean-en-Vallée would take his turn in the cathedral as hebdomadary canon (the canon whose duty it was to celebrate Mass for the week).<sup>191</sup> In 1121, Norbert, who had begun his ecclesiastical career as a secular canon at the collegiate church of Xanten in the Rhineland, but who had left it to become an itinerant preacher, was encouraged to found a house at Prémontré in the diocese of Laon for a group of his supporters;<sup>192</sup> this was the origin of the Premonstratensians, an ascetic order of regular canons.

From the 1070s interest in regular canons developed in southern parts of the empire, especially through the work of Altmann, bishop of Passau, who helped found Rottenbuch (1073), and himself founded (by 1073) St Nicholas, Passau; St Pölten; and St Florian.<sup>193</sup> Altmann was a staunch supporter of Gregory VII against Henry IV; other opponents of Henry were also keen to assist foundations of regular canons, but Henry's ability to fend off his opponents made conditions in much of Germany relatively unpropitious for regular canons until the early years of the twelfth century.<sup>194</sup> Bishops played a major role in encouraging the growth of Augustinians. Foundations of regular canons in the empire were predominantly new foundations, though in some cases established collegiate churches were refounded for regulars.<sup>195</sup> Cathedrals were only converted in a few cases: Salzburg became Augustinian in 1122 under Archbishop Conrad I;<sup>196</sup> Gurk, founded as a proprietary bishopric of the archdiocese of Salzburg in 1106, became Augustinian in 1123; and, in the province of Magdeburg, Brandenburg and Havelberg acquired Premonstratensian communities in the generation after the death of Norbert, who had become archbishop of Magdeburg (1126–34), as did Ratzeburg in the province of Hamburg–Bremen.<sup>197</sup> Magdeburg Cathedral itself remained secular, but Norbert converted a collegiate church in Magdeburg, Unser Lieben Frauen, into a Premonstratensian house.<sup>198</sup>

Recruitment into these houses in the early years of their foundation was

overwhelmingly from among secular clergy, often from canons in secular communities (as we see in the case of Odo of Tournai).<sup>199</sup> While it is perfectly possible that the chief motivation was a desire to live a more disciplined life, other factors may also have played a part. Ivo (later bishop of Chartres 1090–1115/16), as a secular clerk from a modest family background, could obtain no preferment better than being a canon of the collegiate church of Nesle in Picardy.<sup>200</sup> The opportunity to become provost of Saint-Quentin, Beauvais, put him into a more public position, not least because Saint-Quentin provided advice for other new Augustinian foundations in France and England,<sup>201</sup> and made him a more visible candidate for eventual promotion to the episcopate (which he would never have attained if he had remained at Nesle). Scholastici or masters of the schools of cathedrals were especially likely to be much-travelled and ambitious but were equally likely to find (particularly since their family backgrounds were not local and therefore gave them no advantage) that openings at a higher level might not be available to them: Master Odo of Tournai in this respect resembles Gerhoch of Reichersberg, scholasticus of Augsburg Cathedral from c.1117 until he became a regular canon at Rottenbuch in 1124.<sup>202</sup> William of Champeaux had been successful in winning promotion to the archidiaconate in the diocese of Paris, but could see that Louis VI favoured the Augustinians. His move to St Victor was followed not many years later by his appointment as bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne in 1113.<sup>203</sup>

A more powerful motive may have been job security, especially for the elderly and infirm.<sup>204</sup> It was difficult to take prebends and dignities from canons, but not impossible;<sup>205</sup> more especially, it was quite easy to remove teachers from teaching positions where these were not established offices ('dignities').<sup>206</sup> Posts for teachers at the schools run by monasteries offered no security of tenure; illness and poor eyesight might make a teacher unemployable. Two examples of teachers who became Augustinians in the early twelfth century, and who may perhaps have been seeking a more secure future, are Robert de Béthune, a grammar teacher probably at the school run by St Albans Abbey, who decided to join the Augustinian canons of Llanthony Priory, and Master Guy of Merton.<sup>207</sup> William de Vere, a canon at St Paul's, London, in the 1160s, withdrew to become an Augustinian at St Osyth's at Chich; devotion to his mother's memory may have been the main motive here but it is possible that anxiety about the Becket conflict might have played a part; Alexander Nequam, a scholar who became an Augustinian when he was in his early forties, probably sought security.<sup>208</sup> Becoming an Augustinian offered respectability and protection in old age.

It was only in the early twelfth century that the Augustinians obtained a sizeable foothold in Paris and its environs, largely through Ivo of Chartres and his protégé and successor at Saint-Quentin, Galo, who became bishop of Paris in 1104.<sup>209</sup> Galo and Louis VI of France assisted the early growth of St Victor in Paris, another church (rather like Saint-Martin in Tournai) which was ancient and decaying until the early twelfth century, when a community of clerks began to form there, one of whom was the scholar William of Champeaux.<sup>210</sup> By the 1120s, the reputation of St Victor was so great and the favour which the Augustinians enjoyed at the French court was so considerable that it was only with some difficulty that the canons of the cathedral of Paris, Notre Dame, fought off a proposal in 1128 that they should become Augustinian.<sup>211</sup> Several major churches across

northern France, including Notre Dame, had already been persuaded to make grants of a year's revenues from all vacant prebends to Augustinian foundations.<sup>212</sup> In some cases whole prebends at cathedrals were granted by bishops to Augustinian foundations.<sup>213</sup> Suger assisted the forcible Augustinian conversion of the secular community of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris in 1148.<sup>214</sup>

In England, the origins of the Augustinians lie at the very end of the eleventh century.<sup>215</sup> The earliest communities were groups of clerics in urban churches in the 1090s, St Mary's in Huntingdon, a newly founded church of St Giles (1092) near the castle in Cambridge, and the church of St Botolph in Colchester; none of these communities had any formal organisation at first.<sup>216</sup> The priests of Cambridge were headed by one of the priests of Huntingdon;<sup>217</sup> the priests at Colchester sent two of their companions to France to seek guidance on how to lead a more communal life.<sup>218</sup> Although they were armed with a letter of recommendation from Archbishop Anselm to the abbot of Mont-Saint-Éloi, they in fact studied the Augustinian Rule at Saint-Quentin, Beauvais, and visited Chartres.<sup>219</sup> St Botolph's aroused the interest of Henry I's queen, Matilda, who founded Holy Trinity, Aldgate, in London in 1107 with canons supplied from St Botolph's.<sup>220</sup> Matilda also took an interest in two other early Augustinian foundations, Merton Priory, founded in Surrey by Gilbert the Sheriff in 1114 with canons from Huntingdon,<sup>221</sup> and Llanthony Priory, formed by a small group of hermits in a remote spot in the Welsh Marches in 1103 and raised to the status of a priory rather later.<sup>222</sup> Some of these houses were new foundations, but as the vogue for Augustinians became greater in England it became much more common to take over pre-existing churches, sometimes ancient minster churches and sometimes new Norman collegiate foundations, and turn them into Augustinian communities. Usually the existing canons or portionists were allowed to retain their prebends in their lifetimes, and as they died off the prebends would pass into the control of the new community. In this way, for example, Plympton and Launceston in Devon, St Frideswide's in Oxford and Twynham (Christ Church) in Hampshire all became Augustinian in the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>223</sup> Not only old minster churches but also newer parish churches could be used to found Augustinian priories, often with the church divided so that the parish could continue to use some of the nave, while the community made use of the rest; pastoral care might be supplied by the canons but more normally would be provided by a priest appointed by them.<sup>224</sup> Leading figures in the move to found Augustinian houses included bishops such as William Warelwast of Exeter, Roger of Salisbury and William Giffard and Henry of Blois, bishops of Winchester.<sup>225</sup> As we can see from this list, Henry I's court gave support to the movement. When a new diocese was formed for Cumberland in 1133, Henry I used the Augustinian house at Carlisle which he himself had founded in 1122/3 as the new cathedral.<sup>226</sup>

Henry I's officials and curial bishops were also active in Augustinian foundations in Normandy, though here the starting point for Augustinian foundations was a little later, from 1118 or 1119 onwards.<sup>227</sup> Here too, one cathedral became Augustinian: the strategically important Sées, sited in a border area and for long under the control of the de Bellêmes. Here Henry, having achieved the appointment of a bishop loyal to himself,



John, joined with the latter in creating a chapter (1131) which would also be loyally Norman.<sup>228</sup> John's uncle and namesake, Bishop John of Lisieux (1107–41), tried unsuccessfully to turn his own cathedral chapter into an Augustinian community.<sup>229</sup>

In Scotland, the principal figure in the encouragement of Augustinian canons was David I (1124–53), who was probably influenced by the example of his sister Matilda (Henry I's queen) in England as well as by the pattern of piety held out by his mother Margaret. In the 1140s the cathedral of St Andrews was converted into an Augustinian community,<sup>230</sup> and in Galloway, ruled by a line of semi-independent lords in the twelfth century, Premonstratensians were installed by Bishop Christian at Whithorn c.1177, probably after an earlier Augustinian foundation by Bishop Christian and Fergus lord of Galloway at the end of the 1150s.<sup>231</sup> In south-western Wales Bishop Bernard of St Davids (1115–48), who had close connections with David I of Scotland (1124–53), also encouraged Augustinians, though without attempting to introduce them into his cathedral chapter.<sup>232</sup> In Ireland, ecclesiastical leaders such as St Malachi in the first half of the twelfth century, who were attempting to bring Irish institutions into line with those on the Continent, encouraged the imposition of the Augustinian rule on episcopal churches (later in the twelfth century a more 'secular' model was adopted);<sup>233</sup> Archbishop Lorcán Ua Tuathail installed Augustinians in Christ Church Dublin in 1163.<sup>234</sup> In Denmark, Bishop Eskil of Viberg (1115/22–1132/3) made his cathedral community Augustinian, and in the 1160s the cathedral chapter of Ribe debated whether to follow Viberg's example or to be secular canons on the model of Hildesheim Cathedral.<sup>235</sup>

Until the middle of the twelfth century, Augustinian canons posed a considerable threat to secular clergy. They were able to justify their moral standpoint vis-à-vis the remainder of the clergy and did so in numerous foundation narratives<sup>236</sup> and hagiographies.<sup>237</sup> Their very definition as 'regular' canons was the reason for the rest of the clergy to be tagged as 'secular', a term which originated as a pejorative.<sup>238</sup> Part of the reason for this animus was because regular canons had to justify themselves against members of monastic orders, who tended to see themselves as spiritually more valuable than regular canons.<sup>239</sup> Augustinian canons were favoured by French, English and Scottish rulers (in particular Louis VI, Louis VII, Henry I and his first queen and David I),<sup>240</sup> and since the middle of the eleventh century they had been approved of by papal reforming circles. Many bishops thought that Augustinian canons were a suitable type of clergy to install in run-down collegiate churches which needed new investment. The principal motive behind this seems often to have been the idea that a disciplined and respectable performance of the liturgy could be ensured for a relatively small outlay, without the risk of absenteeism; in his foundation charter for Launceston in 1127, for example, Bishop William Warelwast stresses the need to have the divine office performed appropriately.<sup>241</sup> Enforcing clerical celibacy may well have been a strong motive,<sup>242</sup> but, this, though important, was probably viewed as a necessary step towards liturgical efficiency and correctness rather than as the main aim. Bishops were, of course, especially liable to favour Augustinians if they themselves were regular canons (like Ivo of Chartres),<sup>243</sup> but monk-bishops<sup>244</sup> and even many seculars<sup>245</sup> were also keen on the new order. In Europe north of the Alps, it was principally in France and in England that existing foundations were taken over in this way.



In German-speaking areas existing secular communities were, as we have seen, better protected against takeover, save in areas east of the Elbe, and in the diocese of Salzburg.<sup>246</sup>

Another motive, and one which has attracted much more attention in modern studies of Augustinians,<sup>247</sup> was the possibility of involving them in pastoral care. At least in the first half of the twelfth century, the Augustinians claimed that they would offer this. Certainly many parishes were given to them, though this was generally because lay benefactors knew that they could make little out of advowsons, whereas houses of canons could make quite a lot out of them.<sup>248</sup> The enthusiasm shown by Augustinians for parochial cures seems to have worn off quickly: the principal difficulty was that heads of community had to maintain two or three canons in each parish personally served, in order to preserve discipline, and few communities were large enough to supply manpower for more than one or two parishes at most.<sup>249</sup>

The 1130s and 1140s were the high-water mark for the Augustinians in their attempt to shape the medieval clergy in their image. These decades saw the takeover of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris and of the cathedrals of Sées and St Andrews, and the foundation of Carlisle Cathedral. But most cathedrals in northern Europe held out against the regulars,<sup>250</sup> and, in spite of some later successes for the latter (Henry II turned the collegiate church of Waltham into an Augustinian house in penance for the killing of Thomas Becket, for example),<sup>251</sup> religious fashion at this point began to swing against them. One case which can be taken as an example of the new trend is that of Saint-Sauveur in Blois, a collegiate church whose secular canons had been replaced with regulars by Count Theobald IV of Blois (d. 1152); John of Salisbury, once he became bishop of Chartres, turned the community once more into a secular one.<sup>252</sup> After about 1150 kings and bishops started to view secular clergy in a more favourable light. The usefulness of secular cathedrals as a source of patronage with which to reward upwardly mobile clergy became more obvious as rulers and bishops found it necessary to increase the numbers of clergy in their employment.<sup>253</sup> John Comyn, archbishop of Dublin 1182–1212, who was irritated by having an Augustinian cathedral chapter at Christ Church, created a collegiate chapter at St Patrick's outside the walls of Dublin, which was raised to cathedral status by his successor, Henry of London, in 1219/20 (Christ Church also remained a cathedral, making Dublin, very unusually in medieval Europe, a city with two cathedral communities).<sup>254</sup> At St Andrews, the bishops created a community of secular clerics, to whom they gave the name of culdees in order to create a link, however fictitious, with the pre-Augustinian past.<sup>255</sup> Liturgical efficiency in secular cathedrals could be ensured by the payment of deputies to stand in for absentee canons.<sup>256</sup> At parish level, Augustinians themselves were finding it necessary to withdraw from most personal involvement in pastoral care and to appoint vicars instead.<sup>257</sup>

The career patterns of the medieval secular clergy cannot be fully understood without some comprehension of developments in the monastic life, and knowledge of how monks and regular canons tried to make clerics look more like them. Bishops with knowledge of monastic rules created rules of life for clergy living in communities in the eighth and ninth centuries: these were not as strict as monastic rules, and were not necessarily strictly

adhered to, but provided an institutional framework for larger communities of clergy, helping to explain the career patterns of canons in cathedral and collegiate churches. Monastic leaders in the tenth and eleventh centuries, who quite often had been originally trained as clerics and not as monks, targeted clerical communities as suitable churches to be turned into monasteries, thus cutting down the range of positions available to the seculars as well as creating an atmosphere of tension. From the middle decades of the eleventh century, there was also a movement within the clergy itself seeking a more regular form of life: these regular canons, too, sought to win over to their cause other clerics living in communities. Most groups of clergy adopted a form of passive resistance to these moves. Dynamism was entirely on the side of the monks and regular canons, but under pressure from these two forces the clergy found that they had acquired a clearer identity and even a new definition, as ‘secular’, or worldly, clerics. This term, though applied to them at first as a form of abuse, lost its sting fairly quickly.

[1](#) See [Chapter 2](#) above.

[2](#) See below at [nn. 30](#)–92, and also literature cited in Julia Barrow, ‘Review article: Chrodegang, his rule and its successors’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 14 (2006), 201–12.

[3](#) See below at [nn. 117](#)–46.

[4](#) See below at [nn. 177](#)–257.

[5](#) For the very earliest versions of this text, see Luc Verheijen, *La règle de Saint Augustin*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967), I, 417–37 and also 148–52; for bibliography of the various customals compiled by eleventh- and twelfth-century Augustinians, see Stefan Weinfurter, ‘Neuere Forschung zu den Regularkanonikern im deutschen Reich des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts’, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 224 (1977), 379–97, at 382–4.

[6](#) *Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in ecclesia*, ed. and tr. Giles Constable and Bernard Smith (Oxford, 1972), 57–97.

[7](#) Julian Führer, *König Ludwig VI. von Frankreich und die Kanonikerreform*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, 1049 (Frankfurt am Main, 2008), esp. 299–304.

[8](#) Charles Dereine, ‘Chanoines’, *DHGE*, XII, 353–405, with quote from 374 ‘The sources that inform us about the decadence of canonical life are unfortunately fairly rare’. See also Brigitte Meijns, ‘La réorientation du paysage canonial en Flandre et le pouvoir des évêques, comtes et nobles (XIe siècle–première moitié du XIIe siècle)’, *Le Moyen Âge*, 112 (2006), 111–34.

[9](#) Josef Siegwart, *Die Chorherren- und Chorfrauengemeinschaften in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz vom 6. Jahrhundert bis 1160*, Studia Friburgensia, neue Folge, 30 (Fribourg, 1962), 140–7, for a list of ‘low points of communal life’ in cathedral and collegiate chapters throughout the empire; see also [ibid.](#), 99–140, for Siegwart’s list of pieces of evidence (often rather generously interpreted) for the operation of communal life in cathedral and collegiate chapters in the empire.

[10](#) J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), 21; Jean Châtillon, *Le mouvement canonial au Moyen Âge: Réforme de l’Église, spiritualité et culture*, ed. Patrice Sicard, Bibliotheca Victorina, 3 (Turnhout, Brepols, 1992), 11–12, 60, 68–9.

[11](#) The exception is Charles Dereine, who discusses the use of the term *vita communis* in charters from 975 onwards: ‘Vie commune, règle de Saint-Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XIe siècle’, *RHE*, 41 (1946), 365–406.

[12](#) For a brief introduction, see James W. McKinnon, ‘The origins of the Western office’, in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Balzer (Oxford, 2000), 63–73; for a fuller account, see Jesse Billett, ‘The divine office and the secular clergy in later Anglo-Saxon England’, in *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century*, ed. David Rollason, Conrad Leyser and Hannah Williams (Turnhout, 2010), 429–71.

[13](#) Paolo Piva, ‘Dalla cattedrale “doppia” allo “spazio liturgico canonico”’. Linee di un percorso’, in *Canonici delle cattedrali nel medioevo*, ed. Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini, Grado Giovanni Merlo and Antonio Rigon (Verona, 2003), 69–93, at 70.

[14](#) On daily Mass, see Raymund Kottje, ‘Das Aufkommen der täglichen Eucharistiefeier in der Westkirche und die Zölibatsforderung’, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 82 (1971), 218–28, esp. 220.

[15](#) PL 16: 1209 (Ambrose, *Epistolae*, no 63, para. 71), and see also col. 1207 (para. 66).

[16](#) PL 16: 1209 (Ambrose, *Epistolae*, no 63, para. 71).

[17](#) Sulpice Sévère, *Vie de Saint Martin*, ed. and tr. Jacques Fontaine, 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes, 133–5 (Paris, 1967–9), I, 280 (c. 13); *Sulpicii Severi opera*, ed. Karl Halm, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 1 (Vienna, 1866), 213–14 (Sulpicius, *Dialogues*, III, c. 15), on how Martin tried to bring up Brice, one of his young clerics; Claire Stancliffe, *St Martin and His Hagiographer: History and Miracle in Sulpicius Severus* (Oxford, 1983), 111–33, on chronology.

[18](#) PL 32: 37–8, 42–3 (Possidius, *Vita Augustini*, cc. 5, 11).

[19](#) Jean Devisse, ‘L’influence de Julien Pomère sur les clercs carolingiens: De la pauvreté aux Ve et IXe siècles’, *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France*, 56 (1970), 285–95; W.E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Cambridge, 1994), 73–82; in the Carolingian period Julian’s work was attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine: for discussion of Pomerius’ *De vita contemplativa* and Chrodegang’s use of it (and his attribution of it to Prosper) see M.A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004), 184–203. On Caesarius’ attempts to link up monastic and clerical liturgy, see Robert Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1990), 203 and cf 202.

[20](#) Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l’Occident barbare, 6e–8e siècle* (Paris, 1962), 136–8. On the role of the *domus episcopi*, see also Robert Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne* (Brussels, 2001), 63–6, 223–7.

[21](#) Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum X*, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, 2nd edn, MGH SRG, 1, i (Hanover, 1951), 533 (x, 31).

[22](#) Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln in Deutschland*, Bonner historische Forschungen, 43 (Bonn, 1976), 100–6; however, the derivation of term is disputed: cf

Hanns-Christoph Picker, *Pastor Doctus: Klerikerbild und karolingische Reformen bei Hrabanus Maurus* (Mainz, 2001), 118–19; and also below.

[23](#) Chrodegang in his Rule insisted that the *matricularii* (presumably the registered poor of Metz) should visit the cathedral once a fortnight to hear Bible readings and homilies: *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, ed. Wilhelm Schmitz (Hanover, 1889), 24–5 (c. 34); for comment, see Claussen, *Reform*, 93–4.

[24](#) For *marguilliers* at Sens Cathedral in the twelfth century, see *Cartulaire de l'Yonne*, II, 285–6 (no 267), 493–5 (no 484).

[25](#) Henri Leclercq, 'Chanoines', in *DACL*, III (Paris, 1914), 223–48, at 223.

[26](#) Dereine, 'Chanoines', *DHGE*, XII, 354 ('sert de doublet à *regularis*').

[27](#) Synod of Clermont, 535 (c. 15), in *Concilia Galliae A. 314–A. 506*, ed. Charles Munier, CCSL, 148 (Turnhout, 1963), 109, l. 85; the Council of Tours, 567, c. 20 (*ibid.*, 183) reference to *lectorum canonicorum*.

[28](#) On the background to Chrodegang's Rule, see Claussen, *Reform*, 3–15.

[29](#) Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, 118–19; MGH *Capit. ep.*, III, 215, l. 11; Council of Rheims 813, in MGH *Conc.*, I, 254 ll. 34–5.

[30](#) Eugen Ewig, 'Saint Chrodegang et la réforme de l'Église franque', in *Saint Chrodegang: Communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort* (Metz, 1967), 25–53; Theodor Schieffer, *Angelsachsen und Franken* (Mainz, 1951), 30–45; Eugen Ewig, 'Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung der fränkischen Reichskirche unter Chrodegang von Metz', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 2 (1968), 67–77; for discussion of Chrodegang and his work see Claussen, *Reform*, *passim*. The date of Chrodegang's consecration may have been as late as 747 (Schieffer, *Angelsachsen und Franken*, 32 n. 1; Josef Semmler, 'Chrodegang Bischof von Metz 747–766', in *Die Reichsabtei Lorsch: Festschrift zum Bedanken an die Stiftung der Reichsabtei Lorsch 764*, ed. Friedrich Knöpf, 2 vols. (Darmstadt, 1973–7), I, 229–45, at 230–1), though the traditional date of 742 may well be right: see Claussen, *Reform*, 26 n. 46.

[31](#) Guy Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organization: The Merovingian Region of Metz* (Cambridge, 1995), 231; Robert Folz, 'Metz dans la monarchie franque au temps de Saint Chrodegang', in *Saint Chrodegang*, 11–24.

[32](#) *Pauli Warnefridi liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS, 2 (Hanover, 1829), 260–8, at 264; O.G. Oexle, 'Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulfs', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 1 (1967), 250–364, at 252–79 (for the genealogical material) and 279–311 (for the eighth-century church of Metz).

[33](#) Theodor Klauser, 'Eine Stationsliste der Metzger Kirche aus dem 8. Jh., wahrscheinlich ein Werk Chrodegangs', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 44 (1930), 162–93; for discussion, see Claussen, *Reform*, 276–86.

[34](#) On the development of stationary liturgy in Rome see John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of the Stationary Liturgy*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 228 (Rome, 1987), 105–66; on Metz see Halsall, *Settlement*, 236, and Frank G. Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung, Bauprojekte und*



*Großbaustellen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1998), 236–57.

[35](#) *Pauli Warnefridi liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, 268; Eugen Ewig, ‘Kirche und civitas in der Merowingerzeit’, in Eugen Ewig, *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien: Gesammelte Schriften* (1952–1973), ed. Hartmut Atsma, 2 vols. (Munich, 1976–9), II, 1–20, at 5–6; Oexle, ‘Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulfs’, 289–90.

[36](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, 23–4 (c. 33); for commentary see Claussen, *Reform*, 105–7.

[37](#) The best edition of Chrodegang’s Rule is that of Schmitz (*S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*); Labbaeus’ version, represented by PL 89, 1097–1120, contains some interpolations by Chrodegang’s successor Angilramn in cc. 20, 33 and 34 (see Claussen, *Reform*, 8 n. 17); for the version of the Rule of Chrodegang made in the ninth century and known as the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, see [n. 50](#) below; for modern commentary see Gaston Hocquard, ‘La règle de Saint Chrodegang: état de quelques questions’, in *Saint Chrodegang*, 55–89; and now Claussen, *Reform*, *passim*. Claussen (48 n. 160) points out the close textual relationship between the prologue of RC and that of the Council of Ver in 755; on the dating of Chrodegang’s Rule, see Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln*, 142 (755/6); Ewig, ‘Beobachtungen’, thought the rule was written 754 in the run-up to the meeting in 755.

[38](#) Claussen, *Reform*, 58–165, surveys the similarities but also points out the ways in which Chrodegang altered his model, for example noting that RC c. 24 is less specific about practical duties than is RB (p. 82), that Chrodegang deviated from RB c. 69 when drafting RC c. 13 by adding that canons should not be influenced by kinship or friendship in defending other canons, and that if they were they should be punished *acrius* (‘rather severely’) (p. 75), and by making the punishments in RC cc. 16–17 milder than those in RB (p. 77).

[39](#) *Pauli Warnefridi liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, 268; Josef Semmler, ‘Die Geschichte der Abtei Lorsch von der Gründung bis zum Ende der Salierzeit (764–1125)’, in *Die Reichsabtei Lorsch*, ed. Knöpf, I, 75–173, at 77; John Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c.850–1000* (Oxford, 2001), 30; Claussen, *Reform*, 28–30; Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley 400–1100* (Cambridge, 2000), 18–19.

[40](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, 4–5 (c. 3), 12–14 (cc. 20–4, esp. 21), 7–8 (c. 8), 7 (c. 7), 5–6 (c. 4). For commentary see Claussen, *Reform*, 68–9 on c. 3, 70–1 on c. 8, 70 and 126–8 on c. 7, 69–70 on c. 4 (where Claussen points out that Chrodegang is stressing the pastoral role of the canons’ liturgy).

[41](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, 4–5 (c. 3); cf Claussen, *Reform*, 119, 196 and esp. 68–9 on *mansiones*.

[42](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, 3–4 (c. 2); Claussen, *Reform*, 90, 235–6 on c. 21, and 128–34 on the differences between RC c. 2 and RB c. 63.

[43](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, 12–14 (c. 20), 15–16 (c. 22); Claussen, *Reform*, 80 on RC, c. 20, and 81 on RC, cc. 22–3.

[44](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, 1–2 (Prologue) and 24–5 (c.



34); Claussen, *Reform*, 64, 108–12.

[45](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, 3–4 (c. 2); compare with RB c. 59 on oblation.

[46](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, 3–5 (cc. 2–3), 14 (c. 21, on the bishop), 16–17 (c. 25, on the archdeacon and *primicerius*), 16, 18–19 (cc. 24, 27, on the archdeacon).

[47](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, 20–3 (c. 31); Claussen, *Reform*, 94–103.

[48](#) Claussen, *Reform*, 80–1, 94 and 245–6. *Communis* occurs in the 813 Council of Chalon (*stipendia fratrum in commune viventium*: MGH *Conc.*, I, 275) and in IC (*in communi recondant cellario* and *ab omni congregatione communis oratio*, MGH *Conc.*, I, 402 and 412); *communiter* occurs in a charter of Archbishop Wulfred of Canterbury for his community (*necnon domum refectiois et dormitorium communiter frequentent*, S 1265). Apart from Dereine (‘Vie commune’, 366), scholars have been too ready to make use of the term *vita communis* in discussion of clerical life in the earlier Middle Ages. Gregory I in one of his letters to Augustine said that because he had been trained in monastic rules he ought to live together with his clergy at Canterbury, sharing all things in common after the manner of the Apostles (Bede, *HE*, 80 (i, 27)); in the 830s Pseudo-Isidore, in the supposed letter of Pope Urban I (*Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. Paul Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863), 143, 145–6), developed the idea of *vita communis* through a commentary on Acts to draw it more specifically towards the clergy rather than just all the faithful. See also below, at [n. 168](#).

[49](#) Cf Michel Parisse, ‘La vie religieuse du XIIe au XIVe siècle’, in *Le diocèse de Metz*, ed. Henri Tribout de Morembert (Paris, 1970), 68–86, at 70.

[50](#) *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Brigitte Langefeld, Münchener Universitätsschriften, 26 (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 32–5.

[51](#) For Leidrad’s letter, datable c.813 × 814, see *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, ed. Ernst Duemmler, MGH *Epp.*, 4 (Berlin, 1895), 542–4, at 542–3; for comment, see Mayke de Jong, ‘Charlemagne’s church’, in *Charlemagne: Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester, 2005), 103–35, at 103–4.

[52](#) *Admonitio generalis*, c.72: MGH *Capitularia*, I, 59 (*seu alii canonice observantiae ordines*); 813 Council of Mainz: MGH *Conc.*, I, 262 (*ut canonici clerici canonice vivant*), 267 (*(canonici) canonice vivant*).

[53](#) Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), 155–60; the *mensa* reference occurs in a charter (S 1259 of 805) confirming a grant of c.780, see p. 158; cf Julia Barrow, ‘Cathedral clergy’, in *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge, John Blair, Simon Keynes and Donald Scragg (Oxford, 1999), 84–7, at 86.

[54](#) Brigitte Langefeld, ‘*Regula canonicorum* or *Regula monasterialis vitae*? The Rule of Chrodegang and Archbishop Wulfred’s Reforms at Canterbury’, *ASE*, 25 (1996), 21–36, at 27–30; Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c.750–870* (Aldershot, 2003), disagrees, and discusses the close connections

between Canterbury and Frankish reforming circles in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.

[55](#) Brooks, *Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, 255–9; see now full discussion of Wulfred’s charters by N.P. Brooks, ‘Was cathedral reform at Christ Church Canterbury in the early ninth century of continental inspiration?’, in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies*, 3 (Tempe, AZ, 2011), 303–22.

[56](#) Sarah Foot, ‘Parochial ministry in early Anglo-Saxon England: the role of monastic communities’, in *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, ed. W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood, SCH, 26 (Oxford, 1989), 43–54; Sarah Foot, ‘Anglo-Saxon minsters: a review of terminology’, in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*; ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), 212–25; Sarah Foot, ‘The role of the minster in earlier Anglo-Saxon society’, in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain*, ed. B. Thompson (Stamford, 1999), 35–58, esp. 38–9; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 3–4, 80–3, 106–7; Sarah Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c.600–c.900* (Cambridge, 2006), 4–10.

[57](#) Brooks, ‘Was cathedral reform ...?’, esp. 315; MGH *Conc.*, I, 245–306, at 255–6, 262–3, 267, 278, 289–90 for the 813 regional synods aiming to separate monks from clergy; for comment, see Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, 119–20.

[58](#) *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, ii, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp., 4 (Berlin, 1895), 86, 88 (*Alcivini sive Albinii Epistolae*, nos 42–3); Bullough, *Alcuin*, 169; for discussion of York having a *custos*, see [ibid.](#)

[59](#) S 1443 (899 × 908, probably 901), discussed more fully below in [Chapter 9 at n. 96](#).

[60](#) This fragment was edited and discussed by André Wilmart, ‘Le règlement ecclésiastique de Berne’, *Rev. bén.*, 51 (1939), 37–52 (edition is at 43–52), who dated the MS to the first half of the ninth century, probably c.830 (at 38); Wilmart thought the text was likely to be about a century earlier (at 38), on the grounds that its Latinity is poor, and also thought the poor Latinity suggested Insular authorship (p. 39), though there is nothing in the text to suggest this. The citation of the verse ‘Unanimiter excelsum imploremus ... captemus supernorum’ from ‘Congregavit nos in unum Christi amor’, apparently written after the division of the empire in 806 (Ernst Dümmler, ed., *Poetae Latini medii aevi*, 4 vols., MGH (Berlin, 1881–1923), IV, part 2, i (1914), 526; for dating see André Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris, 1932), 29), would appear to rule out eighth-century composition, even though Wilmart, ‘Le règlement’, 39–40, tries to reject his earlier dating). The reference to a dean as head of a community of clergy ([ibid.](#), 48–9) is unlikely before the ninth century (see below at p. 84). The fact that the text does not use the interpolated form of RB also suggests a date not earlier than the early ninth century (Wilmart was presumably referring to the *textus receptus* form of RB when he talks of the ‘authentic’ rather than the ‘interpolated’ form of RB). The church for which this rule was written was probably dedicated to St Peter (Wilmart, ‘Le règlement’, 41), but it cannot be identified. Research being currently undertaken by Stephen Ling suggests that Wilmart’s dates for both the work and the MS are too early.

[61](#) Mayke de Jong, ‘Carolingian monasticism: the power of prayer’, in *NCMH*, II, 622–

53, at 632–3.

[62](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 308–421; for the most recent list of MSS, see Hubert Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta*, MGH Hilfsmittel, 15 (Munich, 1995), 1045–56. There is an English translation of some of IC (but not the patristic or canon law sections) by Jerome Bertram, *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2005).

[63](#) *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. Jean-Michel Hanssens, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1948–50), I, 57–8 rejects the attribution.

[64](#) Cf Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln*, 238–9; see also Guy P. Marchal, ‘Was war das weltliche Kanonikerinstitut im Mittelalter? Dom- und Kollegiatstifte: Eine Einführung und eine neue Perspektive’, *RHE*, 94 (1999), 761–807, and 95 (2000), 7–53, at 785.

[65](#) On Julianus Pomerius, see [n. 19](#) above.

[66](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 370–94.

[67](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 394–7.

[68](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 398–421; Jerome Bertram, *Vita Communis: The Common Life of the Secular Clergy* (Leominster, 2009), 84–7, outlines the differences in approach between IC and RC.

[69](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 406–7; Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, I, cc. 19–23.

[70](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 401–3.

[71](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 399.

[72](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 413; on ‘nourishment’ (*nutritio*) see [Chapter 5](#) below.

[73](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 410–12 and 415.

[74](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 419–21.

[75](#) RC, cc. 3 (sleeping), 8 and 21 (clergy outside *claustrum*), 27 (job of porter): *S. Chrodegangi Metensis episcopi regula canonicorum*, 4–5, 7–8, 14–15, 18; Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, 55, on *claustrum* in IC; Dereine, *DHGE*, xii, 366.

[76](#) Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium*, 1045–56, listed seventy-one surviving manuscripts containing the whole text, eighteen containing substantial parts of it, eight manuscripts containing fragments and thirty-four manuscripts containing extracts (often chapter 145); in addition four manuscripts have been lost thanks to war damage in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while references to another fourteen occur in medieval and early modern library catalogues; Mordek reminded readers (at 1045) that further witnesses to the text probably remain to be found. Twenty-five of the MSS are ninth-century; about a dozen are tenth-century; over thirty are eleventh-century.

[77](#) In 818 or 819 Archbishop Hetti of Trier reminded his suffragan Frotharius, bishop of Toul, that he had been given three years to ‘increase the rule’ and to ensure that suitable buildings for canons were provided: *La correspondance d’un évêque carolingien*:

*Frothaire de Toul* (ca. 813–847), ed. Michel Parisse (Paris, 1998), 142–5, no 29.

[78](#) Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln*, 254–7.

[79](#) On IC at Laon (Laon, BM MS 336, s. ix), see John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 29 (Munich, 1978), 109–10.

[80](#) In 844/5 a charter of Charles the Bald for Saint-Martin at Tours suggests that the dean was then third in command, with the abbot and provost ahead of him, while in 851 the cathedral church of Paris appears to have had provosts above deans: *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, Roi de France*, ed. Georges Tessier, 3 vols. (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1943–55), I, 179 (no 62), 364 (no 137). Only the abbot, with no provost or dean, is mentioned in the charters of Louis the Pious for Saint-Martin, Tours, in PL 104: 1067–70, 1201–2 and 1214–15 (nos 69, 70, 164, 171), but by 862 there was a dean immediately below the abbot, and no provost: *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, II, 39 (no 239). At Rheims Cathedral the provost was the leading figure from Ebbo's *Indiculum* of 820 to the late twelfth century: Patrick Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale: Les archevêques de Reims et leur église aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Langres, 2005), 67–9. On deans, see also [Chapter 9](#) below.

[81](#) At Amiens the provost occurs after the dean in 1069 × 1074 and in 1145 (*Cartulaire d'Amiens*, I, nos 6, 18), but ahead of the dean in 1091 × 1102 (*ibid.*, no 10); a single provost occurs at Sainte-Croix, Orléans, in 1124 (*Cartulaire d'Orléans*, nos 7, 56; see also no 84 of 1174, issued by a provost, Canon Adam Bréon); cf also *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. Frank Barlow, Camden Society, 3rd series, 61 (London, 1939), 79 n., no 43 (spring 1165), concerning Reimbert, deposed from the precentorship of Saint-Aignan, Orléans, who had been allowed to keep his prebend and provostship.

[82](#) Louis Amiet, *Essai sur l'organisation du chapitre cathédral de Chartres* (Chartres, 1922), 112–22, on provosts at Chartres; also Laon in 1055: *Actes des évêques de Laon des origines à 1151*, ed. Annie Dufour-Malbezin (Paris, 2001), no 24. See also [Chapter 9](#) below.

[83](#) Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1950–1), II, 788–854, on deans and provosts.

[84](#) *Lettres d'Étienne de Tournai*, ed. J. Desilve (Valenciennes and Paris, 1893), no 172, discussed in [Chapter 9 at n. 98](#) below.

[85](#) Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, II, 781.

[86](#) Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, II, 784.

[87](#) Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, II, 788–819 on Frankish monasteries of the eighth and ninth centuries; Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c.744–c.900* (Cambridge, 2012), 182–3, on how Fulda had adopted this system by the early ninth century.

[88](#) Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*, II, 829.

[89](#) Julia Barrow 'Cathedrals, provosts and prebends: a comparison of twelfth-century



German and English practice', *JEH*, 37 (1986), 536–64.

[90](#) *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Langefeld, 12; see also discussion in Barrow, 'Chrodegang'.

[91](#) Two manuscripts can be traced to eleventh-century Spain; one cannot be more closely provenanced (*Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 40–1), while the other is from Catalonia, and was owned by the church of Santa María del Estany, near Vic (*ibid.*, 42–3).

[92](#) *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 11–20, 35–54.

[93](#) *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 18, 43–4.

[94](#) Simon Keynes, 'King Athelstan's books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 143–201.

[95](#) *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 67, 136–9; on Old Minster see text at [n. 134](#) below.

[96](#) On clerical marriage in tenth-century England, see [Chapter 4](#) below.

[97](#) For the sources, see *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis*, ed. W. Sparrow Simpson (London, 1873), 38–43; for comment, see Dorothy Whitelock, *Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London* (London, 1975), pp. 28–9; C.N.L. Brooke, 'The earliest times to 1485' in *A History of St Paul's Cathedral*, ed. W.R. Matthews and W.M. Atkins (London, 1957), 1–99, 361–5, at 12–15 and 363; Julia Barrow, 'English cathedral communities and reform in the late tenth and the eleventh centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 25–39, at 31; briefly discussed by Pamela Taylor, 'Foundation and endowment: St Paul's and the English kingdoms, 604–1087', in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604–2004*, ed. Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (New Haven and London, 2004), 5–16, at 13 (but without commenting on whether IC or Enlarged RC). Langefeld states (*Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 29 n. 87) that it is not possible to decide whether these excerpts came from IC or Enlarged RC, but the chapters are clearly from IC (see Barrow, 'English cathedral communities', 31).

[98](#) The manuscripts of Enlarged RC circulating in late Anglo-Saxon England are discussed in *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 43–50.

[99](#) Helmut Gneuss, 'Liturgical books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English terminology', in *Learning and Literature*, ed. Lapidge and Gneuss, 91–141.

[100](#) However, when Enlarged RC mentions bishops ordaining and where necessary degrading clergy (c. 2), and says bishops should not send priests away except if absent or negligent (c. 74), these chapters simply refer to the role of the diocesan, not to bishops within communities (*Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 174–5, 314–15).

[101](#) Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women, I: The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England* (Aldershot, 2000), 91–3; Barbara Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London, 2003), 86; see also Rohini Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule:



writing for women and men, *ASE*, 32 (2003), 147–87, at 162–4, 178, 181, 186–7.

[102](#) *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 142–4, argues for the 950s–970s as the likeliest date for translation; Michael D.C. Drout, ‘Re-dating the Old English translation of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: the evidence of the prose style’, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 103 (2004), 341–68, has argued that the translation was made in the 940s or 950s, perhaps at Glastonbury, since its prose style displays a mixture of features of the Winchester School and of the prose of the early ninth century. Langefeld, in *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, analyses the Anglian and Winchester features of the translation and proposes (at 139) that the translator had originally been educated in a place other than Winchester, before coming under the influence of the Winchester School.

[103](#) ‘Ælfric’s pastoral letter for Bishop Wulfsgie (of Sherborne)’, in *CS*, I, i, 191–226; for comment, see Jonathan Wilcox, ‘Ælfric in Dorset and the landscape of pastoral care’, in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge, 2005), 52–62, at 56–60; Joyce Hill, ‘Wulfsgie of Sherborne’s reforming text’, in *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church from Bede to Stigand*, ed. Alexander Rumble (Woodbridge, 2012), 147–63, at 151–63.

[104](#) *Die ‘Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical’*, ed. Karl Jost (Bern, 1959), 248–55, at 248; cf Dorothy Whitelock, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan, homilist and statesman’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 24 (1942), 42–60, at 47–8, repr. in Dorothy Whitelock, *History, Law and Literature in 10th–11th Century England* (London, 1981), Chapter 11.

[105](#) See also [Chapter 9 below at n. 97](#).

[106](#) *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 47–50; Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd edn (London, 1979), 214; Joyce Hill, ‘Two Anglo-Saxon bishops at work: Wulfstan, Leofric and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 190’, in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe. Strukturen bischöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 145–61.

[107](#) S 1478; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and tr. A.J. Robertson, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1956), 212–16, at 214, no 115; comment by Taylor, ‘Foundation and endowment: St Paul’s and the English kingdoms, 604–1087’, 14, and by Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 362.

[108](#) *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis*, in *Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. J. Hunter, Camden Society, 8 (London, 1840), 19; Simon Keynes, ‘Giso, bishop of Wells (1061–88)’, in *ANS*, 19 (Woodbridge, 1997), 203–71, at 249–50. The fact that Wells had a provost suggests IC.

[109](#) Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis Ecclesie*, ed. David Rollason (Oxford, 2000), 194–7 (III, c. 18); Walcher’s successor, William of St-Calais, introduced Benedictine monks instead in 1083: Symeon of Durham, *Libellus*, 224–31 (IV, cc. 2–3). For comment and context, see Barrow, ‘English cathedral communities’, 25–6.

[110](#) *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. and tr. Leslie Watkiss and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1994), xxi–xxiii, 28–9. Earl Harold ordered Adelard to impose ‘the rules, ordinances and customs’ observed in the churches in which he had been educated (at 28–9); Watkiss and Chibnall assume (at xxii–xxiii) that this meant that Adelard imposed the Rule of Chrodegang, but the Rule of Aachen would have formed the basis of observance at the churches where Adelard was educated (see [n. 113](#) below).

[111](#) Keynes, ‘Giso’, 203.

[112](#) Symeon of Durham, *Libellus*, 194–5 (III, c. 18).

[113](#) *Waltham Chronicle*, xxi–xxii, 28–9. Adelard may well have begun his education at one of the churches in Liège, where he was born, before completing it at Traiectum, which might be Utrecht (in which case Adelard probably studied at the cathedral), or Maastricht (in which case Adelard would have studied at the collegiate church of St Servatius).

[114](#) Julia Barrow, ‘A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert’s reorganisation of the church of Hereford 1079–1095’, in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. David Whitehead, BAAC, 15 (Leeds, 1995), 29–47, at 34–42, against assertions by Barlow, *The English Church*, 82–4; *Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 19.

[115](#) *Fasti*, X, 7 (30 November 1225).

[116](#) On Normandy, see David Spear, ‘L’administration épiscopale normande: archidiacones et dignitaires des chapitres’, in *Les évêques normands du XIe siècle*, ed. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (Caen, 1995), 81–102, esp. 95–7, and David Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911–1204* (London, 2006), *passim*. For English chapters, see *Fasti*, III, ix (dean, precentor, treasurer and probably master of the schools by 1092 at Lincoln); *Fasti*, VI, xxii (master of the schools, and then dean, treasurer and cantor at York by 1093); Hereford’s leading cleric under Bishop Robert the Lotharingian (1079–95) was a dean (*Fasti*, VIII, 8); Salisbury seems to have acquired dignitaries only between about 1107 and the 1120s (*Fasti*, IV, p. xxiv).

[117](#) Cf Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, 55, 62–3, on publicisation of Aachen 817.

[118](#) Cf Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, 74, on Fulda.

[119](#) E.-R. Vaucelle, *La collégiale de Saint-Martin de Tours depuis l’origine jusqu’à l’avènement des Valois (397–1328)* (Paris, 1908), 72, sees a definite clericalisation of Saint-Martin in the mid-ninth century.

[120](#) See [Chapters 1–2](#) above, and the following note.

[121](#) Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda*, 78–9, 187–8, notes (at 78) that the monks who occur as priests in the mid-ninth century had occurred (presumably as oblates) in 781, and stresses the significance of Masses in the abbey; Picker, *Pastor Doctus*, 78–9, 88, while accepting the importance of Masses, is more keen to stress the pastoral angle, arguing that a majority of Fulda’s monks lived in its cells (*ibid.*, 78); see also Karl Schmid, ‘Mönchslisten und Klosterkonvent von Fulda zur Zeit der Karolinger’, in *Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter*, 2.2: *Untersuchungen*, ed. Karl Schmid (Munich, 1978), 571–635. A high proportion of the

inhabitants of these cells, between a quarter and a half, were schoolboys; a clear majority of the adult monks were priests (see [ibid.](#), 605–8).

[122](#) Cf Joachim Wollasch, ‘Monasticism: the first wave of reform’, in *NCMH*, III, 163–85, at 183; O.G. Oexle, ‘Mönchslisten und Konvent von Fulda im 10. Jahrhundert’, in *Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda, 2.2: Untersuchungen*, ed. Schmid, 640–91, esp. 673–4: tenth-century Fulda lists show that two-thirds or three-quarters of monks were priests and most of the remainder were deacons.

[123](#) Alain Dierkens, *Abbayes entre Sambre et Meuse (VIIe–XIe siècle)* (Sigmaringen, 1985), 229–47; Brigitte Meijns, ‘L’ordre canonial dans le comté de Flandre depuis l’époque mérovingienne jusqu’à 1155’, *RHE*, 97 (2002), 5–58, at 39.

[124](#) Schieffer, *Angelsachsen und Franken*, 32–3; O.G. Oexle, ‘Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf’, 288; on Gorze in the tenth century see *L’abbaye de Gorze au Xe siècle*, ed. Michel Parisse and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Nancy, 1993); Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, 30, 68–70.

[125](#) *Chronique ou livre de foundation du monastère de Mouzon*, ed. Michel Bur (Paris, 1989), 161, 164–5.

[126](#) For comment on how minsters might get squeezed by more powerful agencies, often bishops, see inter alia Francesca Tinti, ‘The “costs” of pastoral care: church dues in late Anglo-Saxon England’, in *Pastoral Care*, ed. Francesca Tinti, 27–51, at 43, 45–7; Steven Bassett, ‘Prestetone: the land of the clerics of Wootton Wawen (Warwickshire)’, in *The Church in English Place-Names*, ed. Eleanor Quinton, English Place-Name Society, extra series, 4 (Nottingham, 2009), 23–38; Julia Barrow, ‘The chronology of the Benedictine “reform”’, in *Edgar, King of the English, 959–975*, ed. Donald Scragg (Woodbridge, 2008), 211–23, esp. 215–16; Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100* (Leicester, 2013), 8–14.

[127](#) *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and Its Minsters*, ed. Alexander R. Rumble, Winchester Studies 4.iii (Oxford, 2002), esp. 65–97; Julia Barrow, ‘The ideology of the tenth-century English Benedictine “reform”’, in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout, 2010), 141–54; Jean de Saint-Arnoul, *La Vie de Jean, abbé de Gorze*, ed. and tr. Michel Parisse (Paris, 1999), 74–5 (‘iuxta altaria ipsa vestigia foeda animalium deprehenderet’); *Vita Gerardi abbatis Broniensis*, ed. L. de Heinemann, MGH SS, 15, part 2 (Hanover, 1888), 654–73, and, on the date, J.M. De Smet, ‘Recherches critiques sur la *Vita Gerardi Abbatis Broniensis*’, *Rev. bén.*, 70 (1960), 5–61; Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons*, 79. Steven Vanderputten, ‘Canterbury and Flanders in the late tenth century’, *ASE*, 35 (2008), 219–44, at 236–8, edits correspondence between Abbot Wido of St Peter’s, Ghent, and Dunstan, and comments on its wider context in his ‘Flemish monasticism, comital power, and the archbishops of Canterbury: a written legacy from the late tenth century’, in *England and the Continent*, ed. Rollason, Leyser and Williams, 67–86.

[128](#) On this question see Billett, ‘The divine office’, esp. 449; as Billett shows, the move to a more ‘Benedictine’ office was only made by monks in the middle of the tenth century.

[129](#) For example, of the sites offered by Edgar to Oswald, Benfleet, a fort, was a new site

in monastic terms, while Ely had been a monastery of great significance in the seventh century; Oswald preferred Ramsey, perhaps a new site: Barrow, 'The chronology of the Benedictine "reform" under Edgar', 219.

[130](#) Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 350–1; Alan Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), 43–64, at 61–3.

[131](#) Barrow, 'The chronology', 217; on Ælfthryth, Edgar's second or, strictly speaking, his third wife, see Pauline Stafford, 'Ælfthryth', in *ODNB*, I, 389–90, and Barbara Yorke, 'The legitimacy of St Edith', *Haskins Society Journal*, 11 (2003 for 1998), 97–113, at 103–4.

[132](#) Nicholas Brooks, 'The career of St Dunstan', in *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), 1–23, esp. 14–18; John Nightingale, 'Oswald, Fleury and continental reform', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London, 1996), 23–45; Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2008), 38–56. *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. and tr. Thomas Symons (Edinburgh and London, 1953), 3; *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2012), 70–4.

[133](#) Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. 226–39; Michael Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as scholar and teacher', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. Yorke, 89–117, repr. in Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, 1993); cf also Patrick Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his continental counterparts: contact, comparison, contrast', in [ibid.](#), 13–42, at 37–41.

[134](#) Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. and tr. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1991), pp. xlv–lx; *Property and Piety*, ed. Rumble, 65–97, no iv; *Regularis Concordia*; Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, 238–9; on a possible 966 date for *Regularis Concordia*, see Barrow, 'The chronology', 219–21.

[135](#) 'Edgar's establishment of monasteries', in CS I, i, 142–54; discussion by Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, 232–3, 260; cf also Barrow, 'The ideology', 152–3.

[136](#) *Property and Piety*, ed. Rumble, 65–97; David F. Johnson, 'The fall of Lucifer in Genesis A and two Anglo-Latin royal charters', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 97 (1998), 500–21, esp. 512–15 and 519–21.

[137](#) Barrow, 'The ideology', 148–50.

[138](#) On the anti-monastic reaction, see D.J.V. Fisher, 'The anti-monastic reaction in the reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1950–2), 254–70; Ann Williams, 'Princeps Merciorum gentis: the family, career and connections of Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia 956–83', *ASE*, 10 (1982), 143–72.

[139](#) Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 131, 217 n, 218, 222 n, 229; Julia Barrow, 'The clergy in English dioceses c.900–c.1066', in *Pastoral Care*, ed. Tinti, 17–26, at 19–20, and see [Chapter 4](#) below.



[140](#) *Vita Æthelwoldi*, 30–2. Eadsige, one of the clerics who was expelled and a kinsman of St Swithun, went to live in Winchcombe, but was persuaded to rejoin Old Minster as a monk: Ælfric of Winchester, ‘Life of St Swithun’, in *The Cult of St Swithun*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2003), 590–609, at 590–3.

[141](#) See fuller discussion below in [Chapter 4](#).

[142](#) Wormald, ‘Æthelwold and his continental counterparts’, 37–8 on the unusualness of the phenomenon, and 39–41 on Æthelwold’s use of Bede.

[143](#) Alan Thacker, ‘Lindisfarne and the origins of the cult of St Cuthbert’, in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to A.D. 1200*, ed. Gerald Bonner, Clare Stancliffe and David Rollason (Woodbridge, 1989), 103–22, at 103–5.

[144](#) Julia Barrow, ‘The community of Worcester, 961–c.1100’, in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London, 1996), 84–99, and literature there cited; cf also Julia Barrow, ‘The chronology of forgery production at Worcester from c.1000 to the early twelfth century’, in *St Wulfstan and His World*, ed. Julia Barrow and Nicholas Brooks (Aldershot, 2005), 105–22.

[145](#) Simon Keynes, ‘Wulfsige, monk of Glastonbury, abbot of Westminster (c.990–3), and bishop of Sherborne (c.993–1002)’, in *St Wulfsige and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey, 998–1998*, ed. Katherine Barker, David A. Hinton and Alan Hunt (Oxford, 2005), 53–94, at 67–72; M.A. O’Donovan, ed., *Charters of Sherborne*, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 3 (Oxford, 1988), nos 11–12.

[146](#) Brooks, *Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, 255–61.

[147](#) H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 149–54; and cf Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), 168–77; W.M. Aird, ‘An absent friend: the career of Bishop William of St Calais’, in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 283–97, at 291–3; W.M. Aird, ‘The political context of the *Libellus de Exordio*’, in *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. David Rollason (Stamford, 1998), 32–45, at 34–40; Martin Brett, ‘The church at Rochester, 604–1185’, in *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral, 604–1994*, ed. Nigel Yates with Paul A. Welsby (Woodbridge, 1996), 1–27, at 15–18.

[148](#) Barbara Dodwell, ‘Herbert de Losinga and the foundation’, in *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096–1996*, ed. Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bill and Hassell Smith (London, 1996), 36–43, at 25–6; M.J. Franklin, ‘The bishops of Coventry and Lichfield, c.1072–1208’, in *Coventry’s First Cathedral*, ed. George Demidowicz (Stamford, 1994), 118–38, at 119; *Fasti*, XI, xxvii–xxx. On Bath and Wells see Antonia Gransden, ‘The history of Wells cathedral c.1090–1547’, in *Wells Cathedral: A History*, ed. L.S. Colchester (Shepton Mallet, 1982), 24–51, at 24–5; *EEA*, X, xxiv–xxv; *Fasti*, VII, xxi–xxii.

[149](#) William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007), I, 104–7.

[150](#) Patrick, bishop of Dublin 1074–84, installed Benedictines in Christ Church; Bishop Samuel expelled them, probably before September 1100: Stuart Kinsella, ‘From Hiberno-



Norse to Anglo-Norman, c.1030–1300’, in *Christ Church Cathedral: A History*, ed. Kenneth Milne (Dublin, 2000), 25–52, at 35, 39; see also Roger Stalley, ‘The construction of the medieval cathedral, c.1030–1250’, in *ibid.*, 53–74, at 56–7; *The Writings of Bishop Patrick, 1074–1084*, ed. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, I (Dublin, 1955), 6–7; H.B. Clarke, ‘Dublin’, *LMA*, III, 1426–33, at 1432.

[151](#) Lesley Abrams, ‘The Anglo-Saxons and the Christianization of Scandinavia’, *ASE*, 24 (1995), 213–49, at 238–40; Tore Nyberg, *Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800–1200* (Aldershot, 2000), 59–60; Peter King, ‘The cathedral priory of Odense in the Middle Ages’, *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 16 (1962–5), 192–214.

[152](#) Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln*, 171–91, sees monastic influence in the early communities established by bishops of the Anglo-Saxon mission at Utrecht, Würzburg and elsewhere, but notes (at 191) that this was not lasting.

[153](#) *Fasti*, IX, xix–xxiv; J.R. Davies, ‘Aspects of church reform in Wales, c.1093–c.1223’, in *ANS*, XXX, ed. C.P. Lewis (Woodbridge, 2008), 85–99, esp. 86–90; *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad Annum 1638*, ed. D.E.R. Watt and A.L. Murray, rev. edn (Edinburgh, 2003).

[154](#) *Cartulaire de Compiègne*, I, nos 62–7 (all issued 1150); for comment, see Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London, 1998), 205, 280–2; closely connected to this phenomenon was Suger’s takeover of old nunneries, notably Argenteuil, for Saint-Denis; cf R.-H. Bautier, ‘Paris au temps d’Abélard’, in *Abélard en son temps*, ed. Jean Jolivet (Paris, 1981), 21–77, at 71, 75–7; and also Thomas G. Waldman, ‘Abbot Suger and the nuns of Argenteuil’, *Traditio*, 41 (1985), 239–72, on the expulsions of nuns from various nunneries in the area around Paris, ostensibly on grounds of behaviour but essentially for the benefit of a few major (and male) Benedictine communities.

[155](#) E.g. Bromfield in Shropshire, on which see John Blair, ‘Secular minster churches in Domesday Book’, in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1985), 104–42, at 128–31; St Guthlac’s, Hereford, cf *EEA*, VII, nos 19, 21; St Martin’s, Dover, which William of Corbeil tried to turn into an Augustinian house in 1130–6, and which on his death the monks of Canterbury Cathedral turned into a Benedictine priory: cf Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956), 75–9; *EEA*, XXVIII, lv; for similar developments in Normandy, see Lucien Musset, ‘Recherches sur les communautés des clercs séculiers en Normandie au XI siècle’, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 55 (1959–60), 5–38; for Flanders, see Meijns, ‘La réorientation’, 114–34.

[156](#) A few eleventh- and twelfth-century episcopal chaplains were monks, but although licence could always be given to one or two members of a community to be absent, it could never be given to a large number of inmates at any one time. Thus St Wulfstan of Worcester’s chaplain Coleman was the only monk in an entourage composed essentially of secular clerics: *EEA*, XXXIII, lvi.

[157](#) Christopher Harper-Bill, ‘The struggle for benefices in twelfth-century East Anglia’, *ANS*, 11 (Woodbridge, 1998), 113–32.

[158](#) R.W. Southern, ‘The Canterbury forgeries’, *EHR*, 73 (1958), 193–226; Martin Brett,

‘Forgery at Rochester’, in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 6 vols. (Hanover, 1988–90), IV, 397–412; Julia Barrow, ‘How the twelfth-century monks of Worcester perceived their past’, in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London, 1992), 53–74, esp. 73–4; cf also Barrow, ‘The chronology of forgery production’, 116–21.

**159** Richard Goddard, *Lordship and Medieval Urbanisation: Coventry, 1043–1355* (Woodbridge, 2004), 52; *EEA*, XVII, xxx–xl; *Fasti*, XI, xxxvii: in 1198 the canons were themselves expelled and the monks returned. E.U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the ‘Mensa Episcopalis’* (Cambridge, 1994), 126–32; Antonia Gransden, *A History of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, 1182–1256: From Sampson of Tottington to Edmund of Walpole* (Woodbridge, 2007), 71–2.

**160** Christopher Holdsworth, ‘Baldwin [Baldwin of Forde] (c.1125–1190)’, in *ODNB*, III, 442–5; *EEA*, II, nos 241–2; the dossier of correspondence built up by the monks of Canterbury in their campaign was edited as *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, ed. William Stubbs, RS, 38 (London, 1865); C.R. Cheney, *Hubert Walter* (London, 1967), 135–57, 187–8; Gransden, *A History of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, 69–71. For general comment see Charles Fonge, ‘Patriarchy and patrimony: investing in the medieval college’, in *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith*, ed. Philippa Hoskin, Christopher Brooke and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge, 2005), 77–93, at 78–9.

**161** *EEA*, XXXIII, no 11 of Wulfstan and no 109, a forgery in the name of Bishop Simon, which would be 1149/1150 if genuine; Simon’s real intentions for Westbury are revealed in *ibid.*, no 114; on the history of Westbury from the tenth to the late twelfth century, see Nicholas Orme and Jon Cannon, *Westbury-on-Trym: Monastery, Minster and College*, Bristol Record Society, 62 (Bristol, 2010), 10–21. Byrhtferth, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine*, ed. and tr. Lapidge, 68–9, comments on Bishop Oswald placing monks in Westbury but being unable to turn it into a permanent monastic foundation because it was a *parochia*.

**162** *Wells Cathedral: A History*, ed. Colchester; *Fasti*, XI, xxx–xxxix, xxxvi–xxxix, 6.

**163** Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae (The Longer Rule)*, Interrogatio vii (PG 31, 927–34).

**164** Bede, *HE*, i, c. 27.

**165** *MGH Conc.*, I, 275: *stipendia fratrum in commune viventium*.

**166** *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, ed. Hinschius, 143–6; Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluss und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen von ihren Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit*, 3 vols., Schriften der MGH, 24 (Stuttgart, 1972–4), I, 191, dated Pseudo-Isidore to between 847 and 852 and left open the question of where and by whom it was written, though pointing out Le Mans, Charles the Bald’s court and Rheims as possibilities; Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, ‘Ein Blick in Pseudoisidors Werkstatt: Studien zum Entstehungsprozess der Fälschen Dekretalen. Mit einem exemplarischen editorischen Anhang (Pseudo-Julius an die orientalischen Bischöfe, JK † 196)’, *Francia*, 28 (2001), 37–90, esp. 55–7; and Klaus Zechiel-Eckes, ‘Auf Pseudoisidors Spur. Oder: Versuch, einen dichten Schleier zu lüften’, in *Fortschritt durch Fälschungen? Ursprung, Gestalt und Wirkungen der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Gerhard Schmitz (Hanover,

2002), 1–28, esp. 10–14, has established that the compilation was created at Corbie 836–8.

[167](#) John the Deacon, *Life of Gregory I* (PL 75, 92); Agius, *Vita Hathumodis*, MGH SS, 4, 165–75, apparently of roughly the same date, uses the term *vita communis*; for translation of the *Vita Hathumodis* into English, see *Anchoress and Abbess in Ninth-Century Saxony: The Lives of Liutbirga of Wendhausen and Hathumoda of Gandersheim*, tr. Frederick S. Paxton (Washington, DC, 2009), 123 (and note 124, for ‘common dormitory’).

[168](#) On early references to *vita communis* in a clerical context see Dereine, ‘Vie commune’. Inserted in S 911, a charter of Æthelred the Unready of 1005 for Eynsham, is a declaration of Æthelmær, founder of Eynsham abbey, that he wishes to live in common with the inmates (*gemænelice libban*); in general on the charter see Simon Keynes, ‘King Æthelred’s charter for Eynsham abbey’, in *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald*, ed. Stephen Baxter, Catherine E. Karkov, Janet L. Nelson and David Pelteret (Aldershot, 2009), 451–73. Writings on the clergy in the western church frequently assume that the term is appropriate without investigating whether it was used in contemporary sources, e.g. M. Zacherl, ‘Die vita communis als Lebensform des Klerus in der Zeit zwischen Augustinus und Karl dem Grossen’, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 92 (1970), 385–424.

[169](#) Mansi XIX, col. 908 (‘ad apostolicam, secundum communionem, vitam’), cited and discussed by Jean Châtillon, ‘La spiritualité de l’ordre canoniale (VIIIe–XIIIe siècle)’, in Jean Châtillon, *Le mouvement canonial au Moyen Âge: Réforme de l’Église, spiritualité et culture*, ed. Patrice Sicard, Bibliotheca Victorina, 3 (Turnhout, 1992), 131–49, at 138–9.

[170](#) Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996), 159; Wilhelm Levison, ‘Eine angebliche Urkunde Papst Gelasius’ II. für die Regularkanoniker’, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*, 8 (1918), 27–43; Horst Fuhrmann, *Papst Urban II. und der Stand der Regularkanoniker*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsberichte 1984 part 2 (Munich, 1984), 6–8.

[171](#) Johannes Laudage, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum im 11. Jahrhundert* (Cologne and Vienna, 1984), 171–84.

[172](#) Uta Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, PA, 1988), 48–9, 50, 52 (Burgundians), 71, 74–6 (Italians).

[173](#) Charles Dereine, ‘Le problème de la vie commune chez les canonistes’, *Studi Gregoriani*, 3 (1948), 219–352, at 288–9.

[174](#) Dereine, ‘Le problème de la vie commune chez les canonistes’.

[175](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 386 (IC, c.112: ‘ut de communi viveremus’ and ‘communem vitam profitens’).

[176](#) Dereine, ‘Le problème de la vie commune’, 288; cf also [ibid.](#), 290, on the influence of Anselm of Lucca on his cathedral chapter.

[177](#) Dereine, ‘Chanoines’, *DHGE*, XII, 387; Yvette Lebrigand, ‘Origines et première diffusion de l’Ordre de Saint-Ruf’, in *Le monde des chanoines (XIe–XIVe s.)*, Cahiers de

Fanjeaux, 24 (Toulouse, 1989), 167–79, at 168–9.

[178](#) H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998), 45–6; Laudage, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum*, 239–40; U.-R. Blumenthal, *Gregor VII. Papst zwischen Canossa und Kirchenreform* (Darmstadt, 2001), 98–106, and see also 106–19. Blumenthal (at 38) argues that Gregory VII had been a canon living by a strict interpretation of RA in his earlier life, which throws a new light on his interest in communal life for clergy.

[179](#) G. Bardy, ‘Saint Grégoire VII et la réforme canoniale’, *Studi gregoriani*, 1 (1947), 47–64, at 48–50.

[180](#) Bardy, ‘Saint Grégoire’, 52–9.

[181](#) Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, 318–19; in general see Blumenthal, *Gregor VII.*, 106–19.

[182](#) Dereine, ‘Vie commune’, 375, citing a charter of Philip I (*Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France*, ed. Maurice Prou (Paris, 1908), no 31, at 96: ‘sub beati Augustini regula’) and a bull of Alexander II (PL 146: 1331); cf also Dereine, ‘Chanoines’, *DHGE*, XII, 387.

[183](#) Charles Dereine, ‘Enquête sur la règle de Saint Augustin’, *Scriptorium*, 2 (1948), 28–36; cf also Charles Dereine, ‘St-Ruf et ses coutumes’, *Rev. bén.*, 59 (1949), 161–82.

[184](#) Mansi, XIX, 908.

[185](#) Jean Becquet, ‘L’évolution des chapitres cathédraux: Régularisations et sécularisations’, in *Le monde des chanoines (XIe–XIVe s.)*, 19–39; Ursula Vones-Liebenstein, ‘L’expansion des chanoines réguliers dans la péninsule ibérique au XIIe siècle’, in *Les chanoines réguliers: émergence et expansion (XIe–XIIIe siècles)*, ed. Michel Parisse (Saint-Étienne, 2009), 429–53, at 430–43; Martino Giusti, ‘Notizie sulle canoniche lucchesi’, in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII*, Atti della Settimana di Studio, Mendola, settembre 1959, 2 vols. (Milan, 1962), I, 434–54; and Alberto Montecchio, ‘Cenni storici sulla canonica cattedrale di Mantova nei secoli XI e XII’, in *ibid.*, II, 163–80. In general on Augustinian canons in Italy see Cristina Andenna, ‘*Kanoniker sind Gott für das ganze Volk verantwortlich*’: *Die Regularkanoniker Italiens und die Kirche im 12. Jahrhundert*, Schriftenreihe der Akademie der Augustiner-Chorherren von Windesheim, 9 (Paring, 2004); on the spread of the Augustinian Rule in the Iberian peninsula, see Ursula Vones-Liebenstein, *Saint-Ruf und Spanien: Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von Saint-Ruf in Avignon auf der iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)*, Bibliotheca Victorina, 6 (Turnhout, Brepols, 1996).

[186](#) Dereine, ‘Chanoines’, 381–2. Flanders was close behind, with Augustinian foundations from the 1070s: see Brigitte Meijns, ‘L’ordre canonial dans le comté de Flandre depuis l’époque mérovingienne jusqu’à 1155’, *RHE*, 97 (2002), 5–58, at 18, 31–6; Brigitte Meijns, ‘Les chanoines réguliers dans l’espace flamand’, in *Les chanoines réguliers*, ed. Parisse, 455–76.

[187](#) *Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rodulfo*, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SS, 30, ii, 838–68, at 862 (c. 57): ‘In ecclesia sancti Autberti clericos regulares constituit, abbatem eis prefecit, eiectis prius quibusdam clericis ibidem negligenter nimis et



inordinate servientibus’.

[188](#) See [n. 182](#) above. For episcopal involvement see also Führer, *König Ludwig VI.*, 122–81.

[189](#) *Herimanni liber de restauratione monasterii Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 14, 274–317; translated into English as Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of St Martin of Tournai*, tr. L.H. Nelson (Washington, DC, 1996). In 1094, two years after Odo had set up his community at Saint-Martin, it came under the influence of the abbey of Anchin and adopted the Benedictine Rule in place of the Augustinian one; *ibid.*, 77, and cf Meijns, ‘L’ordre canonial dans le comté de Flandre’, 33; Charles Dereine, ‘Odon de Tournai et la crise du cénobitisme au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *Revue du Moyen Âge latin*, 4 (1948), 137–54; I. Resnick, ‘Odo of Tournai and Peter Damian: poverty and crisis in the eleventh century’, *Rev. bén.*, 98 (1988), 114–40.

[190](#) On Saint-Quentin, Beauvais, see Christof Rolker, *Canon Law and the Letters of Ivo of Chartres* (Cambridge, 2010), 7; and Führer, *König Ludwig VI.*, 123–7; on Mont-Saint-Éloi, see *Vita Lietberti*, 862 (c. 57): ‘In monasterio Sancti Vindiciani apud montem Sancti Eligii clericos regulares constituit, eiectis illis, qui negligenter ibidem serviabant’, and Meijns, ‘Les chanoines réguliers’, 459.

[191](#) Rolf Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres und seine Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1962), 145, 202 (correcting the traditional date of 1099); Rolker, *Canon Law*, 7–9, 22–3; Jean Becquet, ‘Le réforme des chapitres cathédraux en France aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles’, *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu’à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, Année 1975 (Paris, 1977) 31–41, at 37, repr. in Jean Becquet, *Vie canoniale en France aux Xe–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (London, 1985), Chapter 11.

[192](#) Stefan Weinfurter, ‘Norbert von Xanten als Reformkanoniker und Stifter des Prämonstratensersordens’, in *Norbert von Xanten: Adliger, Ordensstifter, Kirchenfürst*, ed. Kaspar Elm (Cologne, 1984), 159–75, at 166.

[193](#) Stefan Weinfurter, ‘Reformkanoniker und Reichsepiskopat im Hochmittelalter’, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 97 (1978), 158–93, at 182–3. For an overview, see Stefan Weinfurter, ‘Neuere Forschungen zu den Regularkanonikern im deutschen Reich des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts’, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 224 (1977), 379–97, at 387. See also *Die Regesten der Bischöfe von Passau*, I: 731–1206, ed. Egon Boshof (Munich, 1992), 107–8, 115.

[194](#) Weinfurter, ‘Neuere Forschungen’, 387–8; Karlotto Bogumil, *Das Bistum Halberstadt im 12. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Rechts- und Reformpolitik des Bischofs Reinhard und zum Wirken der Augustiner-Chorherren* (Cologne and Vienna, 1972), 4–17.

[195](#) Weinfurter, ‘Neuere Forschungen’, 389, 391; Bogumil, *Das Bistum Halberstadt*, 106–17, on the growth of Augustinian foundations in the diocese of Halberstadt under Bishop Reinhard (1107–23); Peter Moraw, ‘Über Typologie, Chronologie und Geographie der Stiftskirche im deutschen Mittelalter’, in *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift*, Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte (Göttingen, 1980), 9–37, at 24, notes that it was where bishops were strongly in favour of Augustinian canons that collegiate churches were most likely to be converted into regular foundations.



[196](#) Peter Classen, 'Gerhoch von Reichersberg und die Regularkanoniker in Bayern und Oesterreich', in *La vita comune*, I, 304–40, at 311; Siegfried Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat* (Vienna, 1977), 268–9.

[197](#) Kaspar Elm, 'Norbert von Xanten: Bedeutung – Persönlichkeit – Nachleben', in *Norbert von Xanten*, ed. Kaspar Elm, 267–315, at 273–4; Bishop Wigger of Brandenburg converted his cathedral into a Premonstratensian community between 1138 and 1150, with canons from Leitzkau: Gustav Abb and Gottfried Wentz, *Das Bistum Brandenburg*, I, *Germania Sacra*, I, i (Berlin, 1929), 9; Bishop Anselm of Havelberg founded his cathedral community with Premonstratensian canons between 1148 and 1150: Gottfried Wentz, *Das Bistum Havelberg*, *Germania Sacra*, I, ii (Berlin, 1933), 143.

[198](#) Norbert's refoundation of Unser Lieben Frauen led to a violent reaction in 1129; for general background see Berent Schwineköper, 'Norbert von Xanten als Erzbischof von Magdeburg', in *Norbert von Xanten*, ed. Elm, 188–209, at 198–200.

[199](#) See [n. 189](#) above.

[200](#) Srandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, 5–8, followed by Rolker, *Canon Law*, 6–7. Evidence for Ivo being taught by Lanfranc at Bec is late and cannot be relied on: see Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 36–7.

[201](#) Cf Führer, *König Ludwig VI.*, 123–7; Rolker, *Canon Law*, 7–8; Dickinson, *Origins*, 100–2.

[202](#) On Odo, see [n. 189](#) above; Peter Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg: Eine Biographie mit einem Anhang über die Quellen, ihre handschriftliche Überlieferung und ihre Chronologie* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 17–29; Peter Classen, 'Gerhoch von Reichersberg und die Regularkanoniker', 313–14.

[203](#) Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Les origines et les premiers développements de l'abbaye Saint-Victor de Paris', in *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean Longère, *Bibliotheca Victorina*, 1 (Paris and Turnhout, 1991), 23–52, at 26, 28, 34.

[204](#) This seems to have been a motive for some canons of Soissons Cathedral who entered the Augustinian abbey of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in the early twelfth century, in some cases very shortly before their deaths: Edward Boyden and Clark Maines, 'The establishment of the house', in *Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons: Approaches to Its Architecture, Archaeology and History*, ed. Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines (Turnhout, 2003), 55–83, at 72–3.

[205](#) E.g. William fitz Walter, apparently deprived of the archdeaconry of Hereford in 1215 after being excommunicated (*Fasti*, VIII, 24), and Master Henry Bustard, who appears to have been deprived of the same office in 1252 after being banished from the realm following a murder (*EEA*, XXXV, 193–4). The poet Simund de Freine, himself a canon, turned the figure of Boethius into a cleric deprived of his riches by Fortune when he wrote his Anglo-Norman verse version of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, the *Roman de philosophie: Les œuvres de Simund de Freine*, ed. John E. Matzke, *Société des anciens texts français* (Paris, 1909), 2, ll. 25–8.

[206](#) See commentary by Bautier, 'Paris au temps d'Abélard', 53–64.

[207](#) William of Wycombe, *Speculum vitae viri venerabilis Rotberti episcopi Herefordie*, in *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Henry Wharton, 2 vols. (London, 1691), II, 295–321, at 301; Julia Barrow, ‘Robert de Béthune’, in *ODNB*, V, 546–8; M.L. Colker, ‘The Life of Guy of Merton by Rainald of Merton’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 31 (1969), 250–61, at 255 (c. 1).

[208](#) Julia Barrow, ‘A twelfth-century bishop and literary patron: William de Vere’, *Viator*, 18 (1987), 175–89, esp. 177–82; R.W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157–1217)*, rev. by Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1984), 7–11 (Alexander was born in September 1157 and became a canon at Cirencester Abbey between 1197 and 1202); Joseph Goering, ‘Neckam, Alexander’, in *ODNB*, XL, 314–15.

[209](#) Bautier, ‘Les origines’, 25; see also Robert-Henri Bautier, ‘Paris au temps d’Abélard’, 60–4.

[210](#) Bautier, ‘Les origines’, 26.

[211](#) Bautier, ‘Les origines’, 40–1; Führer, *König Ludwig VI.*, 154–8.

[212](#) Bautier, ‘Les origines’, 38; Führer, *König Ludwig VI.*, 127 (Saint-Quentin, Beauvais, granted by Bishop Peter of Beauvais, 1126), 134 (Saint-Vincent, Senlis, granted by Bishop Clarembald by 1131), 149–50 (St Victor, Paris, 1125), 176 (Saint-Jean, Sens, 1111), 179 (Saint-Jean-en-Vallée near Chartres, while Ivo was bishop, 1090–1115).

[213](#) Führer, *König Ludwig VI.*, 133–4, on grant of a prebend by the bishops of Beauvais to Saint-Vincent near Senlis (probably 1129 × 1131); Louis VI granted prebends at various collegiate churches to St Victor in Paris ([ibid.](#), 150).

[214](#) Bautier, ‘Les origines’, 49; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, 166–8; Führer, *König Ludwig VI.*, 186, 194, and 181–3, 187–90, for conversions of other French royal churches; see also above at [n. 154](#) for his involvement in the Benedictine takeover of Saint-Corneille at Compiègne.

[215](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 98–106, considered that St Botolph’s in Colchester was the earliest Augustinian house in England, but Huntingdon and Cambridge are likely to be earlier than Colchester (Martin Brett, personal communication). See also Janet Burton, ‘Les chanoines réguliers en Grande-Bretagne’, in *Les chanoines réguliers*, ed. Parisse, 477–98.

[216](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 98–104; *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, ed. Gerald A.J. Hodgett, London Record Society, VII (London, 1971), 226–7 (part of a narrative produced by the canons of Holy Trinity Aldgate). On the Cambridge community, which moved to Barnwell in 1112, see Alison Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066–1216* (Woodbridge, 1989), 119.

[217](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 103.

[218](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 99–100; *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, ed. Hodgett, 223–35, for the whole narrative.

[219](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 102.

[220](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 103, 109 (arguing for 1107 as the date); the Annals of Merton say 1107: cf Martin Brett, ‘The annals of Bermondsey, Southwark and Merton’, in *Church*

and City, 1000–1500: *Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke* (Cambridge, 1992), 279–310, at 298; a narrative produced by Holy Trinity, Aldgate says 1108 (*Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, ed. Hodgett, 224); on Matilda, see Lois Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), 107–10.

[221](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 117; Alfred Heales, *The Records of Merton Priory* (London, 1898), 1–4.

[222](#) F.G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales, 1066–1349* (Cardiff, 1977), 30–1.

[223](#) On Plympton, which Bishop William Warelwast of Exeter turned into an Augustinian house in 1121, see Allison Fizzard, *Plympton Priory: A House of Augustinian Canons in South-Western England in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008), esp. 27–43; on Launceston see *EEA*, XI, no 17, of 1127; on St Frideswide's see *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St Frideswide at Oxford*, ed. S.R. Wigram, 2 vols., Oxford Historical Society, 28, 31 (1895–6), I, 9–10, no 4 (a narrative about Master Gwymund, chaplain to Henry I); John Blair, 'St Frideswide's monastery: problems and possibilities', *Oxoniensia*, 53 (1988), 221–58, at 227–8 (the new community was in place by c.1120); Dickinson, *Origins*, 113, 145. A similar process is visible in the early thirteenth century at Chirbury in Shropshire (*EEA*, VII, nos 295, 319). On Twynham see *De Miraculis Sanctae Mariae Laudunensis*, PL 156: 979–82, and review by Julia Barrow of Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 48 (2005), 241–5, at 244–5; P.H. Hase, 'The mother-churches of Hampshire', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950–1200*, ed. John Blair (Oxford, 1988), 45–66, at 49–60; *EEA*, VIII, nos 119–21, and see also no 116, a forged charter of Henry of Blois, supposedly of 1150.

[224](#) For the many English examples of Augustinian and Benedictine priories sharing churches with congregations, and discussion of how services could be arranged around this, see Martin Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge, 2004), 208–18, 301–4.

[225](#) Martin Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), 138; Fizzard, *Plympton Priory*, 27–35; for Bishop Roger of Salisbury's role in giving St Frideswide's in Oxford to Gwymund, see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, I, 478–80; Michael Franklin, 'The bishops of Winchester and the monastic revolution', in *ANS*, XII, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Woodbridge, 1990), 47–65, at 55–6; Blair, 'St Frideswide's monastery', 227.

[226](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 122, 245–51; Henry Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: The City and the Borders from the Late Eleventh to the Mid-sixteenth Century*, 2 vols., Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, extra series, 25 (Stroud, 1993), I, 32–3.

[227](#) Mathieu Arnoux, 'La réforme de Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge et les débuts du mouvement canonial dans la province de Rouen', in *Des clercs au service de la réforme*, ed. Mathieu Arnoux, *Bibliotheca Victorina*, 11 (Turnhout, 2000), 11–30, and 13, for discussion of role of Henry I's officials.

[228](#) Mathieu Arnoux, 'Réforme ecclésiastique et mouvement canoniale', in *Des clercs au service de la réforme*, ed. Arnoux, 31–69, at 39–54; *FEG*, 9: Sées, 8–9, 14–17; for the

members of Sées cathedral chapter during this period see Spear, *Personnel*, 271–99.

[229](#) Spear, *Personnel*, 170.

[230](#) On David I's support for the Augustinians, see G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2003), 159–65, and in general on his monastic foundations see 156–68, 179–86; see also C.N.L. Brooke, 'King David I of Scotland as a connoisseur of the religious orders', in *Mediaevalia Christiana, XIe–XIIIe siècle: Hommage à Raymonde Foreville*, ed. C. Viola (Paris, 1989), 320–34; on the Augustinian foundation at St Andrews see now A.A.M. Duncan, 'The foundation of St Andrews cathedral priory, 1140', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 84 (2005), 1–37, which proposes a new date, 30 November 1140, for the changeover. However, the papal bull allowing the change was issued in 1144, by Lucius II: *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1841), 47–8; see also *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, ed. Watt and Murray, 388.

[231](#) On Whithorn, see *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, ed. Watt and Murray, 175; Peter Hill, *Whithorn and St Ninian: The Excavation of a Monastic Town 1984–91* (Stroud, 1997), esp. 23.

[232](#) Cowley, *Monastic Order in South Wales*, 32–3; *St Davids Episcopal Acta, 1085–1280*, ed. Julia Barrow, South Wales Record Society, 13 (Cardiff, 1998), nos 6–7, and at 2–4: Bernard had been chancellor of David's sister Matilda, and like David was a supporter of the Empress Matilda in the 1130s–40s.

[233](#) P.J. Dunning, 'The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland', *Irish Historical Studies*, 4 (1945), 297–315; Geoffrey J. Hand, 'The medieval chapter of St Mary's Cathedral, Limerick', in *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.*, ed. J.A. Watt, J.B. Morrall and F.X. Martin, O.S.A. (Dublin, 1961), 74–89, at 74–80.

[234](#) Kinsella, 'From Hiberno-Norse to Anglo-Norman, c.1030–1300', 42, 45; see also Stalley, 'The construction of the medieval cathedral, c.1030–1250', 57. See also [n. 150](#) above.

[235](#) Nyberg, *Monasticism in North-Western Europe*, 95, 219; cf also 44, on Dalby in Scania.

[236](#) See [nn. 216](#)–17, 220–1, above for examples of Augustinian narratives from Holy Trinity Aldgate in London, Llanthony and Merton.

[237](#) See [n. 207](#) above.

[238](#) Alain Boureau, 'Hypothèses sur l'émergence lexicale et théorique de la catégorie de séculier au douzième siècle', in *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Âge*, ed. F. Rapp (Paris, 1993), 34–43.

[239](#) Cf John van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, CA, 1983), 323–34.

[240](#) Führer, *König Ludwig VI.*; Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 159–65; Burton, 'Les chanoines réguliers', 482–7.

[241](#) *EEA*, XI, no 17: 'dolens temporibus meis tepidius et indecentius solito et iusto in quibusdam ecclesiis regimini meo commissis a clericis eisdem deputatis laudes dei



frequentare et extolli, decrevi viros ydoneos et religiose eruditos in eis substituere, ut dignas deo gratias ibidem agant, et tam pro populi quam pro suis excessibus sine intermissione intercedant’.

[242](#) As argued by Fizzard, *Plympton Priory*, 27–43.

[243](#) Sprandel, *Ivo von Chartres*, 145–6; on William of Corbeil see [n. 155](#) above; Robert de Béthune assisted the Augustinian canons of Llanthony in 1136 when they were forced to flee from their house and helped the Augustinian canons of Shobdon move to Wigmore in 1148 (Julia Barrow, ‘Béthune, Robert de’, *ODNB*, V, 547).

[244](#) E.g. the Cluniac Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester: Franklin, ‘The bishops of Winchester’, 54–6.

[245](#) For Richard Belmeis, bishop of London, see *EEA*, XV, xliv and nos 27–9; Bishop Bernard of St Davids managed to turn Carmarthen priory from a dependency of Battle abbey into an Augustinian house between 1125 and 1135 (*St Davids Episcopal Acta*, ed. Barrow, 37–8); on Thurstan, archbishop of York, see *EEA*, V, nos 33–42, 48–51, 53–5; and Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215* (Cambridge, 1999), 71–85.

[246](#) See [nn. 196](#)–8 above, and Weinfurter, ‘Reformkanoniker’, 179–80, 185–6, and 180–2 and 188–92 on why regular canons were popular in eastern areas of Germany and in the diocese of Salzburg.

[247](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 224–40; Mathieu Arnoux, ‘Réseaux canoniaux’, in *Des clercs au service de la réforme*, ed. Arnoux, 70–105, at 96–105; for a recent overview, coming to the conclusion that direct involvement by Augustinians in the service of parishes was limited, see Pascal Montaubin, ‘Les chanoines réguliers et le service pastoral (XIe–XIIIe siècles)’, in *Les chanoines réguliers*, ed. Parisse, 119–57.

[248](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 227; Arnoux, ‘Réseaux canoniaux’, 96; but see also, however, useful warning comments by Fizzard, *Plympton Priory*, 16, 63–4, 179–210.

[249](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 228–40; Arnoux, ‘Réseaux canoniaux’, 130–9; Heale, *Dependent Priorities*, 3–4, 23–4, 35–9, 47–8 (on Benedictines as well as Augustinians); Fizzard, *Plympton Priory*, 63–4.

[250](#) Becquet, ‘La réforme des chapitres cathédraux’, 36–41, notes the reluctance of cathedrals in northern France to adopt the Rule of Augustine.

[251](#) *The Early Charters of the Augustinian Canons of Waltham Abbey, Essex, 1062–1230*, ed. Rosalind Ransford (Woodbridge, 1989), xxiv–xxv and nos 26, 51; *Waltham Chronicle*, xxviii–xxix; Barrow, ‘A twelfth-century bishop’, 178–9.

[252](#) Philippe Delhay, ‘L’organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle’, *Traditio*, 5 (1947), 211–68, at 220–1; for the not dissimilar case of Saint-Quiriace in Provins, see Michel Veissière, ‘La collégiale Saint-Quiriace de Provins sous les comtes de Champagne de la maison de Blois (1019–1181)’, in *La vita comune*, I, 50–63.

[253](#) See [Chapter 8](#) below.

[254](#) H.B. Clarke, ‘Dublin’, *LMA*, III, 1426–33, at 1432.

[255](#) G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 187–97.



[256](#) Julia Barrow, ‘The origins of vicars choral to c.1300’, in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals: Cantate Domino. History, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford, 2005), 11–16; and John Harper, ‘The vicar choral in choir’, in [ibid.](#), 17–22; Julia Barrow, ‘Vicars choral and chaplains in northern European cathedrals, 1100–1250’, in *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, Studies in Church History, 26 (Oxford, 1989), 87–97.

[257](#) Dickinson, *Origins*, 240; Heale, *Dependent Priories*, 208–18; cf Arnoux, ‘Réseaux canoniaux’, 134–5.

## 4 Clergy as family men

### Uncles and nephews, fathers and sons among the clergy

In the early twelfth century, Robert de Béthune (who later became an Augustinian canon and then a bishop)<sup>1</sup> was a young schoolmaster teaching the liberal arts, possibly at St Albans.<sup>2</sup> He was faced with family responsibilities.

For it happened that his said brother and foster father,<sup>3</sup> Gunfrid, died. The devout man, reasoning that no one ever hated his own flesh, and at the same time recalling his brother's affection and the benefits he had given him, ensured that he would not be found degenerate and ungrateful. Therefore he took over his brother's burden to sustain it, the sons and daughters whom the latter had received from his marriage. But having waited for them to reach marriageable years under his guardianship, he married off his nieces and transferred his nephews to religion.<sup>4</sup> While this was going on he began to pay attention to how he spent the days of his life: how inane were the fictions of the poets, how useless the investigations of the philosophers, how much labour but how scarce the fruit was in arts. Therefore, renouncing these things, at length he turned his mind to the study of Holy Writ, thence to seek the fruit and not the leaves.<sup>5</sup>

In pursuit of this aim Robert set off for France to study the sacred page (the Bible) under William of Champeaux and Anselm of Laon, two scholars whom we know better from the pages of Abelard's *History of His Calamities*.<sup>6</sup> This fired Robert with a taste for theology, but left him unwilling to teach it – he had no desire to lecture. Instead, he wished to become an Augustinian canon.<sup>7</sup> But, before this was possible, he had to provide for a new generation – his great-nieces and great-nephews, whose parents needed some financial help to provide for them. At this point Robert briefly reverted to the study of the poets, misquoting Horace with the words 'If you drive out nature with a pitchfork, it returns of its own accord', and hurried to find nursemaids and mentors according to the sex and age of the children.<sup>8</sup> Only then was he free to relinquish school-teaching and to become an Augustinian canon.<sup>9</sup>

However much the medieval clergy was supposed to separate itself from the life of the laity – an ideal particularly encouraged by the Gregorian reformers and their successors<sup>10</sup> – this was something which was easier to theorize about than to practise. It is not hard to see why: the ranks of clergy could only be recruited from the laity. Although it was not uncommon for clerics to receive their original tonsure at an early age, for example when they entered a cathedral or a collegiate community, a process which somewhat resembled child oblation in monastic communities, there was very little, if any, pressure on child clerics to sever ties with their birth families. On the contrary, as we shall see, there was considerable pressure – mostly exercised by the family, but to some extent assisted by the cathedral or collegiate community – to maintain such connections. The cleric would find himself saddled with responsibilities of varying sorts towards various members of his birth family. Simply through being born, therefore, all clerics were bound to be family men, and

family relationships were crucial to all clerical careers. Parents of future clergy would make the initial decisions about their lives and other kin would help to advance them, or might in some cases prevent them from acting with too much independence.

As far as clergy are concerned there were two main types of family structure in the earlier Middle Ages. They coexisted throughout the period, but with one losing ground to the other, slowly at first and then sharply from the late eleventh century onwards. These two types can be found, for example, in the wider family of Gregory of Tours in the fifth and sixth centuries; they are also exemplified in the story of Robert de Béthune's early life at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. On the one hand is the family with a layman as father, in which young clergy are often assisted by elder brothers in the clergy, as Robert was by Gunfrid, or by uncles, as Robert did with the younger generation. On the other hand is the family with a cleric as father, bringing up his sons as future clerics: Gunfrid, the schoolmaster, would have been a cleric and presumably intended at least some of his sons to follow him into the clergy. It is not uncommon for the two patterns to crop up in the same kin group, especially at the end of the eleventh century, but essentially there is a division between the two systems. In what follows they will be defined as the 'uncle-nephew' paradigm and the 'father-son' paradigm. The 'brother-brother' paradigm can be found in both types of family. Starting with the uncle-nephew paradigm we can note the origins of the system, the relationship between clergy and their parents in families where the fathers were laymen, and then the role of clerical uncles; after that we can turn to the father-son paradigm, and then conclude by commenting on inheritance systems.

## **The uncle-nephew paradigm**

The uncle-nephew pattern of clerical succession had emerged certainly by the middle of the fifth century, and its origins may perhaps be traceable to the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries. The family tree of Gregory of Tours, as mapped out by Martin Heinzelmann, offers some help here for the period from c.400 to c.600.<sup>11</sup> Clergy, chiefly bishops, crop up frequently in both Gregory's father's and Gregory's mother's families, but differences between the two lines emerge. In Gregory's father's family, bishops and clerics are uncles and not fathers. All the fathers in the family are laymen of senatorial rank or otherwise of high status. Some of the clerics in Gregory's father's family are no higher than priest or deacon, suggesting that they may possibly have worked their way up through the grades of ordination, rather than entering the clergy as adults. In Gregory's mother's family both laymen and bishops could be fathers; the bishops with children had fathered them while they were laymen and had entered the clergy subsequently. Gregory mentions no clergy in his mother's family below the rank of bishop, which suggests that they remained laymen until well into adulthood and were probably elevated to the episcopate quickly. Gregory's mother's family followed a common late antique pattern. Gregory's father's family showed pointers to the future.

Underlying the pattern observable in Gregory's father's family was the worry about the purity of the clergy that arose in the late fourth century in the western church. It was probably the result of the move towards daily celebration of Mass, which was becoming normal by about the year 400, and which caused the hierarchy in the western church to urge continence for bishops, priests and deacons.<sup>12</sup> Down to the eleventh century, men could be ordained or consecrated into these orders even if married, but were supposed to

stop sleeping with their wives. Unmarried men who were ordained deacon and above had to renounce all thought of marriage.<sup>13</sup> It was not possible to win acceptance for this throughout the western church, but, as Godding remarks, the fact that Frankish church councils do not mention continence for clergy after the 580s, though they carry on telling clergy not to invite strange women into their houses, suggests that the principle was accepted, at least in western Francia.<sup>14</sup> We might refine this further: acceptance was probably strongest among clergy aiming at the episcopate, who, presumably, would form a much bigger group than those clerics who actually ended up becoming bishops; it is possible too that high aristocratic families in Francia might even have welcomed the trend, because it would cut down the number of heirs in the following generation;<sup>15</sup> if so, this would be a similar phenomenon to the way in which they accepted Church teachings on exogamous marriage because it opened up new possibilities of alliances, as Régine Le Jan has shown.<sup>16</sup> The clergy aiming at the episcopate were normally inmates of cathedral communities; clergy serving rural churches were slower to accept the rulings on clerical continence.<sup>17</sup> So too were clergy at all levels outside the heartlands of the Frankish empire; thus the British Isles and Brittany were relatively little worried about clerical marriage, and so too was northern Neustria, once it had been settled by the Scandinavians. The eastern church was less assailed by worry over purity, though it was perturbed about trends further west, and in the fifth century the historian Socrates invented the story of Paphnutius sticking up for clerical marriage at the council of Nicaea,<sup>18</sup> while in the late seventh century the Council in Trullo legislated in favour of married clergy.<sup>19</sup>

Gregory of Tours's father's family may also show us a definite shift in clerical career structure away from adult entry towards child entry. In the late antique period entry into the clergy was possible in boyhood or in adulthood. In the former case young clerics proceeded slowly through the grades of ordination and became priests as mature adults, while in the latter case adult laymen might decide to become clerics or might be elected bishop, as happened to Sidonius Apollinaris at Clermont in about 470, when he was nearly forty.<sup>20</sup> From the fourth century on, however, some attempt was made to get adult entrants to go through the *cursus*, even in a compressed form; usually a year was allowed for this. From the early sixth century adult entry was on the decline, though it lasted down to the seventh century; Bishops Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon are fairly late examples in Francia,<sup>21</sup> and Guthlac the hermit in Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>22</sup> By the seventh century the majority of schools may have been ecclesiastical, and they doubtless encouraged parents to enter their children not merely as pupils but as members of the church. Clergy were now mostly recruited as children, and this strengthened the position of parents as the figures who made career decisions for the next generation.

Parents were responsible for deciding the futures of their children and thus for choosing a form of education for them. Canon law stressed the role of parents, together with godparents, in educating children.<sup>23</sup> Occasionally the sources show us parents wavering over the direction that education should take, as in the case of the father of Odo of Cluny.<sup>24</sup> For much of the period under discussion, a parental choice of a religious or clerical life for children would be put into effect early on by bestowing them on the institution they wished them to enter at the start of schooling or not long afterwards. In the cases of young monks or nuns, this process, child oblation, was pretty well irrevocable.<sup>25</sup>

For clergy the process was less binding, and for them it was only very rarely referred to as oblation.<sup>26</sup> the more normal term was *traditio* ('handing over').<sup>27</sup> Nonetheless, the effect of handing over children to become clerics was not wholly dissimilar to oblation; at some point the cleric would be expected to make a grant of land to his church. In the case of young clerics the process was reversible (hence the future emperor Henry II and the future king Louis VII were able to move from a clerical upbringing to a secular one), but for an adult to move from clerical to lay status was relatively rare and usually only happened when a cleric's other brothers died, leaving no other heir.<sup>28</sup>

The entry of young children into major churches was probably demanded by the latter in order to ensure their education and training within the community; already in the sixth and seventh centuries bishops demanded that adolescents destined for clerical office be trained up in the bishop's house or *domus ecclesiae*;<sup>29</sup> subsequently this training system evolved into the cathedral school, and the entry age of pupils dropped; by at least the tenth century entry at somewhere between four and seven was normal.<sup>30</sup> Since schools appear not to have been very numerous between the eighth and the eleventh centuries,<sup>31</sup> the churches running them could dictate to parents. During the final decades of the eleventh century, however, this state of affairs began to be shaken up: the number of schools began to rise rapidly and the pressure on getting parents to enter sons as boy-inmates of ecclesiastical communities lessened.<sup>32</sup> This helps to explain why the young Abelard moved from school to school, without fixing himself permanently in one place.<sup>33</sup> By the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, English clerics were adopting similar patterns of behaviour, as we observed in the case of Robert de Béthune, but by contrast German churches continued to operate a child entry system.<sup>34</sup> As we shall see in more detail in [Chapter 6](#), a major change in education systems began at the end of the eleventh century, one in which the pattern changed from boys entering ecclesiastical communities before they received their education to boys receiving their education before decisions were made about which ecclesiastical community they might join. These decisions might now (as we observed in Robert de Béthune's case) be made by the young cleric himself.<sup>35</sup> By the early twelfth century there had thus been some loosening of parental power. The change was relative, however, not absolute. Abelard's father, who allowed him the choice to decide whether he was to become a knight or a clerk, was unusual, as Abelard himself seems to suggest.<sup>36</sup> Even in France and England, where the shift was more noticeable, parents still made the crucial decision about whether children received a literate education or not, and might reinforce this through decisions over property;<sup>37</sup> in the empire, child entry into cathedrals continued, suggesting that parental control was even stronger here.

Naming patterns, particularly in the case of boys, often let us see how parents made decisions about their children's future while the latter were still in their cradles. By the ninth century, in the Frankish successor states it was becoming normal among aristocratic families for whole names, not just name elements, to be passed on from one generation to another; just as some names were restricted to heirs,<sup>38</sup> others might be used to mark out clergy. These were not simply cases, as had been the practice in the Carolingian family, of second-class names being given to less favoured offspring (Hugo and Drogo, for example), but of names reserved for future clerics. Hincmar, bishop of Laon (858–71), nephew and namesake of Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims (845–82), was presumably



named after his uncle to ensure that the latter would foster him and assist his career.<sup>39</sup> Similarly we find three bishops of Constance called Salomo over the ninth and early tenth centuries, great-uncle (838/9–71), uncle (875/6–89) and nephew (890–919/20).<sup>40</sup> Examples of nephews named after uncles are plentiful in the twelfth century too: John, bishop of Lisieux, and John, bishop of Sées;<sup>41</sup> Frederick and Frederick, bishop and provost of Liège;<sup>42</sup> Adalbert I and Adalbert II, archbishops of Mainz;<sup>43</sup> Dean Wortwin and Provost Wortwin of Neumünster in Würzburg;<sup>44</sup> Gerald of Wales and Gerald the younger.<sup>45</sup> Sometimes the pattern might become established over several generations: the clearest example is perhaps that of the Luxemburger family in Lorraine, in which the name Adalbero was specifically ecclesiastical: three Adalberos, great-uncle, nephew and great-nephew, became bishop (in the final case only bishop-elect) of Metz over the period from the earlier tenth century to 1005, while two further Adalberos, uncle and nephew, became archbishop of Rheims and bishop of Verdun in the later tenth century.<sup>46</sup> Variants of this pattern can be observed in many other families in the centuries that follow: for example the Belmeis family in early twelfth-century England used the name Robert for the heir and Richard, though sometimes also other names, for sons intended for the Church,<sup>47</sup> while somewhat later the lords of Buxeuil in Burgundy used the name Humbert for clerics,<sup>48</sup> creating a dog-legged succession system. The usual effect of such patterns was for heirs to be called after their fathers or grandfathers, while the son with the ‘clerical’ name would be called after an uncle (either paternal or maternal), placing him in a special relationship with the latter. It is likely that many nephews given the same names as their uncles were godsons of the latter; even when clerical uncles and great-uncles had different names they can occur as godparents of clerical nephews.<sup>49</sup> Parents might also tighten the bonds between clerical uncle and clerical nephew by choosing the former as the *nutritor*, or foster father, of the latter.<sup>50</sup> Down to about the mid-ninth century this was not possible for high-born male children, whether intended for a secular or an ecclesiastical career, since they were expected to be commended to rulers;<sup>51</sup> thereafter young clerics were increasingly commended to bishops, and by the late eleventh century they might be commended to cathedral canons, where the latter were their kin.<sup>52</sup> Clerical uncles were not the invariable choice as *nutritores* for young clerks: it could be an older brother (Gunfrid for Robert de Béthune, for example), a great-uncle (Archbishop Manasses of Rheims for Bartholomew, later bishop of Laon)<sup>53</sup> or perhaps a more distant kinsman. In 1178 we find Canon Reiner of Liège furthering the career of his young kinsman (*cognatus*) Arnulph of Grinberges by making him heir to his canonical house and other property.<sup>54</sup> Sometimes we simply find references to canons supporting *nutriti* or *nutricii* (fosterlings) without further explanation,<sup>55</sup> but the uncle was the relative most often chosen to look after young clerks.

Throughout the Middle Ages clerical uncles assisted nephews and nieces, but especially clerical nephews. References to nephews in the earlier and high Middle Ages are not, or not usually, as sometimes suspected, euphemisms for priests’ sons – quite often the parents of the young nephew are mentioned alongside the uncle.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, clerics were not necessarily coy about mentioning their sons, as we shall see, or if they were, they might find other euphemisms than ‘nephew’ to hide behind. Clerical uncles are referred to in most cases not because they were fathers in disguise but because, as uncles, they had an

important and clearly marked role to play in the life of their nephews and nieces. All nephews and nieces, including those destined for secular careers, might stand to benefit from the generosity of clerical uncles. Powerful clerical uncles, like Provost Bertulf of St Donatian's, might organise the marriages of their nieces;<sup>57</sup> similarly Philip Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux, had the responsibility of obtaining satisfaction from the family of the murderer of his niece.<sup>58</sup> Orphaned nieces and nephews might be brought up as wards by their uncles. Fulbert's relationship with his niece Heloise, which can seem too close to modern eyes, even leading some commentators to think that Fulbert was in fact Heloise's father,<sup>59</sup> was in no way abnormal: Fulbert, as Heloise's senior surviving male relative, was responsible for her future. His anxiety about his family losing face should Heloise be married clandestinely rather than publicly goes some way in explaining his reactions to Abelard's behaviour.<sup>60</sup>

Although clerical uncles were expected to be active on behalf of all their nieces and nephews, the bond between them and their clerical nephews was an especially close one, and the duties which the uncle could perform for his nephew were well established already by the time of Gregory of Tours (538–94, bishop of Tours 573–94). Gregory's well-documented family, with its numerous clerical members, is a suitable place to start.<sup>61</sup> After the death of his father between 546 and 551, Gregory himself was under the guardianship of his paternal uncle, Gallus, bishop of Clermont 525–51; Gallus owed his position as bishop of Clermont partly to lobbying by his own maternal uncle, Inpetratus, priest of Clermont.<sup>62</sup> Other clerical uncle–nephew relationships can be traced in Gregory's mother's family: for example, her uncle Nicetius, priest in the cathedral of Chalon, succeeded his uncle as bishop of Lyon in 551/2.<sup>63</sup> Uncles assisted nephews throughout the Merovingian and Carolingian periods.<sup>64</sup> Early in the seventh century, one family group controlled the bishoprics of Metz and Arisitum;<sup>65</sup> late in the seventh century, Agilbert, bishop of Paris, but previously of Wessex, sent his nephew Leuthere (Hlothere) to be bishop of Winchester.<sup>66</sup> Some father–son succession is observable in Austrasia in the later Merovingian period, but it was not allowed to persist.<sup>67</sup> In the eighth century, Chrodegang (bishop of Metz, 742?–66) was succeeded by his nephew Angilramn.<sup>68</sup> At the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries Theodulf of Orléans in his *Capitula* permitted priests who were supervising the education of their nephews and other kinsmen to send them to the cathedral school of Orléans or to certain named monastic schools in the diocese.<sup>69</sup> In the mid-ninth century, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims (845–82), undertook the upbringing of his sister's son, Hincmar, after his sister's death, and tonsured him and had him educated within the church of Rheims.<sup>70</sup> Urso, a 'noble priest' of the city of Le Mans, wished his nephew Rigrannus to succeed him and offered him to Bishop Robert and the church of Le Mans so that he could receive the 'honour of the clericate'; although Rigrannus tried to become a monk he changed his mind finally when his dying uncle summoned him to his bedside, and two other uncles removed his monastic habit and clad him in an alb.<sup>71</sup>

This pattern continued into the tenth century and far beyond. As noted above, the diocese of Constance from the mid-ninth to the early tenth century was ruled by an uncle–nephew succession of bishops called Salomo. Udalric, bishop of Augsburg (923–73), brought up his sister's son Adalbero as his successor (though Adalbero in fact died first).<sup>72</sup>

In the early eleventh century, Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn (1009–36) was eventually succeeded as bishop by his sister's son (*sororius*), Imad (bishop 1051–76).<sup>73</sup> Lietbert, bishop of Cambrai 1051–76, succeeded his close kinsman Gerard I (bishop 1012–51), and was in turn succeeded by his nephew Gerard II (1076–92).<sup>74</sup> Twelfth- and thirteenth-century examples are common too, as we see from the examples of Guy, archbishop of Sens (1176–94), and a member of the family of the lords of Seignelay, making three of his brothers' sons canons in his cathedral,<sup>75</sup> and Peter of Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford (1240–68), making four of his nephews canons and dignitaries at Hereford.<sup>76</sup> From the Carolingian period onwards, it was relatively unusual for bishops to be married, and therefore the uncle-to-nephew succession pattern continued to be maintained, and at a high level of visibility – for everything that a bishop did was visible to, and set the tone for, a wider public, especially a clerical one. The uncle–nephew paradigm is much less frequent among pre-Conquest English bishops, but even so we may note Oda and Oswald in the mid-tenth century.<sup>77</sup> When, therefore, clerical celibacy began to be insisted on more forcibly by the Gregorians, an alternative family strategy for maintaining links with churches over several generations already existed, and was, indeed, a long-established and powerful tradition. The upper classes in Francia and its successor states had fully accepted the idea that for a cleric to be worthy of becoming a bishop he had to remain unmarried; it was the clergy lower down the social scale who now had to be forced to follow the same way of life. They certainly complained about the requirements now placed on them but they were not powerful enough as a group to make any impression.<sup>78</sup>

Pressure for clerical celibacy within the Church apparently met with little resistance from the secular nobility, and this was partly because it cut down the number of potential heirs, thus making it easier for families to concentrate resources more effectively on one son in each generation. Another reason for the lack of resistance is that, as we have seen, the top families had evolved a strategy to combine clerical celibacy and biological succession, in the form of a dog-legged clerical succession in agnatic kin groups where in each generation the head of the family could count on placing at least one son in a particular church. This is a well-known and standard pattern of clerical career building, one in which the uncle would assist the nephew.<sup>79</sup> Equally common are examples of maternal uncles assisting nephews,<sup>80</sup> and this type of bond reminds us that even when the agnatic lineage had become the dominant form of family structure in western Europe in the eleventh century, links to maternal kin might still be cultivated. Maternal nephews and cousins did not threaten patrimonial inheritance and could be serviceable as allies.<sup>81</sup>

As the examples of the two Hincmars<sup>82</sup> and the two Geraldts<sup>83</sup> remind us, the relationship between uncle and nephew was not necessarily a happy one. Nephews were all too often apt to resent their uncles' attempts to restrain their behaviour, and also their uncles' inconsiderateness in continuing to live and to enjoy benefices beyond the point at which the younger clerics started to feel the need of a serious income. Hincmar of Rheims was provoked by what he saw as his nephew's arrogance into mounting a case against him for failing to show the deference which a suffragan bishop should show to his metropolitan.<sup>84</sup> Gerald of Wales had, as compensation for renouncing all claims to the see of St Davids in 1203, asked for his nephew to take over, nominally, his own archdeaconry of Brecon, with the understanding that he himself would continue to run it; Gerald the

younger, under the influence of his tutor, rebelled and took over direct control of the archdeaconry, leaving his uncle with very little money.<sup>85</sup> Not surprisingly, Gerald the elder wrote a work criticising his nephew's behaviour (the *Speculum Duorum*), in which he included a horror story of a clerical nephew who incited a gang to murder his uncle, only for the murderers to kill the nephew in error.<sup>86</sup> Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux (1141–81), and Peter of Blois (d. 1211)<sup>87</sup> both complained about their nephews, Arnulf because they were conspiring against him within the diocese of Lisieux and were angry that he had given some vacant prebends at Lisieux to outsiders rather than to their own little nephews,<sup>88</sup> and Peter because his nephews complained that he was not passing on property and his prebend at Rouen to them.<sup>89</sup> Peter's views on this subject were not consistent. He at one point complained to John of Salisbury when the latter was bishop of Chartres that he had shown preference to a stranger ahead of his (John's) own nephew, Robert of Salisbury, although Robert was suitable to hold clerical benefices and in him the claims of nature and merit came together. On another occasion, however, in a letter to a struggling scholar called Master R., he criticised bishops who were so busy furthering the careers of their own kin that they did not relieve the needs of *scholares*, though he reminded his correspondent that if he became a bishop he too would find that affection for his nephews and worries about marrying off his nieces would drown out other claims.<sup>90</sup> Peter's inconsistency on this subject seems to underline the fact that the uncle–nephew relationship provoked anxiety: in other words, it mattered.

Clerical uncles had a range of duties to perform towards clerical nephews. One of these could be to act as *nutritor*. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, bishops were favoured for this role, since they could decide who would enter cathedral communities, but by the end of the eleventh century, especially in the empire and parts of eastern France, canons were coming to have more influence over recruitment into cathedrals, and more generally into collegiate churches;<sup>91</sup> this expanded the number of uncles who could exercise influence. In Germany decisions on recruitment into the chapter came, from the thirteenth century, to be made by the canons, each taking his turn,<sup>92</sup> and it is possible that the chapter was already exercising some influence over recruitment earlier on, through the pressure canons could exercise over inheritance, a feature also observable in imperial Burgundy.<sup>93</sup> In England, where collation to cathedral prebends was in the hands of the bishop, it was impossible for uncles who were not bishops to do this directly, but nonetheless they could try to influence their own bishop or perhaps another one.<sup>94</sup> Procedures in French cathedrals varied, with most, like Tournai, being filled through collation by the bishop,<sup>95</sup> and some, especially in French Burgundy, by the canons or by bishop and canons together.<sup>96</sup> At Angers c.1098 it was evidently the bishop who collated canons to prebends, because when Marbod of Rennes, then canon of Angers, wanted to give up his prebend so that it could be given to his nephew, Hildebert of Lavardin pleaded on Marbod's behalf to the new bishop of Angers, Rainald of Martigné.<sup>97</sup> Appointment to dignities might lead to disputes between bishop and chapter, as at Chartres over the subdeanery in the first decade of the twelfth century.<sup>98</sup>

In those cathedrals which practised child recruitment (still maintained in the empire in the twelfth century), the older relative was also supposed to undertake the task of bringing

the younger relative up, in his house if he had one, once the latter had been accepted into the cathedral and tonsured. A charter of 1191 outlining the fees schoolboys were to pay to the scholasticus at Mainz Cathedral states that some of the boys will live in the households of adult canons (*domini*).<sup>99</sup> A Liège charter of 1178 suggests that Canon Reiner of Liège brought up his young kinsman Arnulph in his house.<sup>100</sup> Caesarius of Heisterbach recounts the story of a dean of Cologne Cathedral who brought up a young nephew called Conrad in his house. Conrad was a young canon of St Andreas in Cologne who would have made a great career in the Church if he had not aroused his uncle's anger by stealing an apple from 'a young tree of a new kind' which the dean had taken some trouble to grow in his garden. 'I knew that Conrad well', says Caesarius, 'and he was cantor of that church [St Andreas]',<sup>101</sup> but he did not win any further advancement from his kinsman the dean. German churches would provide schooling in-house, so to speak, for the young schoolboy canons; thus the foster father canons would supervise their upbringing and provide their board, but not teach them themselves.<sup>102</sup> In France and England older clerical relatives might be required to find schools or tutors for their young protégés. In his *Quaestiones naturales* Adelard of Bath reminds his nephew how he had sent him, with other pupils, to Laon to be educated in 'Gallic studies'; Margaret Gibson in her interpretation of this passage reminds us that using a nephew as a conversational figure in a book could be a *topos*, but whether the nephew was fictional or factual, the scenario must have been common in real life for it to have worked as a literary commonplace.<sup>103</sup> Peter of Blois comments on how he had seen his nephews Peter and Gerard (Peter the younger may have been a canon of Saint-Martin of Tours) through an extensive education, which included theology and both types of law; in another letter, he discusses two young brothers entrusted to him for their education by their uncle, with the uncle in question, R., the archdeacon of Nantes.<sup>104</sup> Similarly, Gerald of Wales tried, unsuccessfully, to foster a love of learning in his nephew, young Gerald.<sup>105</sup> Or uncles might be expected to supervise their nephews' education more personally: Arnulf of Lisieux recounts how one father had entrusted his son to the boy's uncle, going to the schools, only for the uncle to hand over the boy to a cleric in the diocese of Angoulême as pledge for a debt.<sup>106</sup>

Beyond education, clerical uncles had a wider duty to assist the careers of their nephews. Gerald of Wales owed his first important preferment, as archdeacon of Brecon, to his uncle Bishop David of St Davids. To obtain the post Gerald had to get his predecessor, Jordan, ousted for clerical marriage (Gerald refrained from pointing out that his uncle David was also married, or had at least been married while holding the office of archdeacon).<sup>107</sup> In fact the likely trigger for Gerald's actions was almost certainly not public worry about Jordan's behaviour, but instead the latter's sudden loss of political protection after the failure of the rebellion of the Young King Henry, which led to loss of English (and presumably also Welsh) possessions and influence for William the Lion, king of Scots, Jordan's protector, and thus made it possible for Bishop David to have him removed.<sup>108</sup> Gerald himself passed this archdeaconry and also the rectory of Tenby on to his young nephew Gerald, against some opposition and eventually to his own regret.<sup>109</sup> Gerald's transaction fits into a much wider pattern. Godfrey de Lucy, who later became bishop of Winchester, while still prebendary of Bampton in Oxfordshire gave another of the Bampton prebends to his nephew Robert de Lucy.<sup>110</sup> In a similar vein are the



complaints by Peter of Blois's nephews that he had not arranged for his prebends at French churches to be made over to them; they addressed these to third parties to whom Peter then had to justify his conduct.<sup>111</sup> Likewise, Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, aroused some surprise by not appointing his own nephews to prebends which he had in his gift.<sup>112</sup>

And, in the long run, the young cleric could look forward to being made the heir of his *nutritor*, especially in those French and German cases where they ended up as canons in the same cathedral. There are numerous charters sorting out testamentary or obituary arrangements for canons which mention that the heir, almost always a cleric, is the nephew.<sup>113</sup> French and German cathedrals might insist that certain sorts of property, for example the canon's house if this lay within the precinct or immunity, could only be passed on to a fellow canon: the choice of a kinsman canon as heir made it possible for the dying canon to satisfy the demands of the chapter and of his relatives. Often French or German canon kinsmen would be allowed the right of first refusal to purchase a deceased canon's house. The tightly worked-out pattern of succession by nephews to uncles in many French and German cathedrals was a logical compromise between canon law and secular inheritance customs.<sup>114</sup>

## **The father–son paradigm**

Throughout this period, many clerics were fathers and hoped that their sons would follow them into the Church. Priests and deacons had been forbidden to marry in the western church since the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries, and married men wishing to be ordained in these grades were expected to live separately from their wives,<sup>115</sup> but nonetheless many priests and deacons throughout the western church in the period down to the twelfth century were married, and on the whole ecclesiastical authorities were lenient about this.<sup>116</sup> This leniency was quite strongly marked in Anglo-Saxon England,<sup>117</sup> but even more so in Wales and Ireland.<sup>118</sup> It is also worth noting that, down to about the eleventh century, priests and deacons may have formed a small minority among the clergy as a whole, at any rate in those areas which were late to acquire large numbers of small local churches served by one priest, as opposed to the earlier mother churches served by groups of clergy in several grades. In the earlier Middle Ages, clergy, even those serving local churches, tended to operate in groups.<sup>119</sup> There only had to be one priest in a community at any one time; bigger communities, such as those serving cathedrals, would prefer to have more, but might not have very many more. We have seen, for example, that Worcester Cathedral witness lists from the mid-tenth century, immediately after the arrival of Bishop Oswald (961–92), normally have about one or two priests, one or two deacons and about eleven or twelve clerics.<sup>120</sup> Clergy in minor orders who were members of cathedral communities in the eleventh century probably felt that it was their duty to supply and to train up the next generation of clerics; there would be opportunity for the fathers to advance to major orders if their wives died. Community cohesion would be reinforced by marriage between canons and the daughters of their colleagues, a state of affairs which still prevailed at the collegiate church of Wolverhampton at the start of the thirteenth century, much to the disgust of Peter of Blois.<sup>121</sup> There was often little pressure even on clergy in major orders or in senior positions to give up family life; there are many examples of archdeacons with children in Normandy and England at the turn of the

eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>122</sup> Clerical marriage was also normal in Brittany, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.<sup>123</sup>

With this in mind, the Gregorian reformers insisted that all cathedral canons should remain unmarried, but they were still meeting some resistance to this in the early twelfth century.<sup>124</sup> Scholarly attention has focused on the more articulate voices in this resistance, usually those of well-educated clerics such as Serlo of Bayeux, but these would have formed only a minority.<sup>125</sup> Again, although ecclesiastical authorities were anxious to tighten up regulations against clerical marriage from the eleventh century on, as the papacy set its face more resolutely in pursuit of a celibacy which by now was to include the grade of subdeacon as well,<sup>126</sup> the application of such policies at a local level might lead to acts of violence,<sup>127</sup> or alternatively to hardship, as in the cases of the priests whom Henry I fined for being married.<sup>128</sup> As a result, bishops could be reluctant to proceed against clergy who were already married, hoping instead to persuade the next generation to be more accepting of the new status quo.<sup>129</sup> Indeed, when, in 1099, Archbishop Manasses II of Rheims asked the count of Flanders to arrest priests' wives if they objected to leaving their husbands, the suffragan bishops in his province protested against this on the grounds that this was a direct infringement on their own rights as diocesan bishops, though the difficulties of carrying through such a measure would probably also have been a factor.<sup>130</sup> The generation coming of age in the first quarter, or indeed the first half, of the twelfth century was less willing to accept the new requirements than the bishops had hoped, postponing Gregory VII's intended outcome deep into the twelfth century.<sup>131</sup> Bishops engaged in a longer-term strategy against clerical marriage by cutting down on opportunities for sons of clergy: thus, for example, Hildebert of Lavardin presided over a synod as archbishop of Tours at which he and his suffragans agreed that sons of priests should only be ordained if they became regular canons or monks first.<sup>132</sup> They also cracked down on clerical concubinage where they had the support of church patrons for this.<sup>133</sup>

But it was not only the reluctance of bishops to proceed against all married clergy which made the imposition of celibacy so slow. It was also the slowness of the ecclesiastical authorities to take control over the solemnisation of marriage. The fact that marriages did not have to be celebrated in the face of the Church until 1215 must have been a factor in the long survival of clerical marriage: we should not forget that the solemnisation and legitimisation of marriage for the laity also underwent a profound shift in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one which had the effect of making marriage more clearly defined, and more strictly under church control, than it had previously been.<sup>134</sup> As a result, references to married clerics serving parish churches are fairly frequent, though patchy, across many parts of western Christian Europe down to the twelfth century (often deep into the twelfth century).

In England and in Normandy (in both cases both pre- and post-1066) father-son succession systems worked at a high level within the clergy. English customs in this respect had caused some shock in the Frankish world as long ago as the ninth century.<sup>135</sup> Uncle-nephew patterns were less powerful here until the twelfth century. In England this seems to result from a striking scarcity of kinship links between bishops and ealdormen in

the 900–1066 period.<sup>136</sup> A few such links can be traced: Brihthelm, bishop of Selsey, was definitely related to an ealdorman and is probably to be identified with the bishop of Winchester related to King Edgar;<sup>137</sup> Æthelnoth of Canterbury (archbishop 1020–38) was the son of Æthelmær the Stout, who is probably identifiable with the ealdorman Æthelmær;<sup>138</sup> and Earl Godwin tried unsuccessfully to have his kinsman Æthelric, a monk of Christ Church, made archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>139</sup> Affinity occurs sometimes: Aldhun, bishop of Durham, married his daughter Ecgfritha to Uhtred of Bamburgh, who repudiated her immediately after he had been appointed ealdorman.<sup>140</sup> Additionally, Bishop Ælfsige of Winchester was described as the ‘beloved friend’ of Ælfheah, brother of Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia, and the choice of ‘friend’ here may imply an in-law, though it may simply mean they were political allies.<sup>141</sup> These are the only discoverable instances of bishops related to ealdormen, and this situation is fundamentally different from those prevailing in Germany and in eastern France (notably Burgundy), and rather different from that in much of western France, though it is true that the social classes from which the higher clergy was drawn in France broadened out in the twelfth century. In post-Conquest England, also, bishops were very unlikely to have fathers who were earls, as David Crouch and Claire de Trafford have pointed out.<sup>142</sup> The reason for the lack of control by noble families over the English episcopate clearly was the overwhelming strength of royal patronage, far more powerful than elsewhere in Europe, even Ottonian Germany (though admittedly within a much smaller area).<sup>143</sup> Narrative sources about pre-Conquest English bishops usually do not name the parents of the bishop (this is true of Oswald, Oda, Æthelwold and Wulfsgige), a striking omission if we compare them with imperial episcopal biographies of this time. Names are, however, provided for the parents of Dunstan and St Wulfstan, though their biographers do not define the careers of their subjects’ fathers. In fact it is possible to work out from other sources that they were, probably or definitely, clerics. Dunstan’s father Heorstan had an unusual name otherwise only found in the witness list of an early tenth-century charter, S 1417, whose witnesses are predominantly Winchester clerics;<sup>144</sup> Wulfstan’s father, though his occupation is not stated by William of Malmesbury, is known from obit evidence at Worcester to have been a priest.<sup>145</sup> Dunstan was also related to at least two other bishops (Ælfheah of Winchester, 934–51, and Cynesige of Lichfield, 946 × 949–963/4) and perhaps also Archbishop Æthelhelm of Canterbury (923–5/6).<sup>146</sup> Since Æthelwold’s and Wulfsgige’s parents are described as living in towns, this at least raises the possibility that they too were the sons of clerics.<sup>147</sup> Bishop Ælfsige of Winchester (951–9) had a son (the lay landowner Godwin of Worthy),<sup>148</sup> and we have already seen that Bishop Aldhun of Durham had a daughter.<sup>149</sup> It is also possible that Theodred, the legatee of Bishop Theodred of London, might be the same as Theodred, bishop of Elmham, and, since he was a legatee of the bishop of London, was perhaps also one of his kinsmen.<sup>150</sup>

Below the level of the episcopate, evidence for clerical marriage in later Anglo-Saxon England is plentiful in comparison to the rather limited evidence for clergy in general. Hereditary succession among the community of St Cuthbert can be traced from the later ninth century: Franco, a bearer of the body of St Cuthbert in the 870s, was the father of Reinguald, who was the father of Riggulf, who was the father of Ethric, whose daughter was the mother of Alchmund the priest, whose son Elfred was described as ‘still alive’ by

Symeon of Durham.<sup>151</sup> Hunred, another of the bearers of the body of St Cuthbert, was the direct ancestor of two provosts of Hexham, Collan I and Collan II, and of Collan II's sister, the wife of the priest Alfred son of Westou, himself possibly the descendant of another of the bearers of Cuthbert's body. Alfred was sacrist of Durham in the earlier eleventh century, and, presumably through his marriage, priest of Hexham; one of his sons, Eilaf Larwa, succeeded him in both his offices, while two other sons became priests of other churches near Durham. In turn Eilaf Larwa's son Eilaf succeeded him as priest of Hexham and another son became shrine-keeper there; the younger Eilaf's children included Aelred of Rievaulx. It was in this generation, in the early decades of the twelfth century, that hereditary succession ceased; Eilaf became a monk at Durham and his brother an Augustinian canon at Hexham.<sup>152</sup>

In other English churches, a wider range of specific examples of clerical fathers becomes visible from the mid-eleventh century: hereditary canons at Waltham;<sup>153</sup> the married canons of St Martin's, Dover;<sup>154</sup> a dynasty at Plympton stretching from the 1030s to the early twelfth century;<sup>155</sup> and a father and his four sons at Hereford in 1055.<sup>156</sup> The unidentifiable Wulf who made a will, probably in the 1020s, in which he sought burial in St Albans, and who entrusted a child (*cild*) to someone called Saxa, may very well have been a wealthy priest. Wulf left full equipment for saying Mass, which suggests that he could have been a priest; if so, his considerable wealth could have been accumulated by being in charge of one or more wealthy minsters. In his will he suggests that his *cild* might be entered into a minster with the money he is to inherit.<sup>157</sup> In the middle of the eleventh century, perhaps in 1054, Brihtmær 'of Gracechurch' granted his church of All Hallows (Gracechurch) in London to Christ Church Canterbury, to take effect after his death and the deaths of his wife Eadgifu and their children Eadmær and Æthelwine.<sup>158</sup> Moreover, Archbishop Stigand and Bishop Wulfwig of Dorchester both seem to have come from clerical dynasties; Stigand's was based in Norwich, while Wulfwig may have belonged to one of the families of clerks serving St Martin's in Dover.<sup>159</sup> Indeed, both Stigand and his brother Æthelmær, bishop of Elmham, had sons.<sup>160</sup> Domesday Book shows several examples of king's clerks and king's almoners inheriting land<sup>161</sup> and being able to bequeath it to heirs,<sup>162</sup> which may also be a pointer to clerical father-son succession; in one case an almoner's father had held the property 'in alms' in the time of King Edward.<sup>163</sup> Clerical marriage in England was reinforced in the immediate post-Conquest period by incoming Norman clergy, for example Odelerius, father of Orderic Vitalis,<sup>164</sup> or Canon Anger or Ansgar of St Paul's, father of Bishop Audoenus of Evreux (1113–39) and of Archbishop Thurstan of York (1114–40).<sup>165</sup> Anglo-Saxon clerical fathers tend to be shadowy figures and may often have been in minor orders. Probably the assistance they gave their sons was to secure their entry into an ecclesiastical community and to give them a basic training, while further advancement would come from bishops and especially kings, the most important fount of clerical patronage in Anglo-Saxon England. By contrast, Norman clerical fathers often have a higher profile, particularly as curial clerks and in some cases as bishops, but they too would have helped their sons at the very outset of their careers, with further promotion being dependent on the dukes of Normandy and the kings of England.<sup>166</sup>

Examples of clerical dynasties in both cathedrals and parish churches can be found in England deep into the twelfth century and sometimes beyond.<sup>167</sup> C.N.L. Brooke is right to say that the phenomenon waned after the middle of the twelfth century in cathedrals, but there are nonetheless some early thirteenth-century examples, for instance the son of William Foliot, precentor of Hereford at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, who became canon at Hereford some time after his father's death.<sup>168</sup> Similar cases can be found in north-eastern France; for example, in 1204 the collegiate church at Lille contained two canons with sons who were also canons.<sup>169</sup> But they do not occur in Germany. Here the explanation for the lack of canons who were sons of canons might lie in the social status of clerics' children: from 1023, when Henry II legislated on this matter, the children of clerics were serfs of their father's church, and as such were not of sufficiently high status to become canons (and this lowly status would be reinforced if their mothers themselves were servile, as they might well be).<sup>170</sup> However, openings could be found lower down for the children, as chaplains, for example, or as tenants, and several post-obit grants of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are suggestive of this. In 1212 John, canon of St Castor, Koblenz, founded an oratory to provide for a schoolboy (*scolaris*) and the latter's mother, presumably his family;<sup>171</sup> the 1175 grant by Canon Henry of Mariengreden in Mainz to provide an anniversary for his mother was simultaneously a means of providing for his three *pueri* (presumably his sons), to whom he was bequeathing his stone house for their lifetimes, with reversion to Mariengreden.<sup>172</sup> Similarly, Gozelin, scholasticus of Würzburg (1131–44), set up an anniversary for himself and the mother of two *pueri*, at the same time making the latter his heirs.<sup>173</sup> Grants of female *censuales* (poll-tax payers) by Bavarian canons to their cathedrals may in a few instances refer to unadvertised sexual relationships.<sup>174</sup> In 1230 a legatine visitation of various north German cathedrals ordered that at Minden no canon was to use his Year of Grace payment (a year's worth of prebendal income given to the estate of a deceased canon) for the benefit of his concubine or children.<sup>175</sup>

Advancement within the Church was only one way in which paternal concern might manifest itself. Bishop David fitz Gerald of St Davids used episcopal lands to provide for his two sons and to give marriage portions to his daughters, both of whom married local landowners;<sup>176</sup> the married canons of Wolverhampton c.1200 married off their daughters to each other, according to Peter of Blois;<sup>177</sup> William Foliot, precentor of Hereford Cathedral at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, made a small grant of land to provide for his youngest son and his children's mother near the end of his life (he had probably already provided for his two elder children);<sup>178</sup> evidence survives for another Hereford canon, Mr Robert de Haseley, providing a marriage portion for his daughter Grizel to marry a certain William Gernon.<sup>179</sup> Or children might be fostered, as in the case of Abelard and Heloise's son Peter Astrolabe, left to the care of his aunt, Abelard's sister.<sup>180</sup> Gerald of Wales's nephew and namesake young Gerald fathered three sons on the sister of a rural dean, and gave money to a Cistercian monastery to speculate with so that the income could be paid to the boys' uncles to pay for their upbringing.<sup>181</sup>

## **The brother–brother paradigm**

The brother–brother paradigm could be a fall-back position both in families with a father–



son clerical succession pattern and in those with an uncle–nephew succession pattern; it is most clearly visible from the end of the eleventh century onwards. Where two brothers were both clerics the elder brother would be expected to act as protector, sometimes specifically as a foster father (*nutritor*) to the younger, as in the case of the young Robert de Béthune being brought up and taught by his elder brother Gunfrid on the deaths of their parents.<sup>182</sup> The church of Hereford shows several examples of this pattern: in the late eleventh century, Bishop Robert the Lotharingian brought over his brother Gerard from Liège and made him head of the cathedral clergy;<sup>183</sup> a century later, Ralph Foliot, with a promising career in the king's service ahead of him, found a niche as archdeacon of Hereford while his kinsman Robert Foliot was bishop, and brought his younger brother William Foliot to join him.<sup>184</sup> Robert Foliot also gave an archdeaconry to another young Foliot, Hugh, who later became bishop and then in his turn smoothed the path for his much younger brother, Thomas.<sup>185</sup> Many examples can be found elsewhere. Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux (1141–81, d. 1184), had begun his clerical career at Sées, where his grandfather had been dean and his uncle had been archdeacon; more directly important to Arnulf, however, was his own elder brother, John, already archdeacon of Sées before Arnulf began his schooling there. Arnulf expressed his gratitude to John by praising his policies as bishop of Sées, 1124–44, in letters to Alexander III in 1161.<sup>186</sup> John of Salisbury was the third of four brothers, all clerics (his two elder brothers were perhaps his half-brothers, as Frank Barlow has suggested); his two elder brothers, who both became canons of Exeter Cathedral, seem to have helped open up opportunities for John at Exeter in the 1170s, where he was briefly treasurer before becoming bishop of Chartres in 1176. Barlow establishes that John had a particular rapport with his second brother, Robert fitz Gille, and the latter's wife and son. The youngest brother, Richard of Salisbury, benefited from the help of all three elder brothers, who paid for his education and assisted him when he fell into the king's disfavour.<sup>187</sup> Brother–brother succession systems tend to occur where there was a big age gap between the elder and younger brother, as in the cases of John and Arnulf bishops of Sées and Lisieux, or Herbert and Richard Poore, whose careers began and ended about two decades apart.<sup>188</sup> This behaviour seems to have become standard practice in the high Middle Ages – an elder brother in the Church would regard it as his responsibility to assist the advancement of a younger brother. It may reflect a move on the part of some families to concentrate their efforts on obtaining careers for some sons in the Church, in the hope that these would attain high office and be able to advance the rest of their relatives.

## **Trends in relationships**

Down to the eleventh century it is usually impossible to count up numbers of clergy with any real precision in cathedral communities (and absolutely impossible to do so for local churches), let alone to obtain information about kinship for any of them apart from a tiny handful. From the last decade or so of the eleventh century, however, the expanding number of charters makes a quantifying approach increasingly tempting, though absolute precision is still out of reach. For the Norman cathedral chapters, if we except Sées, which became Augustinian, David Spear's list of Norman cathedral clergy gives us roughly 900 canons who can be definitely identified as such over the period from 910 to 1204, almost all of them occurring between the years 1000 and 1204. Among these, we can trace sixty-

three clerical fathers and sons. This total includes fathers *and* sons; some fathers had more than one son. Most of the fathers belonged to the same cathedral community as their sons. Of the sixty-three, two-thirds can be dated to the eleventh century and one-third to the twelfth, mostly the first half of the century. There were still quite a few clerical sons holding prebends after c.1150, but hardly any clerical fathers. By contrast, eighty-eight clerical uncles and nephews can be traced between 910 and 1204: of these, only twelve occur in the eleventh century and in several of these cases the influence of the uncle would have been trumped by that of a clerical father or of a powerful lay relative. Most of the uncle–nephew pairings are twelfth-century. Likewise, fifty-nine clerical brothers are visible: here too only eighteen are pre-1100 and in several cases here too fraternal influence might have been less powerful than that of clerical fathers or lay kin. These calculations all involve double counting but the proportions remain the same after division.

It is not possible to compare the findings of the Norman and the English *Fasti* in detail, since the terms of reference for the compilation of the two works have been rather different: the former includes all information to hand, whereas the basic principle for the English *Fasti* has been to concentrate on dates of office, with only sparse references to family background and other circumstances. Furthermore, this was particularly true of the earliest volumes in the series: the range of information has gradually been allowed to increase, largely thanks to the persistence of the chief editor. The earliest cathedral chapter to be dealt with, St Paul's, almost certainly had the richest seam of family networks, and fuller cross-referencing would help to reinforce this. Overall, we have data on clerical kinships for about 220 out of 1,290 secular canons beginning their careers in the period from c.1066 to c.1200, though with more searching we would find more.<sup>189</sup> The patterns of family behaviour are not wholly dissimilar to those in Normandy: clerical fathers (sometimes episcopal fathers) are not uncommon down to the middle of the twelfth century and rare but by no means unknown thereafter, while uncles and elder brothers continue to play a significant role. But there is one overall difference: if all clerical kin are considered (i.e. cases where relationships can be observed but not more closely identified) we have information for about 39 per cent of Norman canons but only for 17 per cent of English ones. Even allowing for differences in the way information was put together for the English *Fasti* volumes, we may have a significant divergence here. Kinship may have mattered more in Normandy; also we should note that several of the kinships we can spot among canons of English cathedrals involved Norman clergy, with identifiable Norman kin, holding prebends in England. At Tournai Cathedral, too, we can find evidence for fairly close clerical kin for 34 per cent of the 177 canons traceable to the period from the late eleventh century to c.1215.<sup>190</sup>

Although there are many very detailed prosopographical reference works dealing with German canons and bishops, these concentrate on parentage and especially the lay kin of churchmen, chiefly with the aim of working out the social status of canons, following the example set by Aloys Schulte's *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche*.<sup>191</sup> Working out clerical networks would require more exploration of genealogies. Almost certainly the main leverage in getting German canons into cathedrals would have been exerted by parents belonging to locally based freeborn and comital families; at the same time, having uncles and brothers as bishops or members of chapters was a help, as many narrative sources –

especially Lives of bishops – show.<sup>192</sup> One thing that is clear from the information is that father-to-son dynasties of canons barely feature in recorded evidence for eleventh- and twelfth-century imperial cathedrals; this was probably because children of clerics were held to be serfs of the church to which their father belonged, and thus were of insufficient social status to become canons, certainly in cathedrals (the bars on entry into collegiate churches were pitched somewhat lower).<sup>193</sup>

## Property and inheritance

Family relationships could affect clerical careers in another significant way – through their effects on inheritance. Here brothers and sisters, but especially the former, loom quite large in the existences of clerics. On the whole, sisters were less threatening. Married sisters would expect clerical brothers to help their offspring, so they had an incentive to treat their brothers kindly, though occasionally a sister and brother-in-law might dispute a cleric's bequest.<sup>194</sup> Canons and their unmarried sisters might operate together to make gifts to religious houses<sup>195</sup> or to make arrangements for the latter to provide support for them.<sup>196</sup> Among the grants ('traditions') made to the church of Paderborn in the eleventh century which are recorded in the *Vita Meinweri* are a grant by Meinwerk's sister Attula (Azela), a nun at Elten, and a grant by a canon of Paderborn with the consent of his three sisters and heirs.<sup>197</sup> In the empire clerics could not act on their own with respect to inherited property and had to make transactions concerning what they had inherited through legal representatives called advocates or *mundeburdia*, who were always male and were usually relatives, often brothers, of those they represented.<sup>198</sup> This put clerics, legally, on the same level as women in secular lawcourts,<sup>199</sup> and so clerical brothers may have felt that they had something in common with their sisters. Sisters were sometimes especially named in obit arrangements made by canons.<sup>200</sup>

More difficulties emerged between clergy and their brothers, at any rate where the latter were laymen (the relationship between pairs of clerical brothers was rather different, and will be dealt with below). As we have just noted, in the empire clerics were expected to make their property transactions through advocates or *mundeburdia*, who were as a rule senior male members of their families. This was a survival of a feature of family life that had been more widespread earlier on in the Middle Ages; in the ninth and tenth centuries this had also been the normal custom throughout Francia.<sup>201</sup> In later Anglo-Saxon England, references can sometimes be found in wills to representatives called *forespreoca*, but the only reference involving a cleric is to Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury acting as a *forespræc* himself.<sup>202</sup> By the twelfth century, the situation outside the empire was much more relaxed, presumably as a result of changes in inheritance systems; here, clerics seem to have forestalled most family property disputes by making clerical nephews their heirs, though some disputes still occurred.<sup>203</sup> In the empire brothers acting as *mundeburdia* or as *salmanni* would be responsible for sorting out the effects of the dead: for example, one brother ensured that dues were paid on the produce of a vineyard in 1216.<sup>204</sup> Sometimes their activities in this field were intrusive, for example their attempts to seize all property of deceased clerics, and their invasions of the 'narrower immunity' – that is, the precinct – of cathedrals, though rulers sometimes tried to prevent this.<sup>205</sup> Cathedral property itself was often threatened on these occasions, and it was partly to regulate matters that, over the

course of the twelfth century, bishops issued statutes concerning the disposal of prebendal income in the year following the death of a cathedral canon,<sup>206</sup> and, later, began to urge clergy to make wills, and to insist that clerical wills were adhered to.<sup>207</sup>

Disposal of the parental property was, not surprisingly, the main area of tension between brothers. In 1220 a canon of Troyes, who, slightly unusually, was the eldest in the family, found himself at odds with all his younger brothers and his mother over the family patrimony, but resolved the situation by renouncing claims to the property.<sup>208</sup> Presumably, as the eldest son he stood to inherit the patrimony unless he made a formal statement resigning his rights to it. Abelard had to make a similar renunciation when he decided to leave Brittany and pursue his education under Roscelin;<sup>209</sup> likewise (as noted by Peter Hull and Richard Sharpe) Peter of Cornwall commented that his father Jordan had succeeded to the family patrimony rather than his elder brothers, Bernard, a royal clerk, and Nicholas, a canon, because Jordan was a layman.<sup>210</sup> And clergy, like other siblings excluded from the patrimony, would be able to share property which did not form part of the latter.<sup>211</sup> Peter of Blois's father acquired property in the territory of the Blésois which was intended principally to provide for the marriages of his daughters, with the leftovers to be inherited by Peter.<sup>212</sup> Stephen of Tournai wrote a letter of protest on behalf of a young cleric who had been done out of his share in the family inheritance because a secular court refused to accept his plea that he had been unable to make a claim for it in person because he was far away at the schools.<sup>213</sup> In Germany, where much more property was allodial, and thus was subject to partible inheritance rather than being reserved for the eldest son, clerics could expect more equal shares in the family inheritance. However, they were, as a consequence, under much more pressure from their lay relatives to dispose of property according to the wishes of the latter, who might also feel that they had the right to decide what sort of ecclesiastical community their brothers joined. Caesarius of Heisterbach records two stories of young canons in the diocese of Cologne in the late twelfth century deciding to become Cistercian monks and being angrily pursued by their knightly brothers;<sup>214</sup> a similar story told by Caesarius concerns Gerlach, canon of Utrecht, who wanted to become a Cistercian and who set out ostensibly to travel to Paris to study so he could avoid the hostility of his brother, a knight.<sup>215</sup>

The development of primogeniture may have given parents a little more freedom of manoeuvre in deciding what to leave to clerical sons. After the link between education and entry into an ecclesiastical community had been snapped in France, and then in England, from the late eleventh century onwards, families no longer had to give away property when sons were educated, but they might still do so at a slightly later stage, when the young clerk had completed his education and was in need of a benefice or prebend. At Angers in the 1120s a father granted property to Angers cathedral to provide for his son to become a canon: the income from the property would pay for his food and for his eventual anniversary service.<sup>216</sup> Similarly, in the first half of the twelfth century in England, at the cathedrals of Salisbury (Brixworth, Horton, Shipton),<sup>217</sup> Hereford (Wellington, Moreton and Whaddon)<sup>218</sup> and Lincoln (Carlton Kyme, Carlton Paynell),<sup>219</sup> we can observe several landowners using parish churches to endow prebends to be held by their sons (or protégés – as in the case of the prebend of Teinton Regis in Salisbury Cathedral).<sup>220</sup> Herbert,

chamberlain of Henry I of England, appears to have helped Archbishop Thomas II of York in the latter's financial difficulties in return for making Herbert's son William treasurer of York Minster, at some point between 1109 and 1112.<sup>221</sup> Parents with real political clout could simply bully churches to accept their sons: thus in the third quarter of the twelfth century, Duke Matthew of Upper Lorraine (1139–76) forced Toul Cathedral to re-create the dignity of the *primicerius*, which it had abolished, so that his son Thierry could hold it,<sup>222</sup> while Duke Godfrey of Lower Lorraine (1142–90) forced Liège Cathedral chapter to give a prebend, a house and other property to his son Albert in 1178.<sup>223</sup> Such direct action was more common in territories, like Lotharingia in the late twelfth century, where royal power was weak or shadowy; elsewhere, families had to operate in a more indirect way.

Overall, the influence of parents over the careers of clergy was clearly the largest factor determining the latter's careers throughout the whole of the period with which we are dealing, even though by the thirteenth century it was usually being applied more indirectly than it had been earlier on. Where direct father-to-son clerical succession was possible for the better-off clergy, as in England down to c.1100, this tended to lead to the creation of clerical elites in which clergy probably married the daughters and sisters of other clerics. In most of western Europe, however, the dominant pattern for the higher clergy was an uncle–nephew succession system, which assisted the dynastic strategies of the secular elite, and which seems to have begun as early as the sixth century. An important feature of this uncle–nephew succession system was clerical celibacy, which seems to have won the support of the secular aristocracy from an early period. When the Gregorian reformers tried to stress clerical celibacy in the eleventh century, they were essentially aiming at clergy lower down the social hierarchy who were ill-placed to mount any opposition.

<sup>1</sup> William of Wycombe, *Speculum vitae viri venerabilis Rotberti episcopi Herefordie*, in Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 2 vols. (London, 1691), II, 295–321, at 300 (I, c. 3): 'Contigit namque ut praefatus frater eius et nutricius Gunfridus vitae suae finem faceret. Cogitans igitur vir pius, quia nemo unquam carnem suam odio habuit, simulque reminiscens fraternae dilectionis et impensi beneficii, praecavit ne degener et ingratus inveniretur. Suscepit igitur fraternam sarcinam sustinendam, filios et filias quos ille de coniugio suscepit. Expectatis autem sub custodia nubilibus annis, neptes suas nuptum tradidit, nepotes religioni mancipavit. Inter haec attendere coepit in quo vitae suae dies expendisset, quamque inania forent figmenta poetarum, quam inutilia scrutinia philosophorum, quantus labor, quam exilis fructus foret in artibus. Renuntians igitur his, hactenus animum convertit ad agiographa; fructum deinceps quesiturus, non folia'.

<sup>2</sup> The school where Robert taught is not identified in his *Vita*, but Robert was on close terms with Abbot Richard of St Albans, which opens up the possibility that he was the master of the school run by St Albans Abbey: see *EEA*, VII, p. xxxvii; and Julia Barrow, 'Robert de Béthune', in *ODNB*, V, 546–8.

<sup>3</sup> The word used is *nutricius*, which usually means 'foster son' – *nutritor* would be the more usual word for foster father. On the role of the *nutritor*, see [Chapter 5](#) below.

<sup>4</sup> In fact one of Robert de Béthune's nephews, *pace* William de Wycombe, did not enter religion but became a tenant of the bishopric of Hereford, cf *EEA*, VII, no 28.

<sup>5</sup> William of Wycombe, *Speculum vitae*, [Chapter 3](#), in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, 300.



[6](#) Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, in *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise*, ed. and tr. David Luscombe (Oxford, 2013), 4–21; M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford, 1997), esp. 67–94; on William of Champeaux see Robert-Henri Bautier, ‘Paris au temps d’Abélard’, in *Abélard en son temps*, ed. Jean Jolivet (Paris, 1981), 21–77, at 53–5; on Anselm of Laon and his school see Cédric Giraud, *Per verba magistri: Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout, 2010), with discussion of Robert on 126–30. See also R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1995–2001), I, 165–8, II, 25–35; Margaret Gibson, ‘Adelard of Bath’, in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, 14 (London, 1987), 1–16, at 9–10; Hermann, *De miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis*, II, cc. 6, 13 (PL 156: 977, 983).

[7](#) Cf [Chapter 3](#) above; perhaps William of Champeaux was Robert’s inspiration here.

[8](#) Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, 300 (Vita, I, c. 4: ‘si furca naturam expuleris, sponte recurrit’; the quote is based loosely on Horace, Ep. 1, 10. 24).

[9](#) See [Chapter 3](#) above.

[10](#) Johannes Laudage, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum im 11. Jahrhundert* (Cologne and Vienna, 1984), *passim*, but esp. 207–50.

[11](#) Martin Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours: History and Society in the Sixth Century*, tr. Christopher Carroll (Cambridge, 2001; originally published as *Gregor von Tours (538–594): Zehn Bücher Geschichte. Historiographie und Gesellschaftskonzept im 6. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1994)), 10, Fig. 1.

[12](#) Raymund Kottje, ‘Das Aufkommen der täglichen Eucharistiefeier in der Westkirche und die Zölibatsforderung’, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 82 (1971), 218–28. See also Robert Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne* (Brussels, 2001), 112–16.

[13](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 120–1, citing Orléans III (538), c. 7.

[14](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 131, 138–45; cf also Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2007), 92, 110.

[15](#) For equivalent findings for England in the twelfth century, see John Gillingham, ‘Some observations on social mobility in England between the Norman Conquest and the early thirteenth century’, in John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), 259–76, at 270.

[16](#) Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VIIe–Xe siècle): Essai d’anthropologie sociale* (Paris, 1995), 306–10, 316–18; see also Constance B. Bouchard, *Those of My Blood: Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, 2001), 39–58, esp. 49–58.

[17](#) Even so, however, it is noticeable that the relatives of the numerous rural clergy recorded as making grants to, or exchanges with, Freising Cathedral in the eighth and ninth centuries are almost all parents, brothers, nephews and uncles of the clerics (not wives or children); several pairs of clerics were nephews and uncles: *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, ed. Theodor Bitterauf, 2 vols. (Munich 1905–9; repr. Aalen, 1967), I: 744–926, nos 9, 33, 36, 39, 43, 47, 91, 11, 138, 139, 143–4, 173, 182, 226, 272, 276, 316,

317, 323, 345, 357, 358, 398, 408, 409, 417, 439, 469, 474, 477–9, 486, 499, 506, 517, 519, 522, 526, 542, 568, 574, 576, 581, 582b, 588, 591, 593, 615–16, 619, 625, 630, 684–5, 691, 703–4, 740, 767, 928; two female relatives and a *magister* occur in no 81; a probable father–son connection is visible in no 110 of 783 × 789; a deacon occurs with his mother and sister in no 528; a priest occurs with his sister in no 686; a deacon makes a grant to a small boy whose parents are not named in no 697; a priest grants property that he had been given by another priest who was his kinsman in no 910. Clergy occurring in tenth- and eleventh-century Freising grants and exchanges are much less likely to be mentioned with people specified as their kinsmen than their ninth-century predecessors (*ibid.*, II: 926–1283, nos 1286, 1417, 1457).

[18](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 112–13. In the eleventh century the Paphnutius story was used to defend the position of married clergy in the western church by the author of the Pseudo-Udalrich letter, written probably in the diocese of Constance in 1075: see Erwin Frauenknecht, *Die Verteidigung der Priesterehe in der Reformzeit* (Hanover, 1997), 7–70.

[19](#) ‘The canons of the Council in Trullo in Greek, Latin and English’, in *The Council in Trullo Revisited*, ed. George Nedungatt and Michael Featherstone, *Kanonika*, 6 (Rome, 1995), 45–186, at 84–7 (canon XIII).

[20](#) Jill Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome, AD 407–485* (Oxford, 1994), 36 (Sidonius’ birth in 431 or 432), 169–76 (circumstances of consecration).

[21](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 45–6 (Audoenus and Eligius); in the earlier seventh century Arnulf of Metz, who had a family before entering the clergy, would be another example.

[22](#) *Felix’s Life of St Guthlac*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), 84, c. 20.

[23](#) ‘Ut parentes filios suos et patrini eos, quos de fonte lavacri suscipiunt, erudire summopere student: illi, quia eos genuerunt et eis a domino dati sunt, isti, quia pro eis fideiussores existunt’: *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis*, ed. Gerhard Schmitz, MGH Capit., new series, 1 (Hanover, 1996), 562–3 (II, 44); see also Herard of Tours, *Capitula*, 858, c. 27 (MGH Capit. ep., II, 134). In a version of this text Archbishop Ralph of Bourges specified the duty of parents and godparents to teach the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed (*ibid.*, I, 250–1), and doubtless this was Ansegis and Herard’s main intention here, but they seem to have meant education more broadly as well.

[24](#) *Vita Sancti Odonis scripta a Johanne monacho, eius discipulo*: PL 133: 43–86, at 47 (c. 8); for translation see Gerard Sitwell, *St Odo of Cluny* (London, 1958), 9.

[25](#) Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel’s Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996), *passim*, but esp. 60–8; Joseph H. Lynch, *Symoniacal Entry into Religious Life* (Columbus, OH, 1976), 36–50.

[26](#) See [Chapter 5 below, n. 36](#).

[27](#) See [Chapter 2](#); II Toledo (c. 1) uses the phrase ‘contraditi fuerint’: *La coleccion canonica hispana*, iv: *Concilios galos; concilios hispanos: primera parte*, ed. Gonzalo Martínez Díez and Felix Rodriguez (Madrid, 1984), 348.

[28](#) The future Henry II of Germany was trained at Hildesheim (*Die Vita sancti Heinrici regis et confessoris und ihre Bearbeitung durch den Bamberger Diakon Adelbert*, ed.

Marcus Strumpf, MGH SRG in usum scholarum, 69 (Hanover, 1999), 229); the future Louis VII of France (1137–80) was at school at Notre-Dame in Paris until the death of his elder brother, Philip, in an accident in 1131 (Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris, 1964), 31). Sometimes adult heirs were allowed to switch from clerical to lay status: Frederick Barbarossa's son Philip of Swabia was provost of Aachen until 1193 and briefly bishop-elect of Würzburg, 1190–1 (Alfred Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg, I: Die Bischofsreihe bis 1254*, Germania Sacra, NF 1 (Berlin, 1962), 179). By contrast, Hartwig, provost of Bremen Cathedral (and later archbishop) was not able to, or perhaps did not want to, become a layman; Henry the Lion prevented him from passing on his inheritance (his elder brother had been Count of Stade) to the archbishopric: Gerd Althoff, 'Heinrich der Löwe und das Stader Erbe', *Deutsches Archiv*, 41 (1985), 66–100.

[29](#) Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare: VIe–VIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1973), 329–30; Godding, *Prêtres*, pp. 64–5; see also *La colección canonica hispana*, IV, 348 (II Toledo, c. 1).

[30](#) Four in the case of Brun: *Ruotgeri vita Brunonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*, ed. Irene Ott (Cologne, 1958), 5 (c. 4): 'annos circiter IIII habens'; see comments in [Chapters 2, 5](#). The Tenth Council of Toledo (656) laid down that parents could give their sons to religion up to the age of ten without this decision being questioned; after the age of ten the choice had to be made by the boy (Mansi, XI, 36–7, c. 6).

[31](#) See [Chapter 6](#) below.

[32](#) See [Chapter 6](#) below.

[33](#) Clanchy, *Abelard*, 68, and see [Chapter 6](#) below.

[34](#) See [Chapter 6](#) below; and also Julia Barrow, 'Education and the recruitment of cathedral canons in England and Germany, 1100–1225', *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117–37.

[35](#) Bernard of Clairvaux's decision to become a monk was his own (cf Peter Dinzelbacher, *Bernhard von Clairvaux: Leben und Werk des berühmten Zisterziensers* (Darmstadt, 1998), 10–19); Robert de Béthune's decision to become an Augustinian canon was his own (see above in this chapter, at nn. 1–2); *Letter Collection of Abelard and Heloise*, 4, states that he moved around schools in different provinces in emulation of the peripatetics ('peripateticorum emulator').

[36](#) *Letter Collection of Abelard and Heloise*, 2–4 (Abelard says his father had had some education in letters); and cf Clanchy, *Abelard*, 47–50.

[37](#) E.g., in the early twelfth century, the numerous English parents who presented younger sons to churches on family estates, often hoping that this arrangement might be perpetuated for further generations by granting the churches as prebends to cathedrals: see [Chapter 9](#) below (Cathedral clergy).

[38](#) On developments in nomenclature, see Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, 180–223. On the Salomo kingroup at Konstanz Cathedral, see Helmut Maurer, *Das Bistum Konstanz, 2: Die Konstanzer Bischöfe vom Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts bis 1206*, Germania Sacra, neue Folge, 42, 1 (Berlin, 2003), 67; for a later period, see Constance B. Bouchard, 'The structure of a twelfth-century French family: the lords of Seignelay', *Viator*, 10 (1979), 39–56.

[39](#) Jean Devisse, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims 845–882*, 3 vols. (Geneva, 1975–6), II, 1096–7; Heinrich Schrörs, *Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims: Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Freiburg, 1884), 10. On Hincmar the younger (lived 835 × 838–879) see Rolf Grosse, ‘Hinkmar, Bischof von Laon’, in *LMA*, v, 29.

[40](#) Maurer, *Das Bistum Konstanz*, 67–78, 84–119. In addition, the brother of Salomo III (890–919/20), Waldo, was bishop of Freising 883–906, and their nephew Waldo was bishop of Chur: on the family, see also Karl Schmid, ‘Religiöses und sippengebundenes Gemeinschaftsbewußtsein in frühmittelalterlichen Gedenkbucheinträgen’, in Karl Schmid, *Gebetsgedenken und adliges Selbstverständnis im Mittelalter: Ausgewählte Beiträge* (Sigmaringen, 1983), 532–97, at 580–4.

[41](#) David Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911–1204* (London, 2006), 170, 273.

[42](#) Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l’église impériale XIe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1981), 510 (Appendix III, a family tree of the counts of Namur to illustrate the number of members of the family holding positions in the church of Liège).

[43](#) Anselmi Havelbergensis vita Adelberti II Moguntini, in *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Philipp Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, III (Berlin, 1866; repr. Darmstadt, 1964), 565–603.

[44](#) Friedrich Hausmann, ‘Wortwin, Protonotar Kaiser Friedrichs I. Stiftspropst zu Aschaffenburg’, *Aschaffener Jahrbuch*, 4 (1957), 321–72, at 325: the younger Wortwin (d. 1198 or slightly later) was a *cognatus*, probably a nephew, of the older (d. in or after 1161); see also [Chapter 8 below, n. 162](#).

[45](#) Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982), 26; Gerald of Wales was named Gerald after his maternal grandfather, not David, after his clerical uncle David fitz Gerald.

[46](#) Michel Parisse, *La noblesse lorraine XIe–XIIIe s.*, 2 vols. (Lille and Paris, 1976), II, 844–7, with family trees; see also John Nightingale, *Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Gorze Reform, c.850–1000* (Oxford, 2001), 72–7 (discussion of family), 276 (family tree).

[47](#) Cf *Fasti*, I, 1–2, 15, 32. Bishop Richard de Belmeis I had two sons, William and Walter ([ibid.](#), 9, 65–6).

[48](#) *Cartulaire d’Autun*, 343, Supplément, no 4, 1221.

[49](#) In a thirteenth-century Autun charter, Humbert, a *pronepos* (great-nephew), happens also to be a *filiolus* (godson) of his great-uncle William: *Cartulaire d’Autun*, 131 (Part II, no 48, of 1214). Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London, 1988), 69, notes young clerics being assisted by their godfathers (citing *Cartulaire de Redon*, no 45, 128–9), but here the godfathers seem to be laymen, though one of them supervised his godson’s tonsure (see also [Chapter 2](#) above).

[50](#) *Nutritio* or fosterage is discussed in more detail in [Chapter 5](#) below.

[51](#) See [Chapter 5](#) below.

[52](#) See [Chapter 5](#) below.



[53](#) Herman of Tournai, *De miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis* (PL 156: 967); Bartholomew was first commended to his uncle, Count Èbles of Roucy, when he was a small boy (*puerulus*), but shortly after that he was handed over to his mother's uncle, Archbishop Manasses, and was educated at Rheims, where he became a canon.

[54](#) *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, 96–8, no 58 (1178).

[55](#) G. Robin, 'Le problème de la vie commune au chapitre de la cathédrale St-Maurice d'Angers du IXe au XIIe siècle', *CCM*, 13 (1970), 305–22, at 308, citing *Cartulaire d'Angers*, no 16 (882 × 886), in which Bishop Raino grants the canons houses and says they may pass them on to their kin or their *nutritii* after their deaths; *Cartulaire de Béthune*, no 4 of 1169 × 1191, in which Robert de Béthune, advocate of Arras, notifies that he has granted that the *canonica* in the collegiate church of Béthune established for himself by Gerard, priest of Beuvry, may pass to Gerard's *nutricius* Robert on Gerard's death or resignation.

[56](#) In addition to the examples in [nn. 39–45](#) above, see also Bouchard, 'The structure of a twelfth-century French family: the lords of Seignelay', 52–3.

[57](#) Galbert of Bruges, *De multro, traditione et occisione gloriosi Karoli comities Flandriarum*, ed. Jeff Ryder, *CCCM*, 131 (Turnhout, 1994), 17–19 (c. 7); for translation, see Galbert of Bruges, *The Murder of Charles the Good*, tr. James Bruce Ross (New York, 1959), 97–100; for comment, see Bert Demyttenaere, 'The tears of Fromold: the murder of Charles the Good, homoeroticism, and the ruin of the Erembalds', in *Galbert of Bruges and the Historiography of Medieval Flanders*, ed. Jeff Rider and Alan V. Murray (Washington, DC, 2009), 144–79, at 158–62. Similarly Bishop William de Longchamp of Ely can be found arranging the marriage of his nephew, 1189 × 1191: *EEA*, XXXI, no 142.

[58](#) *Antiquus cartularius*, I, 39–40, no 33.

[59](#) *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, tr. Betty Radice, rev. M.T. Clanchy (London, 2003), 252 (though a few years earlier, in *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, 12, Clanchy thought that there was 'no suggestion that [niece] was a euphemism for illegitimate daughter'). For full discussion of the debates about Heloise's kin, see Guy Lobrichon, *Héloïse: L'amour et le savoir* (Paris, 2005), 111–29.

[60](#) Castration was not infrequently inflicted in the early decades of the twelfth century as a punishment for damaging family honour. Klaus van Eickels, 'Gendered violence: castration and blinding as punishment for treason in Normandy and Anglo-Norman England', *Gender & History*, 16 (2004), 588–602, argues that castration was a Scandinavian punishment that became established in Normandy and from there also in post-Conquest England. But it occurs on several occasions in northern France outside Normandy, as in a case where the brother of Dean Ralph of Tours cathedral mutilated a canon of Tours in 1129 for complaining to Louis VI about the dean's disciplinary measures (Hildebert of Lavardin, *Epistolae*, Book II, nos 37–8: PL 171: 260–3), and in a case commented on by Bishop Ivo of Chartres (Bruce C. Brasington, 'Crusader, castration, canon law: Ivo of Chartres' letter 135', *Catholic Historical Review*, 85 (1999), 367–82). See also Lobrichon, *Héloïse*, 122–3.

[61](#) Family tree in Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, 10.



[62](#) Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, 12–13.

[63](#) Heinzelmann, *Gregory of Tours*, 21–2.

[64](#) Liutwin succeeded his uncle Basin at Trier, according to his *Vita*; see Hans Hubert Anton, ‘Liutwin: Bischof von Trier und Gründer von Mettlach (+ um 722). Zugleich ein Beitrag zu dem historischen Wandlungsprozess im ausgehenden siebenten und im frühen achten Jahrhundert’, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Saargegend*, 38–9 (1990–1), 21–51, at 39. See also below in this chapter, nn. 68, 70.

[65](#) Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, 391; Arisitum was a Roman *civitas* in the Aveyron.

[66](#) Bede, *HE*, 236–7 (iii, c. 7).

[67](#) On Liutwin and Milo at Trier and Rheims (705–c.717 and 717 × 722–before 750), see Eugen Ewig, ‘Milo et eiusmodi similes’, in *Sankt Bonifatius: Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag* (Fulda, 1954), 412–40; and, for a more recent reassessment of the family, James Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690–900* (Turnhout, 2009), 94–5. On Gerold (d. c.738) and Gewilib (deposed 744) at Mainz, see Franz Staab, ‘“Rudi populo rudis adhuc presul”: Zu den wehrhaften Bischöfen der Zeit Karl Martells’, in *Karl Martell in seiner Zeit*, ed. Jörg Jarnut, Ulrich Nonn and Michael Richter, Beihefte der Francia, 37 (Sigmaringen, 1994), 249–75. On Arnulf (612–27) and Chodulf (656 onwards) at Metz, see Eduard Hlawitschka, ‘Die Vorfahren Karls des Grossen’, in *Karl der Grosse, I: Persönlichkeit und Geschichte*, ed. H. Beumann, 3rd edn (Düsseldorf, 1967), 51–82, at 73.

[68](#) M.A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonicorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004), 22, on Chrodegang and Angilramn; see also O.G. Oexle, ‘Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulfs’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 1 (1967), 250–364, at 285–95. Similarly, note Liudger, the founding bishop of Münster (805–9), and his nephew Altfrid, bishop 839–49: *Vita Sancti Liudgeri auctore Altfrido*, ed. Wilhelm Diekamp, *Die Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster*, 4 (1881), 3–53.

[69](#) Theodulf, *Capitula*, c. 19 (MGH *Capit. ep.*, 115; also PL 105: 196). The schools named are those of Sainte-Croix (Orléans Cathedral), Saint-Aignan in Orléans, Saint-Benoît (Fleury) and Saint-Liphard de Meung-sur-Loire.

[70](#) *Die Streitschriften Hinkmars von Reims und Hinkmars von Laon 869–871*, ed. Rudolf Schieffer, MGH *Concilia*, 4, supplementum II (Hanover, 2003), 140, 303; the words *auunculus* and *nepos* occur in this collection only at 354 and 406 respectively; see also [Chapter 2](#) above.

[71](#) Giles Constable, ‘Monks and canons in Carolingian Gaul: the case of Rigrannus of Le Mans’, in *After Rome’s Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. Alexander Callander Murray (Toronto, 1998), 320–36, with edition of the narrative about Rigrannus and a translation. See esp. 332, 335, and also [Chapter 2](#) above.

[72](#) Maurer, *Das Bistum Konstanz*, 2: *Die Konstanzer Bischöfe*, 67; Gerhard von Augsburg, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici: Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Ulrich*, ed. and tr. Walter Berschin and Angelika Häse (Heidelberg, 1993), 246–62 (I, cc. 21–24).

[73](#) *Vita Meinweri episcopi Patherbrunnensis*, ed. Franz Tenckhoff, MGH SRG, 59 (Hanover, 1921), 6, c. 2 on Meinwerk's siblings, 84, c. 160 on Imad. Imad may not necessarily have been a son of one of Meinwerk's sisters, but was almost certainly a kinsman, and was educated at Paderborn: Gabriele Meier, *Die Bischöfe von Paderborn und ihr Bistum im Mittelalter* (Paderborn, 1987), 10–11. On Meinwerk's milieu, see Timothy Reuter, 'Property transactions and social relations between rulers, bishops and nobles in early eleventh-century Saxony: the evidence of the *Vita Meinweri*', in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), 165–99.

[74](#) *Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rodulfo*, ed. A. Hofmeister, MGH SS, 30, ii, 844; *Gesta pontificum Cameracensium*, ed. Ludwig Bethmann, MGH SS, 7, 497; Gerard I had been brought up by his kinsman Albero, archbishop of Rheims ([ibid.](#), 465).

[75](#) Bouchard, 'Those of My Blood', 169–70.

[76](#) Julia Barrow, 'Peter of Aigueblanche's support network', in *Thirteenth Century England*, XIII, ed. Janet Burton, Frédérique Lachaud, Phillipp Schofield, Karen Stöber and Björn Weiler (Woodbridge, 2011), 27–39, at 31.

[77](#) Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine*, ed. and tr. Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2009), 1–203, at 8–11, 32–9, 54–7; Andrew Wareham, 'St Oswald's family and kin', in *St Oswald: Life and Influence*, ed. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London, 1996), 46–63.

[78](#) See discussion of late eleventh-century sources by Leidulf Melve, 'The public debate on clerical marriage in the late eleventh century', *JEH*, 61 (2010), 688–706, and [nn. 122–3](#) below; cf also a much later comment by Gerald of Wales agreeing with a Paris theologian that the ban on clerical marriage had been one of the most unwise steps the Church had ever taken (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera Omnia*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock and G.F. Warner, 8 vols., RS (London, 1861–91), II, 186–8).

[79](#) *Cartulaire d'Autun*, 343, Supplément, no 4: Bishop Walter of Autun notifies an agreement between the chapter of Autun and three brothers, Hugh, Humbert and Guichard de Buxeuil; Humbert is to have for his life the house that had belonged to his uncle Humbert and will pay 20 shillings for it on his uncle's anniversary each year, and on the death of Humbert the Younger the house can pass to a son (if a cleric) of the lord of Buxeuil, who will pay 20 shillings each year: 'Sic et fiet successive de filio clerico in filium clericum domini de Buxolio'. Cf also *Mon. Boica*, XXXVII, no 196 of 1219, which traces a long sequence of clerical kinsmen succeeding to a property granted to Würzburg Cathedral by one of their lay relatives.

[80](#) Hincmar of Rheims and Hincmar of Laon (see above at [n. 39](#)) are an example, Meinwerk and Imad probably another, David fitz Gerald and Gerald a third. In general on this relationship, see C.H. Bell, *The Sister's Son in the Medieval German Epic: A Study in the Survival of Matriliney*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 10, no 2 (Berkeley, 1922), 105–64.

[81](#) Bell, *The Sister's Son*, 88, sees the key to the relationship in the affection between brother and sister.

[82](#) Devisse, *Hincmar*, II, 738–85; Schrörs, *Hinkmar*, 315–53.

[83](#) Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Duorum*, ed. Yves Lefèvre and R.B.C. Huygens, tr. Brian Dawson, gen. ed. Michael Richter (Cardiff, 1974), xxx–xxxix; Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, 64, 92; Julia S. Barrow, ‘Gerald of Wales’ Great-Nephews’, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 8 (1984), 101–6. For a similar situation, see *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. Frank Barlow, Camden Society, 3rd series, 61 (London, 1939), p. xi.

[84](#) *Die Streitschriften Hinkmars von Reims*, ed. Schieffer, *passim*, esp. 139–46.

[85](#) Giraldus, *Speculum Duorum*, 26–7; Barrow, ‘Gerald of Wales’ Great-Nephews’, 101, 103.

[86](#) Giraldus, *Speculum Duorum*, 16–17, concerning the rectory of Wootton near Oxford; it is preceded (14–17) by stories of a canon of Lincoln and the priest of Preston in the diocese of London giving their benefices to their sons, only to be cast off in poverty.

[87](#) For the date of Peter’s death (probably 30 November 1211), see *Fasti*, VII; see also discussion by John D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, DC, 2009), 47–8.

[88](#) Hugh of Nonant, Arnulf’s nephew, made archdeacon of Gacé in the diocese of Lisieux by his uncle, was reconciled with his uncle in 1175 but the two had fallen out irreconcilably by 1179: *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 163–4, no 103; 195, no 128, and 201–3, no 133; and Carolyn Poling Schriber, *The Dilemma of Arnulf of Lisieux: New Ideas versus Old Ideals* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1990), 120. Another of Arnulf’s nephews, Silvester, who had been made treasurer of Lisieux by John of Lisieux, was antagonistic to his uncle throughout the latter’s pontificate (*The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 53–5, 146 nos 33, 89; Schriber, 59, 104).

[89](#) *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, ed. Elizabeth Revell, *Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi* 13 (Oxford, 1993), 37–41, 121–2, 124–6, nos 6, 25, 27; it was his sister’s son Master Peter of St Martin who sought the Rouen prebend.

[90](#) PL 207: 217–19 (ep. 70), 178–81 (ep. 60).

[91](#) *Cartulaire d’Autun*, no 35 (1109); Bourges, A-D Cher, 8 G 23, charter of Henry de Sully, archbishop of Bourges, concerning Moyenmoutier in Bourges (1184); *Cartulaire de Chartres*, I, no 102 (1183 × 1193); see also discussion in [Chapter 9](#) below.

[92](#) See [Chapter 9](#) at n. 84.

[93](#) *Cartulaires de Grenoble*, 160–1: a grant of tithes by Rainald de Lanz, brother of the deceased Canon Guigo, to be held by Rainald’s son Guigo, also a canon of Grenoble, in his lifetime (1111).

[94](#) Working on the basis of *Fasti*, thirty-one out of 1,290 clerics in English cathedrals were the nephews of bishops.

[95](#) Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle: Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres* (Louvain-la-Neuve and Brussels, 1986), 56–7; three dignitaries were nominated by the chapter, but all other positions were in the bishop’s gift.

[96](#) Émile Lesne, 'Les origines de la prébende', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th series, 8 (1929), 242–90, at 269–70. For Chalon-sur-Saône, see Constance Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca, NY, 1987), 73–4. Hildebert of Lavardin (bishop of Le Mans 1096–1125 and then archbishop of Tours 1125–33) complained in a letter to Aymeric, bishop of Clermont, that succession to prebends there was hereditary, which suggests that appointment lay in the hands of the canons (Hildebert of Lavardin, *Epistolae*, Book II, no 29 (PL 171: 249–50)).

[97](#) Hildebert, *Epistolae*, Bk II, no 3 (PL 171: 209–10). Hildebert's position on hereditary prebends was, therefore, not entirely consistent (see previous note).

[98](#) Ivo of Chartres, *Epistolae*, no 162 (PL 182: 183), in which Ivo complained to Archbishop Daimbert of Sens that the dean of Chartres had objected to him giving the subdeanery to a clerk called Fulco; for comment, see Bruce C. Brasington, 'What made Ivo mad? Reflections on a medieval bishop's anger', in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Aldershot, 2007), 209–18, at 214–15, though here *decanus* is mistranslated as 'deacon'.

[99](#) *MUB*, II, part 2, no 561 of 1191.

[100](#) *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, 96–8, no 58 (1178).

[101](#) Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851), I, 241 (IV, c. 74): 'Ego eundem Conradum bene novi, et erat cantor praefatae ecclesiae'.

[102](#) For another example of a young Cologne canon living in the household of an older one, see Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, I, 35 (I, c. 29).

[103](#) Margaret Gibson, 'Adelard of Bath', in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, 14 (London, 1987), 7–16, at 9–10, quoting from Adelard's *Quaestiones naturales*, with commentary; Louise Cochrane's interpretation of the same passage as meaning that Adelard had taught his nephew and his other pupils at Laon is not convincing (Louise Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath: The First English Scientist* (London, 1994), 22). What is more likely is that Adelard had accompanied the group to Laon to enter them in the school there and then left them.

[104](#) *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, 39, no 6, where Peter accuses his nephews, whom he had 'led through many schools', of ingratitude; in no 25 (at 121) Peter says his nephew Peter has learned theology and both sorts of law; see also PL 207: 311–14, Ep. 101 to R., archdeacon of Nantes (on this, esp. as a source for the curriculum, see Cotts, *A Clerical Dilemma*, 29, 73, 110, 116, 130).

[105](#) Cf Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Duorum*, *passim*, but esp. 42–53, 70–1.

[106](#) *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 51–2, no 31.

[107](#) *St Davids Episcopal Acta 1085–1280*, ed. Julia Barrow, South Wales Record Society, 13 (Cardiff, 1998), 5, on Bishop David fitz Gerald's family (his wife may well have died before he became bishop, but he was probably still married when he was archdeacon of



Cardigan).

[108](#) *St Davids Episcopal Acta*, 5–6, on the circumstances of Jordan’s appointment and deposition.

[109](#) Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Duorum*, xxxiii, xxxvii, xliv, 214, 242, 244; for comment, see *St Davids Episcopal Acta*, 10.

[110](#) *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, ed. C.W. Foster and Kathleen Major, 10 vols. in 12, Lincoln Record Society, 27–9, 32, 34, 41–2, 46, 51, 62, 67–8 (Lincoln, 1931–73), III, no 923.

[111](#) *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, nos 25, 27 and cf 6.

[112](#) *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 201–3, no 133.

[113](#) Cf *Cartulaire d’Autun*, nos 35, 47, 48, 59, Supplément, no 4; *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, 113–14, no 111 (July 1205): Walter de Bar, nephew of Gerard de Bar, canon of Troyes, is to have his uncle’s house if he becomes a cleric, or the first sale of the house if he remains a layman; *Cartulaire de l’Yonne*, II, 478–9, no 470 (1197): Dean Hervey and the chapter of Auxerre Cathedral notify that their fellow canon Stephen has granted his house to establish his anniversary, on condition that his nephew Giles, a cleric, can have life use of the house, and if Giles should die the house can pass to one of his brothers if he becomes a cleric. A charter of Bishop Roger of Laon 1193 confirming a grant of a house to Ivo, canon of Laon, refers to him as the nephew of Lisiard, late dean of Laon cathedral, which suggests that Ivo may have been succeeding to property that had been held by his uncle.

[114](#) A.-D. de l’Aisne, G1850, fo 224v (1205); *Cartulaire d’Autun*, no 59 (1227); *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, no 111 (1205); *UB Halberstadt*, I, no 306 (1184; Halberstadt cathedral); *UB Speyer*, I, no 118 (Speyer, 1197); *UB Hildesheim*, I, no 645 (1211; Kreuzstift, Hildesheim). At Liège in 1109, canon kinsmen of intestate canons had the chance to buy the latter’s houses: *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, no 31 (1109). See also [Chapter 9](#) below.

[115](#) On early legislation against clerical marriage, see Heinrich Böhmer, ‘Die Entstehung des Zölibates’, *Geschichtliche Studien Albert Hauck zum 70. Geburtstage dargebracht*, editor anonymous (Leipzig, 1916), 6–24, discusses the shift from church authorities encouraging married clergy to be abstinent to saying clergy should simply be celibate; see also Kottje, ‘Das Aufkommen der täglichen Eucharistiefeier’, 218–28. See also [Chapter 2](#) on the subdiaconate.

[116](#) Later ninth-century Frankish bishops seem not to have legislated against clerical marriage, though they were keen to prevent clergy from associating with loose women: see Wilfried Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900: Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht*, Schriften der MGH, 58 (Hanover, 2008), 117–18.

[117](#) Catherine Cubitt, ‘Images of St Peter: the clergy and the religious life in Anglo-Saxon England’, in *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England: Approaches to Current Scholarship and Teaching*, ed. Paul Cavill (Cambridge, 2004), 41–54, at 50–2 (with shift in attitudes in the tenth century, at 48–50); but note also the Northumbrian Priests’ Law of



the mid-eleventh century, which allowed married priests: CS I, i, 449–68; for dating, see Hans P. Tenhaken, *Das nordhumbrische Priestergesetz: Ein nachwulfstanisches Pönitential des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Düsseldorf, 1979), esp. 35, and Patrick Wormald, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan and the holiness of society’, in *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience*, ed. Patrick Wormald (London, 1999), 225–51; Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, I: *Legislation and Its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), 208, 396–7.

[118](#) *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâw Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript*, ed. J. Gwenogvryn Evans (Oxford, 1893), 275–9 (a list of priests ordained by Bishop Herewald of Llandaff 1056–1104, including sons succeeding fathers in several churches), with discussion by John Reuben Davies, ‘Aspects of church reform in Wales, c.1093–c.1223’, in *ANS*, XXX, ed. C.P. Lewis (Woodbridge, 2008), 85–99, at 92–3; Máire Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry: The History and Hagiography of the Monastic Familia of Columba* (Oxford, 1988), 88–9, 92, 98–102: the position of *comarba* or abbot, usually dynastically controlled, was not necessarily held by someone in clerical orders, but other positions within Irish communities, for example the office of *sagart* or priest, could be dynastic also.

[119](#) Cf e.g. the churches in Brittany in the ninth century, usually served by groups of clergy: Davies, *Small Worlds*, 100; Wendy Davies, ‘Priests and rural communities in east Brittany in the ninth century’, *Études celtiques*, 20 (1983), 177–97, at 190.

[120](#) See [Chapter 2](#) above, citing S 1297, 1299–1307.

[121](#) *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, 26, no 4. See also [n. 164](#) below for similar patterns in a Norwich clerical dynasty.

[122](#) Spear, *Personnel*, 44–5, 140, 174, 207, 208; Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and tr. Diana Greenway (Oxford, 1996), xxiv–xxvii; somewhat later, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W.J. Millor, H.E. Butler and C.N.L. Brooke, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1979–86; Volume I is a revised version of 1955 edn), I, 24–7, no 15: John attacks the behaviour of Walkelin, archdeacon of Norwich, in a letter to Pope Adrian IV.

[123](#) Davies, ‘Priests and rural communities in east Brittany in the ninth century’, 189; *Les deux vies de Robert d’Arbrissel, fondateur de Fontevraud*, ed. Jacques Dalarun et al. (Turnhout, 2006), 142, for Robert of Arbrissel as the son of a married Breton priest called Damalioch; J.R. Davies, ‘Aspects of church reform’, 92–3; G.W.S. Barrow, ‘The clergy at St Andrews’, in G.W.S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 2003), 187–202, at 195; Herbert, *Iona, Kells and Derry*.

[124](#) Cf CS I, ii, 700 (Primal council at London, 1108, cc. 1–2 for the general ruling to apply to priests, deacons and subdeacons to live chastely, and c. 5 for application of this to all archdeacons and canons), 747 (Legatine council at Westminster, 1127, c. 5), 750–4 (Legatine council at London, 1129, especially aimed at married archdeacons and married priests; cf Martin Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), 81). In the late eleventh century, the author of the *Tractatus pro clericorum conubio*, identified by Brigitte Meijns as probably Hubert, archdeacon and later bishop of Thérouanne, writing c.1077/8, attacked the Gregorians’ insistence on celibacy for canons: Brigitte Meijns, ‘Opposition to clerical continence and the Gregorian celibacy legislation in the diocese of Thérouanne:

*Tractatus pro clericorum conubio* (c.1077–1078)', *Sacris Erudiri*, 47 (2008), 223–90, at 229–30.

[125](#) *Libelli de lite*, ed. Ernst Dümmler, 3 vols., MGH (Hanover, 1891–7), III, 579–96; (Anglo-)Norman Anonymous, 'De coniugio legitimo et non legitimo atque de sacerdotio', in *Die Texte des Normannischen Anonymus*, ed. Karl Pellens (Wiesbaden, 1966), 116–25.

[126](#) Julia Barrow, 'Grades of ordination and clerical careers, c.900–c.1200', in *ANS*, XXX, ed. Lewis, 41–61, at 49.

[127](#) Cf the priests' wives, afraid of being separated from their husbands, who threatened Bernard of Tiron (PL 172: 1397); Bernard Jacqueline, 'Un épisode de la réforme grégorienne en Basse-Normandie: Un sermon de Saint Bernard de Tiron dans la cathédrale de Coutances', *Revue du Département de la Manche*, 105 (1985), 19–28, at 21. It is however possible that Geoffrey Grossus, the author of the Life of Bernard, exaggerated the hostility shown by the clerics' wives for dramatic effect.

[128](#) Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, ed. Martin Rule, RS, 81 (London, 1884), 173 (events of 1105), who says Matilda wept to try to persuade her husband to change his mind; see also Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, 79. On Matilda, see Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), 84. Cf also Bishop Herbert of Norwich's letter to Anselm saying that most priests would rather demit their office than reject their wives, and proposing that Anselm should order monks to celebrate Mass in parish churches: *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, ed. Franciscus Salesius Schmitt, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1940–51), IV, 165–6, Epistolae, no 254, with comment by Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, 219. Cf also the account of St Wulfstan of Worcester in William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 124–7 (*Vita Wulfstani*, iii, c. 12): 'Married priests he dealt with in a general edict, laying down that they should renounce either their lust or their living ... And there were not a few who preferred doing without their churches to giving up their women. Some became vagrants and died of starvation. Some had private means from other sources which kept them going to the end'.

[129](#) Cf *Epistolae Anselmi*, ed Schmitt, 254, commented on by Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, 219. However, if there was litigation over a church served by married clergy, a bishop might feel moved to support the claimant trying to oust the existing patron and cleric: cf *EEA*, VII, no 34.

[130](#) Meijns, 'Opposition to clerical continence', 257.

[131](#) Cf papal letters requested by, or otherwise sent to, Roger, bishop of Worcester (M.G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester, 1164–1179* (Oxford, 1980), 170–1, 174, 326, 344, 348, 356, 361), and Robert Foliot, bishop of Hereford (Julia Barrow, 'Hereford bishops and married clergy, 1130–1240', *Historical Research*, 60 (1987), 1–8).

[132](#) Hildebert of Lavardin, *Epistolae*, Book II, no 30 (PL 171: 253–4) to Pope Honorius II describing the Council of Nantes, 1127. The council also decided to deprive those sons of priests who were already ordained from ministering in churches where their fathers had ministered.

[133](#) See [n. 129](#) above.

[134](#) IV Lateran, cc. 50–1 (Mansi, XXII, cols. 1035–9); D.L. d’Avray, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford, 2005), 87–108.

[135](#) Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. Johann Heller and Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 13 (Hanover, 1881), 566, 568, cited by J.L. Nelson, ‘A king across the sea: Alfred in Carolingian perspective’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 36 (1986), 45–68, at 45–6.

[136](#) Catherine Cubitt, ‘Bishops and succession crises in tenth- and eleventh-century England’, in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe. Strukturen bischöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Göttingen, 2011), 111–26, at 124–5. However, Benedictine monks can occur in some high-ranking families, e.g. Leofric in the family of the earls of Mercia: Stephen Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2007), 190–5. Likewise, Æthelric, monk of Christ Church Canterbury, was a kinsman of Godwin, Earl of Wessex, who unsuccessfully sought to have him made archbishop of Canterbury: *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster*, ed. Frank Barlow (Oxford, 1992), 30.

[137](#) On his career, see Patrick Wormald, ‘The strange affair of the Selsey bishopric’, in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford, 2000), 128–41; the Brihthelm who was bishop of Winchester 960–3 was a kinsman of King Edgar (S 683, 695, with comment by Sashi Jayukumar, ‘Eadwig and Edgar: politics, propaganda, faction’, in *Edgar, King of the English, 959–975: New Interpretations*, ed. Donald Scragg (Woodbridge, 2008), 83–103, at 100).

[138](#) John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, ed. and tr. R.R. Darlington and Patrick McGurk, 2 vols., in progress (Oxford, 1995–8), II, 506–7, says Æthelnoth was the son of the *nobilis viri* Æthelmær; Simon Keynes, ‘Cnut’s earls’, in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. Alexander R. Rumble (London, 1994), 43–88, at 67–8, argues that this Æthelmær was the ealdorman who occurs in the reign of Æthelred the Unready, because he founded Eynsham and later Eynsham tradition recorded him as Almerus Grossus.

[139](#) *The Life of King Edward*, ed. Barlow, 30–1.

[140](#) *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Arnold, 2 vols., RS, 75 (London, 1882–5), I, 216; Ecgfritha promptly married the Yorkshire thegn Kilvert son of Ligulf, but after he repudiated her she returned to her father in Durham and became a nun ([ibid.](#), I, 217).

[141](#) On this link see Jayukumar, ‘Eadwig and Edgar’, 85, discussing *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge, 1930), 16–17 (no 4: ‘minnan leofan freond Ælfheah’); on the use of friendship terminology see Julia Barrow, ‘Friends and friendship in Anglo-Saxon charters’, in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud, 1999), 106–23, at 111. Leofwine, abbot of Coventry and later bishop of Lichfield, owed his career to the family of the earls of Mercia, but was the son of their reeve, Wulfwine (Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia*, 155, 162, 195, 241, 276–7, 292–3).

[142](#) David Crouch and Claire de Trafford, ‘The forgotten family in twelfth-century England’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 13 (1999), 41–63, at 47, 49 (Roger, bishop of

Worcester, and Henry Marshal, bishop of Exeter; in addition William de Vere, bishop of Hereford, was brother to an earl).

[143](#) Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters, c.800–c.1100*, 28th Brixworth Lecture (Leicester, 2013), 15–30; Timothy Reuter, ‘The “Imperial Church System” of the Ottonian and Salian rulers: a reconsideration’, *JEH*, 33 (1982), 347–74. For a recent summary of the debate on the Imperial Church System, see Steffen Patzold, ‘L’épiscopat du haut Moyen Âge du point de vue de la médiévisque allemande’, *CCM*, 48 (2005), 341–58, at 347–8. See also [Chapter 8](#) below.

[144](#) S 1417; discussion in [Chapter 2](#) above.

[145](#) Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c.1008–1095* (Oxford, 1990), 30–2; Nicholas Brooks, ‘Introduction: how do we know about St Wulfstan?’, in *St Wulfstan and His World*, ed. Julia S. Barrow and N.P. Brooks (Aldershot, 2005), 1–21, at 18.

[146](#) *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2012), xv, 26 (c. 7), 28 (c. 8), 68 (c. 21); only Adelard supplies the information that Æthelhelm was Dunstan’s paternal uncle and that Dunstan went to live with him in adolescence ([ibid.](#), 118), and this contradicts B.’s dating of Dunstan’s early years. It is possible that Adelard, a Fleming, assumed that Dunstan would have had an upbringing similar to French and German bishops of his time, and would therefore have been fostered by a kinsman bishop; perhaps Adelard thought that only an archbishop of Canterbury would be appropriate in this role, and invented this connection accordingly.

[147](#) Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. and tr. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), 3 (*Vita Æthelwoldi*, c. 1); Rosalind Love, ‘The Life of St Wulfsize of Sherborne by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, a new translation with introduction, appendix and notes’, in *St Wulfsize and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey 998–1998*, ed. Katherine Barker, David A. Hinton and Alan Hunt, Bournemouth School of Conservation Sciences Occasional Paper, 8 (Oxford, 2005), 98–123, at 105 (c. 1).

[148](#) *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Charles Plummer and John Earle, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892–9), I, 132 (ASC A, s.a. 1001); Godwine was probably the ‘young kinsman’ or *mægcnafan* to whom Ælfsige bequeathed a life interest in Abbots Ann (Hants); Ælfsige’s wife is probably the anonymous *magan* to whom he bequeathed ‘the two Worthys’ (Hants): *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, 16–17, no 4, with notes pp. 114–16; Linda Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2011), 117–18.

[149](#) *Symeonis Opera*, ed. Arnold, i, 216.

[150](#) For the will of Bishop Theodred of London (S 1526), see *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, 2–5, no 1, with notes at 99–103; see also Dorothy Whitelock, *Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London* (London, 1975), 17–21 (repr. retaining original pagination in Dorothy Whitelock, *History, Law and Literature in 10th–11th Century England* (London, 1981), [Chapter 2](#)). The Theodreds are listed in *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* ([www.pase.ac.uk](http://www.pase.ac.uk), consulted 11 September 2013) as Theodred 1 (the legatee), Theodred 3 (the bishop of London) and Theodred 4 (the bishop of Elmham).

[151](#) Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis*



*Ecclesie*, ed. and tr. David Rollason (Oxford, 2000), 146–7.

[152](#) Symeon, *Libellus*, 146–9; *The Priory of Hexham, Its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, ed. James Raine, vol. I (only one published), Surtees Society, 44 (Durham, 1834 for 1833), li–lii and Appendix, vii–viii; *Durham Episcopal Charters, 1071–1152*, ed. H.S. Offler, Surtees Society, 179 (1968 for 1964), 119–21, no 28.

[153](#) *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. and tr. Leslie Watkiss and Marjorie Chibnall, OMT (Oxford, 1994), 66, c. xxv.

[154](#) *Domesday Book*, I: *Kent*, ed. Philip Morgan (Chichester, 1983), M6, M8, M20 and see also M16, M19; discussion by Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd edn (London, 1979), 133, 156–8; and by Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar?*, 6.

[155](#) John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 519–22, editing a narrative of the late twelfth century preserved in extracts made in the seventeenth century from the now-lost Plympton cartulary; the eldest member of the dynasty, Ælfheah, was a priest of Plympton and held the chapel of Sutton as his prebend, and his descendants held the chapel from Plympton, which became an Augustinian house in 1121; the narrative does not specify whether they themselves were canons of Plympton, though this is quite likely in the cases of Ælfheah's son and grandson. See also A.D. Fizzard, *Plympton Priory: A House of Augustinian Canons in South-Western England in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008), 17.

[156](#) *Fasti*, VIII, 65, 148.

[157](#) For Wulf's will and its probable dating, see *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, XII: *Charters of St Albans*, ed. Julia Crick (Oxford, 2007), 198–204 (nos 13–13A), against Simon Keynes's suggestion that Wulf could have been Bishop Ulf of Dorchester 1049–52 ('The will of Wulf', *Old English Newsletter*, 26.3 (1993), 16–21). Crick (*Charters of St Albans*, 203–4) suggests that Wulf could have been a pious layman who had retreated to an ecclesiastical community; this view is partly followed by Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making*, 214. Both note the absence of a heriot, common in Anglo-Saxon episcopal wills. It was possible for clerics to accumulate large numbers of minsters and thus great wealth, for example Edward the Confessor's chancellor Regenbald (by some way richer than Wulf), on whom see Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS*, 10, ed. R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge, 1988), 185–222.

[158](#) *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. and tr. A.J. Robertson, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1956), 217, 468–9, no 116 (S 1234).

[159](#) Julia Barrow, 'The clergy in English dioceses c.900–c.1066', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge, 2005), 17–26, at 20, and literature there cited; Alexander R. Rumble, 'From Winchester to Canterbury: Ælfheah and Stigand – bishops, archbishops and victims', in *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church: From Bede to Stigand*, ed. Alexander R. Rumble (Woodbridge, 2012), 165–82, at 175–6. Stigand's brother Æthelmær, bishop of Elmham, was married: Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd edn (London, 1979), 78, n., citing DB, ii, fo. 195, which says Æthelmær obtained the manor of Blofield with his wife before he became bishop (*Domesday Book*, XXXIII: *Norfolk*, ed. Philippa Brown, 2 parts (Chichester, 1984), part i, 10:28. In addition, Stigand as bishop of Winchester granted one hide at Sparsholt (Hants)



to a certain Æthelmær and his son Sæman and these may well have been his brother and nephew: *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. Robertson, 202–3, no 106 (S 1402), though in her notes (449–50) Robertson does not point out this possibility.

[160](#) Rumble, ‘From Winchester to Canterbury’, 175, and see preceding note.

[161](#) *Domesday Book*, VIII: *Somerset*, ed. Caroline and Frank Thorn (Chichester, 1980), 16:9; *Domesday Book*, VI: *Wiltshire*, ed. Caroline and Frank Thorn (Chichester, 1979), 19:4; *Domesday Book*, XX: *Bedfordshire*, ed. Veronica Sankaran and David Sherlock (Chichester, 1977), 14, 1, and cf *Domesday Book*, XII: *Hertfordshire*, ed. Margaret Newman and Sara Wood (Chichester, 1976), 42:9; for comment, see Barrow, ‘The clergy in English dioceses’, 20.

[162](#) E.g. in Bedfordshire the priests Leviet and Alric had bequeathed or were about to bequeath land to St Paul’s, London (DB Beds. 13:1; 57:8).

[163](#) DB Wilts. 19:4.

[164](#) Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Woodbridge, 1984), 7–10; J.F.A. Mason, ‘The officers and clerks of the Norman earls of Shropshire’, *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 56 (1960), 244–57. Odelerius used his marriage to build up a position locally in Shropshire, marrying a local woman and getting Ordric, priest of Atcham, to baptise their eldest child, the future Orderic Vitalis, on 4 April 1075 (OV, vi, 552–3).

[165](#) *Fasti*, I, 36 under prebend of Cantlers; *Fasti*, VI, 2; Janet Burton, ‘Thurstan, archbishop of York’, in *ODNB*, LIV, 723–7; Spear, *Personnel*, 134; Ansger, married to Popelina, became canon of St Paul’s c.1104, presumably when his sons were adolescents or possibly young men. On the family see David Spear, ‘Une famille ecclésiastique anglo-normande’, *Études normandes*, 35.3 (1986), 21–7, at 22.

[166](#) On Nigel Medicus, see Barrow, *Who Served the Altar?*, 45–6; on Ranulf Flambard see *Fasti*, I, 4, 79; J.F.A. Mason, ‘Ranulf Flambard’, in *ODNB*, XIX, 980–4; R.I. Moore, ‘Ranulf Flambard and Christina of Markyate’, in *Belief and Culture*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford, 2001), 231–5; on Richard of Ilchester see V.D. Oggins and R.S. Oggins, ‘Richard of Ilchester’s inheritance: an extended family in twelfth-century England’, *Medieval Prosopography*, 12 (1991), 57–128; Roger, bishop of Salisbury, advanced nephews but had a son as well: *Fasti*, IV, 2; Stephen Marritt, ‘Coincidences of names, Anglo-Scottish connections and Anglo-Saxon society in the late eleventh-century West Country’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 83 (2004), 150–70, esp. 166–70, on Roger’s nephews, suggesting that the latter, Alexander and David, probably had one Anglo-Saxon parent. On Roger’s consort, Matilda of Ramsbury, his son(s) and his nephews, see also E.J. Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury, Viceroy of England* (Berkeley, 1972), 272–6.

[167](#) Cf C.N.L. Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage* (Oxford, 1989), 83–9; *Wulfric of Haselbury*, by John, Abbot of Ford, ed. Dom Maurice Bell, Somerset Record Society, 47 (Frome and London, 1933), 52–3, 102–3; Brian Kemp, ‘Hereditary benefices in the medieval English church: a Herefordshire example’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 43 (1970), 1–15; Barrow, ‘Hereford bishops and married clergy’, 1–8. Thomas of Monmouth, *Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich*, 10–16, 38–44, 71, 173, 214, 216 shows a clerical dynasty in Norwich, with references to William of Norwich’s

grandfather, Wlward the priest, and Wlward's two daughters Elviva (William's mother) and Leviva, to the latter's husband, the priest Godwin Sturt, and to Leviva and Godwin's unnamed daughter and their son, Alexander the deacon. At Lincoln at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Gunnilda, daughter of Rumfar (possibly the Rumfar who was priest and clerk of the cathedral chapter) had a son, William, by Aldred the priest: see *Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, IX, 64–6, nos 2458–9 of, respectively, 1196 × 1198 and 31 August 1201.

[168](#) Barrow, 'Hereford bishops and married clergy', 7–8; *Fasti*, VIII, 75 for William's son John. See also [n. 178](#) below in this chapter.

[169](#) *Cartulaire de Lille*, I, nos 73, 74. At Tournai Cathedral the last generation of married canons with sons succeeding them seems to have been at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though there are examples of canons with children rather later: Jacques Pycke, *Répertoire biographique des chanoines de Notre-Dame de Tournai, 1080–1300* (Louvain-la-Neuve and Brussels, 1988), nos 1 (at 3), 64 (at 97), 133 (at 168–9), 144 (at 175), 146 (at 176); Canon Everard of Léaucourt (no 170, at 194–5), who occurs 1146–57, had a son, also Everard, who also became a canon (no 185, at 206–7); Canon Simon d'Aubers (no 202, at 221–2), who occurs 1178–1213, had a son, Walter, who became a canon at Antoining.

[170](#) [Chapter 10](#) of IX Toledo in 655 (Mansi, XI, 29) ordered that sons of clergy in higher orders (bishop down to and including subdeacon) conceived after their father's ordination should not be allowed to inherit from their fathers but become *servi* of the churches served by their fathers, and children of nuns should be dealt with likewise; this canon, widely known thanks to Pseudo-Isidore, was picked up by Benedict VIII at Pavia in 1022 and by Henry II at Goslar in 1023: Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, 'Zölibat und Lage der Priestersöhne vom 11. bis 14. Jahrhundert', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 227 (1978), 1–44, at 11.

[171](#) *UBMRh.*, III, no 2.

[172](#) *MUB*, II, no 374.

[173](#) Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Stift Neumünster Würzburg Urkunden 1160/II, with copy in *ibid.*, Standbuch 184, fos. 55v–57; the charter, issued by the chapter of Neumünster in 1160, recounts what had happened to the property Gozelin had granted after his death. For Gozelin's dates see August Amrhein, 'Reihenfolge der Mitglieder des adeligen Domstiftes zu Würzburg, St. Kilians-Brüder genannt, von seiner Gründung bis zur Säkularisation 742–1803', *Archiv des historischen Vereines von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg*, 32 (1889), 1–315 and 33 (1890), 1–380, here 32, 65.

[174](#) For examples of Freising canons granting female *censuales* to their cathedral in the late eleventh century, see *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, II: 926–1283, 331, 335, 353, nos 1468, 1497c and e, 1516d; for comment on *censuales* see Michael Mathäus, 'Forms of social mobility: the example of Zensualität', in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (Oxford, 1996), 357–69, and works there cited.

[175](#) *Westf. UB*, VI, no 207.

[176](#) Michael Richter, 'A new edition of the so-called *Vita Davidis secundi*', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 22 (1969–70), 245–9, at 248; *St Davids Episcopal Acta*, 5.

[177](#) *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, 26, no 4; PL 207: 443–6, ep. 152.

[178](#) Barrow, 'Hereford bishops and married clergy', 7–8; *EEA*, VII, nos 288, n., 317, n.; Julia Barrow, 'The canons and citizens of Hereford, c.1160–c.1240', *Midland History*, 24 (1999), 1–23, at 12; *Fasti*, VIII, 75.

[179](#) *Landboc sive Registrum Monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Cenhelmi de Winchelcumba*, ed. David Royce, 2 vols. (Exeter, 1892–1903), II, 260 of 8 March 1181; *Fasti*, VIII, 87 (Robert had become a canon of Hereford by 1183, and died after 1201).

[180](#) *Letter Collection of Abelard and Heloise*, 43; see also *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, 253.

[181](#) Barrow, 'Gerald of Wales' great-nephews', 102–6; Gerald the younger's grant is datable to 1203 × 1247.

[182](#) As [n. 1](#) above.

[183](#) Cf *EEA*, VII, no 2; *Fasti*, VIII, 1–2, 8.

[184](#) *Fasti*, VIII, 14, 24, 82, 95.

[185](#) *Fasti*, VIII, 5–6, 15, 19, 26–7, 72, 91.

[186](#) *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, 55–63, nos 34–5. Arnulf was attacking attempts by one of Arnulf's successors, Froger, to loosen the strict observance of the Augustinian rule which John had imposed at Sées.

[187](#) Frank Barlow, 'John of Salisbury and his brothers', *JEH*, 46 (1995), 95–109.

[188](#) Spear, *Personnel*, 170, 273, 278–9, on John and Arnulf (John appointed Arnulf archdeacon at Sées). For Herbert and Richard Poore, see *Fasti*, II, 14, 31; IV, 3–4, 10–11; V, 4. On the other hand, brothers closer to each other in age could help each other too, as in the case of Audoenus, bishop of Evreux, and Thurstan, archbishop of York, on whom see Spear, 'Une famille ecclésiastique', 21–7. For more examples of clerical brothers, see David Spear, 'The Norman empire and the secular clergy, 1066–1204', *Journal of British Studies*, 21 no 2 (1982), 1–10, at 4–5.

[189](#) Based on *Fasti*.

[190](#) Pycke, *Répertoire*, supplies evidence for six or seven sets of brothers (nos 6 and 7, 64 and 89, 151 and 166, 181 and 191, 186 and 211, 217 and Bishop Stephen of Tournai, perhaps nos 25 and 179), six uncle–nephew pairings (nos 8 and 54, 26 and 57, 89 and 146, 181 and 253, 222 and 312, 227 and 27), four sets of fathers and clerical sons (nos 1 and 133, 144, 64 and 146, 66 and 67, 170 and 185, mostly late eleventh century, with the final clerical son first occurring as canon in 1159 and dying in the late twelfth century); three canons between the middle of the twelfth century and the early thirteenth century had sons who did not become canons of Tournai (nos 69, 202, 228). Many other canons in Tournai chapter were related to each other.

[191](#) Aloys Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter: Studien zur Sozial-, Rechts-, und Kirchengeschichte*, 3rd edn (Darmstadt, 1958; 1st edn Stuttgart, 1910); Leo

Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse (Vienna, 1964), 123–57; Hagen Keller, ‘Origine sociale e formazione del clero cattedrale dei secoli XI e XII nella Germania e nell’ Italia settentrionale’, in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della ‘Societas Christiana’ dei secoli XI–XII*, Misc. del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 8 (Milan, 1977), 136–59. For studies of individual cathedrals see e.g. Albert Brackmann, ‘Urkundliche Geschichte des Halberstädter Domkapitels im Mittelalter’, *Zeitschrift des Harz-Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 32 (1899), 1–147, at 6–7; Leo Santifaller, *Das Brixener Domkapitel in seiner persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter*, 2 vols., Schlern-Schriften, 7 (Innsbruck, 1924–5); Rudolf Meier, *Die Domkapitel zu Goslar und Halberstadt in ihrer persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter, mit Beiträgen über die Standesverhältnisse der bis zum 1200 nachweisbaren Hildesheimer Domherren*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 5, Studien zur Germania Sacra, 1 (Göttingen, 1967).

[192](#) E.g. Anno of Cologne and Adalbero of Mainz in [Chapter 2](#) above.

[193](#) Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche*, 3rd edn, 89–92, and also 331–4 on Strasbourg Cathedral chapter before 1300; see also his ‘Nachtrag’, [ibid.](#), separately paginated, at 1–10.

[194](#) In one case of 1189 × 1191 the sister and brother-in-law of the deceased scholasticus of St Victor in Mainz disputed a bequest by him to the abbey of Eberbach: *MUB* II, pt 2, no 551.

[195](#) *Het oudste cartularium van het Sticht Utrecht*, ed. S. Muller (The Hague, 1892), 93, no 56 (1027 × 1054).

[196](#) *Westf. UB*, I, 190, no 1121 (1070 × 1088): Bishop Benno of Osnabrück lays down that Volchard, canon of Osnabrück, and his sister may have life interest in some property and also the ability to pass it on to their kin.

[197](#) *Vita Meinwerchi*, ed. Tenckhoff, c. 46, p. 40 (Attula) and c. 34, pp. 35–6 (Wirin and his sisters Aeva, Bavike and Ieppa).

[198](#) E.g. *UBMRh*, I, no 228 (a *chorepiscopus* being represented by his brother as his advocate, 967); *Westf. UB*, I, no 189 (Bishop Siward of Minden’s *mundeburdium* was his cousin, Count Adolf *senex* of Schauenburg, 1121 × 1140); *Westf. UB*, II, no 538 (Meingot, canon of Münster, acting with the approval of Conrad, his brother, heir and *mundeburdium*); *Mon. Boica*, 37, no 107 (a canon of Würzburg acting with his brother as his *curator* and *defensor*, 1165); [ibid.](#), no 109 (the *mundeburdium* of Albert, treasurer of Würzburg Cathedral, was his brother’s son, 1169); [ibid.](#), no 139 (Bruno of Schillingsfürst, canon of Würzburg, acting by the hand of his *mundeburdium*, his elder brother Conrad, 1184).

[199](#) On the role of the *mundeburdium* (*maimbour* in French) vis-à-vis female relatives, see Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, 111, 231, 264. Note also Janet L. Nelson, ‘The wary widow’, in *Property and Power*, ed. Davies and Fouracre, 82–113.

[200](#) For obit arrangements made by the clergy of Hereford Cathedral for their sisters in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see *Fasti*, VIII, 114, 140, 141 for named sisters and 106, 126, 130, 148, 152, 156 for obits for brothers and sisters in general.



[201](#) Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, 111, 231, 264; *UBMRh*, I, no 228 (as [n. 198](#) above, this chapter). In the Regensburg and St Emmeram traditions, priests making grants to Regensburg in the eighth and early ninth centuries do not do so through advocates, but in the ninth century often do so with a male relative, presumably a layman: *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Regensburg und des Klosters S. Emmeram*, ed. Josef Widemann (Munich, 1943, repr. Aalen, 1969), no 3 of 765 × 791 and nos 9, 12, 36); in the year 822 Bishop Baturich of Regensburg ordered that a grant made by the deceased archpriest Antarbort should be protected from claims made by his brother Bernhard (no 20); by the later tenth century clerics made grants through their advocates (no 204 for St Emmeram), sometimes specified as a relative (no 209 for St Emmeram). At Freising in the tenth century, freeborn clerics involved in property transactions routinely carry them out through advocates, while unfree priests carry them out through their ‘tutors’: for some examples see *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, ed. Bitterauf, II, 8–9, 14–17, 46, 51, 72–4, 79–82, 97–8, 104, 111–12, 117–18, nos 1057 (926 × 937), 1067 (926 × 937), 1069 (926 × 937), 1107 (937 × 957), 1116 (937 × 957), 1143 (955 × 957), 1145 (955 × 957), 1153 (957), 1155 (after 957), 1177 (957 × 972), 1186 (957 × 972), 1194 (957 × 972), 1201 (957 × 972). In the ninth and early tenth centuries, clergy making grants to Freising are noble or not said to be unfree; most of their grants do not mention *defensores*, *fideiussores* or advocates, but some do, increasingly so in the late ninth century: *ibid.*, I, 302–3, 360–1, 391–2, 441–3, 511–12, 524–7, 582–4, 589–92, 750–1, 764, 769, 771, 779–80, 787, nos 356 (816), 421 (819), 460 (822), 517 (823), 519 (825), 597 (830), 613 (836), 615 (836), 697 (848), 703–4 (849), 991 (887 × 895), 1013 (895 × 899), 1021 (895 × 899), 1026 (895 × 899), 1035 (902), 1044 (907 × 926).

[202](#) *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, 44 (no 16 (2)), and see also 26, 40, 50 (nos 11, 15, 17).

[203](#) Alphonse Buhot de Kersers, *Statistique monumentale du département du Cher*, 8 vols. (1875–98), I, no 4 (1203); *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre, Troyes*, nos 151–2 (1220).

[204](#) *UBMRh*, III, no 44.

[205](#) For moves to prevent this, see *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, ed. Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, MGH DD, 6 (Berlin, Weimar and Hanover, 1941–78), 629–32 (no 466: Henry IV for Speyer, 1101); *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.*, ed. Heinrich Appelt, with Rainer Maria Herkenrath, 5 vols., MGH DD, 10 (Hanover, 1975–90), II, 143–4 (no 320: Frederick Barbarossa for Hildesheim, before 19 November 1160), and III, 91–3 (no 606: Frederick Barbarossa for Mainz, Aschaffenburg, Frankfurt and Bingen, 1173); *UB Osnabrück*, I, no 376 (Lucius III for Osnabrück, 1184/5); *UB Osnabrück*, II, no 89 (Bishop Adolf of Osnabrück freeing executors of deceased canons in his diocese from having to pay *herewede* or heriot, 1217); *MUB*, II, ii, no 572 (1193).

[206](#) *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, no 31 (1109); *UB Speyer*, I, no 97 (1159); see also discussion at the end of [Chapter 9](#); see also comments in [Chapter 3](#) on grants of some of this income to Augustinian canons by certain bishops in the twelfth century.

[207](#) *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, II: A.D. 1205–1313, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, 2 parts (Oxford, 1964), part 1, 55, 91, 177.

[208](#) *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, nos 151–2 of 1220.



[209](#) Clanchy, *Abelard*, 137–8.

[210](#) Peter Hull and Richard Sharpe, ‘Peter of Cornwall and Launceston’, *Cornish Studies*, 13 (1986), 5–53, at 49.

[211](#) On the use of the dowry brought into a marriage by the wife to provide for the daughters of the marriage, see Kathleen Hapgood Thompson, ‘Dowry and inheritance patterns: some examples from the descendants of King Henry I of England’, *Medieval Prosopography*, 17, 2 (1996), 45–61.

[212](#) *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, 38, no 6. Peter had a younger brother, William, who was a Benedictine: see Lynn White, ‘For the biography of William of Blois’, *EHR*, 50 (1935), 487–90.

[213](#) *Lettres d’Étienne de Tournai*, ed. Jules Desilve (Valenciennes and Paris, 1893), no 24 (1176, before August).

[214](#) Caesarius, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, I, 19–20 (I, c. 13: Henry, a rich canon of Bonn, was abducted after he became a novice at Heisterbach, but was able to return there), 20–1 (I, c. 14: Leo, canon of Mariengraden in Cologne, entered Himmerod but was persuaded to return by his two brothers, both knights, who said they were in debt).

[215](#) Caesarius, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, I, 25 (I, c. 18).

[216](#) Cf Robin, ‘Le problème de la vie commune’, pp. 315, 320 (on Angers).

[217](#) *Fasti*, IV, 55, 77, 97; in general on this phenomenon see Stephen Marritt, ‘Secular cathedrals and the Anglo-Norman aristocracy’, in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Paul Dalton, Charles Insley and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge, 2011), 151–67, esp. 158–62.

[218](#) *Fasti*, VIII, 47–8 (Moreton and Whaddon), 59–60 (Wellington).

[219](#) *Fasti*, III, 57, 58.

[220](#) *Fasti*, IV, 100–1 (the first holder of the prebend, Richard, who occurs c.1122, was the *nutritus* or foster son of Serlo, *collector* of Devon).

[221](#) Christopher Norton, *St William of York* (Woodbridge, 2006), 10–16. Similarly, the de Subigny family helped Bishop Turgis of Avranches found the deanery of Avranches cathedral in the early twelfth century so that it could be held by Richard de Subigny; in return, the family was expected to fight off counterclaims by Mont-Saint-Michel to some of the other endowments: Richard Allen, ‘Five charters concerning the early history of the chapter at Avranches’, *Tabularia ‘Documents’*, 8 (2008), 1–33, published at [www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/craham/revue/tabularia/sources/textes/08allen.pdf](http://www.unicaen.fr/mrsh/craham/revue/tabularia/sources/textes/08allen.pdf) (consulted 9 September 2013).

[222](#) Michel Parisse, *La noblesse lorraine*, I, 407. Matthew was duke of (Upper) Lorraine 1139–76.

[223](#) *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, 96–8, no 58 (1178).

## 5 The fostering of child clerics

### Commendation and *nutritio*

For boys entering the clergy the shift was not necessarily a direct one from the family household to an ecclesiastical community. Very often, a period of fosterage might intervene, or might be combined with the early years after first tonsure. During the earlier Middle Ages it was normal for well-born boys to be entrusted to their father's lord, very often to the king, in their teenage years.<sup>1</sup> The practice was widespread across western Europe after the collapse of the Roman Empire, and became an essential part of early medieval kingship and lordship in the Frankish kingdoms, in Anglo-Saxon England and in Ireland and Wales.<sup>2</sup> It is a feature of western European societies in the early Middle Ages that marks a clear break with the Roman past, and it continued to at least the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> Fathers would commend their sons to a social superior who would undertake the task of fostering the boys; for boys intended for a military career this process allowed groups of boys to be schooled together in fighting techniques. At the same time, boys would receive guidance about how to behave appropriately within a household or at court, advice that would stand them in good stead for their political careers later on. This aspect of court education was of just as much use to future clerics as it was to future warriors. Queens often played a big role here: Carolingian queens were responsible for the 'good order' of the court, which would include disciplining the young, and also for distributing annual gifts to warriors, who might perhaps have included youths being trained for campaigning.<sup>4</sup> In mid-eleventh-century England, Queen Edith 'nourished', taught, adorned and poured out maternal love on boys said to belong to her husband's kin according to the *Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*.<sup>5</sup> But while the queen might very often have an important role in education and moral advice, power over the young boys lay with her husband. Controlling the upbringing of boys of high birth was politically very useful to rulers for three reasons: it allowed them to make the acquaintance of the up-and-coming generation and shape their education; it meant that the whole cohort of aristocratic boys in a given generation got to know each other, thus making them a more effective military force; and it also meant that rulers could, if necessary, treat the boys entrusted to them as hostages for their fathers' good conduct. Bernard of Septimania's commendation of his son William to Louis the Pious must be seen partly from this perspective,<sup>6</sup> though it would also have been intended to train up young William in court life and military service, and when William's mother Dhuoda wrote her *Handbook* for him she stressed how dutiful he must be to his lord.<sup>7</sup>

Patrons to whom boys were commended acted, in effect, as foster fathers; the term most often used in the sources is *nutritores* and the process of fostering is called *nutritio* or 'nourishing'. The foster father or *nutritor* would take the foster son into close contact with his own family, as Einhard says Charlemagne did in his case.<sup>8</sup> He would not necessarily be responsible for teaching but would ensure that teaching in some form suitable to the boy's future career took place. The *nutritor* would take over responsibility for the young person and ensure that they received training or education suitable to their status and to what the *nutritor* saw as their likely future needs.<sup>9</sup> The foster parent was in charge of general upbringing and also – as the verb *nutrire* suggests – had to supply the material

needs of his or her young charge, but this task could be delegated, as for example when Bishop Robert of Le Mans (859–83) entrusted a boy called Rigrannus to the latter's uncle, Urso, a canon of Le Mans, giving Urso charge of his upbringing.<sup>10</sup> Our sources only tell us about the well-born, but a similar system presumably operated rather lower down the scale as well.<sup>11</sup>

The term *nutritio* did not always refer to the upbringing of boys of high status, but could also be used to describe the feeding of adult followers by their lords,<sup>12</sup> and alms-giving by the rich to the poor.<sup>13</sup> A Carolingian capitulary of 805–8 ordered bishops and counts to urge monasteries to 'nourish' the poor and their households.<sup>14</sup> Quite often, however, there might have been a cross-over between fosterage of well-born adolescents and charity to orphans. Gerald of Aurillac was praised for feeding orphans;<sup>15</sup> Bishop Udalric of Augsburg was praised for feeding and teaching the clerks from his *familia* and those who were freeborn,<sup>16</sup> and some eleventh-century histories show charge of high-born orphans being given to (or seized by) magnates who were expected to 'nourish' them.<sup>17</sup> In some of these cases it may have been the case that education as well as feeding was being undertaken.

Hitherto the process of fosterage or *nutritio*, in so far as it has received attention, has been dealt with essentially from the point of view of boys intended for military careers.<sup>18</sup> However, well-born boys intended for a clerical career, just as much as the ones intended for a military career, were entrusted to superiors (often, and this especially in the period before the tenth century, lay superiors such as kings), who would make decisions about their futures, if necessary sending them elsewhere to be educated. For clerics, this phenomenon seems to have begun in about the sixth century.<sup>19</sup> It had not been necessary earlier, partly because in the late antique period adult, and indeed late adult, entry into the clergy had been quite common, as we see, for example, in the case of Sidonius Apollinaris, who was advanced in age when he leapt from being layman to being bishop in the mid-fifth century.<sup>20</sup>

In Merovingian Francia, parents would ensure the early education of boys who might be headed for a clerical career, either at home or locally with a schoolmaster.<sup>21</sup> The next stage in the process was commendation (*commendatio*) to a person in authority. This could be a king, a royal official such as a mayor of the palace, or a bishop or abbot. The rank of the authority figure would vary according to the social status of the parents. Where parents were close to kings the latter would demand the right to determine their son's career; commendation was not simply a benefit offered by the higher authorities to the children of their inferiors, but a duty imposed on the latter by the former. The Council of Orléans of 511 laid down that no layman should become a clerk without the permission of the king or of a judge, unless he should be the son, grandson or great-grandson of a cleric, in which case the decision as to the boy's future lay with the bishop. Presumably the kings determined cases where boys were sons of counts and other royal officials, and judges were supposed to decide in cases lower down the social scale.<sup>22</sup> A hangover from this is still visible in the 813 Council of Mainz, Chapter 23 of which says that whereas those who have been tonsured as canons or monks against their will should stay in that condition, in future no one should be tonsured unless they are of legal age and are willing to be so, or

else by the permission of their lord, which presumably means that lords could make the decision for those below legal age.<sup>23</sup> Grimoald, mayor of the palace, seems to have acted as foster father, as he appears to have taken care of Chrodebert, later bishop of Tours (probably in office 663–82). In a lively exchange of obscene verses with Chrodebert, Bishop Importunus of Paris (664–6) accuses him of being conceived by his parents inside a monastery (perhaps his mother was a nun, which would have made him a slave of the church)<sup>24</sup> and says he was emancipated by his father's lord (evidently Grimoald), who then brought him up and educated him.<sup>25</sup>

More than one Merovingian saint's life shows the difficulties faced by those trying to become clerics against the king's will, for example St Wandrille (d. 688), who had sought tonsure as a young adult.<sup>26</sup> Carolingian rulers took a strong interest in supervising youths intended for careers in the Church; in an account of the life of Bishop Herifrid of Auxerre (887–909) the *Gesta* of the bishops of Auxerre note that in Charles the Bald's time the royal hall was a *gymnasium* of great wisdom, and that nobles and great men of the kingdom sent sons destined for both secular and ecclesiastical roles there to be taught.<sup>27</sup> Anglo-Saxon rulers took a similar interest in the careers of aspirant clergy from the time of Wilfrid in the seventh century to Dunstan in the tenth century.<sup>28</sup> Kings and queens were happy to pass would-be young clerics on to ecclesiastical teachers where they thought this appropriate, as Queen Eanflæd did in Wilfrid's case, putting him in the hands of Cudda, one of the king's noblemen, who had just become a monk at Lindisfarne; later she encouraged him to journey to the Continent to receive a proper training as a cleric.<sup>29</sup>

Over the period from the ninth to the twelfth century there seem to have been two or three shifts in the choice of *nutritores* for young clerics. First lay *nutritores* of clerical *nutriti* decline in number after about the middle of the ninth century in Francia, even though kings were still important in the lives of many young clerics. Nonetheless, a direct role for Frankish rulers in mapping out the futures of young clerics is visible as late as the later ninth century in Hincmar's *De ordine palatii* (though here Hincmar was presumably simply following the original version of the text, written by Adalhard of Corbie in the early ninth century): some boys at court were school pupils, *discipuli*, under a master, and formed a separate group from the *pueri* and *vasalli* whose role was presumably more military.<sup>30</sup> In Anglo-Saxon England, indeed, kings continued to 'nourish' boys intended for clerical careers until at least the first half of the tenth century.<sup>31</sup> It should be noted that there were still cases in Francia where parents commended a future cleric or monk to a lay *nutritor*, simply because they had not worked out which path in life the boy was to follow or else wished him to pursue a military career. For example, Aldric, later bishop of Le Mans, was commended to Charlemagne and Louis the Pious after being 'nourished' by bishops, and Louis tried to give him a secular education;<sup>32</sup> likewise, Abbot Odo of Cluny (d. 942) was commended in his teens, probably in the 890s, to Duke William of Aquitaine, who trained him as a warrior.<sup>33</sup>

In Francia, royal fosterage of boys intended from the outset for the clergy seems to have come to an end in the late ninth century. One piece of evidence which suggests this is Regino's garbled account of Charles the Bald's capture, in 852, of Pippin, son of Pippin of Aquitaine. According to Regino, the elder Pippin had wished to promote his son to clerical

office and had wanted to commend him to his (the elder Pippin's) uncle, Bishop Drogo of Metz, so that he could be taught both liberal arts and ecclesiastical learning together, but that Lothar, the boy's brother (in fact his uncle), had not wished him to be tonsured and had snatched him by force from his father's hand.<sup>34</sup> Although Regino cannot necessarily be trusted as evidence for Pippin's education, which had occurred long before he was writing, what he says may well be indicative of patterns of clerical careers in his own lifetime in the late ninth and early tenth centuries.

*Nutritio* in a purely ecclesiastical context – an aspirant cleric being commended to a bishop or an abbot – had always been a possibility. Commending a boy to a bishop usually meant entering him in the church run by the bishop, and entailed tonsure, entry into the school run by the church in question and a steady progression through grades of ordination. The terminology used to describe the commendation of boys to bishops was the same as in the cases of boys commended to rulers. It is noticeable that the Carolingians did not make an effort to create a special entry rite for young clerics. This is different from the Carolingians' policy for young monks, for whom they revived the system of oblation prescribed in the Rule of Benedict, but now, as shown by Mayke de Jong, in a much more elaborate form: a strictly Benedictine ceremony with a carefully thought-out rite was imposed in the early ninth century as a result of the 816–17 Aachen legislation.<sup>35</sup> Young clerics continued to be 'handed over' and tonsured, but no extra ceremony was developed. The term *oblatus* was only very rarely used of secular clerics. There are two occurrences of its use in twelfth-century German sources. One of these is a charter of Bishop Siward of Minden describing his own childhood: 'for in addition [I was] offered by my parents in this church, which I unworthily preside over'; the other is the twelfth-century Life of the eleventh-century Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn: 'Meinwerk was offered by his parents to clerical office in the church of St Stephen the Protomartyr in the city of Halberstadt'.<sup>36</sup> In both instances *oblatus* may have been used as a literary flourish instead of the more normal *datus* or *traditus*. In addition, the ninth-century account of the career of Rigrannus, canon of Le Mans, says that his uncle Urso offered (*obtulit*) him to the bishop of Le Mans to become a cleric,<sup>37</sup> while in the mid-eleventh century Iotsald of Saint-Claude described Odilo of Cluny, who was given by his parents as a cleric to the church of Saint-Julien of Brioude, as a second Isaac or Samuel.<sup>38</sup>

Although the terms *nutrire* and *nutritio* are used to describe the upbringing of young clerks within churches from the sixth century to the early thirteenth, there are significant changes in the type of upbringing involved. In the Merovingian period, as Heinzelmann and Godding have shown, commendation came at the end of elementary education, and, in the case of aspirant clerics, could lead them into the direct charge of a bishop in his *domus ecclesiae* and its school, either because their parents commended them directly to a bishop or because a ruler, in his role as *nutritor*, handed the youngsters over to a bishop.<sup>39</sup> Here pupils were usually adolescents deepening their knowledge of the Psalter and also learning chant;<sup>40</sup> they were usually clerks, tonsured and perhaps also already in the grade of *lector* (reader).<sup>41</sup> By the eighth century, arrangements for elementary education had become more diverse and ad hoc. Commendation to an ecclesiastical *nutritor* now might take place in early childhood (infancy), sometimes soon after weaning, which might occur at the age of three.<sup>42</sup> More often boys would be commended at a somewhat later age, say at



about seven or eight. Alcuin's account of Archbishop Ælberht of York in the eighth century shows him entering in boyhood years.<sup>43</sup> The symbolic point at which infancy ended and boyhood began, at about seven, was the loss of the first milk tooth.<sup>44</sup> However, weaning was treated as an even more significant point in childhood development in German episcopal Lives of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in Germany it might sometimes have occurred relatively late, shortly before the start of education. Although Ruotger does not mention weaning in his Life of Brun, brother of Otto I, it is nonetheless suggestive that Brun was handed over to Bishop Baldric of Utrecht to begin his literary education at the age of four;<sup>45</sup> likewise Odo of Cluny told John of Salerno that he had been handed over for education after being weaned, and the weaning of Bruno of Toul, the future Pope Leo IX, is mentioned immediately before the statement that he was handed over to Bishop Berthold of Toul at the age of five.<sup>46</sup> But weaning could occur quite early, as in the *Vita Uodalrici*. Here, the spiritual significance of weaning is hinted at: as a young baby, Udalric (later bishop of Augsburg) was not putting on weight, and a visitor insisted that he be fed solid food, which was done with happy results. This story was perhaps intended to suggest to the reader that Udalric's development was spiritually precocious.<sup>47</sup> Outside Germany, weaning occurs much less often as a *topos*, but Wulfstan of Winchester makes Æthelwold of Winchester's nursemaid the focus of one of the miracle stories in his *Vita*.<sup>48</sup>

On the Continent, from the later ninth century onwards, young clerics would be committed to the head of an ecclesiastical institution with a good school. Therefore they might quite often be entrusted to abbots in the ninth and the early tenth centuries (for example Udalrich of Augsburg to the abbey of St Gall),<sup>49</sup> but much more often to bishops thereafter, as in the case of Brun, brother of Otto I, committed to the care of the bishop of Utrecht.<sup>50</sup> Another Brun, Bruno, bishop of Verden 962–76, was ordered by the emperor to nourish (*nutrire*) a royal chaplain, Hermann, brother of Archbishop Folkmar of Cologne (965–9), as his (spiritual) son and successor.<sup>51</sup> Yet another Brun or Bruno, the future bishop of Toul and Pope Leo IX, born in 1011, was handed over to Bishop Berthold of Toul 'at five years old' and obeyed him and then his successor.<sup>52</sup> Bishop Odo of Bayeux had a large number of ecclesiastical protégés whom he was unable to educate at Bayeux in the earlier part of his pontificate, since Bayeux lacked a suitable school, and so he sent them to Lotharingia to be educated.<sup>53</sup>

It is common in biographies to find subjects described as having been *nutritus* or *enutritus* as well as *eruditus* in a particular cathedral; for example the Emperor Henry II is described as having been brought up from boyhood (*a puero enutritus*) at Hildesheim.<sup>54</sup> As cathedral communities became more self-confident, especially where their educational role was concerned, the task of *nutritio* began to be taken over by individual canons, rather than by bishops, at least in Germany. This may tell us something about the recruitment process into German cathedrals in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>55</sup> The future Archbishop Anno of Cologne had an uncle who was canon of Bamberg, and when his uncle arrived on a family visit he found Anno supposedly being handed over to a lay *nutritor* for military training. Anno's uncle thought the boy was wasting his time and that he would be much better off getting a good education at Bamberg (he was clearly talent-

spotting), and he enticed the boy to go to Bamberg and be entered into the school there.<sup>56</sup> In the twelfth century and beyond it was common for cathedral canons in the empire to act as *nutritores*, each looking after a protégé, usually a nephew, who would be a boy canon being taught in the cathedral school and who would eventually succeed the *nutritor*.<sup>57</sup> Similar inheritance systems operated in French cathedrals in the twelfth century, but much more flexibly, since the protégés were often educated elsewhere. In France, and also in England, looser forms of patronage had by then replaced old-fashioned intensive *nutritio*. According to William fitz Stephen, Thomas Becket was commended by his father to Merton Priory when he was ten, but although the young Thomas spent some time at Merton,<sup>58</sup> his schooling took place in London and Paris, and when, at the age of twenty-one, he had to leave Paris without finishing his studies, he sought employment from his kinsman Osbert Huit-Deniers.<sup>59</sup> It is possible that Becket's father hoped that Merton Priory could sponsor the young Thomas as a candidate for ordination (candidates for ordination had to be incumbents, or to have the support of a monastic house). Thus commendation still had its uses, though, clearly, it no longer had the significance that it had possessed in the early Middle Ages.

In origin, fosterage was designed to train boys of good family for a military career, but from very early on it could also provide a framework within which boys might be trained for clerical careers. Lay foster fathers might entrust boys intended for the Church to a senior figure in the Church. From the late ninth century it was more usual for young clerics to be fostered in ecclesiastical households, and from the eleventh century this was a task widely undertaken by cathedral canons.

<sup>1</sup> On the commendation of well-born boys intended for secular careers, see Régine le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VIIe–Xe siècle)* (Paris, 1995), 342–3; and Matthew Innes, “‘A place of discipline’: Carolingian courts and aristocratic youth”, in *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Catherine Cubitt (Turnhout, 2003), 59–76, at 61–6; on commendation of boys for both secular and ecclesiastical careers in the early Middle Ages, see Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996), 199–213; for a general overview of *nutritio*, concentrating on the twelfth century, see Anita Guerreau-Jalabert, ‘*Nutritus/oblatus*: parenté et circulation d'enfants au Moyen Âge’, in *Adoption et fosterage*, ed. Mireille Corbier (Paris, 1999), 263–90, esp. 275–7; some general comment also by Timothy Reuter, ‘Plunder and tribute in the Carolingian empire’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 35 (1985), 75–94, at 84; and by Guy Halsall, ‘Officers or gentlemen? The Frankish aristocracy in the sixth century: Part 3’, in *Historian on the Edge*, at <http://600transformer.blogspot.com>, consulted 1 March 2012.

<sup>2</sup> For Francia, see [n. 1](#) above; for Anglo-Saxon England, see Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, ed. W.H. Stevenson, new edn with article by Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford, 1959), 58 (c. 75), and for translation see *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, tr. Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (Harmondsworth, 1983), 90; on youths intended for ecclesiastical futures at the court of Athelstan see Æthelwold in Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), 10–12 (c. 7), and, though less explicitly stated, Dunstan in B., *Vita Dunstani*, cc. 5–6 (*The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and tr. Michael

Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2012), 18–22), discussed in [Chapter 2](#) above. For Ireland, see Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), 86–91; see also Dáibhí Ó Cróinin, *Early Medieval Ireland, 400–1200* (Harlow, 1995), 132–3, 178–9. Commendation by fathers of their sons to lords was also a feature of Welsh law in the high Middle Ages; Welsh law specified that it should occur at the age of fourteen: T.M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Irish and Welsh Kinship* (Oxford, 1993), 176, citing *Llyfr Iorwerth*; see [ibid.](#), 13, for dating.

[3](#) On fostering at the court of the counts of Anjou in the twelfth century, see Kathryn Dutton, ‘*Ad erudiendum tradidit*: the upbringing of Angevin comital children’, in *ANS*, XXXII, ed. C.P. Lewis (Woodbridge, 2010), 24–39, esp. 28–33.

[4](#) Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, ed. and tr. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer, MGH Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui, 3 (Hanover, 1980), 72, for the responsibilities of Carolingian queens; for the translation of *honestas* as ‘good order’ see Janet Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (Harlow, 1992), 44.

[5](#) *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, ed. Frank Barlow, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992), 24; Barlow translates *enutrierit* (literally ‘nourished’) as ‘reared’.

[6](#) Dhuoda, *Handbook for Her Warrior Son: Liber Manualis*, ed. and tr. Marcelle Thiébaux (Cambridge, 1998), 18–21; the hostage aspect is stressed by Constance B. Bouchard, ‘*Those of My Blood*’: *Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, 2001), 62–3.

[7](#) Janet Nelson, ‘Dhuoda’, in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. Patrick Wormald and Janet Nelson (Cambridge, 2007), 106–20, esp. 115, comments on Dhuoda’s son’s service at court with *comilitones*.

[8](#) Einhard describes Charlemagne as his *nutritor* (‘domini et nutritoris mei Karoli’) and comments on how he was brought up at court with the friendship of Charlemagne and the latter’s children (‘nutrimentum videlicet in me inpensum, et perpetua, postquam in aula eius conversari coepi, cum ipso ac liberis eius amicitia’: Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH SRG, 25 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1911), 1–2).

[9](#) De Jong, *In Samuel’s Image*, 199–202; and see also the chapter on education below in this volume.

[10](#) Giles Constable, ‘Monks and canons in Carolingian Gaul: the case of Rigrannus of Le Mans’, in *After Rome’s Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. A.C. Murray (Toronto, 1998), 320–36, at 332: ‘commendavit, ut tutor custosque corporis et animae eius fieret ac nutrimenta praeberet, quatinus post edocationem [sic] aptum divinis et humanis servitiis ei reddere posset’ (‘he charged him with becoming tutor and guardian of his body and soul and with providing food, so that after his upbringing he could hand him back suitable for divine and human services’).

[11](#) This is also the hypothesis of Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, 342. Notker talks of high-ranking, middle-ranking and low-born boys being taught by Clement the Irishman at Charlemagne’s court: Notker, *Gesta Karoli Magni*, ed. H. Haefele, MGH SRG, new series, 12 (Berlin, 1959), 2 (i, c. 1).

[12](#) Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, ed. Gross and Schieffer, 77 (ll. 400, 402), describes the ‘nourishing’ of four huntsmen and a falconer at the Carolingian court.

[13](#) Reuter, ‘Plunder and tribute’, 84.

[14](#) MGH *Capitularia*, I, 141, c. 6.

[15](#) PL 133: 692.

[16](#) Gerhard von Augsburg, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici: Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Ulrich*, ed. and tr. Walter Berschin and Angelika Häse (Heidelberg, 1993), 116 (I, c. 3).

[17](#) Alpert of Metz, *De diversitate temporum libri duo*, Bk II, c. 11 (PL 140: 474); Bruno, *De bello saxonico*, ed. Hans-Eberhard Lohmann, MGH Deutsches Mittelalter, 2 (Leipzig, 1937), 13.

[18](#) See [n. 1](#) above.

[19](#) Martin Heinzelmann, ‘Studia sanctorum: éducation, milieu d’instruction et valeurs éducatives dans l’hagiographie en Gaule jusqu’à la fin de l’époque mérovingienne’, in *Culture, education et société: Études offerts à Pierre Riché*, ed. Claude Lepelley (Nanterre, 1990), 105–38, at 120–1.

[20](#) Sidonius Apollinaris was about thirty-eight when he was made bishop of Clermont in about 470: cf Jill Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome AD 407–485* (Oxford, 1994), 24, 32–3, 169.

[21](#) See [Chapter 6 below at nn. 39–43](#); Heinzelmann, ‘Studia sanctorum’, 122, points out that most Merovingian saints said to have been *nutriti* at the courts of kings were educated before their arrival at court.

[22](#) Council of Orléans, 511, c. 4 (Mansi, VIII, 352); see also comment by Godding, *Prêtres*, 15, and above, [Chapter 4, n. 27](#).

[23](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 267: ‘De clericis vero hoc statuimus, ut hi, qui hactenus inventi sunt, sive in canonico sive in monachico ordine, tonsorati sine eorum voluntate, si liberi sunt, ut ita permaneant, et deinceps cavendum, ut nullus tondatur nisi legitima aetate et spontanea voluntate vel cum licentia domini sui’ (‘Concerning clerics, indeed, we ordain that those who have so far been found to be tonsured without their will, whether they are in the order of canons or the order of monks, should remain so if they are freeborn, and after this care should be taken so that no one may be tonsured unless he is of lawful age and it is with his free will or by the permission of his lord’).

[24](#) See [Chapter 4, n. 170](#), above for discussion of IX Council of Toledo 655, c. 10 (Mansi XI, 29), which laid down that children of nuns should be slaves of the church to which their mothers belonged; similarly, children of higher clergy (bishops down to subdeacons) conceived once their fathers had reached these grades should also become slaves of their fathers’ churches.

[25](#) *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH Leges, section V (Hanover, 1886), 222–3; for discussion of this text, see Danuta Shanzer, ‘The tale of Frodebert’s tail’, in *Colloquial and Literary Latin*, ed. Eleanor Dickey and Anna Chahoud



(Cambridge, 2010), 376–405; I am very grateful to her for informing me about this text and talking it over with me. The whole correspondence between Importunus (bishop of Paris 664–6) and Frodebert (i.e. Chrodebert, bishop of Paris down to 663, then of Tours to 682 or just before) is in *Formulae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, at 221–6.

[26](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 43.

[27](#) *Les gestes des évêques d'Auxerre*, ed. Guy Lobrichon and Monique Goullet, gen. ed. Michel Sot, 3 vols. (Paris, 2002–9), I, 169 (as the editors point out, here Charles the Bald is confused with Charles the Fat). On youths intended for both secular and ecclesiastical futures being sent to Charles the Bald's court, see Rosamond McKitterick, 'The palace school of Charles the Bald', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margaret Gibson and Janet Nelson, 2nd edn (Aldershot, 1990), 326–39, with discussion of Herifrid at 329.

[28](#) For tenth-century examples, see Wulfstan, *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, 10 (c. 7), and B., *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, in *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 1–109, at 21–3 (c. 6); also Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine*, ed. and tr. Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2009), 18, on how Oda, later archbishop of Canterbury, attached himself (*adhaesit*) in his youth to a venerable thegn (*miles*) called Æthelhelm (*Vita Oswaldi*, i, 4).

[29](#) *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and tr. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), 7 (c. 2): 'cui regina supradicta puerum nuper ad se venientem diligenter commendavit'.

[30](#) Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, 80–3. In their translation, Gross and Schieffer translate *pueri* as *Diener* (p. 82), which is certainly possible, but it may be the case that at least some of the *pueri* were boys being brought up at court.

[31](#) Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, ed. Stevenson, 58–60 (cc. 75–6); for translation see Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, 90–1; for comment see David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007), 124–5; for tenth-century examples see the early careers of Oda, Æthelwold and Dunstan as outlined in [Chapter 2](#) above.

[32](#) See [Chapter 2](#) above.

[33](#) PL 133: 47.

[34](#) *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1890), 76 (s.a. 853). In fact Charles the Bald had Pippin tonsured at Saint-Médard in Soissons shortly after his capture in 852 (Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 162); Pippin tried to escape in the following year but was recaptured and was forced to become a monk at Saint-Médard: *The Annals of St-Bertin*, tr. Janet L. Nelson (Manchester, 1991), 76.

[35](#) De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, 63–8, 176–91; RB, c. 59, on oblation.

[36](#) On Bishop Siward of Minden, see *Westf. UB*, I, no 189: 'A parentibus enim in hac ecclesia, cui indigne presideo, adhuc puer oblatus' (1121 × 1140); for Meinwerk, see *Vita Meinwerki episcopi Patherbrunnensis*, ed. F. Tenckhoff, MGH SRG, 59 (Hanover, 1921), 6 c. 2: 'Meinwercus in ecclesia beati Stephani protomartiris in civitate Halverstadensi ad



clericatus officium a parentibus est oblatus’.

[37](#) Constable, ‘Monks and canons’, 332.

[38](#) Iotsald von Saint-Claude, *Vita des Abtes Odilo von Cluny*, ed. Johannes Staub, MGH SRG in usum scholarum, 68 (Hanover, 1999), 147: ‘tamquam alter Ysahac sive Samuhel Christo consecratus et Brivate apud sanctum Iulianum gloriosum martirem clericali sorte donatus est’ (Iotsald, who died in 1052/4, wrote this in 1052).

[39](#) Martin Heinzelmann, ‘*Studia sanctorum*’, 105–38; Godding, *Prêtres*, 54–5 (on commendation to a bishop), 63–6 (on episcopal schools).

[40](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 63–5.

[41](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 43.

[42](#) De Jong, *In Samuel’s Image*, 50.

[43](#) Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. and tr. Peter Godman (Oxford, 1982), 110, ll. 1415–17: ‘Hic fuit ergo satis claris genitoribus ortus / ex quorum cura studiis mox traditur almis / atque monasterio puerilibus inditur annis’: ‘he was of highly distinguished birth, and his family soon devoted him with care to sacred studies, attaching him to the monastery in his boyhood’. *Puerilibus ... annis* must refer to the seven-to-fourteen age range, for Alcuin was careful about his use of the terms *adolescens* and *adolescentia*, which he used to refer to the fourteen-to-twenty-eight age range: see Donald Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004), 105–6.

[44](#) See discussion by Janet L. Nelson, ‘Charlemagne the man’, in *Charlemagne: Emperor and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester, 2005), 22–37, at 26–8.

[45](#) Ruotgeri *vita Brunonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*, ed. Irene Ott, MGH SRG, new series, 10 (Cologne, 1958), 5 (c. 4): ‘annos circiter IIII habens’.

[46](#) For Odo, see PL 133: 46: ‘Post haec ablactatum cuidam suo presbytero ... me tradidit educandum, et litterarum studiis imbuendum’; for Bruno, see *Die Toulser Vita Leos IX*, ed. and tr. Hans-Georg Krause, with Detlev Jasper and Veronika Lukas, MGH SRG, 70 (Hanover, 2007), 92 (c. 2): ‘Quem congruo tempore ablactatum Bertoldo sancte Tullensis ecclesie antistiti tradidit iam quinquennem’; for an English translation, see *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century: Lives of Pope Leo IX and Pope Gregory VII*, tr. and annotated by I.S. Robinson (Manchester, 2004), 101. Weaning is also mentioned in the Life of Archbishop Adalbert II of Mainz (d. 1141), written 1141 × 1142: *Anselmi Havelbergensis vita Adelberti II Moguntini*, in *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Philipp Jaffé, Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum 3 (Berlin, 1866; repr. Darmstadt, 1964), 565–603, at 569: ‘post primi tempora lactis’.

[47](#) Gerhard, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici*, 86–90 (I, c. 1); on weaning in the earlier Middle Ages see also Bullough, *Alcuin*, 164–5, n. 105.

[48](#) Wulfstan, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, 8, c. 5: *nutrix*.

[49](#) Gerhard, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici*, 90 (I, c. 1).

[50](#) Ruotgeri *Vita Brunonis*, 5 (c. 4).

[51](#) *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, ed. Robert Holtzmann, MGH

SRG, new series, 9 (Berlin, 1935), 78–81 (ii, 32); *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, tr. and annotated by David Warner (Manchester, 2001), 115–16.

[52](#) *Die Touler Vita Leos IX.*, ed. and tr. Krause, 92–102 (cc. 2–6); for an English translation see *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century*, tr. Robinson, 101–6.

[53](#) Monique Dosdat, ‘Les évêques de la province de Rouen et la vie intellectuelle au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in *Les évêques normands du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (Caen, 1995), 223–52, at 226–7.

[54](#) ‘Hiltensheim, ubi a puero enutritus et literas edoctus fuit’: *Die Vita sancti Heinrichi regis et confessoris und ihre Bearbeitung durch den Bamberger Diakon Adelbert*, ed. Marcus Strumpf, MGH SRG in usum scholarum, 69 (Hanover, 1999), 229; MGH SS, 4, 792.

[55](#) See [Chapter 9](#) below.

[56](#) *Vita Annonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*, ed. R. Koepke, MGH SS, 11 (Hanover, 1854), 462–518, at 467 (c. 1); Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicorum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 47 (Stuttgart, 2000), 272, argues that Anno was probably taught at St Stephan’s, Bamberg (the *Vita* simply says ‘in scola Babinbergensium, qui tunc temporis disciplinae, religionis ac studii fervore cunctis in Germania praepollebant’: ‘in the school of the people of Bamberg, who at that time surpassed all the rest in Germany by the fervour of their discipline, religion and study’). At Le Mans, Canon Urso was already supervising the upbringing of his nephew in the ninth century, but he got the approval of his bishop first and the bishop admitted the boy to the church of Le Mans: Constable, ‘Monks and canons’, 332.

[57](#) For examples of cathedral canons and dignitaries acting as *nutritores* in the later twelfth century, see [Chapter 4 above, nn. 54, 100](#) (Liège) and [101](#) (Cologne).

[58](#) *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. James Craigie Robertson, 7 vols. RS (London, 1875–85), III, 14: ‘Puerum ... pater in religiosa domo canonicorum Meritonae priori Roberto aliquamdiu nutriendum commendaverat’.

[59](#) *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, III, 14: ‘Annis igitur infantiae, pueritiae et pubertatis simpliciter domi paternae et in scholis urbis [i.e. London] decursis’; for further discussion, see Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), 17, 19, 26–7.

## 6 The education of the cleric, I

### Schools

Literacy was one of the three principal defining features of the clergy, the others being tonsure and ordination.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the term *clericus* in Latin and its equivalent in several European vernaculars (for example ‘clerk’ in English) meant, by the high Middle Ages, someone who could read and write, or someone who knew Latin, just as often as it meant someone in holy orders.<sup>2</sup> The French word *clergie*, literally ‘clerical status’, quickly came to have the extended meaning of book-learning.<sup>3</sup> As the leading exponents of a religion based on a book, clerics were expected to be able to read and write, and preferably also to have an understanding of Latin; even though parts of the liturgy could be committed to memory, there was so much of it, and so much variation over the course of the year, that rote learning could not be the sole basis of knowledge.<sup>4</sup> Education was by no means limited to the clergy in western Europe at any time in the Middle Ages,<sup>5</sup> but although there were in all periods laymen and laywomen who could read, literacy was not essential for them. By contrast, it was a necessary part of making a clerk a clerk, as we see in Guibert de Nogent’s recollection of what he had said in boyhood to his mother: ‘If I had to die on the spot, I would not give up studying my lessons and becoming a clerk.’ Guibert also commented, ‘I should add that she had promised that if I wished to become a knight, when I reached the age for it she would give me the arms and equipment of knighthood.’<sup>6</sup> Abelard’s contraposition of Mars and Minerva at the start of his *Historia Calamitatum* is in a similar vein.<sup>7</sup> In addition to its defining role in making clerics out of boys and men, an education in letters could, in a variety of ways, shape clerical careers. For example, in German cathedral schools from the later tenth century onwards, the education provided for young canons concentrated on grammar and rhetoric;<sup>8</sup> the intention was to train up clerics who would be socially polished and thus able to take their place as court chaplains to the Ottonians and Salians.<sup>9</sup> At a lower social level, the development of song schools from at least the twelfth century trained up numerous vicars choral to sing services in the principal European cathedrals.<sup>10</sup> More significant than either of these developments, because of its consequences for social mobility in the twelfth century and beyond, was the development of higher education in the twelfth century and its provision of large numbers of graduates to staff positions in royal and episcopal administration.<sup>11</sup> The value thus attached to clerical education was recognised by the laity, and an anonymous pupil of Abelard complained that Christian parents might choose to educate one of their sons so that he could help them financially, whereas Jewish parents educated children of both sexes so that they could understand the law of God.<sup>12</sup>

This chapter will survey the historiography of the subject, and then look at the developing institutional forms of schools; the following chapter will look at the shifting position of schoolmasters and the development of the curriculum, and then finish off with a study of how clerics were shaped by their education. The account of schools will concentrate on how they operated, and discussion of the formal curriculum in the period from c.800 to c.1200 will be very brief, since that topic has been fully dealt with elsewhere. The aim of these two chapters is to show how the organisational framework of

education influenced individual clerics and their careers. The socialising role of education had just as much importance in clerical career development as did academic content. Perhaps the most significant part of a clerical education consisted of making contacts with people, and the geographical range of a cleric's acquaintances was one of the chief factors in determining how far up the system he could climb.

## Historiography

Of all aspects of medieval clerical life, education has received the most attention in historical literature. However, interest in the various possible lines of enquiry has been unbalanced, and one of the areas which has received least attention so far has been the role of education in shaping the cleric, qua cleric, as opposed to (say) the theologian, the lawyer, the philosopher or the courtier.<sup>13</sup> There has also been less interest in the effect of education on the individual than on the development of intellectual inquiry.<sup>14</sup> There is noticeable imbalance in the chronological range of inquiry, with much more interest in the twelfth-century Renaissance – at least from American, French and British medievalists – than in earlier periods;<sup>15</sup> as a concomitant of this there has been far more interest in the expansion of schooling in the twelfth century than in the more static, less exciting-looking scholastic developments of earlier centuries. On the whole, for the pre-1200 period, the medieval syllabus has been worked on more thoroughly, at all levels,<sup>16</sup> than the other practicalities of medieval education, such as its funding,<sup>17</sup> the provision of school buildings, the nature of the authorities controlling schools,<sup>18</sup> and the living conditions<sup>19</sup> and the study techniques of students.<sup>20</sup> This is by no means surprising: the sources for these topics are few and widely scattered, whereas the subjects studied in medieval schools can be approached more easily, through textual analysis, through study of medieval library catalogues or of the copying and glossing of manuscripts.

There have, however, been some important exceptions to this reluctance to look at the operation of education as a system. First and foremost is the work of Émile Lesne, *Les écoles*, the fifth volume of his *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique*, which quarries a wide range of charter, narrative, epistolary and literary sources to trace the history of individual schools from the Rhine to the Atlantic and the Pyrenees – in other words the territory which had made up Roman Gaul, in the period from the earlier Middle Ages to c.1200.<sup>21</sup> Second, the role of monastic schools in the ninth and tenth centuries has received much attention.<sup>22</sup> Third, there has been long-standing and intense interest in the question of how higher schools evolved in twelfth-century Europe.<sup>23</sup> Important features of this debate have been discussion of the growth of regulatory systems within higher schools, and the emergence of a recognised educational qualification, the *licentia docendi*,<sup>24</sup> the licence to teach, which, though originally viewed as a means to an end – that is, permission to become a teacher – rapidly became an end in itself – that is, proof of completion of a course of higher education which could then be used to open up a wide range of job opportunities. From the 1130s onwards, the use of the *magister* title in France and England increased by leaps and bounds, with – by the mid-twelfth century – far more *magistri* available than would have been required to teach in French and English schools, rapidly growing in number though these were.<sup>25</sup> Several scholars have commented on the steep rise in numbers in twelfth-century France and England, especially the latter;<sup>26</sup> on the

rather slower expansion in numbers in the Low Countries;<sup>27</sup> and on the much slower expansion in numbers in Germany.<sup>28</sup> By the late twelfth century, the *magister* title was so common that the satirist Nigel Wireker could take the figure of a donkey to represent a clerk in search of one.<sup>29</sup> Finally, secondary literature has shone much light on the careers of individual clerics, especially in the twelfth century, and in the process has helped to explain not only their own education but something of the general conditions of study.<sup>30</sup>

## Schools in the post-Roman period

The term ‘school’, in Latin *schola*, derives from Greek *scholē*, meaning ‘leisure’, hence leisure for study, thence coming to mean disputation and then a school.<sup>31</sup> In the days of the later Roman Empire, *schola* also came to be used to group together members of the same profession or to describe the imperial bodyguard. In the latter context, like much military vocabulary (for example, the word *decanus*) it made its way into ecclesiastical contexts, with *scholae cantorum* or groups of singers providing antiphonal singing in choir. Both meanings of *schola* were formative in ecclesiastical life in the earlier medieval West.<sup>32</sup>

For most of the period with which we are dealing, organised schools in north-western Europe were an integral part of major churches, and even after this close relationship began to loosen they remained under the aegis of major churches, each of which would be responsible for, or would claim responsibility for, the provision of education within a given area. The development of schools providing education more suitable for mercantile classes did not begin in north-western Europe until well after the end of the period with which we are dealing.<sup>33</sup>

Major churches moved into the educational field almost accidentally; in Merovingian Francia they filled a gap left by the disappearance of public teachers of rhetoric, who had taught in major cities, operating under the aegis of city councils.<sup>34</sup> The last teachers of rhetoric are recorded in the earlier sixth century, though teaching of grammar and other topics in a traditional Roman system seems to have survived at Clermont until the mid-seventh century.<sup>35</sup> One of the last rhetors in Gaul was Julianus Pomerius, who escaped from Vandal persecution in North Africa in the late fifth century and established himself as a rhetor in Arles, where he taught Caesarius,<sup>36</sup> but the old system was changing. It has been suggested that Pomerius entered the monastic life, becoming an abbot.<sup>37</sup> As Ralph Mathisen has argued, it is important not to overstress the clerical–secular divide in education, since plenty of clergy taught secular subjects and many of their pupils were also clerics or clerics-to-be.<sup>38</sup> At the lowest level, the late antique pattern continued. Elementary schools in fifth- and sixth-century Gaul were run privately by schoolmasters, who could be clerics; here children were taught how to read and write, by learning letters, syllables and then the Psalter.<sup>39</sup> In the sixth century, and to some extent still in the seventh century, children, if not taught by their parents, were taught to read in elementary schools taught by priests in cities, *vici* or *castra* under the aegis of the local bishop. Robert Godding supplies a wide range of examples of such schools from Merovingian saints’ lives.<sup>40</sup> Where there is evidence for the ages of the children concerned, we can see that they were fairly young – some are referred to as *pueri*;<sup>41</sup> two children who tried to get educated unbeknownst to their parents began at ten and twelve respectively.<sup>42</sup> Gregory of



Tours in his *Vitae Patrum* says that Nicetius taught children from when they could speak.<sup>43</sup> Beyond this level, those who wished to proceed further and had the money to do so had, up to the later fifth and early sixth centuries, moved on to study rhetoric in higher schools.<sup>44</sup> However, by the late fifth century, an alternative form of further education had emerged in the episcopal household or *domus episcopi*, which had become a training place for junior clergy attached to the bishop's staff and serving in the bishop's cathedral church. Here young clerics could be taught the interpretation of the Scriptures and chant.<sup>45</sup> Caesarius of Arles proposed parochial seminaries, but these failed to take off.<sup>46</sup>

## One-to-one teaching

Not all schooling did occur in the organised framework of a school, however. Although major churches in the earlier Middle Ages did often provide the most elementary stages of education, this could also be supplied elsewhere. Throughout the period children might be taught at home by a relative or a cleric attached to the household.<sup>47</sup> Only the well-off could afford home education, and surviving evidence suggests that usually only young children at an elementary stage were taught in the parental home. Parish clergy might teach local children, and in Francia from the late eighth century onwards this was encouraged by episcopal legislation: for example, Bishop Theodulf of Orléans's first set of diocesan *capitula* of 809 said that priests should teach those small children (*parvuli*) whose parents wished them to be educated.<sup>48</sup> Much later, Orderic Vitalis's early schooling by the priest Siward at St Peter's in Shrewsbury from 1080 to 1085 was probably similar in type.<sup>49</sup> This level of education might well have operated informally: the priest might only have had one or two children to teach at a time, and classes might not necessarily have been frequent or intensive. In such circumstances, education could easily have resembled a lengthy apprenticeship, with an older cleric training up a younger one, presumably the situation assumed by Wulfstan the Homilist in c. 10 of the 'Canons of Edgar' (1005 × 1008): 'and it is right that no clerk receive the scholar of another without the leave of him whom he first followed'.<sup>50</sup> As late as the mid-eleventh century, there was a shortage of schools in much of Europe, even in populous areas such as Picardy. Thus Guibert de Nogent's mother induced a schoolmaster to leave the household to which he was attached, where he had been tutoring one of Guibert's cousins, to come to her household and teach her son; the schoolmaster had begun to learn grammar late and was poorly equipped to teach the subject as a result, but was the best choice available. He came after Guibert had learned the alphabet (Guibert does not say who taught him the alphabet: perhaps one of his mother's chaplains) and stayed six years, teaching his pupil on his own in the family dining hall.<sup>51</sup> One-to-one tuition of this type is also hinted at in William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani*, with a couple of middling social standing in the salt town of Droitwich handing over their son to Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester's chaplain Coleman in the late eleventh century.<sup>52</sup> During the twelfth century, schools were becoming a normal feature of towns, even quite small ones,<sup>53</sup> but one-to-one tuition would have remained an ideal solution for remote rural areas, as we can see from a charter from Wales in the later twelfth century, in which Bishop David of St Davids states that he has tonsured William the *nutritus* (foster son) of Eli the priest and committed him to the custody of John, priest of Talgarth, who was to be responsible for his education, food and clothing.<sup>54</sup>

The education provided by foster parents<sup>55</sup> could be within the home, or could consist of teaching on a one-to-one basis by local clergy. Some foster parents supplied education directly (where they happened themselves to be good at teaching), and some indirectly, ensuring that tuition was supplied. For an example of a child taught by a foster parent we can observe Cathroe, who was born in Scotland, probably c.900, and whose Life was written for Abbot Immo of Gorze 982/3.<sup>56</sup> After Cathroe was weaned, his paternal uncle (*patrueilis*) Bean was ordered in a vision to claim the boy for the schools,<sup>57</sup> and on the birth of Cathroe's younger brother his father yielded to Bean's persuasion and gave him to Bean to foster (*infantem nutriendum*) after Bean predicted that his best horse would die.<sup>58</sup> Cathroe, by now near to adolescence, was taught 'divine law' by Bean,<sup>59</sup> but was tempted in Bean's absence to take up arms against an enemy, because the cleric left to guard him was not firm enough to prevent him;<sup>60</sup> later Bean, after a vision of Wisdom as a maiden, sent Cathroe to Armagh 'to the mill of training ... to study mundane literature'.<sup>61</sup>

### **Cathedral and monastic schools, c.600–c.1200**

Cathroe's example shows us that there would always be some limitations in one-to-one tuition; he eventually went to Armagh to finish his education in an area – classical Latin literature – which Bean could not teach. Schools attached to major churches made some degree of specialisation possible; even where there was only one teacher, as was the case in most schools in western Christendom in the earlier Middle Ages, that person could concentrate on teaching rather than, say, combining teaching with pastoral care. Establishments of some size such as episcopal households and monasteries could provide a single teacher and also books. Education was a feature of monastic foundations from fairly early on,<sup>62</sup> and the Benedictine Rule, by legislating for child recruitment into the monastic life,<sup>63</sup> encouraged monasteries to consider the provision of education for their child oblates.<sup>64</sup> In areas of early medieval Europe which had never been urbanised, such as Ireland, or which had lost their Roman cities, such as England, or where Roman cities were merely a shadow of their former selves, as in much of France north of the Loire, and the Rhineland,<sup>65</sup> monastic foundations had to take on educational responsibilities, principally in order to train their own inmates, though quite often also to supply education to others.<sup>66</sup> In seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England, few episcopal households could rival the educational work carried out by the bigger monastic foundations, which often consisted of very varied groups of people – monks, nuns, clergy and sometimes also hermits – and therefore where we can find information about the education of those who became bishops it is noticeable how several had been schooled at monasteries such as Whitby, Melrose or Malmesbury.<sup>67</sup>

In Francia, the monastic model of education was powerful by the Carolingian period, though in some cases bishops might have a degree of supervision. In his first set of *Capitula*, Bishop Theodulf of Orléans urged priests in his diocese to send their nephews and other kin to the cathedral school or to one of the monastic schools under his authority, and here he named Saint-Aignan at Orléans, Fleury and Saint-Liphard de Meung-sur-Loire.<sup>68</sup> Rather later in the ninth century, Urso, canon of Le Mans Cathedral, sent his nephew Rigrannus to be educated at 'a certain monastery' of the bishop of Le Mans.<sup>69</sup> Hildemar of Corbie composed a set of customs for the care of child oblates,<sup>70</sup> and Corbie

had a community of clerks.<sup>71</sup> Monasteries had an especially dominant role in education in the eastern parts of the Frankish empire.<sup>72</sup> At Fulda and its satellite houses in the ninth century, a large proportion of the inmates were children,<sup>73</sup> while the Reichenau and St Gall operated schools of high repute, the best available in Alemannia (south-western Germany).<sup>74</sup> The future Bishop Udalrich of Augsburg (bishop 923–73) was commended to the grammar teacher Waninc at the monastery of St Gall in his boyhood, at some point before 909; Udalrich could receive an education at St Gall while leaving his options open as to a future career. He took advice from an anchoress called Wiberat about whether he should become a monk at St Gall, but she told him that he was due to undertake the ministry of a bishop in a region further east, thus dropping a hint to him that his family had higher expectations for him.<sup>75</sup> It is likely that a large proportion of the young people studying at these schools consisted of young clerics, or even young laymen, in spite of the fact that Louis the Pious had legislated in 817 for the exclusion of external pupils from the cloister and for the provision of ‘external schools’ for the reception of external pupils by those monasteries that felt motivated to provide this.<sup>76</sup> However, the St Gall plan has only one school.<sup>77</sup> Lesne and Berlière both argued that major monasteries were careful to abide by Louis’s legislation, and point to the linking up of certain major monasteries with minor collegiate churches, which meant that schooling for clerics could be provided at the latter; Hildebrandt, though more cautiously, also supports this view.<sup>78</sup> On the other hand, de Jong has pointed out that undifferentiated schools continued to exist in at least some monasteries (notably St Gall),<sup>79</sup> and Picker has shown that, at Fulda, Hrabanus Maurus (who was schoolmaster there before becoming abbot) viewed monastic education in essentially clerical terms, not least because Fulda’s dependent houses in Saxony, which played a major role in missionary work, contained large numbers of schoolboys being trained as clerics.<sup>80</sup> As far as Anglo-Saxon churches are concerned, it can be difficult to separate the clerical and pastoral from the monastic and contemplative;<sup>81</sup> in fact Anglo-Saxons were aware of the distinction between monks and clerics, but were happy for both to co-exist in the same communities.<sup>82</sup>

Episcopal households in the early Middle Ages (which were in the process of becoming cathedral communities) had to follow monastic models and provide education from elementary levels onwards, with child recruitment. In Anglo-Saxon England, although several seventh-century bishops had been trained up in monasteries such as Whitby or Melrose, clerical communities such as those at York Minster<sup>83</sup> and Christ Church Canterbury<sup>84</sup> developed good schools in the seventh and eighth centuries. In Gaul, cathedral communities had begun to develop schools far earlier, from the sixth century onwards.<sup>85</sup> At Metz, Chrodegang (bishop 742 or 747–66) used the Rule of Benedict as the basis for the rule he composed for his cathedral clergy.<sup>86</sup> Like Benedict, he envisaged that children would automatically form part of the community;<sup>87</sup> unlike Benedict, however, he did not describe in his Rule how boys and adolescents were to be initiated into the community (perhaps first tonsure marked initiation).<sup>88</sup> Chrodegang also does not explain in RC how young people were to be taught (neither had Benedict in RB), but education in the clerical way of life is built into RC,<sup>89</sup> and Paul the Deacon commends him for ordering his cathedral clergy at Metz to be taught to chant in the style of the Roman church.<sup>90</sup>

Archbishop Leidrad of Lyon thanked Charlemagne for arranging for a Metz cleric to come to Lyon to train the clergy there in chant.<sup>91</sup>

By the time that Leidrad was writing to Charlemagne, the Frankish hierarchy was moving towards a rule for all cathedral clergy in the empire,<sup>92</sup> which was finally promulgated at Aachen in 816 under Louis the Pious, with the intention that it should be adopted by all cathedrals.<sup>93</sup> Chapter 135 of *Institutio Canoniorum* (IC) lays down fuller guidelines than RC had done about the role of boys and adolescents in cathedral communities: they were to live in a room or building in the precinct that could be locked up separately from the rest (*in uno conclavi atrii*), and were to be committed to the care of 'a most proven elder' (*probatissim[us] senior*), even though they might receive their academic education from a different member of the community. Boys and adolescents were to be fostered and educated and kept from lapsing into sin.<sup>94</sup> Here the compilers of IC seem to have been following a similar train of thought to that of Hildemar in his work on the care of oblates, in which he said that oblates should be guarded by *magistri*, not all of whom would necessarily teach the children in an academic sense.<sup>95</sup>

IC also provided some guidance about how the boy clerics were to enter the cathedral communities. They were not to be child oblates but were to be *nutriti*, fosterlings.<sup>96</sup> This could well have been compatible with Chrodegang's stipulations about recruitment into Metz Cathedral, which dealt with what was to happen to the entrant's personal property, which was to become the property of the cathedral, but allowing the canon the usufruct in his lifetime.<sup>97</sup> Parents might well have made such an arrangement on behalf of their children before handing them over to a cathedral observing IC. It would tie in with patterns of property ownership and bequests by canons observable later on.<sup>98</sup> IC therefore ensured that there would be a financial basis to support young clerics within the community, which thus made it possible to ensure that sufficient education could be provided for inmates there. This did not exclude the possibility of travelling elsewhere for further schooling, as we shall see.

The number of cathedral schools increased between the ninth and the tenth centuries. In the ninth century the cathedral schools which were certainly active included Lyon, Auxerre, Chartres, Orléans, Paris, Meaux, Rheims,<sup>99</sup> Laon,<sup>100</sup> Soissons,<sup>101</sup> Cambrai, Cologne,<sup>102</sup> Liège,<sup>103</sup> Trier,<sup>104</sup> Metz, Toul, Verdun, Strasbourg and Constance, while there were also several collegiate churches with significant schools, such as Saint-Martin of Tours and Saint-Aignan of Orléans.<sup>105</sup> In the tenth century there is evidence for the above and for schools at the cathedrals of Grenoble, Poitiers, Autun, Nevers, Troyes, Utrecht and Speyer.<sup>106</sup> By the tenth century, Cologne and Rheims were the most prominent.<sup>107</sup> The number of visibly active cathedral schools soared in the eleventh century, and collegiate churches also began to develop schools in large numbers from the eleventh century and more especially in the twelfth.<sup>108</sup> The rise in the number of the latter was concomitant with increasing urbanisation in this period.<sup>109</sup>

Parents intending their sons for a clerical career therefore gradually ceased in the tenth century to make so much use of monastic schools for education; in Germany the switch starts to be noticeable under Otto I, who expected cathedrals to supply canons to become his court chaplains. Boys would enter cathedrals, receive their education there and then

join the royal chapel; particular cathedrals might be linked to particular palace chapels.<sup>110</sup> Stephanie Haarländer notes that out of thirty-five bishops from the empire in the Ottonian and Salian periods for whom *Vitae* were written, no fewer than eighteen were certainly educated at cathedral schools, and two more perhaps at collegiate schools; only five were certainly educated at monasteries, with the schooling of another ten being unclear.<sup>111</sup> In France, however, some parents made use of the facilities offered by monasteries to teach the Psalter to boys not intending to become monks, in return for a small grant of land; the task of teaching was, however, often delegated to groups of clergy.<sup>112</sup>

Matters were rather different in tenth- and eleventh-century England: here until the 960s most schooling of young clerics is likely to have been rather ad hoc, often under personal supervision of senior clerics or bishops. Wulfstan of Winchester gives only generalities about Æthelwold's early education, though we should probably assume that it took place in Winchester, doubtless at either Old Minster or New Minster.<sup>113</sup> Similarly, B. is vague about where Dunstan received his earliest education;<sup>114</sup> then, at puberty, he was entered by his parents at Glastonbury, where he studied the Bible and also philosophical works brought by Irish pilgrims.<sup>115</sup> Archbishop Oda of Canterbury provided the Frankish scholar Frithegod as a teacher for his young nephew Oswald (but perhaps Frithegod also taught other young people at Canterbury).<sup>116</sup> There seem to have been very few schools in England in the first half of the tenth century,<sup>117</sup> though this number increased as Benedictine monasteries began to be founded.<sup>118</sup> From about the 960s onwards, Benedictine houses provided effective and organised schooling on a scale which the Anglo-Saxons had perhaps not previously seen since the days of Archbishop Theodore in the late seventh century.<sup>119</sup> Æthelwold's school at Old Minster, Winchester (Winchester Cathedral) was especially lively.<sup>120</sup> The Benedictine schools were presumably intended in the first instance for young monks,<sup>121</sup> and, unsurprisingly, recruitment of English bishops at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries was mostly monastic.<sup>122</sup> But Benedictine schools in England did sometimes take in outside pupils, as we can see from the early career of St Wulfstan of Worcester, who was taught at an elementary level at the monastery of Evesham (perhaps 1014) and then at a more advanced level at the monastery of Peterborough, long before he decided to become a monk.<sup>123</sup> It is only rarely that we find out about schooling in communities of secular clergy in Anglo-Saxon England, but in Durham in the eleventh century teaching seems to have been in the hands of the sacrist or treasurer: early on in the century this was Alfred son of Westou,<sup>124</sup> who taught the boys in the community reading and chant and informed them about ecclesiastical offices,<sup>125</sup> and by the 1080s it was his son Eilaf Larwa ('Eilaf the teacher').<sup>126</sup> The church of Waltham, refounded by Harold Godwineson shortly before 1060,<sup>127</sup> employed a schoolmaster from Liège who had been educated at either Utrecht or Maastricht and whom Harold had recruited; he too was eventually succeeded by his son Master Peter, after an intervening schoolmaster, Ailric Childemaister, who occurs in 1066.<sup>128</sup> The New Minster *Liber Vitae* records the names of a schoolmaster and his son at an unknown school who died before 1031.<sup>129</sup>

Evidence suggests that cathedral schools in northern France and in the empire made increasing efforts during the tenth and the eleventh centuries to improve the quality of the



education which they provided.<sup>130</sup> Nonetheless it is worth stressing a point often made by scholars working on this area, that improvement was hit-and-miss, since each school tended to have only one teacher at a time.<sup>131</sup> This person would be responsible for teaching all age groups, and schools which had built up a strong reputation under a particularly able master, for example Rheims under Gerbert,<sup>132</sup> found it hard to maintain dynamism after his death or retirement when a new figure would have the task of building up confidence.<sup>133</sup> Nor were academic considerations necessarily the top priority in a cathedral chapter when deciding who should be the next dignitary in charge of the schools: family links might often count for more (as they did, with even greater force, in filling the other cathedral dignities).<sup>134</sup> Some cathedrals successfully stood out in this process, establishing such a good reputation that young canons from other cathedrals attended them to further their studies. Among these were Rheims, in the late ninth century under Archbishop Fulco and in the later tenth century with the appointment of Gerbert of Aurillac;<sup>135</sup> Liège from the later tenth century onwards, once Bishop Éracle had set improvements in train;<sup>136</sup> Orléans in the earlier eleventh century;<sup>137</sup> Chartres in the earlier eleventh century under Bishop Fulbert;<sup>138</sup> Bamberg right from its foundation by Henry II in 1007;<sup>139</sup> Hildesheim from the tenth century;<sup>140</sup> Laon;<sup>141</sup> and, from the later eleventh century, Paris.<sup>142</sup> Predominantly these schools, like other cathedral schools, concentrated on the *trivium*, the three liberal arts dealing with the written word (grammar, rhetoric and dialectic), though Liège had a good reputation for teaching the *quadrivium* also (that is, the four liberal arts dealing with number).<sup>143</sup> We will see more of the eleventh-century curriculum below.<sup>144</sup> By the eleventh century, a clear hierarchy was emerging among cathedral schools,<sup>145</sup> and it was becoming accepted that young canons from cathedrals with less ambitious schools might temporarily move to cathedrals offering better teaching to improve their education before returning to the cathedrals to which they belonged. In areas where cathedral schools were poor or non-existent, for example much of Normandy in the eleventh century, the necessity of sending young clerics away to learn was obvious. Bishop Odo of Bayeux (1049–97) sent several protégés to Liège.<sup>146</sup> However, during the eleventh century, movement between cathedral schools may only have happened in a minority of cases.

A rather different situation was developing in the last quarter of the eleventh century and is visible most clearly in France, both in the valley of the Loire and in north-eastern France and Flanders. In north-eastern France and Flanders the diocesan map altered as the big dioceses of Cambrai–Arras and Noyon–Tournai split into their constituent parts in 1094 and 1146 respectively.<sup>147</sup> In this dynamic environment, cathedrals and collegiate churches tried to attract pupils from outside the respective dioceses by employing inspiring teachers. At Tournai, Master Odo, who had been imported into the chapter from Toul Cathedral, where he had previously taught, attracted ‘crowds of different clerics ... not only from France, Flanders and Normandy, but also from distant and remote Italy, Saxony, and Burgundy’.<sup>148</sup> The attraction of large numbers of pupils from geographically very diverse areas is even more marked at Laon in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, partly because, unlike Odo, who spent only five years in post at Tournai before opting for the religious life, Laon had a schoolmaster, Anselm (with assistance from his

brother Ralph), whose time in post lasted for several decades.<sup>149</sup> Laon attracted Ivo, the future bishop of Chartres, in the 1070s,<sup>150</sup> and Guy of Étampes,<sup>151</sup> and very large numbers of young clerics from England in the first decade or so of the twelfth century, perhaps as a result of the election of Gaudri, formerly chancellor of Henry I of England, to the bishopric of Laon in 1106. Henry was probably involved in Gaudri's election, and may have been interested in facilitating the education of young English clergy.<sup>152</sup> Clerics going from England to Laon included the sons of Ranulf the chancellor, taken by their tutor William of Corbeil; Robert, archdeacon in the diocese of Exeter; Alexander and Nigel, later bishops of, respectively, Lincoln and Ely, nephews of Bishop Roger of Salisbury;<sup>153</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, the historian;<sup>154</sup> Gilbert the Universal, later bishop of London; Hugh of Amiens, prior of Lewes and later abbot of Reading and archbishop of Rouen 1130–64; Norman, the first prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate (1107–47); Robert Pullen;<sup>155</sup> Robert de Béthune, bishop of Hereford 1131–48;<sup>156</sup> the nephew of Adelard of Bath, taken by Adelard to Laon;<sup>157</sup> and probably Gilbert of Sempringham and an Augustinian canon called Maurice.<sup>158</sup> Meanwhile, in the Loire valley and the Île de France, a growing number of collegiate churches provided schools which might in some cases rival cathedral schools. In Paris itself, schools grew up at several of the collegiate churches without damaging the success of the cathedral school.<sup>159</sup> Some schoolmasters were setting out to attract greater numbers of outsiders than hitherto – not just a relatively small number of young canons from other cathedrals, but large numbers, and from outside the diocese in question. The particular attractiveness of individual masters lay in increasing specialisation of subject matter: at Tournai, Master Odo specialised in dialectic, as did Roscelin at Loches;<sup>160</sup> at Laon, Master Anselm specialised in biblical commentary (the study of *sacra pagina*, the 'sacred page').<sup>161</sup> The movement of clerics from one diocese to another required permission; this had always been possible, as surviving letters by bishops granting permission for such movements attest,<sup>162</sup> and had long been a necessity in the cases of schoolmasters, but for clergy in general it may have been fairly limited down to the late eleventh century. Now it seems to have become a flood. Abelard in the last decade or so of the eleventh century studied at schools in at least three dioceses other than Nantes, the one where he had been born.<sup>163</sup>

Thus we see a growth in the number of young clerks studying at the schools of churches to which they were not as yet linked, or not as yet linked very closely. There seems to have been a point between the late eleventh and the early twelfth centuries in France (imitated closely in England, by then culturally closely connected with France) when churches ceased to expect that entrants into their communities should ideally undergo education within their precincts.<sup>164</sup> By the late 1170s, Stephen of Tournai could write a letter of recommendation to Alexander III on behalf of a cleric named John whom he described as *nutritus et eruditus* of Orléans Cathedral, in other words someone who had attended its school, asking for him to be given a prebend at Orléans or elsewhere.<sup>165</sup> In monasteries, this process of separating education from the commitment to a way of life led to the end of the practice of oblation – speedily in the case of the new monastic orders, which tried to avoid adopting it in the first place,<sup>166</sup> but more slowly in the case of Benedictine houses, which were still practising oblation up to the middle of the twelfth

century.<sup>167</sup> Thus the young Bernard of Clairvaux went to a school run by the secular canons of Châtillon-sur-Seine, but did not feel bound to join them.<sup>168</sup> A clear contrast can be seen between this type of upbringing and that of Benedictines of the same or a slightly older generation, for example Orderic Vitalis, Suger and William of Malmesbury, all oblates.<sup>169</sup> In the early twelfth century, monasteries switched their attention to running grammar schools,<sup>170</sup> operating under their supervision but just outside the *claustrum*: for example, St Albans Abbey ran a school for external pupils whose teachers included Alexander Nequam in the mid-1180s and,<sup>171</sup> possibly, in the early twelfth century, Robert de Béthune.<sup>172</sup> Grammar schools run by, or operating under the protection of, great monasteries, and also by Augustinian houses, helped to fill out the educational network in the twelfth century.<sup>173</sup> Towns were especially suitable places for schools to operate in because there were more lodgings available for pupils.<sup>174</sup> But even towns lacking major ecclesiastical foundations were establishing schools (here, presumably, attached to the local parish church) by the end of the twelfth century.<sup>175</sup> Major churches with monopolies were not necessarily disturbed by minor churches offering elementary education, which they presumably licensed: perhaps it was under the aegis of the monks of Durham cathedral that the parish church of St Giles in Durham ran a school teaching reading and chant in the twelfth century, which was attended by the middle-aged Godric of Finchale, a layman preparing to become a hermit.<sup>176</sup>

Major churches were worried about competing schools at the level of grammar school and above, and would often claim a monopoly over education in their surrounding area, which in practice meant that they sought to exercise the right to control, license and, where they wished, shut down schools operating close to them.<sup>177</sup> Cathedral chancellors or scholastici had overall charge of schools under the bishop,<sup>178</sup> and would limit the rights of other major churches in cathedral cities to run schools; the cathedral chancellor or scholasticus would exercise overall authority. In London, St Mary-le-Bow and St Martin-le-Grand were both authorised to run schools in addition to the one run by St Paul's; Sainte-Geneviève, lying just outside the city of Paris, lay outside Notre-Dame's control and could run a school freely.<sup>179</sup> In towns lacking a cathedral the largest church would try to claim a monopoly, but the bishop would still have ultimate authority.<sup>180</sup>

At the same time, monks had to consider their own standpoint on higher education, now developing apace, which (with some Augustinian exceptions, for example St Victor in Paris) was essentially in the hands of the seculars. The more ascetic monks felt that they had to oppose the higher schools and develop a non-scholastic, more mystical, theology.<sup>181</sup> Worst hit were those monks who felt that the regulars ought to retain the intellectual high ground, like Rupert of Deutz, who was so upset by the teaching of Anselm of Laon that he set out to debate with him riding on a donkey, in imitation of Christ, only to arrive after Anselm had died.<sup>182</sup> More generally, and eventually, monks realised that they stood to benefit from the higher schools through recruitment; the Cistercians, in spite of their anxiety about higher education, attracted a number of graduates, including Otto of Freising.<sup>183</sup> Indeed Bernard visited Paris to pick up recruits: this was presumably because the Cistercians in fact valued the effects of higher education, even though Bernard presented his recruitment drive as zeal for saving souls.<sup>184</sup>

Knowledge of canon law was especially needful, but monks were not supposed to attend schools to study it; instead, abbeys would try to attract some canonists into their ranks.<sup>185</sup>

In the twelfth century, cathedrals increasingly made more formal arrangements for their schools, both physically and institutionally. Paris, where pressures were greatest, deliberately separated its school from the canons' houses early on: in about 1127 Stephen de Senlis (bishop of Paris 1124–42), in a settlement negotiated by Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis and Abbot Gilduin of St Victor, moved the school of Notre-Dame Cathedral out of the canons' precinct to a site next to the bishop's palace.<sup>186</sup> Cathedrals, like monasteries, had a strong interest in building up grammar schools, which allowed a steady income in return for a moderate outlay, and so the pupils that most cathedrals were particularly trying to attract were in their teens. The schoolmaster teaching the school would be paid in fees from the pupils, and all the community would have to provide would be a room and perhaps some books. At a lower social level, cathedrals also built up song schools for poor boys who might look forward to careers as vicars-choral.<sup>187</sup> However, teaching adults was also important, and many cathedrals did not, as yet, give up their claim to teach subjects of higher study.<sup>188</sup> Sarum kept its school integrated into the cathedral community down to about 1139.<sup>189</sup> Lincoln Cathedral tried to specialise in the teaching of canon law and then in theology in the later twelfth century, in spite of the existence of *studia generalia* elsewhere in the diocese of Lincoln at Oxford and Northampton.<sup>190</sup> In the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Hereford cathedral attracted specialists in the natural sciences<sup>191</sup> and also employed teachers of theology;<sup>192</sup> Gerald of Wales noted that its school was open to all.<sup>193</sup> Robert Grosseteste is likely to have received some of his education at an English cathedral, probably Lincoln, though apparently with higher study at Cambridge as well.<sup>194</sup>

German cathedral schools continued to concentrate on the education of their own cathedral canons, though outsiders were welcomed in too.<sup>195</sup> Boy canons are quite frequently evidenced;<sup>196</sup> more general references to pupils within the school of a cathedral or a collegiate church presumably include external pupils as well as boy canons.<sup>197</sup> Some German cathedrals, like their western counterparts, developed study in canon law in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: they did this too slowly to catch up with the higher schools such as Paris and Bologna, but could provide an adequate level of education for those clerics who did not need the very best training in these subjects.<sup>198</sup> The German cathedrals which had emerged as superior schools in the eleventh century retained their position against the others: Bamberg, Hildesheim, Würzburg, Cologne and Mainz built up higher subjects of study in the twelfth century.<sup>199</sup> Cathedrals in French-speaking areas of upper and lower Lotharingia were less able to compete with Paris, and their schools tended to stagnate in the twelfth century.<sup>200</sup>

## Higher education and the growth of *studia generalia*

Although most cathedral schools were well placed to cope with education at the level of a grammar school, because of their institutional continuity, their financial stability and assistance and their wealth of local contacts, only a few of them were able to cope with the provision of higher study. In most cases they may simply not have felt motivated to compete: the *raison d'être* of a cathedral was divine service, and education, while

necessary for the correct performance of the liturgy, was not necessarily an institutional preoccupation if it could be provided elsewhere.<sup>201</sup> More generally, the ability to provide higher education depended on favourable geographical and political circumstances: being centrally placed in a populous area, and long-term political security. The early examples of Laon and Tournai in the late eleventh century had shown that higher education worked most effectively where large numbers of students could congregate, particularly where these were already in late adolescence or early adulthood and had not only their elementary education behind them but also a grounding in grammar and, as far as possible, rhetoric. But both Laon and Tournai had only one principal attraction – their masters – and when these died (as at Laon) or retired into the monastic life (as at Tournai) there was nothing left to attract newcomers. Laon in particular, built on a hilltop with no room for expansion and with limited supplies of water, was ill-placed to continue to be a school.<sup>202</sup> On top of this, the profoundly disturbing shock caused by the violent rebellion of its citizens against its Bishop Gaudri in 1112, which had led to Gaudri's murder and to the temporary dispersal of the clergy, must have put off many possible students.<sup>203</sup> Master Anselm's reputation in fact sufficed to revive the school after 1112 and it survived beyond his lifetime up to the death of his brother Ralph some years later, but the event can hardly have been forgotten.<sup>204</sup>

Paris, however, suffered from none of these disadvantages. Politically it became progressively more stable under Louis VI, as private warfare in the Île de France diminished. Louis strengthened royal power in the city by building a new fortified bridge from the Île-de-la-Cité to the right bank with a great fortress, the Châtelet, at the northern end, between 1111 and 1116.<sup>205</sup> It is true that his court was riven between two powerful factions, both strongly represented among the clergy of Notre Dame, one forming around Stephen de Garlande, archdeacon of Paris, and the other around William of Champeaux and, later, Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis; as a result, academic life in Paris could be tense (as Robert-Henri Bautier has shown, many of the crises in Abelard's career reflected moments when the Garlande faction, of which Abelard was an adherent, was out of favour).<sup>206</sup> However, some academics doubtless played this system to their advantage. Royal control, which had been very weak under Louis's father Philip I, was now more secure, making it easier for merchants and moneychangers to flourish.<sup>207</sup> Commercial expansion encouraged population growth, and the urban population grew steadily over the two following centuries, peaking at perhaps 200,000 in 1328.<sup>208</sup> As the largest city in northern Europe by the later twelfth century, Paris had no problems in providing lodgings and food for a large floating population of students and masters.<sup>209</sup> By at least the later twelfth century the large number of masters and students was encouraging yet another form of business best undertaken in an urban environment, the production and sale of books as a commercial enterprise.<sup>210</sup> Students benefited from this not only because it might bring ownership of a few books within their financial means, but also because the booksellers' need for large numbers of casual scribes<sup>211</sup> made it possible for them to make some money at moments when gifts of cash from geographically distant relatives had run dry.<sup>212</sup> They could also undertake private tuition to make ends meet.

Already in the early twelfth century Paris had more than one school: in addition to the cathedral school, which had been growing in significance since the late eleventh



century,<sup>213</sup> there was a school at St Victor from 1108, the point when William of Champeaux withdrew from the cathedral chapter to teach there. After the church was established as a house of Augustinian canons in 1113<sup>214</sup> it continued to flourish as a centre of teaching and learning.<sup>215</sup> There was a school at Sainte-Geneviève (Mont-Sainte-Geneviève) from the early twelfth century.<sup>216</sup> Students drawn to Paris by the reputation of one master could, therefore, easily transfer to another once they were there.<sup>217</sup> By 1215, the number of masters teaching in Paris was substantial, expanding opportunities still further and ensuring that Paris dominated in the study of the liberal arts and of theology.<sup>218</sup> The increase in numbers had yet another advantage for young students. It opened up opportunities for making contact with a much wider variety of people than they could otherwise have met. Paris attracted students from across northern and north-western Europe: in proportion to its total population, England supplied a very large group in the twelfth century and the early thirteenth,<sup>219</sup> but numerous students also came from various parts of France,<sup>220</sup> from Italy,<sup>221</sup> from the Low Countries<sup>222</sup> and, though in much smaller numbers in proportion to the total potential population, from Germany.<sup>223</sup> Several high-born Danes also went to Paris;<sup>224</sup> a Scot, Master Robert de Edinton, temporarily deposited his books at St Victor's in the 1180s.<sup>225</sup> International and inter-regional contacts, though in most cases doubtless fleeting, could nonetheless be recalled in later life by clergy anxious to build on long-lost friendship (*amicitia*) with fellow students, teachers or pupils who might now be advanced to powerful positions in the Church.<sup>226</sup> These contacts were of particular benefit to French clergy who found themselves in England but wanted preferment on the other side of the Channel,<sup>227</sup> to clergy acting as envoys on behalf of rulers,<sup>228</sup> and above all to any cleric who found himself having to appeal to the Curia, or even more to travel to the Curia for litigation.<sup>229</sup>

Paris was the overwhelmingly dominant centre of higher studies in France, but did not completely overshadow *studia generalia* elsewhere. Orléans developed a reputation for the teaching of the liberal arts, especially letter-writing.<sup>230</sup> In the south of France, Montpellier acquired a reputation for the study of medicine,<sup>231</sup> and it and Arles taught law and attracted some students from the north.<sup>232</sup>

Higher schools also developed in Italy: here the one which most concerns us, since it attracted most students from north of the Alps, was Bologna, which had begun to develop as the main centre for the study of Roman law in the late eleventh century.<sup>233</sup> Bologna's real development as a *studium generale* came after c.1140,<sup>234</sup> when the teaching of Gratian brought it wide reputation for the study of canon law,<sup>235</sup> emerging as the single most useful subject of study for those clerks who wished to make a career in ecclesiastical administration. Frederick Barbarossa's Authentic *Habita*, a grant of protection from molestation made in 1158 to travelling scholars and groups of foreign scholars in northern Italy, was especially helpful to Bologna, where it was copied on Frederick's orders into copies of Justinian's *Codex*.<sup>236</sup> However, Bologna was far harder to reach for students from north of the Alps than was Paris, and northern Europeans preferred the latter for the study of liberal arts and also theology. Nonetheless many northern clerics were attracted to Bologna, for example Peter of Blois (though he repented of this and turned to studying

theology at Paris instead).<sup>237</sup>

*Studia generalia* also developed in England in the twelfth century. At Oxford, Robert Pullen taught theology from 1133 to 1138.<sup>238</sup> Although Southern argued forcefully that Oxford did not figure as a higher school between Pullen's departure and the last quarter of the twelfth century, rejecting earlier views of an Oxford school taught by Theobald of Étampes and the Italian canonist Master Vacarius in the middle of the twelfth century,<sup>239</sup> the case for mid-twelfth-century study at Oxford has been recently revived by R.M. Thomson, who has pointed to evidence for the presence of the master Serlo of Wilton at Oxford in the 1150s,<sup>240</sup> and by Henry Mayr-Harting, who has discovered 'the earliest list of Oxford dons', written between 1174 and 1180 and including Master John of Cornwall, who may have taught at Oxford as early as 1160.<sup>241</sup> Oxford did not, it is true, become a significant school until warfare between Richard I and Philip Augustus made it harder for English clerics to travel to Paris,<sup>242</sup> and even after this point more intellectually ambitious English clerics still preferred Paris.<sup>243</sup> Nonetheless, in spite of small beginnings, Oxford was quite well placed as a centre of higher learning; it lay at the junction of two principal routes,<sup>244</sup> and was frequently chosen for the hearing of legal cases, including ecclesiastical ones – the diocese of Lincoln, to which it belonged, was so large that the inhabitants of the southern part of it required a nearer centre than Lincoln to travel to.<sup>245</sup> Oxford was by no means the only embryo *studium generale* in England in this period; elsewhere in the diocese of Lincoln, Northampton flourished briefly as a higher school,<sup>246</sup> and in the early thirteenth century, Cambridge appears to have been one of the points of refuge for Oxford scholars making an exodus from Oxford in 1208, or perhaps 1209–10, after some of their number had been hanged by townspeople. Study at Oxford revived in 1214, but higher study had become fully established at Cambridge by the 1220s.<sup>247</sup>

*Studia generalia* created more competition within the educational system as the hierarchy of schools became steeper and the value of being educated at the most prestigious higher schools increased. However, this effect was not felt equally everywhere. Clerics in western areas of Europe were more likely to place value on the title of master, while it was of less use in furthering clerical careers further east, where family pull was more important.

## Conclusion

Churches took responsibility for education in an ad hoc way in the very early Middle Ages, to ensure the training of young clerics in an age when other schools were in decline. As a result, recruitment of young clerics often overlapped with recruitment for schools, as parents sought an assured future career for sons intended to be clerics, though it was always possible to attend schools run by cathedrals and monasteries as an outside pupil, and from the end of the tenth century it was not uncommon for pupils who were canons of one cathedral to be able to move to another for higher study. The full organisation of schools geared towards teaching advanced students happened only in the twelfth century, although moves towards this can be observed in the eleventh.

<sup>1</sup> See [Chapter 2](#) above.

<sup>2</sup> Rupert of Deutz complained that an educated man of any order or dress could be

designated a cleric: PL 169: 203–4, commented on by Peter Classen, ‘Die hohen Schulen und die Gesellschaft’, repr. in Peter Classen, *Studium und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. Johannes Fried (Stuttgart, 1983), 1–26, at 17.

[3](#) ‘Clergie’, in *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française*, ed. Frédéric Godefroy, 10 vols. (Paris, 1881–1902), II, 151–2.

[4](#) On the quantity of liturgy, see John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford, 1991), *passim*; and also John Harper, ‘The vicar choral in choir’, in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals. Cantate Domino: History, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford, 2005), 17–22.

[5](#) Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), 211–70; Dhuoda, *Handbook for Her Warrior Son: Liber Manualis*, ed. Marcelle Thiébaux (Cambridge, 1998), esp. 21–7; Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson, eds., *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2007).

[6](#) “‘Si’, inquam, “proinde mori contingeret, non desistam quin litteras discam, et clericus fiam.” Promiserat enim si eques vellem fieri, cum ad id temporis emersissem, apparatus se mihi militiae et arma daturam’, Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and tr. Edmond-René Labande (Paris, 1981), 40 (*Monodiae*, I, 6); for the translation, see Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent* (1970; repr. Toronto, 1984), 50.

[7](#) *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise*, ed. and tr. David Luscombe (Oxford, 2013), 4.

[8](#) Günter Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekans bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 5 (Munich, 1970), 63–5, on the expansion of the curriculum in the last quarter of the tenth century to include more pagan writers; C. Stephen Jaeger, ‘Cathedral schools and humanist learning’, *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, 61 (1987), 569–616, esp. 575–601.

[9](#) Cf Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, II: *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, Schriften der MGH, 16, 2 (Stuttgart, 1966), 276–7; C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness* (Philadelphia, 1985), 22–48.

[10](#) At Lincoln a song school (*scolam ... de cantu*) is referred to in a grant by Bishop Alexander the Magnificent to the precentor 1147 × 1148 (*EEA*, I, no 44; see also Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956), no 157); a song school at Huntingdon was restored to the Augustinian canons of St Mary’s, Huntingdon 1149 × 1164 (*Twelfth-Century English Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, ed. B.R. Kemp, Canterbury and York Society, 92 (Woodbridge, 2001), no 102); the song school of Exeter Cathedral is mentioned in an account of an appearance of Thomas Becket in a vision, recorded 1171 × 1175 (J.C. Robertson, ed., *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols., RS, 67 (London, 1875–85), I, 407–9, discussed by Nicholas Orme, ‘The medieval clergy of Exeter Cathedral: 2. The secondaries and choristers’, *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 115 (1983), 79–100, at 85–6). Song schools are visible in more detail in thirteenth-century statutes, e.g. those of

Hereford (1246 × 1256): *Lincoln Statutes*, II (1), 36–85, at 76, 83 (for dating see *EEA*, XXXV, p. lv). In general see Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Manchester, 1967), 166–8 and 308–11.

[11](#) J.W. Baldwin, ‘Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: a social perspective’, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, with Carol D. Lanham (Oxford, 1982), 138–72, at 154–7; J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ, 1970), I, 179–85; J.W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, CA, 1986), 119–22; Julia Barrow, ‘Education and the recruitment of cathedral canons in England and Germany, 1100–1225’, *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117–38, esp. 133; and see also Julia Barrow, ‘Origins and careers of cathedral canons in twelfth-century England’, *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), 23–40, esp. 37–40; on social mobility see John Gillingham, ‘Some observations on social mobility in England between the Norman Conquest and the early thirteenth century’, in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (Oxford, 1996), 333–55, repr. in John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity, and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), 259–76; Gunnar Stollberg, *Die soziale Stellung der intellektuellen Oberschicht im England des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck, 1973).

[12](#) *Commentarius Cantabrigiensis in Epistolas S. Pauli e Schola Petri Abaelardi*, ed. Artur Landgraf, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, IN, 1939–45), II, 434, commented on by Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952), 78; and by Classen, ‘Die hohen Schulen’, 8.

[13](#) E.g. Egbert Türk, *Nugae Curialium: Le règne d’Henri II Plantagenêt (1154–1189) et l’éthique politique* (Geneva, 1977), *passim*, but esp. 8–29, 56, 68–72, 84–7, 95–100, 124–50 (on courtiers); Classen, *Studium und Gesellschaft*, 27–98, 197–237 (on lawyers); John Marenbon, *Medieval Philosophy: An Historical and Philosophical Introduction* (Abingdon, 2007), 131–62 (on philosophers); R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1995–2001), *passim* (on theologians).

[14](#) For some general guides to the development of intellectual enquiry, see note above and Dominique Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris, 1957); R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953); R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*; Martin Grabmann, *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 1909–11; repr. Berlin, 1957).

[15](#) Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927); Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), esp. xxiii–xxx.

[16](#) E.g. Glauche, *Schullektüre*; Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l’Occident barbare: VIe–VIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1967), 510–25; John Contreni, *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts* (Aldershot, 1992); Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, 1993), esp. 1–48 (‘Schools, learning and literature in tenth-century England’) and 183–211 (‘Æthelwold as scholar and teacher’); Detlev Illmer, *Erziehung und Wissensvermittlung im frühen Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der*



*Schule* (Kastellaun and Hunsrück, 1979), 75–88; Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2001).

[17](#) There is more information on the post-1200 period, when educational institutions began to be independently endowed: cf Trevor Henry Aston and Rosamond Faith, ‘The endowments of the university and colleges to circa 1348’, in *The History of the University of Oxford, I: The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J.I. Catto, with Ralph Evans (Oxford, 1984), 265–309.

[18](#) Illmer, *Erziehung und Wissensvermittlung*, 161–23; Arthur Francis Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London, 1915); Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), 167–79 and 293–325; Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven and London, 2006).

[19](#) Cf Orme, *English Schools*, 116–41, but this is essentially on the later Middle Ages.

[20](#) Pierre Riché, *Les écoles et l’enseignement dans l’occident chrétien de la fin du Ve siècle au milieu du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1979), 221–84; Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l’Occident barbare*, 513–30; Charles Burnett, ‘Give him the white cow: notes and note-taking in the universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries’, *History of Universities*, 14 (1995–6, publ. 1998), 1–30; Michael Clanchy and Lesley Smith, ‘Abelard’s description of the school of Laon: what might it tell us about early scholastic teaching?’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 54 (2010), 1–34; István Hajnal, *L’enseignement de l’écriture aux universités médiévales*, 2nd edn (Budapest, 1959), 117–79, on writing (mostly later medieval) and *dictamen*; William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ, 1987), 23–48, discusses the practicalities of education, mostly concerning the fourteenth century but with many references to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[21](#) Émile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France, V: Les écoles de la fin du VIIIe siècle à la fin du XIIe*, Mémoires et travaux publiés par des professeurs des facultés catholiques de Lille (Lille, 1940). For the Merovingian period see Martin Heinzelmann, ‘Studia sanctorum: éducation, milieux d’instruction et valeurs éducatives dans l’hagiographie en Gaule jusqu’à la fin de l’époque mérovingienne’, in *Haut Moyen-Âge: Culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, ed. Michel Sot, Claude Lepelley, Philippe Contamine et al. (La Garenne-Colombes, 1990), 105–38; Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l’Occident barbare*; Robert Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne* (Brussels, 2001), 51–73; and literature cited in n. 35 below. Lesne limited the sources for his book to material in print, and therefore many of his comments about individual cathedral schools need complete revision in the light of later manuscript studies: cf the criticism made by John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich, 1978), 4–5 that Lesne was unaware of the significance of the school at Laon before the twelfth century. It should also be noted that Lesne’s book was published early in the Second World War in the year of his death.

[22](#) Lesne, *Les écoles, passim*; Ursmar Berlière, ‘Écoles claustrales au moyen âge’, *Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres*, 5th series, 7 (1921), 550–72; Magde M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society* (Leiden, 1992),



esp. 63–70, 108–29; Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, 1996), 146–55, 238–9, 251–2, and see below at nn. 76–80.

[23](#) General histories of universities: Heinrich Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400* (Berlin, 1885); Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., ed. F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden (Oxford, 1936); Jacques Verger, *Les universités au moyen âge* (Paris, 1973); A.B. Cobban, *The Medieval Universities: Their Development and Organization* (London, 1975); R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 198–233; Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Paris au temps d'Abélard', in *Abélard en son temps*, ed. Jean Jolivet (Paris, 1981), 21–77; for a short-lived higher school see H.G. Richardson, 'The schools of Northampton in the twelfth century', *EHR*, 56 (1941), 595–605.

[24](#) Philippe Delhay, 'L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle', *Traditio*, 5 (1947), 211–68, esp. 253–68; Gaines Post, 'Alexander III, the *licentia docendi* and the rise of the universities', in *Anniversary Essays in Medieval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins*, ed. C. Taylor (Boston and New York, 1929), 255–77.

[25](#) Cf Lesne, *Les écoles*, 134–7, 145–51, 173–5, 321–7; Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven and London, 2006), 189–95.

[26](#) R.W. Southern, 'The schools of Paris and the school of Chartres', in *Renaissance and Renewal*, ed. Benson and Constable, 113–37, esp. 135; R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 90–1; Baldwin, 'Masters at Paris', 157; Barrow, 'Education and the recruitment', 133–8.

[27](#) Christine Renardy, *Le monde des maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège 1140–1350*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fasc. ccxxvii (Liège, 1979), esp. 101 (*magistri* begin to occur in the diocese of Liège in the 1140s but only frequently from the 1170s); see also Christine Renardy, *Les maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège* (Paris, 1981).

[28](#) Barrow, 'Education and the recruitment', esp. 128–9; Manfred Groten, 'Der Magistertitel und seine Verbreitung im deutschen Reich des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 113 (1993), 21–40; cf R.M. Herkenrath, 'Studien zum Magistertitel in der frühen Stauferzeit', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 88 (1980), 3–35, on definitions; on Lorraine see Michel Parisse, 'Formation intellectuelle et universitaire en Lorraine avant la fondation de l'université de Pont-à-Mousson', in *L'université de Pont-à-Mousson et les problèmes de son temps*, Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut de recherche régionale en sciences sociales, humaines et économiques de l'Université Nancy II, Nancy 16–19 octobre 1972 (Nancy, 1974), 17–44, esp. 20–2.

[29](#) Burnel the ass says in the poem that if the public do not put the title *Magister* in front of his name he will regard them as an enemy: Nigel Longchamp (alias Wireker or Whiteacre), *Speculum Stultorum*, ed. John H. Mozley and Robert B. Raymo (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), 58, ll. 1205–12.

[30](#) Cf M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford, 1997), 25–94; Peter Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg: Eine Biographie* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 14–15; Margaret Gibson,

‘Adelard of Bath’, in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett, Warburg Institute Studies and Texts, 14 (London, 1987), 7–16; Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), 17–22; R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992), 63–82.

[31](#) *A Latin Dictionary*, ed. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford, 1879), 1641.

[32](#) *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, ed. J.F. Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft, new edn in 2 vols. by J.W.J. Burgers (Leiden, 2002), II, 1232–3; Lesne, *Les écoles*, 18, on *scholae cantorum* and *scholae lectorum* in ninth-century Lyon.

[33](#) Cf later medieval schools in Lübeck: Christian Radtke, ‘*Si non facietis voluntatem nostram ... Zum Lübecker Kirchenkampf im 13. Jahrhundert*’, in *Bischof und Bürger: Herrschaftsbeziehungen in den Kathedralstädten des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters*, ed. Uwe Grieme, Nathalie Kruppa and Stefan Pätzold, Studien zur Germania Sacra, 26 (Göttingen, 2004), 165–84, at 179.

[34](#) Heinzelmann, ‘*Studia sanctorum*’, 126–9, 134; Godding, *Prêtres*, 63–6.

[35](#) For a re-evaluation of the survival of late Roman schools of rhetoric in Gaul, see Ralph W. Mathisen, ‘Bishops, barbarians and the “Dark Ages”: the fate of late Roman educational institutions in late Antique Gaul’, in *Medieval Education*, ed. Ronald B. Begley and Joseph W. Koterski (New York, 2005), 3–19, with a prosopographical survey of teachers in traditional schools in the fifth–seventh centuries on pp. 18–19; Pierre Riché, ‘La survivance des écoles publiques en Gaule au Ve siècle’, *Le Moyen Âge*, 63 (1957), 421–36; Pierre Riché, *Education et culture dans l’Occident barbare*, 69–75; Ian Wood, ‘Administration, law and culture in Merovingian Gaul’, in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), 63–81, at 73; Avitus of Vienne (d. perhaps 518) belonged to ‘perhaps the last generation for which the full Roman pattern of education was available in Gaul’: Avitus of Vienne, *Letters and Selected Prose*, tr. with intro. and notes by Danuta Shanzer and Ian Wood (Liverpool, 2002), 7.

[36](#) *Vita Caesarii*, PL 67:1004; *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, tr. William E. Klingshirn (Liverpool, 1994), 13–14 (*Vita*, I, c. 9); cf Ennode, *Lettres*, ed. Stéphane Gioanni, 2 vols. (Paris, 2006–10), I, 57–8 (Ep. ii. 6).

[37](#) M.A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004), 185.

[38](#) Mathisen, ‘Bishops, barbarians and the “Dark Ages”’, 12.

[39](#) Cf Heinzelmann, ‘*Studia sanctorum*’, 118–19.

[40](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 55–8.

[41](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 56–7.

[42](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 56.

[43](#) Godding, *Prêtres*, 57.

[44](#) See nn. 36, 38 above.

[45](#) Heinzelmann, ‘*Studia sanctorum*’, 118–19; Godding, *Prêtres*, 63–6.

[46](#) On Caesarius' parochial seminaries see Riché, *Education et culture dans l'Occident barbare*, 170; and Godding, *Prêtres*, 60–3.

[47](#) E.g. John of Gorze: *La vie de Jean, abbé de Gorze*, ed. and tr. Michel Parisse (Paris, 1999), 48–9, c. 10; Odo of Cluny: Odon de Cluny, *Vita sancti Geraldii Auriliacensis*, ed. and tr. Anne-Marie Bultot-Verleysen, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 89 (Brussels, 2009), 4; Guibert de Nogent (see [n. 6](#) above).

[48](#) MGH *Capit. ep.*, I, 116, c. 20; cf also II, 131 (Herard of Tours, 858, c. 17).

[49](#) OV, VI, 552; Orderic was put to school at the age of five and Siward taught him his letters, psalms and hymns (so presumably reading and chant).

[50](#) CS I, i, 318; cf also regulations for examining ordinands: the latter have to bring tokens from their teachers to the bishop, *ibid.*, i, 422–7, at 424, 426.

[51](#) Guibert, *Autobiographie*, ed. Labande, 24–42 (I, cc. 4–6); for an English translation see Benton, *Self and Society*, 44–50; see also [n. 6](#) above.

[52](#) William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, ed. Michael Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 85 (*Vita Wulfstani*, ii, 13); William says the couple lived *mediocriter*.

[53](#) Orme, *Medieval Schools*, 190–3 (probably a conservative estimate).

[54](#) *St Davids Episcopal Acta 1085–1280*, ed. Julia Barrow, South Wales Record Society, 13 (Cardiff, 1998), no 27 of 1148 × 1176. On fosterage see [Chapter 5](#) above.

[55](#) See [Chapter 5](#) above.

[56](#) *Life of St Cathroe* (AASS March I (6 March), 469–81; translation of part of the *Life* in A.O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History, AD 500 to 1286*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1922), 431–43; for estimate of Cathroe's age see *ibid.*, 431 n. 9: all refs here are to c. 1 of *Vita*. On the dating of the *Life*, see Alain Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse (VIIe–XIe siècles)* (Sigmaringen, 1985), 167, and David Dumville, 'St Cathroé of Metz and the hagiography of exoticism', in *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, ed. John Carey, Máire Herbert and Pádraig Ó Riain (Dublin, 2001), 172–88, esp. 173–4; the *Life* was dedicated to Immo, abbot of Gorze 982–1016.

[57](#) AASS 475; Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 433–4.

[58](#) AASS 475; Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 434.

[59](#) AASS 475 ('in divina lege'); Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 434.

[60](#) AASS 475 ('in pistrino disciplinarum'); Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 435.

[61](#) AASS 475; Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, 436–7.

[62](#) Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare*, 140–63.

[63](#) RB, c. 63.

[64](#) Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare*, 150–60.

[65](#) Cf John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 40–3, on the concept of 'monastic Europe'.

[66](#) Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare*, 371–83, connects this development particularly with Columbanian monasticism.

[67](#) Bede comments on how Hild trained up five future bishops: Bede, *HE*, 408–11 (iv, c. 23); see also Catherine Cubitt, 'Wilfrid's usurping bishops: episcopal elections in Anglo-Saxon England, c.600–c.800', *Northern History*, 25 (1989), 18–38. On Anglo-Saxon cathedral schools in the seventh and eighth centuries, see [nn. 83](#)–4 below.

[68](#) *Capitula Episcoporum*, I, 115–16, c. 19.

[69](#) Giles Constable, 'Monks and canons in Carolingian Gaul: the case of Rigrannus of Le Mans', in *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. A.C. Murray (Toronto, 1998), 320–36, at 324, 332.

[70](#) *Expositio regulae ab Hildemaro tradita et nunc primum typis mandata*, ed. Rupert Mittermüller (Regensburg, 1880), esp. 331–4, 369–72, 547–52, discussed by Mayke de Jong, 'Growing up in a Carolingian monastery: Magister Hildemar and his oblates', *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), 99–128.

[71](#) David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen, 1990), 26.

[72](#) E.g., of the bishops (forty-nine out of 280 individuals) listed by Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)* (Sigmaringen, 1997), Bernold, bishop of Strasbourg, and Heito, bishop of Basle, were educated at the Reichenau, while Hrabanus Maurus had been a child oblate at Fulda; more exceptionally, Haistulf, archbishop of Mainz, had been a pupil of Lull, therefore presumably at Mainz Cathedral (*ibid.*, 140, 229, 234, 350–2). Frotharius, bishop of Toul, was educated at Gorze (*ibid.*, 204). Louis the Pious had Charlemagne's illegitimate son Drogo tonsured and made canon at Metz Cathedral, where later he became bishop (*ibid.*, 163). Of those obtaining sees in the western part of the empire, Aldric, bishop of Le Mans, had been a canon at Metz Cathedral; Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, Franco, bishop of Le Mans, and Heribald, bishop of Auxerre, were educated in the palace school (perhaps also Hucbert, bishop of Meaux, and Prudentius, bishop of Troyes); and Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, was educated from boyhood at the abbey of Saint-Denis (*ibid.*, 97, 169–70, 241, 257, 261).

[73](#) See [Chapter 3](#), at [n. 121](#), above.

[74](#) On the Reichenau school, which was at its best in the first half of the ninth century, see Franz Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1975–92), I, 352–8; and Bernhard Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, tr. Michael Gorman, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2007), 37, 62, 97, 106–7, 147–8. On the St Gall school, see Anna A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 13 (Cambridge, 2006), 49–109.

[75](#) Gerhard von Augsburg, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici: Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Ulrich*, ed. and tr. Walter Berschin and Angelika Häse (Heidelberg, 1993), 90–2.

[76](#) MGH *Capitularia*, I, 346 (Capitulare monasticum, c. 45).

[77](#) *The Plan of St Gall*, ed. Walter Horn and Ernest Born, 3 vols. (Berkeley, CA, 1979), I, 311–13, for the oblates' enclosure, which has no school, and II, 168–75, on the school; Horn and Born (*ibid.*, I, 23–4) assume the oblates' enclosure is the internal school, but



against this see de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, 238–9; and Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St Gall*, 53–63.

[78](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 25–6; Berlière, 'Ecoles claustrales au moyen âge', 550–72; Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society*, 99–141; cf also Richard E. Sullivan, 'What was Carolingian monasticism? The plan of St Gall and the history of monasticism', in *After Rome's Fall*, ed. Murray, 251–87, at 272, 274.

[79](#) De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, 238–9.

[80](#) Hanns-Christoph Picker, *Pastor Doctus: Klerikerbild und karolingische Reformen bei Hrabanus Maurus*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für abendländische Religionsgeschichte, 186 (Mainz, 2001), 56–89, esp. 87.

[81](#) Discussed by Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 77–108.

[82](#) Cf Catherine Cubitt, 'The clergy in early Anglo-Saxon England', *Historical Research*, 78 (2005), 273–87; Catherine Cubitt, 'Images of St Peter: the clergy and the religious life in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. P. Cavill (Cambridge, 2004), 41–54.

[83](#) Donald Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004), 164–238.

[84](#) Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), 94–9; Michael Lapidge, 'The school of Theodore and Hadrian', *ASE*, 15 (1986), 45–72; Michael Lapidge, 'The career of Archbishop Theodore', in *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence*, ed. Michael Lapidge (Cambridge, 1995), 1–29, at 26–9.

[85](#) Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare*, 328–9; Godding, *Prêtres*, 63–6.

[86](#) Cf Claussen, *Reform*, 114–65, who notes also that Chrodegang deviated from RB on many points.

[87](#) RC c. 2 (*S. Chrodegangi Metensis Episcopi (742–766) Regula Canonorum aud dem Leidener Codex Vossianus Latinus 94 mit Umschrift der Tironischen Noten*, ed. Wilhelm Schmitz (Hanover, 1889), 3–4).

[88](#) Cf Claussen, *Reform*, 132, with comment on the differences between RC c. 2 and RB c. 63.

[89](#) Claussen, *Reform*, 206–30.

[90](#) *Pauli Warnefridi liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH SS, 2 (Hanover, 1829), 260–70, at 268.

[91](#) 'Et ideo officio quidem vestrae pietatis placuit, ut ad petitionem meam mihi concederetis unum de Metensi ecclesia clericum, per quem, Deo iuvante et mercede vestra annuente, ita in Lugdunensi ecclesia instauratus est ordo psallendi, ut juxta vires nostras secundum ritum sacri palatii omni ex parte agi videatur quicquid ad divinum persolvendum officium ordo deposcit. Nam habeo scholas cantorum, ex quibus plerique ita sunt erudite, ut etiam alios erudire possint': *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, II, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp., 4 (Berlin, 1895), 542–4, at 542–3, no 30 (Dümmler dates this to c.813/814); for comment see Mayke de Jong, 'Charlemagne's church', in *Charlemagne*:



*Empire and Society*, ed. Joanna Story (Manchester, 2005), 103–35, at 103–4, who dates the letter to 809 × 812; see also Alfred Coville, *Recherches sur l’histoire de Lyon du Ve siècle au IXe siècle (450–800)* (Paris, 1928), 283–96.

[92](#) This process also influenced Archbishop Wulfred at Canterbury in 813: see Nicholas Brooks, ‘Was cathedral reform at Christ Church Canterbury in the early ninth century of continental inspiration?’, in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story, with Gaby Waxenberger (Tempe, Arizona, 2011), 303–22, in preference to Brigitte Langefeld, ‘*Regula canonicorum* or *Regula monasterialis vitae*? The Rule of Chrodegang and Archbishop Wulfred’s reforms at Canterbury’, *ASE*, 25 (1996), 21–36.

[93](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 308–421; see also [Chapter 3](#) above at pp. 81–5.

[94](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 413; this chapter was one of the IC chapters taken over into Enlarged RC, as the latter’s c. 46: cf *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Brigitte Langefeld (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 260–1, for edition, and 353 for commentary.

[95](#) De Jong, ‘Growing up’, esp. 106, 115.

[96](#) The caption in the Aachen Rule, c.135, runs ‘Ut erga pueros, qui nutriuntur vel erudiuntur in congregatione canonica, instantissima sit adhibenda custodia’ (MGH *Conc.* I, 413); the caption in Enlarged RC, c. 46, runs ‘De pueris nutriendis custodiendisque’, and, in the Old English translation, ‘Be cildra fostre and heordredene’: *Enlarged Rule*, ed. Langefeld, 260–1; on *nutritio* cf [chapter 5](#) above.

[97](#) RC c. 31 (pp. 20–3 in Schmitz’s edition).

[98](#) Cf [Chapter 9](#) below.

[99](#) F.L. Carey, ‘The scriptorium of Rheims during the archbishopric of Hincmar’, in *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of E.K. Rand* (New York, 1938), 41–60.

[100](#) On Laon, see Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 4; J.J. Contreni, ‘The Irish “colony” at Laon during the time of John Scottus’, in *Jean Scot Erigène et l’histoire de la philosophie*, Colloques internationaux du CNRS, 561 (Paris, 1977), 59–67; J.J. Contreni, ‘The formation of Laon’s cathedral library in the ninth century’, *Studi Medievali*, 13 (1972), 919–39 (these two last repr. in Contreni, *Carolingian Learning*, Chapters 8, 13).

[101](#) Cf J.J. Contreni, *Codex Laudunensis 468: A Ninth-Century Guide to Virgil, Sedulius, and the Liberal Arts*, *Armarius codicum insignium*, 3 (Turnhout, 1984), a commentary on a didactic MS written at Soissons.

[102](#) For Cologne’s 833 library catalogue see Anton Decker, ‘Die Hildebaldsche Manuskriptensammlung des Kölner Doms’, *Festschrift der 43. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner dargeboten von den höheren Lehranstalten Kölns* (Bonn, 1895), 215–51, at 224–8; and Klemens Löffler, *Kölner Bibliotheksgeschichte im Umriss* (Cologne, 1923), 2. On Cologne’s scriptorium 785–923 see L.W. Jones, *The Script of Cologne from Hildebald to Hermann* (Cambridge, MA, 1932), but note also criticism by Henry Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne* (Oxford, 2007), 70.

[103](#) Sedulius Scottus was active in Liège in the middle of the ninth century: James F.

Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland, Ecclesiastical: An Introduction and Guide* (New York, 1966), 554–5.

[104](#) Education at Trier presumably came to a standstill in 882, when the city was sacked by the Vikings, but the activities of Regino of Prüm, abbot of St Maximin's from the very end of the ninth century, must have helped to restore it: *History and Politics in Late Carolingian and Ottonian Europe: The Chronicle of Regino of Prüm and Adalbert of Magdeburg*, tr. Simon MacLean (Manchester, 2009), 1–53.

[105](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 137–9, 176.

[106](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 68, 83, 94–5, 271, 299, 349, 368, 371, 383.

[107](#) On tenth-century Cologne see Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, esp. 131–44, with discussion of historiographical debate, and also *Ruotgeri Vita Brunonis Archiepiscopi Coloniensis*, ed. Irene Ott, MGH SRG (Cologne, 1958); on Rheims see J.R. Williams, 'The cathedral school of Rheims in the eleventh century', *Speculum*, 29 (1954), 661–77; and J.R. Williams, 'The cathedral school of Reims in the time of Master Alberic, 1118–1136', *Traditio*, 20 (1964), 93–114; Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004); Michael E. Moore, 'Prologue: teaching and learning history in the school of Reims, c.800–950', in *Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200*, ed. Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (Turnhout, 2006), 19–49; Jason Glenn, 'Master and community in tenth-century Reims', [ibid.](#), 50–68.

[108](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 147, 173–4, 190–1, 324, 329, 359–60; Michel Parisse, 'Formation intellectuelle et universitaire en Lorraine avant la foundation de l'université de Pont-à-Mousson', in *L'université de Pont-à-Mousson et les problèmes de son temps*, Actes du colloque organisé par l'institut de recherche régionale en sciences sociales, humaines et économiques de l'Université de Nancy, 16–19 octobre, 1972 (Nancy, 1974), 17–44, at 20.

[109](#) On the development of urban collegiate churches, see e.g. Frank G. Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung, Bauprojekte und Großbaustellen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1998), *passim*, but esp. 128–44 on Cambrai, 287–313 on Mainz and 313–29 on Worms. See [Chapter 9](#) below at nn. 30–56.

[110](#) Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 41–3, 134–45, and, for monastically trained recruits into Otto's chapel, 37, 43–4. Joachim Ehlers, 'Dom- und Klosterschulen in Deutschland und Frankreich im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', in *Schule und Schüler im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur europäischen Bildungsgeschichte des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Kintzinger, Sönke Lorenz and Michael Walter (Cologne, 1996), 29–52, at 34, sees the Vikings and more especially the Hungarians as marking the caesura between the dominance of monastic and of cathedral schools, though this did not affect the area around Lake Constance.

[111](#) Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicorum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 47 (Stuttgart, 2000), 271–2.

[112](#) Cf cases mentioned by Berlière, 'Ecoles claustrales', 554–67.

[113](#) Wulfstan of Winchester, *Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. and tr. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1991), 8–11 ([Chapter 6](#)); subsequently, at the start of adolescence, he was brought up at the royal court.

[114](#) *The Early Lives of St Dunstan*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2012), 14–15 (c. 4.1). Dunstan’s father was probably a Winchester cleric: see references in [Chapter 2](#) above.

[115](#) *Early Lives of St Dunstan*, 16–21 (c. 5).

[116](#) Michael Lapidge, ‘A Frankish scholar in tenth-century England: Frithegod of Canterbury/Fredegaud of Brioude’, *ASE*, 17 (1988), 45–65, at 47, repr. in Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066* (London, 1993), 157–81, at 159.

[117](#) Michael Lapidge, ‘Schools, learning and literature in tenth-century England’, in *Il secolo di ferro: mito e realtà del secolo X*, Settimane di studio, 38, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1991), II, 951–98, esp. 953, repr. in Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066*, 1–48, at 3.

[118](#) Julia Barrow, ‘The chronology of the Benedictine “Reform”’, in *Edgar, King of the English, 959–975*, ed. Donald Scragg (Woodbridge, 2008), 211–23.

[119](#) Lapidge, ‘Schools, learning and literature’, 986–96 (36–46 in reprint).

[120](#) *Life of St Æthelwold*, xcii–xcix.

[121](#) Quite large numbers of *pueri* are recorded in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*: thirty-three boys are recorded for Old Minster Winchester from 964 to c.1031 out of about 170 monks, while the majority of the monastic intake into New Minster between 1031 and the early twelfth century consisted of boys: *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. Simon Keynes, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, 26 (Copenhagen, 1996), fos. 18r–20r and 21v–23v, esp. 21v–22v (in the second half of the twelfth century onwards there was a sharp decline in the number of boys being recruited).

[122](#) Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd edn (London, 1979), 62–95, esp. 63–4, 72.

[123](#) William of Malmesbury, *Saints’ Lives*, 14–19 (*Vita Wulfstani*, i, [Chapter 1](#)); see also comment in [Chapter 2](#) above; Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester, c.1008–1095* (Oxford, 1990), 34–8; for more comment on context see Julia Barrow, ‘Wulfstan and Worcester: bishop and clergy in the early eleventh century’, in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York*, ed. Matthew Townend (Turnhout, 2004), 141–59, at 152 n. 63.

[124](#) *The Priory of Hexham: Its Chroniclers, Endowments and Annals*, ed. James Raine, vol. I (only one published), Surtees Society, 44 (Durham, 1834 for 1833), li–lii, and Appendix IV, viii, which describes Alfred as *secretarius*, an alternative term for a treasurer.

[125](#) Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis ecclesie*, ed. and tr. David Rollason, *Oxford Medieval Texts* (Oxford, 2000), 162; in this passage Alfred is shown to have been a careful guardian of Durham’s relic collection, part of a treasurer’s duties.

[126](#) *The Priory of Hexham*, lii, and Appendix IV, viii, which describes Eilaf Larwa as *thesaurarius*.

[127](#) On the dating of Harold's refoundation, see *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. and tr. Leslie Watkiss and Marjorie Chibnall, OMT (Oxford, 1994), xxi–xxii; see also [Chapter 9, n. 47](#).

[128](#) *The Waltham Chronicle*, 28, 46, 66; Master Adelard is described as *Traiectensis* by education at 28 and is explicitly termed *institutor* at 66. 'Traiectum' could apply to either Utrecht, the translation favoured by Watkiss and Chibnall, or Maastricht; the latter, in the diocese of Liège, is slightly more likely, for while Utrecht had a cathedral and four collegiate churches, Maastricht, with its large imperial collegiate church dedicated to St Servatius, was in the diocese of Liège, which supplied a number of other clerics to England in the eleventh century (for example Giso from Saint-Trond, Robert of Hereford from Liège: see respectively *Fasti*, VII, 1, and VIII, 1). Adelard's son, Master Peter, taught the author of the chronicle from when the latter entered the community in c.1124 (*Waltham Chronicle*, 66 and also 20 n. 3 for the date).

[129](#) Ælfric *magister* and his son Leofwine occur among the deceased benefactors of New Minster, Winchester, entered in the main section (written in 1031) of the New Minster *Liber Vitae*: see *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster*, fo. 17v, and for comment on dating see [ibid.](#), 67–8. The church to which this Ælfric belonged is unknown.

[130](#) Ehlers, 'Dom- und Klosterschulen', 29–52; Jaeger, *Origins of Courtliness*, 31–48; and C. Stephen Jaeger, *Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), 36–117, stresses the formation provided in German cathedral schools in manners and morals.

[131](#) See [Chapter 7](#) below, in the section on schoolmasters.

[132](#) On Gerbert, scholasticus at Rheims from 972 to 991, see [Chapter 7](#) below; also Pierre Riché, 'L'enseignement de Gerbert à Reims dans le contexte européen', in *Gerberto, scienza, storia e mito. Atti del Gerberti Symposium (25–27 luglio 1983)*, Archivum Bobiense, Studia II (Bobbio, 1985), 51–69, repr. in Pierre Riché, *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident médiéval* (Aldershot, 1993), Chapter VI.

[133](#) Williams, 'The cathedral school of Rheims in the eleventh century', 661–2.

[134](#) See [Chapter 7 below, at nn. 38–41](#).

[135](#) See [n. 132](#) above.

[136](#) Christine Renardy, 'Les écoles liégeoises du XIe au XIIe siècle: Grandes lignes de leur évolution', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 57 (1979), 309–28, at 309–16.

[137](#) Though it would have been adversely affected by the early eleventh-century heresy scandal in the cathedral community: Robert-Henri Bautier, 'L'hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XIe siècle', *Actes du 95e Congrès national des sociétés savantes*, Reims, 1970, Section philosophique et historique (Paris, 1970), 63–88, repr. in Robert-Henri Bautier, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la France médiévale* (Aldershot, 1991), [Chapter 8](#).

[138](#) *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and tr. Frederick Behrends (Oxford, 1976); but see also Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 59–100 on the post-



Fulbert period.

[139](#) Claudia Märkl, 'Die Bamberger Schulen: ein Bildungszentrum des Salierreichs', in *Die Salier und das Reich*, ed. Stefan Weinfurter, 3 vols. (Sigmaringen, 1992), III, 327–45; on rather different circumstances in the twelfth century see Johannes Fried, 'Die Bamberger Domschule und die Rezeption von Frühscholastik und Rechtswissenschaft in ihrem Umkreis bis zum Ende der Stauferzeit', in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen, 1986), 163–201.

[140](#) Rudolf Meier, *Die Domkapitel zu Goslar und Halberstadt in ihrer persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1967), 131, on Halberstadt canons attending Hildesheim cathedral school for further study in the Ottonian period; Stefan Petersen, 'Stadtentstehung im Schatten der Kirche: Bischof und Stadt in Hildesheim bis zum Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts', in *Bischof und Bürger: Herrschaftsbeziehungen in den Kathedralstädten des Hoch- und Spätmittelalters*, ed. Uwe Grieme, Nathalie Kruppa and Stefan Pätzold (Göttingen, 2004), 143–63, at 154–6.

[141](#) On the Carolingian period, see Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*; on Laon's school in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, see V.I.J. Flint, 'The "School of Laon": a reconsideration', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 43 (1976), 89–110; Jean Châtillon, 'Abélard et les écoles', in *Abélard en son temps*, ed. Jean Jolivet (Paris, 1981), 133–60, at 146–9; Bernard Merlette, 'Écoles et bibliothèques à Laon, du déclin de l'antiquité au développement de l'université', in *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle (IXe–XVIe siècle)*, Actes du 95e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Reims 1970, Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610 (Paris, 1975), 21–53; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 199–200, and II, 17–21, 25–35; and now especially Cédric Giraud, *Per verba magistri: Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout, 2010), esp. 35–177.

[142](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 197–267; Bautier, 'Paris au temps d'Abélard', 29–31; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 202.

[143](#) Renardy, 'Les écoles liégeoises', esp. 314–16.

[144](#) See [Chapter 7](#) below.

[145](#) See e.g. literature cited in nn. 132, 136–42 above.

[146](#) Monique Dosdat, 'Les évêques de la province de Rouen et la vie intellectuelle au XIe siècle', in *Les évêques normands du XIe siècle*, ed. Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (Caen, 1995), 223–52, at 226–7.

[147](#) *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras (1093–1203)*, ed. Benoît-Michel Tock (Paris, 1991), pp. xxxi–xxxiii; Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle: Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1986), 25–8.

[148](#) *Herimanni liber de restauratione monasterii Sancti Martini Tornacensis*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS, 14, 274–317, at 274; for translation, see Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of St Martin of Tournai*, tr. Lynn H. Nelson (Washington, DC, 1996), 13 (c. 1); Odo had been 'summoned' to Toul from his home in Orléans.



[149](#) Giraud, *Per verba*, 51–177; and see [n. 141](#) above.

[150](#) Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 253–5.

[151](#) Judith Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986), 160; Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c.1075–c.1125* (Oxford, 1992), 82–3.

[152](#) Guibert, *Autobiographie*, 280–2 (*Monodiae*, iii, c. 4; for English translation see Benton, *Self and Society*, 151–2), and OV, VI, 90–1, hint that Henry I was involved in Gaudri's election, though they avoid saying so explicitly; see Jay Rubenstein, 'Guibert of Nogent's lessons from the Anglo-Norman world', in *Teaching and Learning*, ed. Vaughn and Rubenstein, 149–69, at 158. Enguerrand de Boves's role in Gaudri's election is stressed in *Actes des évêques de Laon des origines à 1151*, ed. Annie Dufour-Malbezin (Paris, 2001), 17.

[153](#) Herman of Tournai, *Miracles of St Mary of Laon*, PL 156: 977, 982–3; cf also J.S.P. Tatlock, 'The English journey of the Laon canons', *Speculum*, 8 (1933), 454–65; and Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 168, n. 7; Giraud, *Per verba*, 117–18.

[154](#) Diana Greenway, 'Henry of Huntingdon as poet', *Medium Aevum*, 74 (2005), 329–32, at 329–30: it is not certain whether this was before or after Henry became archdeacon of Huntingdon in succession to his father Nicholas in 1110.

[155](#) All mentioned by Greenway, 'Henry of Huntingdon as poet'; on Pullen see also R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 176; on Gilbert see Giraud, *Per verba*, 130–1.

[156](#) William of Wycombe, *Life of Robert de Béthune*, ed. in Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, II, 300; Giraud, *Per verba*, 126–30.

[157](#) Gibson, 'Adelard of Bath', 9–10; Giraud, *Per verba*, 116–17; not reliable on this point is Louise Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath, the First English Scientist* (London, 1994), 22–9.

[158](#) Brian Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c.1130–c.1300* (Oxford, 1995), 12: Maurice was a canon at Kirkham Priory in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

[159](#) See below at [nn. 214–15](#) (St Victor) and [nn. 179, 216](#) (Sainte-Geneviève).

[160](#) *Herimanni liber*, 275 (c. 1; Herman of Tournai, *The Restoration of the Monastery of St Martin of Tournai*, 14); on Roscelin, see Clanchy, *Abelard*, 55, 68, 293.

[161](#) Giraud, *Per verba*, 183–337.

[162](#) PL 129: 1381–98; and see also [Chapter 2, at nn. 42–5](#); for similar preoccupations in the twelfth century, see the letter from Bishop Arnulf of Lisieux to Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter concerning Jordan, a priest: *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. Frank Barlow, Camden Society, 3rd series, 61 (London, 1939), 137 (no 83).

[163](#) Abelard's elementary education occurred at an unnamed school presumably in the diocese of Nantes, after which he studied at Loches (twenty miles from Tours), Tours, Paris and Laon: see Constant Mews, 'Peter Abelard', in *Authors of the Middle Ages: Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West*, ed. P.J. Geary, II (Aldershot, 1995), 1–

88, at 9–12; M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard*, 55, 60, 68, 71, 293. Châtillon, ‘Abélard et les écoles’, 138 (Loches), 134–46 (Paris), 146–55 (Laon).

[164](#) See also discussion of Thomas Becket’s commendation to Merton Priory in [Chapter 5 above, at n. 58](#).

[165](#) *Lettres d’Étienne de Tournai*, ed. Jules Desilve (Valenciennes and Paris, 1893), 38, no 23 (1177 × 1181).

[166](#) Joseph Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260* (Columbus, OH, 1976), 56, n. 56.

[167](#) Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry*, 36–50, esp. 38–9; David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1963), 420–1.

[168](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 88; Bernard later ordered the house to become Augustinian. See also Peter Dinzelbacher, *Bernhard von Clairvaux: Leben und Werk des berühmten Zisterziensers* (Darmstadt, 1998), 6–7.

[169](#) OV, VI, 552–5; and see also Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Woodbridge, 1984), 14; Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (Harlow, 1998), 77; Rodney M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge, 2003), 4. Cf also Delhay, ‘L’organisation’, 229–30, on how monastic schools were drastically altered after the oblate system came to an end.

[170](#) Cf Berlière, ‘Ecoles claustrales’, 567.

[171](#) R.W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157–1217)*, rev. by Margaret Gibson, ed. M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1989), 3–4.

[172](#) Julia Barrow, ‘Robert de Béthune’, in *ODNB*, V, 546–8.

[173](#) Nicholas Orme, ‘The Augustinian canons and education’, in *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, ed. Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (Turnhout, 2011), 213–32. For some specific English examples, see *EEA* I, no 134 (Bishop Robert Chesney of Lincoln granting a monopoly to the Augustinian canons of Huntingdon within the town, 1148 × 1166); for Alexander Nequam teaching at Dunstable in 1183, see Hunt, *The Schools*, 4. For the sequence of masters at St Andrews, operating under the aegis of its Augustinian cathedral, see D.E.R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410* (Oxford, 1977), 476, for Master Patrick of St Andrews, master of the schools in St Andrews in the early thirteenth century and closely connected with the cathedral priory there; see *ibid.*, 374, 531–3 for Master Malpatricius at St Andrews in the later twelfth century and for Master Laurence de Thorenton as *ferleyn* or official in charge of the schools at St Andrews in the early thirteenth century.

[174](#) Sometimes more formal arrangements were provided: cf *EEA*, IV, no 135, of 1186 × 1200 concerning the hospice at Northampton; *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. H.E. Butler (London and Edinburgh, 1949), 45 for Abbot Samson of Bury’s charitable foundation of a hostel for scholars; see also Orme, *Medieval Schools*, 205, 208–9, for discussion.

[175](#) For Ludlow see *EEA*, II, no 536; Master Adam occurs in charge of the schools in

Perth by 1210, and Master Thomas was rector of the schools of Roxburgh 1241 (Watt, *Biographical Dictionary*, 446, 530).

[176](#) *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici, heremitaie de Finchale, auctore Reginaldo monacho Dunelmensi*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, Surtees Society, 20 (London and Edinburgh, 1847), 59–60 (c. 16).

[177](#) E.g. *EEA*, VIII, no 79 (also in *EEA*, XV, no 41): anyone teaching in London had to have permission from Henry, master of the schools of St Paul's, save for the schools of St Mary-le-Bow and St Martin-le-Grand; *EEA*, I, no 134: monopoly for canons of Huntingdon over schools in Huntingdon; *EEA*, XVIII, no 14: monopoly for Reading abbey over schools in Reading; *EEA*, XXXIII, no 20, lost, is mentioned in a probably forged writ of Henry I claiming to give schools of Gloucester to St Oswald's priory, but, as the editors of *EEA*, XXXIII state, it is very unlikely that Gloucester Abbey did not have a school; *EEA*, XXXIII, nos 185, 258 are grants to Llanthony Secunda Priory of 'one of the schools of Gloucester', perhaps one based at the extramural parish church of St Owen (for the text of *EEA*, XXXIII, no 185, see Mary G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester 1164–1179* (Oxford, 1980), 262–3, Appendix I, no 29).

[178](#) Cf *Lettres d'Étienne de Tournai*, no 129 (c.1186) on Orléans; on Lille, see *Cartulaire de Lille*, I, no 172 (1221); in 1228 Gregory IX stated that the collegiate church of St Andrew in Hildesheim could have more than forty scholars if it wanted, irrespective of the views of the *Domscholaster* and that scholars could be *indigeni* or *alienigeni*, presumably boys born within or outside the diocese: *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Hildesheim*, I, c.996–1346, ed. Richard Doebner (Hildesheim, 1889, repr. Aalen, 1980), 55–6, no 104.

[179](#) *EEA*, VIII, no 79 (*EEA*, XV, no 41); Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 219; on Sainte-Geneviève's situation see Adrien Friedmann, *Paris, ses rues, ses paroisses du Moyen Âge à la Révolution* (Paris, 1959), 5–7.

[180](#) E.g. *EEA*, XVIII no 14. At Northampton during the years 1173–82 when Geoffrey Plantagenet was bishop-elect of Lincoln (i.e. not consecrated), control of the schools seems to have lain at least for part of the period with Adam (du Petit Pont), bishop of St Asaph, who gave judgement against Geoffrey de Vinsauf in a dispute with another master: Richardson, 'The schools of Northampton', 597–601.

[181](#) Among the Cistercians, Bernard of Clairvaux combined hostility to scholasticism with a strong interest in higher schools as a source for future monks: cf Dinzelbacher, *Bernhard von Clairvaux*, 223–35; for the point of view of Bernard's close friend William of Saint-Thierry (a Benedictine), see Jean Châtillon, 'Guillaume de Saint-Thierry, le monachisme et les écoles', in *Saint-Thierry: Une abbaye du VIe au XXe siècle*, ed. Michel Bur (Saint-Thierry, 1979), 375–94. On Augustinian involvement in higher education, see Jean Châtillon, *Le mouvement canonial au Moyen Âge. Réforme de l'Église, spiritualité et culture* (Turnhout, 1992), 327–445.

[182](#) Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, II, 17–21; John van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* (Berkeley, CA, 1983), 210–15.

[183](#) Joachim Ehlers, 'Deutsche Scholaren in Frankreich während des 12. Jahrhunderts', in *Schulen und Studium*, ed. Fried, 97–120, at 110–11 (Otto of Freising), 115 (other German Cistercians with Paris schooling); Joachim Ehlers, *Otto von Freising: Ein Intellektueller*

*im Mittelalter* (Munich, 2013), 15–19; in addition see Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1851), I, 25, 36 (I, cc. 18, 32); on Otto of Freising, who visited Morimond on his way home from Paris and decided to join the Cistercians, see R.W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 210.

[184](#) S. Bernardi Opera, ed. Jean Leclercq, Charles Hugh Talbot and Henri Rochais, 8 vols. in 9 parts (Rome, 1957–77), IV, 69–116 (*Sermones ad clericos de conversione*), discussed by Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, II, 126–7; and by C.J. Mews, ‘The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard, and the fear of social upheaval’, *Speculum*, 77 (2002), 342–82, at 369 (in Mews’s redating of the episode, Bernard arrived in Paris on 6 January 1141 ahead of the meeting at Sens).

[185](#) Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 171–2, on monks of Battle and Henry II; cf also Nicholas Vincent, ‘Henry II and the monks of Battle: the Battle Chronicle unmasked’, in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford, 2001), 264–86; Alain Boureau, ‘How law came to the monks: the use of law in English society at the beginning of the thirteenth century’, *Past and Present*, 167 (2000), 29–74, at 66–9.

[186](#) *Cartulaire de l’église Notre-Dame de Paris*, I, 338–9; Bautier, ‘Paris au temps d’Abélard’, 31.

[187](#) FEG, 11: Sens, 26; FEG, 12: Autun, 24–5; Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 307–17; John Harper, ‘The vicar choral in choir’, in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals. Cantate Domino: History, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford, 2005), 17–22, at 18–19.

[188](#) Orléans, for example, was distinguished for its teaching in the liberal arts: Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, II, 184, 213, 231, 268. N.M. Häring argued for an important school at Poitiers: ‘Zur Geschichte der Schulen von Poitiers im 12. Jahrhundert’, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 47 (1965), 23–47, but this seems less likely.

[189](#) Sarum’s cathedral chapter retained a communal character until well into the twelfth century, with a strong interest in manuscript production: for the religious interests of Salisbury’s canons as expressed in their books, see Webber, *Scribes*, 113–39; see also *Fasti*, IV, xxiii–xxiv.

[190](#) Frans van Liere, ‘The study of canon law and the eclipse of the Lincoln schools, 1175–1225’, *History of Universities*, 18, 1 (2003), 1–13, examines the possible reasons for Lincoln’s eventual eclipse; R.M. Thomson, ‘Serlo of Wilton and the schools of Oxford’, *Medium Ævum*, 68 (1999), 1–12, on Oxford; H.G. Richardson, ‘The schools of Northampton’, 595–605.

[191](#) Cf R.W. Hunt, ‘English learning in the late twelfth century’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 19 (1936), 19–42, at 23, 36–7 (though Roger of Hereford was not a canon of Hereford); R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1986), 103–4, 126–8, 149; the annotations ‘Magister W. de Burga geometria/Magister Raduluus de Wgetot musicam’ in Hereford Cathedral MS O VIII 9, fo 128v, may refer to music and geometry masters (R.A.B. Mynors and R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge, 1993), 58).



[192](#) *Fasti*, VIII, 21 (Master Nicholas Divinus), 80 (Master Peter of Abergavenny), 89 (Master Simon of Melun); see also following note.

[193](#) Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum Duorum*, ed. Yves Lefèvre and R.B.C. Huygens, tr. Brian Dawson (Cardiff, 1974), 156–8 (Ep. 1), complained to Master Albinus, canon (later chancellor) of Hereford, that he had gone beyond merely opening his school to all and had given hospitality in his own house to Gerald's nephew.

[194](#) Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 76–8.

[195](#) *MUB*, II, ii, no 532 (1190), mentions *scolares* who are not canons; *Die Jüngere Hildesheimer Briefsammlung*, ed. Rolf de Kegel, *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 7 (Munich, 1995), 151–2, nos 96–7, shows us a request by a father of a schoolboy asking the cellarer of Hildesheim cathedral to put him up during his studies, and the cellarer politely refusing to do this, since he is old and ill; Gregory IX allowed collegiate churches in Hildesheim to take in schoolboys above the limit set by the cathedral scholasticus: *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Hildesheim*, I, no 104 (1228); *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Goslar*, ed. Georg Bode and Uwo Hölscher, 5 vols. (Halle, 1893–1922), I, nos 473 (1226), 502 (1226 × 1232), referring to the ordination of *scolares*.

[196](#) *MUB*, II, i, no 91 (1146); II, ii, no 517 (1186 × 1189), no 561 (1191) and no 673 (1183 × 1197) mention boy canons; for Liège, see *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, 96–8, no 58; *UB Hildesheim*, I, no 732 (Kreuzstift at Hildesheim, 1219 × 1220); on boy canons at Freising cathedral under Bishop Otto of Freising, see H.J. Busley, 'Bischof Otto und sein Domkapitel', in *Otto von Freising: Gedenkgabe zu seinem 800. Todesjahr*, ed. J.A. Fischer (Freising, 1958), 65–82, at 72–3; for Halberstadt see *UB Halberstadt*, I, nos 310 (1185), 414 (1201); Bamberg had fourteen *Domizellaren* in the late thirteenth century: Fried, 'Die Bamberger Domschule', 167; on prebends for boys at Verden Cathedral in the fourteenth century, see R. Bückmann, *Das Domkapitel zu Verden im Mittelalter*, Beiträge für die Geschichte Niedersachsens und Westfalens, 34 (Hildesheim, 1912), 19–20; for examples of obits for schoolboys see [Chapter 2, n. 215](#), above.

[197](#) Magdeburg cathedral's thirteenth-century customary prescribed separate dormitories for canons, vicars and schoolboys: Gottfried Wentz and Berent Schweineköper, *Das Erzbistum Magdeburg*, I: *Das Domstift St. Moritz in Magdeburg* (Berlin, 1972), 102; *scolares* ate in the refectory at Hildesheim cathedral: *UB Hildesheim*, I, no 270 (1150 × 1200); *scolares* ate outside the refectory at Trier, *UBMRh*, III, no 29 (1215); Caesarius of Heisterbach talks of schoolboys in the church of Bonn playing in the cloister and of a deceased schoolboy being buried in the graveyard (*Dialogus miraculorum*, II, 314, 353 (XI, c. 64; XII, c. 46)).

[198](#) Fried, 'Die Bamberger Domschule'; Märkl, 'Die Bamberger Schulen', 327–45; Peter Landau, 'Die Bamberger Anfänge der europäischen Strafrechtswissenschaft und die Würzburger Güldene Freiheit', *Deutsches Archiv*, 62 (2006), 505–36; Johannes Fried, 'Gerard Pucelle und Köln', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*, 69 (1982), 125–35; cf also Paul B. Pixton, 'Pope Innocent III and the German schools: the impact of Canon 11 of the Fourth Lateranum upon cathedral and other schools 1216–1272', in *Innocenzo III Urbs et Orbis*, Atti del Congresso Internazionale (Roma 9–15 settembre 1998), ed. Andrea Sommerlechner, Societa Romana



di Storia Patria and Istituto italiano per il medio evo (Rome, 2003), 1101–32.

[199](#) See preceding note, and also Petersen, ‘Stadtentwicklung im Schatten der Kirche’, 154–7.

[200](#) Parisse, ‘Formation intellectuelle’, 20–2; Renardy, ‘Les écoles liégeoises’, 320–8, explains why Liège cathedral school failed to develop further in the twelfth century.

[201](#) Cf Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 76.

[202](#) Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 199–200.

[203](#) Guibert, *Autobiographie*, 332–60 (III, cc. 7–11); for English translation, see Benton, *Self and Society*, 172–84.

[204](#) Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, II, 27, 49. On Laon’s school after Ralph’s death, see Merlette, ‘Écoles et bibliothèques, à Laon’, 48–9.

[205](#) Bautier, ‘Paris au temps d’Abélard’, 42.

[206](#) Bautier, ‘Paris au temps d’Abélard’, 53–77.

[207](#) Bautier, ‘Paris au temps d’Abélard’, 40–1; Carlrichard Brühl, *Palatium und Civitas*, I: *Gallien* (Cologne, 1975), 17–19.

[208](#) Élisabeth Carpentier and Jean Glénisson, ‘Bilans et méthodes: la démographie française au XIVe siècle’, *Annales-Économies-Sociétés-Civilisations*, 17, 1 (1962), 109–29, at 110–13; Jean Guerout, ‘Fiscalité, topographie et démographie à Paris au Moyen Âge’, *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes*, 130 (1972), 383–465; John W. Baldwin, *Paris, 1200* (Stanford, CA, 2010), 30–1. Brühl, *Palatium*, 18, favours a total of 50,000–60,000, but this seems unnecessarily conservative.

[209](#) Baldwin, *Paris, 1200*, 32; Classen, ‘Die hohen Schulen’, 22–3, n. 71; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 230.

[210](#) Peter of Blois complained in one of his letters that he had been gazumped by C., *Saxeburgensis prepositus*, after ordering law-books from a public bookseller in Paris: PL 207: 219–21 (ep. 71).

[211](#) From about 1225, book-copying became faster with the regularised development, at Paris, of the *pecia* system, which entailed separating the quires of books so that they could be copied simultaneously: Jean Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe et du XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1935), 19–23; Richard E. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, ‘The book trade at the University of Paris’, in *La production du livre universitaire au Moyen Âge: Exemplar et pecia*, ed. Louis J. Bataillon, Bertrand G. Guyot and Richard H. Rouse (Paris, 1991), 41–114; see also Hajnal, *L’enseignement de l’écriture aux universités médiévales*, 50, 234–5.

[212](#) See also Charles Homer Haskins, ‘The life of medieval students as illustrated by their letters’, *American Historical Review* 3 (1897–8), 203–29, at 208–13, 215, for examples of student letters in formularies, mostly of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, requesting money from relatives.

[213](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 198.

[214](#) Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Les origines et les premiers développements de l'abbaye Saint-Victor de Paris', in *L'abbaye parisienne de Saint-Victor au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean Longère, Bibiotheca Victorina, 1 (Turnhout, Brepols, 1991), 23–52, at 26, 29, 33–4.

[215](#) Luce Giard, 'Hugues de Saint-Victor: Cartographie du savoir', in *L'abbaye parisienne*, ed. Longère, 253–69; and Rainer Bernd, 'La pratique exégétique d'André de Saint-Victor: Tradition victorine et influence rabbinique', in [ibid.](#), 271–90; Margot Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, 1993), 211–40.

[216](#) Bautier, 'Paris au temps d'Abélard', 63.

[217](#) Stephen Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford, 1985), 16–17.

[218](#) Baldwin, 'Masters at Paris', 149, counts forty-seven masters teaching at Paris between 1179 and 1215.

[219](#) Astrik L. Gabriel, 'English masters and students during the twelfth century', in Astrik L. Gabriel, *Garlandia: Studies in the History of the Medieval University* (Notre Dame, IN, 1969), 1–37; Baldwin, 'Masters at Paris', 149, notes that sixteen out of the forty-seven masters teaching in Paris between 1179 and 1215 came from England, while the total from the whole of the French kingdom was twenty; Lesne, *Les écoles*, 251, 253–4, 263–4.

[220](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 261–2; see in general Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I, 139.

[221](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 262–3; D.E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge, 1970), 15–17.

[222](#) Alexander Budinszky, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1876), 164–78; Renardy, *Le monde des maîtres universitaires*, 94–5.

[223](#) Budinszky, *Die Universität*, 115–62; Joachim Ehlers, 'Verfassungs- und sozialgeschichtlichen Studien zum Bildungsgang Erzbischof Adalberts II. von Mainz', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 42 (1978), 161–84; Ehlers, 'Deutsche Scholaren in Frankreich während des 12 Jahrhunderts'; Ehlers, *Otto von Freising*, 35–6, 59, 83–5; Classen, 'Die hohen Schulen', 16, points out that the Life of Adalbert of Mainz suggests that his choice to go away to be educated was abnormal.

[224](#) *Lettres d'Étienne de Tournai*, 218–22, nos 180–2; Budinszky, *Die Universität Paris*, 217–25.

[225](#) Watt, *Biographical Dictionary*, 174–5 ('Edinton' is probably Haddington); see also [ibid.](#), 489–90, for Master Matthew Scot, who occurs as master, being examined for his suitability to teach theology, in Paris, 16 November 1218.

[226](#) Cf *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, nos 4, 10, 32, 36; Peter of Blois: PL 207: 100–5 (ep. 30), 128–9 (ep. 44), 129–32 (ep. 45), 172–5 (ep. 58), 217–19 (ep. 70), 272–6 (ep. 87), 380–1 (ep. 128), 506–8 (ep. 218); Timothy Reuter, 'John of Salisbury and the Germans', in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. M. Wilks, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3 (Oxford, 1984), 415–25, at 425.

[227](#) Peter of Blois wrote to Archbishop William of Sens to remind him that he had promised Peter a prebend at Chartres: PL 207: 380–1 (ep. 128).

[228](#) Peter of Blois, PL 207: 466–7 (ep. 171).

[229](#) In general see I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1990), 184–5.

[230](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 188–9; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 184, 231, 268. For Clermont, see *Spicilegium Liberianum*, ed. Francesco Liverani (Florence, 1863), 605.

[231](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 53–8; Marcel Bories, ‘Les origines de l’université de Montpellier’, in *Les universités du Languedoc au XIIIe siècle*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 5 (Toulouse, 1970), 92–107, at 98–102.

[232](#) On Montpellier see Bories, ‘Les origines’, 96–8; and Henri Gilles, ‘L’enseignement du droit en Languedoc au XIIIe siècle’, in *Les universités du Languedoc*, 204–29, at 207–8, 213. Nicholas Brakespear, later Pope Adrian IV, studied at Arles at some point between the 1110s and the 1130s according to Boso: Christoph Egger, ‘The canon regular: Saint-Ruf in context’, in *Adrian IV. The English Pope (1154–1159): Studies and Texts*, ed. Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), 15–28, at 20–1, citing Boso, *Vita Adriani*, in *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris, 1955–7), II, 388–97, at 388.

[233](#) Charles M. Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence: Pavia and Bologna 850–1150* (New Haven, 1988), 158–71.

[234](#) Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 264–74.

[235](#) Anders Winroth has established that Gratian’s *Decretum* is formed of two recensions, by different authors; the first recension was completed between 1139 and (probably) the 1150s, while the second recension had been written by 1155 × 1158: Anders Winroth, *The Making of Gratian’s Decretum* (Cambridge, 2000), 140–2.

[236](#) H. Koeppler, ‘Frederick Barbarossa and the schools of Bologna: Some remarks on the Authentic *Habita*’, *EHR*, 54 (1939), 577–607, esp. 592–600.

[237](#) PL 207: 69–71 ep. 26. Other examples are Master David of London and Gilbert Foliot’s nephews, on whom see *Spicilegium Liberianum*, 603–5, 610; and Adrian Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters* (Cambridge, 1965), 48–9.

[238](#) R.W. Southern, ‘From schools to university’, in *The History of the University of Oxford*, I: *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. Catto, 1–36, at 6–8; F. Courtney, *Cardinal Robert Pullen: An English Theologian of the 12th Century*, *Analecta Gregoriana*, 64 (1954), 6–8.

[239](#) R.W. Southern, ‘Master Vacarius and the beginning of an English academic tradition’, in *Medieval Learning and Literature; Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 257–86; Southern, ‘From schools to university’, 1–36; Peter Stein, ‘Vacarius and the civil law’ in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to C.R. Cheney*, ed. C.N.L. Brooke, D.E. Luscombe, G.H. Martin and Dorothy Owen (Cambridge, 1976), 119–37.

[240](#) Thomson, ‘Serlo of Wilton and the schools of Oxford’, 1–12.

[241](#) Henry Mayr-Harting, ‘The role of Benedictine abbeys in the development of Oxford, a centre of legal learning’, in *Benedictines in Oxford*, ed. Henry Wansbrough and Anthony Marett-Crosby (London, 1997), 11–19, 279–80.

[242](#) Southern, ‘From schools to university’, 21.

[243](#) F.M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928), 23–74 (esp. 43–4 on travel and letters of protection).

[244](#) On Oxford’s topography, see R.H.C. Davis, ‘The ford, the river and the city’, *Oxoniensia*, 38 (1974 for 1973), 258–67; John Blair, ‘St Frideswide’s monastery: problems and possibilities’, in *St Frideswide’s Monastery, at Oxford: Archaeological and Architectural Studies*, ed. W. John Blair (Gloucester, 1990) = *Oxoniensia*, 53 (1988), 221–58, at 221–4; Janet Cooper, ‘Medieval Oxford’, in *VCH Oxfordshire, IV: The City of Oxford*, ed. Alan Crossley (Oxford, 1979), 9–12, 35.

[245](#) Southern, ‘From schools to university’, 14–19.

[246](#) Richardson, ‘The schools of Northampton’, 595–605.

[247](#) For discussion of the exodus, see Patrick Zutshi, ‘The dispersal of scholars from Oxford and the beginnings of a university at Cambridge: a study of the sources’, *EHR*, 127 (2012), 1041–62; on Cambridge see also James A. Brundage, ‘The Cambridge faculty of canon law and the ecclesiastical courts of Ely’, in *Medieval Cambridge: Essays on the Pre-Reformation University*, ed. Patrick N.R. Zutshi (Woodbridge, 1993), 21–46; James A. Brundage stressed the role of the diocesan court of Ely in the foundation of the higher school at Cambridge in his ‘The canon law curriculum in medieval Cambridge’, in *Learning the Law: Teaching and the Transmission of Law in England, 1150–1900*, ed. Jonathan A. Bush and Alain A. Wijffels (London, 1999), 175–90, but this has been rejected by Nicholas Karn, *EEA*, XLII, lx–lxxi.

## 7 The education of the cleric, II

### Schoolmasters, curricula and the role of education in clerical careers

#### Schoolmasters

Schoolmasters helped to shape the careers of young clerics between c.800 and c.1200; in addition they themselves were clerics and their own careers are an important area of study in any social history of the clergy. Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries in northern Europe, schools were an integral part of major churches, and sometimes also of minor ones, and in the twelfth century they continued to be closely attached to churches (and in Germany remained integral parts of church communities). Schoolmasters were either full members of the community serving the church, or were paid deputies placed under the direct supervision of the dignitary in charge of the school. In the former case, teaching would be carried out by a full member of the ecclesiastical community in question; in the latter case, the teacher would not be a member of the community, but an employee, who could be dismissed at will. Masters who were full members of ecclesiastical communities usually had security of tenure: it was difficult to deprive them of their office (their ‘dignity’) or their canonical stall. It might indeed be felt desirable to nudge them sideways, and that was often possible. By contrast, deputy masters and employees had no security, and owed their continuing position to continuing health and strength, and to their ability to instil the requisite amount of knowledge in the minds of their pupils, while pleasing those in command, not least the head of the community.

The situation is somewhat complicated for the researcher by the wide variation in terminology, chronologically and geographically, used to define the dignitaries in secular cathedrals and collegiate churches who were in charge of the school. Some of these terms evolved to attempt to distinguish between dignitaries who actually taught, dignitaries who did not themselves teach, and the deputies who did teach, but many words ended up being used indiscriminately. Quite often, clerics will simply be referred to in witness lists as *magister* or *grammaticus*. In both cases, their position relative to other clerics in the list may help to elucidate their position: a place high up in a list of cathedral canons, among the dignitaries, will suggest that they held the dignity in charge of the schools, while a place low down in the list would leave open the possibility that they were deputies (though in practice these people did not often witness charters). However, with the *magister* title the situation can be more complicated.<sup>1</sup> Where the title *magister* precedes the name (‘Master Henry’), this, from the earlier twelfth century onwards, usually signifies that the cleric in question had received a higher education,<sup>2</sup> and not that he necessarily either taught or supervised the schools (very often, indeed, we may be certain that he did not). Where *magister* follows the name (‘Henry the master’), this usually signifies that the cleric did teach or else supervised those who did.

The terms *magister* and *grammaticus* are used, in geographical terms, quite widely, and originally this was true of the word *scholasticus* as well.<sup>3</sup> *Scholasticus* seems to have been the usual term in the Carolingian empire and, while it continued to be used, sporadically, in western and central France, it remained the normal term in Germany and to some extent also in eastern and north-eastern France (Rheims, Laon, Soissons, Noyon, Cambrai and



Arras).<sup>4</sup> However, the term *scholasticus* was occasionally used to mean ‘pupil’ in place of the more normal *scholaris/scolaris*.<sup>5</sup> *Magister scholarum* or sometimes *magister scholae* was often used for the dignitary in charge of the schools in northern France from the late eleventh century and continued in use for most of the twelfth, spreading in the twelfth century to England.<sup>6</sup> *Caput scholae* makes an appearance at Rheims in 845,<sup>7</sup> but later, with its variants *capiscola* or *chabischola*, it occurs in imperial Burgundy.<sup>8</sup> *Scholiarcha* and *archiscola* occur at Bourges.<sup>9</sup> From time to time the term *lector* might also be used to refer to someone who taught, rather confusingly, since it was also the term for one of the grades of clerical ordination.<sup>10</sup> A further shift came in the course of the period between the mid-twelfth century and the early thirteenth at Paris and Rouen and in all the English secular chapters, halfway through the century at Paris, and rather later elsewhere, not until c.1204 at Lincoln, for example.<sup>11</sup> This was the emergence of the term *cancellarius* to define the dignitary who was in charge of the schools, but who no longer necessarily taught in them himself.<sup>12</sup> Here, teaching duties were devolved to a deputy, who was usually appointed by the chancellor.<sup>13</sup> Deputies and assistants had in numerous cases existed previously, but the emergence of the chancellor made the arrangement more formal. He had further duties too: he was in charge of licensing clerics to teach; he had to keep the documents and, often, the seal of the cathedral chapter; and he chose readers for services in choir and was in charge of preaching.<sup>14</sup> In many French chapters the positions of chancellor and *scholasticus* remained separate, with the former being in charge of the bishop’s writing office.<sup>15</sup>

As the status of the dignitary in charge of the schools became more formalised, cathedrals began to secure endowments to support it on a permanent basis, as they did also for other dignities.<sup>16</sup> Between 1111 and 1127 Bishop Richard Belmeis of London granted a house and the keys to a book cupboard next to the altar to the schoolmaster at St Paul’s; additional grants were made over the twelfth century to endow the office.<sup>17</sup> We can see efforts to endow the office at Bourges, Soissons and Mainz in the twelfth century,<sup>18</sup> and likewise at Orléans in 1146,<sup>19</sup> at Naumburg in 1156,<sup>20</sup> at Strasbourg and at the Nikolaistift at Magdeburg, in 1185,<sup>21</sup> at Lille in 1221,<sup>22</sup> and at the collegiate church of St Martin in Münster in 1266.<sup>23</sup> Endowments for the dignity made it easy for whoever held it to be absent,<sup>24</sup> which might lead to a cessation of teaching, though more probably to the appointment of a deputy (funded by the absentee out of his endowments) who would step in to fill the breach.

In certain cathedrals the dignitary who controlled the school was not the *scholasticus* or chancellor but the cantor or precentor, the dignitary who was in charge of the choir and the singing. This was the case at the cathedrals of Orléans in the early eleventh century,<sup>25</sup> Sens in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,<sup>26</sup> Nevers in 1083<sup>27</sup> and Troyes, where the cantor had control of the appointment of the schoolmaster until 1201, when this duty was given to his deputy the succentor.<sup>28</sup> At Metz, there was no official dignity for the *scholasticus* until the twelfth century,<sup>29</sup> while at Rheims, the *scholasticus* was not one of the dignitaries until 1192.<sup>30</sup> At Tournai there was a *scholasticus* from 1090 down to 1138, when the position was suppressed, with the cantor taking charge of the school, though in

1198 the post of scholasticus was revived.<sup>31</sup> At Aschaffenburg a charter of Archbishop Willigis, supposedly of 976, was heavily interpolated or perhaps forged in the twelfth century to secure control of the school for the scholasticus (here termed *dydascalus*, a nice historicising touch) against the cantor, by narrating a story of how the latter had attempted to attack the *dydascalus*'s deputy with an ink tablet but had instead struck his own nephew and killed him.<sup>32</sup> Cantors had a strong interest in the activities of the school in any case, since elementary education involved teaching the Psalter and chant, and the boys attending the cathedral school might well be expected to attend services. However, cantors usually wanted to control entry into the choirs rather than letting the scholastici bring boys in under their own authority. Hence at Angers in 1081 a dispute over the attendance in choir of the grammar school boys and the song school boys had to be settled between Marbod, the master of the schools (*scolasticus*), and Geoffrey the cantor.<sup>33</sup> The cantors themselves had to run song schools, which in all cathedrals by the later Middle Ages were separate from the grammar schools and took in boys of much lower social standing.<sup>34</sup> These sang as choristers and might eventually hope to become vicars choral if their singing voices were still suitable after puberty. Thus at Magdeburg from 1231, although the scholasticus was in charge of the boys of the cathedral school, the cantor was responsible for the *scholares pauperes*, also called the *scholares chorales*.<sup>35</sup>

From fairly early on cathedrals realised that to build up a good reputation for their school they would have to be prepared to recruit schoolmasters from outside the diocese if necessary. In the tenth century, Würzburg had brought Stephen of Novara from Italy to build up its school,<sup>36</sup> while Rheims brought in Gerbert of Aurillac, who had studied in Spain and had taught the young Emperor Otto II.<sup>37</sup> Some of these outsiders were installed as canons and given the dignity of the scholasticus, or master of the schools (though not in Gerbert's case, since the Rheims schoolmaster was as yet not a dignitary). There seems generally to have been an understanding that, in appointing the master of the schools, educational attainments and knowledge would be more important than family background, which for other members of the cathedral chapter might be the principal consideration. This was still noticeable in the thirteenth century, when Caesarius of Heisterbach reported Philip Augustus of France's observation that normally when an episcopal candidate was presented to him upon election the electors would say that N was a scholasticus and had upheld the rights of his fellow canons or was learned or had bought friendship; or that N was a dean and had hidden his colleagues' excesses and had been promoted by powerful relatives; or that N was a provost or archdeacon and had been thrust in because of noble birth and influence of relatives – in other words, scholastici were normally expected to be well educated, whereas for other dignitaries the important qualification was family background.<sup>38</sup> The assumption implicit in the words Caesarius imputed to Philip Augustus, that family connections mattered more than education for promotion to being dean or provost, while the reverse was true only for scholastici, was particularly important in Germany,<sup>39</sup> though fairly strong also in France.<sup>40</sup> In England, by contrast, the family backgrounds of *magistri scholarum* and chancellors did not differ from those of other dignitaries in the cases where they can be ascertained.<sup>41</sup>

Scholastici could find themselves in a vulnerable position, however, especially those from abroad. Some outsiders took care not to stay long: Lanfranc spent hardly any time at

Avranches before becoming a monk at Bec;<sup>42</sup> the canonist Gerard Pucelle made two relatively short stays in Cologne.<sup>43</sup> Outsiders were precariously placed. Archbishop Manasses of Rheims explained in 1080 in a letter to the papal legate Hugh, bishop of Die, why he had fallen out with Bruno,<sup>44</sup> who had taught at Rheims for about twenty years before becoming chancellor there in 1076: 'he is a canon of St Cunibert's in Cologne, situated in the kingdom of the Germans; whose society we do not greatly care for, since we are completely ignorant of his life and of whether he is freeborn'.<sup>45</sup> Even though he was not foreign to the diocese, Gerhoch of Reichersberg was in a potentially difficult position as scholasticus at Augsburg Cathedral from 1118 to 1120; after a row with his diocesan he went to spend time at the Augustinian house of Rottenbuch and eventually became a canon there.<sup>46</sup>

Outsiders teaching at cathedral schools were in the public eye. They could be very vulnerable politically. Thus, for example, we see Abelard losing teaching positions at various points in his career, including the time when he was standing in for the master of the schools (whom Abelard, ever discreet about his allies, took care not to name) at Notre-Dame in Paris.<sup>47</sup> The dignitary who had appointed Abelard could not be sacked, but Abelard himself could be, and was, when the faction which he supported lost ground at Paris to its enemies.<sup>48</sup> The schoolmasters running schools (steadily increasing in number) run by abbeys and priories in the twelfth century could also be at risk from much lowlier and more local factions or interest groups. On the other hand, of course, the rise in the number of schools increased the opportunities for teachers, especially those prepared to move to obtain a position; Guibert de Nogent, after commenting on how few schools there had been in his youth, compared this with the large number of 'wandering' scholars available to teach by the time he was writing, in the second decade of the twelfth century.<sup>49</sup> On top of this, schoolmasters faced other uncertainties. Teaching was a job for the physically fit, since keeping discipline entailed heavy beatings;<sup>50</sup> it also demanded good eyesight, and many teachers would have found it hard to continue once they reached middle age and their sight deteriorated.<sup>51</sup> Schoolmasters in the twelfth century may have tended to view teaching not as an end in itself but as a phase in their lives, leading – if they were not lucky enough to win patronage from the great<sup>52</sup> – to quiet retirement into the religious life, perhaps as a monk or, much more often, probably because entry would have been considerably cheaper, as an Augustinian.<sup>53</sup>

Up to the 1210s schoolmasters might still be lured to the Augustinians: Jacques de Vitry entered Oignies in 1211, for example.<sup>54</sup> Thereafter, however, a newer, more fashionable haven for dissatisfied clergy was about to become available in the form of the mendicant orders. From the outset the Dominicans or Preaching Friars demanded a high level of education from candidates for entry, restricting entry effectively to those who were already clergy. The Franciscans or Friars Minor, though not so insistent on high educational qualifications, swiftly followed the Dominicans in encouraging recruits among well-educated clerks; the Franciscan movement, which began as a mixed group of laymen and clerics, increasingly attracted clerical recruits, and in England the Franciscans became especially closely involved in higher education.<sup>55</sup> Secular canons sometimes joined the mendicants.<sup>56</sup>

## Curriculum

Elementary education in the Middle Ages seems to have varied relatively little over time. Children learned the letters of the alphabet and then put them together to make syllables (ab, ac and so forth);<sup>57</sup> this achieved, they began to read, and to learn by heart, the Psalter.<sup>58</sup> This was read in Latin, which for children in Romance-speaking parts of Europe was not too far removed from the vernaculars which they had grown up speaking (though the *langue d'oïl* of northern France was much further removed from Latin than were the various Romance languages of southern France, Italy or Spain). For children in the British Isles, Scandinavia and Germanic-speaking areas Latin was a foreign tongue, and considerable effort had to be made to explain it, as we see, for example, in the works of Ælfric.<sup>59</sup> Elementary education very often also included training in chant, especially in cathedral schools and above all in song schools, where it was the most important part of the curriculum.<sup>60</sup>

For boys with academic ambitions, the normal progression thereafter – and this might necessitate a move to a different school – lay in the study of the seven liberal arts, adopted as an appropriate framework for the school curriculum in the early Middle Ages thanks to the influence of Boethius and Isidore, building on Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology*.<sup>61</sup> The liberal arts – grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy – were taught in that sequence. They naturally divided into two groups, the first three dealing with words and the last four dealing with number, known respectively as the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric and dialectic) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy).

From the ninth century onwards in the Frankish empire and its successor states, most cathedral schools aiming to provide a serious education attempted to teach the seven liberal arts, and a reasonably standardised curriculum emerged;<sup>62</sup> the degree of standardisation becomes clearer when practices within what had been the Frankish empire are compared with those in, say, Anglo-Saxon England from the end of the ninth century to 1066.<sup>63</sup> There were some changes over time: schools from the seventh to the tenth centuries encouraged the study of Christian Latin poets at the expense of their pagan counterparts (Virgil, Martianus Capella and the *Disticha Catonis* apart),<sup>64</sup> but Gerbert of Aurillac revived interest in a wider range of classical authors.<sup>65</sup> Schools often tended to concentrate on the *trivium*, because grammar and rhetoric were the two most useful skills for ambitious clerics in the period down to the eleventh century, and because knowledge of mathematics was at a low ebb in western Europe before the twelfth century, when the importation of Arabic mathematics began to make an impact.<sup>66</sup> Throughout the entire Middle Ages and for a long time to come, knowledge of Latin grammar was the basis of any literate education. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, knowledge of rhetoric was a valuable skill for clerics who hoped to become court chaplains and, thereafter, bishops; this was especially the case in Ottonian and Salian Germany.<sup>67</sup> Under Salian influence, Cnut and Edward the Confessor imported clerics with this sort of training from cathedral schools in the empire into England in the eleventh century.<sup>68</sup> One of the branches of rhetoric, the *ars dictaminis*, taught people how to write letters, and the ability to form elegant Latin prose was highly valued by rulers and prelates, who wished their charters

and their diplomatic correspondence (limited in output but still significant) to be carefully composed.<sup>69</sup> At the turn of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, dialectic, or logic, gained in importance.<sup>70</sup> As a result, debating became an important part of education,<sup>71</sup> and it turned out to be particularly helpful to those clerics who wished to argue cases in lawcourts.<sup>72</sup> Rhetoric continued to be valued, but the skills of argumentation in dialectic were even more useful. According to Johannes Fried, German cathedral schools were slow to build up expertise in dialectic;<sup>73</sup> we might note that this was the subject that Adalbert, later archbishop of Mainz (1138–41), was sent to Rheims to learn.<sup>74</sup>

The *quadrivium* was of much less significance in medieval western education than the *trivium*, throughout the period we are dealing with.<sup>75</sup> It is true that teachers who were especially skilled in it, such as Gerbert of Aurillac, who had studied in Spain,<sup>76</sup> had a particularly high reputation. On the other hand, its subjects were of less direct practical application to clerics, apart – obviously – from basic computational skills to allow clerics to work out the date of Easter and navigate the complicated church calendar, with its mixture of solar and lunar features.<sup>77</sup> Knowledge of the abacus was also valued, particularly as rulers came to value knowledge of number in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, as the usefulness of number in government began to be explored in undertakings such as Domesday Book and the Pipe Rolls.<sup>78</sup> Even so, clerics who were interested in the study of mathematics and astronomy – and the number of these increased from the early twelfth century onwards, particularly in England<sup>79</sup> – may have developed this partly as a private hobby. Admittedly there were valuable financial applications such as the skill of casting horoscopes or predicting the future by means of geomancy,<sup>80</sup> which had great appeal to patrons, especially kings, but the range of career opportunities opened up by mathematical skills was, as yet, much smaller than the range opened up by rhetoric and dialectic. Music, when taught as part of the quadrivium, was taught separately from, and without application to, chant, and so its practical uses for clergy were limited.<sup>81</sup>

Cathedral schools never lost sight of the fact that clerics required education in both secular and divine learning. Divine study consisted principally of biblical exegesis, the study of the sacred page (*sacra pagina*, *divina pagina*),<sup>82</sup> and study of the canons (ecclesiastical law).<sup>83</sup> These subjects were, as a rule,<sup>84</sup> not taught at any very profound level until the very late eleventh century, when Anselm of Laon began the process of raising biblical commentary to a new standard,<sup>85</sup> and when the study of dialectic began to be applied to the study of the sacred page, which now started to become generally known as theology.<sup>86</sup> The study of law also developed, but here it became obvious that this was best done in specialist circles, as at Bologna, and even here progress could be slow.<sup>87</sup> Advances in the study of law over the twelfth century were not welcomed by all: Stephen of Tournai grumbled in a letter to the Pope about the ‘inextricable forest of decretal letters supposedly in the name of Alexander III of holy memory’ on sale from booksellers while older canon law sources were being thrown away. Meanwhile, Peter of Blois declared that theology was better than law.<sup>88</sup>

Too little time spent in schooling was a drawback in clerical careers: Peter of Blois criticised a canon of Chartres for giving up his studies after only four years;<sup>89</sup> he warned



another correspondent not to take a two-year breather between his studies of liberal arts and theology.<sup>90</sup> The best form of *otium* was study, and wisdom was better than the things of this world.<sup>91</sup>

The curricula outlined above were those offered by schools with some pretensions to learning. But much education went on at a lower level, without attention to rhetoric and dialectic. The extent of this less academic, more vocational education was usually overlooked until quite recently, when scholars began to give serious attention to treatises written to train up priests in the basics of the liturgy and very elementary canon law between the eighth and the twelfth centuries.<sup>92</sup> The Carolingian treatises on baptism edited by Susan A. Keefe show how clergy might be educated in the practice and the spiritual meaning of baptism at a variety of levels.<sup>93</sup> Carolingian episcopal capitularies have for a long time been used as sources for the concern taken by bishops for the educational standards of their clergy,<sup>94</sup> but they can also be viewed as one of the ways in which bishops could bring the latter up to speed.<sup>95</sup> The occasional survival of personal handbooks put together for priests serving fairly modest churches can shed a great deal of light on how the less well-educated clergy approached the tasks of liturgy, ministry and basic knowledge of canon law.<sup>96</sup> The Red Book of Darley,<sup>97</sup> compiled probably c.1061 for a priest in the diocese of Sherborne or perhaps of Winchester, but later taken to Derbyshire, contains explanations in Old English alongside the prayers for baptism,<sup>98</sup> and a rite for the visitation of the sick with much of the dialogue in Old English;<sup>99</sup> it also contains some computus.<sup>100</sup> Parish clergy were expected to have a suitable range of service books, and some inventories show that they might well possess several of them;<sup>101</sup> it is likely, however, that many clergy engaged in pastoral care relied on a combination of texts they had learned by heart and books built up like scrapbooks with odd assortments of information. Clergy did not need to be particularly learned to undertake pastoral care successfully: they just needed to know enough to get by, and to know in which instances they would need advice from others. Guidelines for the examination of candidates for ordination (which began to be compiled by some Carolingian bishops) lay down that they should be able to understand ministry, including, especially, knowing the rites for baptism and Mass, and have some knowledge of the canons and computation.<sup>102</sup> To prove their *bona fides* to the bishop, English candidates for ordination needed to provide a token from their teacher.<sup>103</sup>

Provision of elementary handbooks for clergy in the vernacular was helpful and should be seen not necessarily as a sign that clergy were ill-educated, but more that they needed to be able to communicate with their flock.<sup>104</sup> Already in the eighth century, Bede made available English translations of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed to *sacerdotibus idiotis* – that is to say, 'uneducated priests' – to teach to their flocks.<sup>105</sup> During the tenth and eleventh centuries a concerted effort was made in southern England to provide instructional material in the vernacular. Ælfric's homilies, for example, were probably intended to be delivered 'to a mixed audience of layfolk and clerics', and many copies of them were made, suggesting that an effort was made to circulate them widely.<sup>106</sup> Jonathan Wilcox has argued that it was the growth of the parochial system, breaking down the old links between minster churches and the laity, which made new efforts to communicate

especially necessary.<sup>[107](#)</sup>

Works in the earlier Middle Ages in vernacular languages other than English (or Irish) are far fewer, but nonetheless some survive which help to show clergy interpreting their office, for example the oath in Old High German sworn by priests in the diocese of Freising to their bishop on ordination in the early ninth century.<sup>[108](#)</sup> Priests might sometimes feel the need to have more than one vernacular language: Brihtric, priest of Haselbury Plucknett in the second quarter of the twelfth century, felt himself to be at a social disadvantage because his mother-tongue was English and he knew no French.<sup>[109](#)</sup> But for all English parish clergy the language of most use in pastoral care was English. It is not surprising that the Red Book of Darley continued to be used long after the Norman Conquest, finding a new home for itself in Derbyshire in the twelfth century.<sup>[110](#)</sup>

In the later twelfth century, several bishops paid considerable thought to how the training of their parish clergy might be improved. The Third Lateran Council in 1179 laid down that each cathedral chapter should provide a benefice for a master to teach the clerks of the cathedral and also poor students.<sup>[111](#)</sup> Bishop Maurice de Sully of Paris (1160–96) wrote a textbook on preaching,<sup>[112](#)</sup> and Bishop William de Vere of Hereford (1186–98) commissioned a manual on confession from an Augustinian, Guy, prior of Southwick.<sup>[113](#)</sup> This intense interest by several late twelfth-century bishops in improving pastoral care was one of the factors behind the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, and, beyond it, the great thirteenth-century expansion in the number of diocesan synods and statutes, many of whose decrees were devoted to the needs, duties and educational requirements of the parish clergy. In addition, one of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran ordered that each metropolitan see should appoint a theologian to teach priests and others in *sacra pagina*. Thus, before the arrival of the mendicants in northern Europe, there was already a concerted movement, led by bishops, to improve the level of knowledge of the parish clergy, and this trend became more pronounced in the thirteenth century, as a new wave of diocesan legislation swept across western Europe.<sup>[114](#)</sup> We can probably discount some of the harsh critique uttered by those scholars of previous generations who took at face value mendicant comment of the shortcomings of parish clergy.<sup>[115](#)</sup>

Handbooks produced to teach pastoral care to clergy, especially those in the vernacular, show that efforts were made to transmit essential knowledge to clerics at all educational levels; in those cases where there are signs of use they also show clerics reacting to what they were being taught. They remind us that we do not need to assume that clerics who did not manage to attend the more academic schools were necessarily illiterate or ignorant. Real efforts, even if at a very basic level, were made to transmit knowledge of the main elements of theology and canon law from bishop to clergy and from clergy to laity. Furthermore, the educational range of parish clergy could be very wide; in England and northern France, for example, although only a minority of parish clergy was highly educated, it was a sizeable minority, and did not only consist of absentee pluralists. Some English vicars (therefore resident clergy) were *magistri*.<sup>[116](#)</sup>

## **How were clerks shaped by their education?**

Two issues that have exercised scholars looking at the effects of education on the medieval

clergy are social and geographical mobility: could clerks move upwards socially? How many moved far from their origins? Social mobility was rather limited in western Europe in the period down to about the end of the eleventh century, and successful climbers might receive chilly treatment, as in the case of Ebbo of Rheims.<sup>117</sup> The hostile treatment meted out to the wandering holy man Heimerad by Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn (1009–36) was probably not unusual (Meinwerk, upset by the vileness of Heimerad's clothing, his extremely gaunt appearance and the poor quality of his books, had the books burnt).<sup>118</sup> Family connections were of much greater importance than schooling for establishing a career in the earlier Middle Ages; schooling counted for much, but was usually secondary to the bonds of kin. Indeed, family links were important in acquiring an education, and in addition to this it was easier to profit from an education if one had well-placed relatives. There were, however, significant exceptions before c.1100. Scholastici were mobile from quite early on, as we have seen in the cases of Italians migrating to northern Europe.<sup>119</sup> Similarly, rulers imported clerics from one kingdom to another, for example the Italians employed by Ottonian and Salian rulers,<sup>120</sup> or the Lotharingians invited by Cnut and Edward the Confessor to the English court.<sup>121</sup> In both cases, the social background of the clergy involved was of less importance than their knowledge and abilities; quite often employment in a school, or at a royal court, might lead to promotion. Court clergy were often selected to become bishops;<sup>122</sup> this was much rarer for schoolteachers, unless they themselves had court contacts (as, for example, Gerbert, and, after his time at Bec and Caen, Lanfranc).<sup>123</sup> Overall, however, these were exceptions.

Matters changed decisively at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in northern France and more especially in England.<sup>124</sup> In both areas a greater variety of positions appears to have become available to clergy who extended their years in education to improve their understanding of the liberal arts and, especially, to obtain experience in disputation, and preferably also knowledge of law or theology or both. In France it remained the case to a great extent that bishops continued to be chosen from particular families, preferably seigneurial ones,<sup>125</sup> and it was also very usually the case that family contacts and thus also family standing explain the recruitment of a great proportion of cathedral canons.<sup>126</sup> But the number of French cathedrals and collegiate churches was large, and many of the former had large chapters with numerous stalls to fill – Chartres, Rheims, Amiens, Beauvais, for example<sup>127</sup> – so there was some scope for social mobility. In England, thanks to the effects of the Norman Conquest, the clergy experienced a great deal of social mobility in the following two centuries,<sup>128</sup> and some of the effects of this continued to be observed later in the Middle Ages.<sup>129</sup> The Conquest extinguished any control which the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy had had over ecclesiastical preferment (because of poor survival of sources, we do not know much about how this had worked in detail, but we can see some of its operations occasionally, for example at Waltham), but even at the height of their powers the ealdormen had rarely been able to exercise much influence over episcopal appointments.<sup>130</sup> After the Conquest, royal control over appointment of bishops remained strong, indeed perhaps tightened,<sup>131</sup> and the main criteria of kings of England for choosing bishops were not local connections or their social background but their usefulness to the Crown. Indeed there were very few strictly noble bishops at any point in post-Conquest England down to the Reformation and beyond.<sup>132</sup>

Moreover, bishops themselves had to listen to commands from their rulers and to requests from their fellow bishops when dispensing patronage, and even though they did give positions to their kin these formed only a small proportion of the whole.<sup>133</sup> In addition, England throughout the twelfth century attracted a large number of foreigners in search of preferment – mainly from France, unsurprisingly, but quite often from Italy, like Master Guy of Merton, Master Vacarius and Master Simon of Apulia.<sup>134</sup> Connections across the Channel were common, with frequent movement of clergy in both directions between England and Normandy (though the bishops who held Norman sees were mostly from the duchy);<sup>135</sup> this was matched by the increasing flow of English students to Paris. Social mobility among the clergy through education may have been one of the means by which barriers between English and Normans were broken down during the early decades of the twelfth century.<sup>136</sup>

Social mobility in the empire was considerably weaker, indeed almost non-existent;<sup>137</sup> here, education among the higher clergy, the cathedral canons and the court clerics and the episcopate continued during the twelfth century (and later) to operate along the lines established in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Higher education, for example attendance at the schools of Paris or Bologna, was an ornament to a cleric whose path to preferment was mapped out by his social connections, like Adalbert II of Mainz.<sup>138</sup> But lower down the social scale attendance at the higher schools might well have helped to shape careers – not, however, by opening opportunities in the secular clergy (save as scholastici),<sup>139</sup> but by preparing recruits for the Cistercian order<sup>140</sup> or for houses of regular canons.<sup>141</sup> By the middle decades of the thirteenth century, this was the pool of clergy or potential clergy from which particularly the Dominican Order drew many of its German recruits.<sup>142</sup>

Over the course of the twelfth century, higher education increasingly became useful as a stepping stone to preferment, and we can measure this very roughly by the use of the title *magister*, which in France and England from about the 1130s on began to be placed in front of personal names to distinguish clerics who had completed a higher education and received a licence to teach.<sup>143</sup> On the basis of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300* series and David Spear's *Personnel*, we can see that 25.5 per cent of English canons and 17 per cent of Norman canons were *magistri* over the period from the early twelfth century to the early thirteenth. These global figures can be unpicked to show that the proportion of *magistri* was rising sharply from the 1170s onwards; by the late twelfth century in some English cathedrals, *magistri* might make up 40 per cent of the intake, rising to 50 per cent in the thirteenth century. Not all English secular cathedrals were equally active in recruiting *magistri*: Chichester and Exeter, whose recruitment was markedly more local than that of other English cathedrals, had lower numbers in proportion to their size than did Lincoln, Salisbury, York and Hereford, while in Normandy only 10 per cent of twelfth-century canons of Bayeux were *magistri* as opposed to 20 per cent at Rouen.<sup>144</sup> The differences are especially noticeable as one moves east: in Flanders, graduate (as opposed to schoolmaster) *magistri* were fewer and start to appear from c.1150,<sup>145</sup> while in the empire graduate *magistri* in cathedrals emerge even more slowly (from the 1150s at Trier and Mainz, but later elsewhere)<sup>146</sup> and were still few in number in the early thirteenth century, though this was partly because describing oneself as a *magister* was less of a selling point in a society where social origins counted for much

more. Study in Paris was popular among German clergy (though much less so, *pro rata*, than among English ones) but tended to be pursued by them after they had become canons, not before.<sup>147</sup>

As significant as the question of social mobility is the question of the socialising role of education. This was always recognised to be one of the main functions of education, even though sometimes it was conflated with the teaching of morality. Jaeger, in his works on courtliness, has reminded us of the importance of gesture, behaviour and self-control in the training of young clerics in Ottonian and Salian Germany.<sup>148</sup> Here socialisation was inculcated in small groups, both the small number of pupils at any German cathedral school and also the rather larger number of young clerics in imperial service who would be drafted from the cathedral chapters to serve as chaplains at the imperial court.<sup>149</sup> The consequence was the formation within the empire of a narrowly defined clerical elite whose members often knew each other well through service at court and who benefited from their experience by being promoted to bishoprics in due course. The geographical range was wide, stretching across the whole of Germany and Lotharingia and also including much of northern Italy, but the social origin of the clerks in question was usually quite narrow, being limited in the main to the freeborn nobility (*Edelfrei*).<sup>150</sup> But in Austria members of the minor nobility were increasingly being encouraged to enter the ministerial class in the twelfth century,<sup>151</sup> and in general across much of Germany in the twelfth century members of ministerial families in the followings of bishops were eligible to enter the cathedral chapters of those churches;<sup>152</sup> only a few cathedrals, such as Cologne, insisted on nobility of birth as an entrance requirement.<sup>153</sup>

The higher schools of the twelfth century encouraged a somewhat different form of socialisation. For a start they brought together much larger groups of students. There was a much greater range of people to meet and to exchange views with. The large numbers were also drawn from a geographically much wider area than the intake of, say, a tenth-century cathedral school. This was particularly true of Paris,<sup>154</sup> but was noticeable even at much smaller twelfth-century French schools, such as the cathedral school at Rheims in the early twelfth century as described in the verse *Life of Adalbert II of Mainz*. At Rheims, Adalbert and his German following had a violent encounter with a group of English students at a snowball fight where one of the English put a stone inside a snowball and wounded one of the Germans.<sup>155</sup> Where contacts were more peaceful, however, friendships, or at any rate acquaintances, were formed which could then be appealed to in correspondence in order to request favours for the writer or one of his protégés.<sup>156</sup> The letter collections of Arnulf of Lisieux,<sup>157</sup> John of Salisbury<sup>158</sup> and Peter of Blois are full of such requests, put to those former companions in the schools who had risen to high office in the Church.<sup>159</sup> Many of these letters are not far removed from modern job references.<sup>160</sup> It is normal for them to appeal to *amicitia*, friendship, for, although the twelfth century was a great period for the idealisation of this relationship,<sup>161</sup> it remained, as it had been in the earlier Middle Ages, a system of formal alliances which allowed the formation of bonds which imitated kinship between people who were not related.<sup>162</sup> The letters accordingly appeal both to the spiritual and to the pragmatic sides of friendship.

## Conclusion



Education was an essential part of the clerical career throughout our period, but its significance increased from the end of the twelfth century, when higher education, especially with the acquisition of specialist knowledge of canon law or theology, became essential for ambitious clerics in France and England. In these areas, this made a greater degree of social mobility possible than hitherto, and to some extent reduced the significance of family pull (though this was still strong). Social mobility was less easy in Germany, but here too higher education was regarded as desirable, in this case to give extra polish to the highborn, who would achieve the highest positions in the Church anyway. We should not overlook humbler patterns of education, which were probably much more effective in inculcating information in the clergy than has often been assumed.

[1](#) In ninth-century Laon the terms *magister* and *scholasticus* both occur for the schoolmaster: John J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930* (Munich, 1978), 99–100; and *Annales Laudunenses*, MGH SS, 15, 1293–5, at 1294.

[2](#) Although in France and England the *magister* title placed ahead of the name rapidly became a title for clergy who had obtained a higher education from about the 1130s on, in Germany it only slowly began to be used for graduates of a higher school from the middle of the twelfth century onwards: R.W. Southern, ‘The schools of Paris and the school of Chartres’, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert E. Benson and Giles Constable (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 113–37, at 133–5; Christine Renardy, *Le monde des maîtres universitaires du diocèse de Liège, 1140–1350* (Paris, 1979), 80–95; Julia Barrow, ‘Education and the recruitment of cathedral canons in England and Germany, 1100–1225’, *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117–38, at 118–20; R.M. Herkenrath, ‘Studien zum Magistertitel in der frühen Stauferzeit’, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 88 (1980), 3–35; Manfred Groten, ‘Der Magistertitel und seine Verbreitung im deutschen Reich des 12. Jahrhunderts’, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 113 (1993), 21–40. Johannes Fried, *Die Entstehung des Juristenstandes im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1974), 9–11, notes that Italian usage in the twelfth century was ambiguous.

[3](#) At Rouen, the dignitary in charge of the schools was termed *grammaticus* from 1026 or earlier until the later eleventh century, then *scholasticus* in the 1090s, then *magister studii* or *magister scholarum* for much of the twelfth century; in the 1160s–70s the positions of *magister scholarum* and chancellor were separated; finally *cancellarius* occurs from 1190 onwards: see David Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911–1204* (London, 2006), 223–6.

[4](#) For Laon see Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 99; Émile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, V: *Les écoles* (Lille, 1940), 311 (Soissons in the eleventh century), 320 (Noyon, from the eleventh until well into the twelfth century), 322–3 (Cambrai); *Les chartes des évêques d’Arras (1093–1203)*, ed. Benoît-Michel Tock (Paris, 1991), nos 7, 19, 73–4, 89, 92–3, 95, 100, 121 (but not nos 3, 105, or in acta from 1180 onwards). Further west, usage varied: cf Lesne, *Les écoles*, 177, on Orléans in the eleventh century.

[5](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 94 (at Autun in 954); on the use of *scholasticus* to mean ‘pupil’ see also Pierre Riché, ‘Le vocabulaire des écoles carolingiennes’, in *Vocabulaire des écoles et des methods d’enseignement au Moyen Âge*, ed. Olga Weijers (Turnhout, 1992), 33–41, at 39.

[6](#) Cf Lesne, *Les écoles*, 141–2, 148; Diana Greenway, ‘The false *Institutio* of St Osmund’, in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. Diana Greenway, Christopher Holdsworth and Jane Sayers (Cambridge, 1985), 77–101, at 82–5; Norman cathedrals show some variety; see Spear, *Personnel*, 13–15, 48–9, 102, 148, 181, 223–6.

[7](#) Sigloardus *caput scolae* occurs 845: *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens de l’abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims (IXe–XIe siècles)*, ed. Jean-Pierre Devroey, Travaux de l’Académie de Reims, 163 (Rheims, 1984), 28.

[8](#) At Grenoble and Valence: Lesne, *Les écoles*, 83.

[9](#) Greenway, ‘The false *Institutio* of St Osmund’, 86; J.-Y. Ribault, ‘Les écolâtres de Bourges au XIIe siècle’, in *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle (IXe–XVIe siècle)*, Actes du 95e Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Reims 1970 (Paris, 1975), 89–99, at 91–2: the usual term in the twelfth century was *archischola*, but sometimes *magister scholarum* occurs, and in the middle of the twelfth century the dignitary was called the chancellor.

[10](#) The *lector* who occurs in the Arras chapter in 1097 was probably the scholasticus, because of his position in the witness list: see *Les chartes des évêques d’Arras*, no 2, while Hubardus *lector* and Andrew *lector* who occur in [ibid.](#), nos 15–16, 20, were probably canons in very minor orders. See also, in a monastic context, *lector* used to mean ‘teacher’ in the early eleventh century colloquies of Ælfric Bata, *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Ælfric Bata*, ed. Scott Gwara, tr. David W. Porter (Woodbridge, 1997), 118.

[11](#) Greenway, ‘The false *Institutio* of St Osmund’, 85.

[12](#) Greenway, ‘The false *Institutio* of St Osmund’, 83–8; on Paris, see Lesne, *Les écoles*, 208; on Rouen, where usage fluctuated down to 1190, see Spear, *Personnel*, 223–6; and Greenway, ‘The false *Institutio* of St Osmund’, 83.

[13](#) The schoolmaster was not usually a canon in English cathedrals: Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Manchester, 1967), 194.

[14](#) Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 176–85, but see also Greenway, ‘The false *Institutio* of St Osmund’, on Salisbury.

[15](#) On chancellors in charge of writing episcopal charters see Benoît-Michel Tock, *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XIIe siècle: Le cas d’Arras* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1991), 174–83.

[16](#) See below, [Chapter 9](#).

[17](#) EEA, XV, nos 24–5 (charters of Bishop Richard Belmeis of London of c.1111 × 1127); *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London*, ed. Marion Gibbs, Camden Society, 3rd series, 58 (London, 1939), nos 273–8; Derek Keene, ‘From Conquest to capital: St Paul’s c.1100–1300’, in *St Paul’s: The Cathedral Church of London 604–2004*, ed. Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (New Haven and London, 2004), 17–32, at 27.

[18](#) Ribault, ‘Les écolâtres’, 94–5; Louis Carolus-Barré, ‘Les écoles capitulaires et les collèges de Soissons au Moyen-Âge et au XVIe siècle’, in *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle*, 123–226, esp. 127–8 on the dignity of the cathedral scholasticus; *MUB*, II, i, no 91; II, ii, nos 517, 532, 561, 659.

[19](#) *Gallia Christiana*, ed. Denis de Sainte-Marthe and others, 16 vols. (Paris, 1716–1865), VIII, 506–7.

[20](#) *UB Naumburg*, no 228 (1156).

[21](#) *UB Strassburg*, no 121 (1185); *UB Magdeburg*, no 407 (1185).

[22](#) *Cartulaire de Lille*, I, no 172 (1221) and cf no 39 (1183 × 1190).

[23](#) *Westf. UB.*, III, no 771: here the scholasticus had had a deputy for some time, but before this date revenues had come from teaching.

[24](#) Cf Herkenrath, ‘Studien zum Magistertitel’, 16–17, on how Master Andreas of Speyer was in Henry VI’s service; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851), I, 234 (IV, c. 65); Philippe Delhay, ‘L’organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle’, *Traditio*, 5 (1947), 211–68, at 248.

[25](#) Robert-Henri Bautier, ‘L’hérésie d’Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XIe siècle: documents et hypothèses’, in Robert-Henri Bautier, *Recherches sur l’histoire de la France médiévale: Des Mérovingiens aux premiers Capétiens* (Aldershot, 1991), 63–88 (Chapter 8), at 70, 86.

[26](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 102 (1081 and 1176); *Cartulaire de l’Yonne*, I, 211, no 194 (grant by Archbishop William of Sens of the dignity of the schools which belonged to the precentory to Geoffrey the precentor, 1169 × 1176); Delhay, ‘L’organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle’, 247; FEG, 11: *Sens*, 18, 20.

[27](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 96: here the cantor was simultaneously master of the schools. Likewise at Autun: FEG, 12: *Autun*, 17–18.

[28](#) *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, no 98.

[29](#) Lesne, *Les écoles*, 343.

[30](#) Patrick Demouy, *Genèse d’une cathédrale: Les archevêques de Reims et leur église aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Langres, 2005), 74; see also J.R. Williams, ‘The cathedral school of Rheims in the eleventh century’, *Speculum*, 29 (1954), 661–77, at 672–3.

[31](#) Jacques Pycke, ‘Le déclin de l’école capitulaire de Tournai et le rouleau mortuaire de l’abbé Hugues Ier de Saint-Amand’, *Le Moyen Âge*, 85 (1979), 433–43; Jacques Pycke, *Répertoire biographique des chanoines de Notre-Dame de Tournai, 1080–1300* (Louvain-la-Neuve and Brussels, 1988), 133–7.

[32](#) *Urkundenbuch des Stifts St. Peter und Alexander zu Aschaffenburg*, I: 861–1325, ed. Matthias Thiel (Aschaffenburg, 1986), 27–39 (no 8); Thiel argues for the document being heavily interpolated.

[33](#) *Cartulaire d’Angers*, no 69. At Lille between 1183 and 1190 it was agreed that the cantor would license entry to the choir for boys, but that the master would introduce schoolboys into the choir: ‘Noveritis quod cantor in ecclesia nostra post prepositum et decanum primus censetur in choro, in capitulo, nec tamen ut dominus canonicorum, sed socius ... Nullus extraneus clericus, nullus puer chorum ingreditur, nisi prius impetrata ab eo licentia, quod tamen fit sine omni exactione ... Magister scolares in chorum introducit, cantor introductorum curam gerit; in choro male se habentes, vel in cantu peccantes, in

scolis redarguit; iidem a cantore vel a magistro vel a succentore exeundi a choro licentiam accipiunt’: ‘May you know that the cantor in our church is ranked first in choir and chapter after the provost and the dean, but not as a lord of the canons but rather as a colleague ... No external cleric and no boy can enter the choir unless licence has first been obtained for him, but this should be done with no payment ... The master introduces schoolboys into the choir, and the cantor has charge of those who are introduced; he claims in the school the ones who behave badly in choir, or who sin in singing; the said [schoolboys] receive licence to leave choir from the cantor or the master or the succentor’ (*Cartulaire de Lille*, I, no 39).

[34](#) Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 166–8, citing among others *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, ed. Henry Bradshaw and Christopher Wordsworth, 2 vols. in 3 (Cambridge, 1892–7), II, part 1, 23 (on Lichfield at the end of the twelfth century), 76, 83 (Hereford in the mid-thirteenth century), 95 (York in the thirteenth century); II, part 2, 299 (Lincoln in the fifteenth century); *The Use of Sarum*, ed. Walter Howard Frere, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1898–1901), I, 8; *Registrum statutorum et consuetudinum ecclesiae cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis*, ed. W. Sparrow Simpson (London, 1873), 50; A. Hamilton Thompson, *Song Schools in the Middle Ages*, Church Music Society Occasional Papers, 14 (London, 1942), esp. 12–15, 18–20.

[35](#) Gottfried Wentz and Berent Schwineköper, *Das Erzbistum Magdeburg*, I, i: *Das Domstift St. Moritz*, Germania Sacra (Berlin, 1972), 144.

[36](#) Hartmut Hoffmann, ‘Die ältere Burchardvita, die jüngere Kilianspassio und Stephan von Novara’, *Deutsches Archiv*, 62 (2006), 485–503 (identifying Stephen as the probable author of the earlier *Vita Burchardi* and the *Passio maior Kiliani*).

[37](#) On Gerbert, who taught at Rheims from 972 to 991, see Pierre Riché, ‘L’enseignement de Gerbert de Reims dans le context européen’, in *Gerberto: Scienza, storia e mito*, ed. Michele Tosi, Atti del Gerberti Symposium, Bobbio 1983 (Bobbio, 1985), 51–69; Uta Lindgren, *Gerbert von Aurillac und das Quadrivium*, Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften, Beiheft 18 (Wiesbaden, 1976), 40–7; Gerbert was later also to teach the young Otto III for a few months; cf Lindgren, *Gerbert*, 81–9; *The Letters of Gerbert with His Papal Privileges as Sylvester II*, tr. Harriet P. Lattin (New York, 1961), cf 293–6, nos 229–30, for Otto III; see also Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge, 2004), 64–7 and 93–109 on Gerbert as teacher and archbishop respectively.

[38](#) Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, I, 366 (VI, c. 13).

[39](#) Scholastici did sometimes become bishops in Germany; Bishop Meinhard of Würzburg 1085–8 had been scholasticus of Bamberg and Bishop Huzmann of Speyer 1075–90 had taught at Speyer (Herbert Zielinski, *Die Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002–1125)*, I. Teil (Stuttgart, 1984), 85, 87).

[40](#) J.W. Baldwin, ‘Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: a social perspective’, in *Renaissance and Renewal*, ed. Benson and Constable, 138–72, at 151–2; see also J.W. Baldwin, ‘Studium et regnum: the penetration of university personnel into French and English administration at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries’, *Revue des études islamiques*, 44 (1976), 199–215, at 206–7.



[41](#) At St Paul's (*Fasti*, I, 25) members of a single dynasty held the post of *magister scholarum* from Master Hugh to Master Henry II for most of the twelfth century (Hugh had followed the scholasticus Master Durand, not otherwise traceable); at Lincoln the family background of Master Albinus at the end of the eleventh century cannot be ascertained, but his successors have the same backgrounds as other dignitaries; one was brother to an archdeacon (*Fasti*, III, 16); at Salisbury, the earliest master, Master Guy of Étampes, became archdeacon of Rouen, and several later masters of the schools began their careers as episcopal clerks, as did some of the other dignitaries (*Fasti*, IV, 17–18); at York and at Hereford there is no information on the backgrounds of masters of the schools until the end of the twelfth century; at the end of the century, at York, Master Simon of Apulia's background was not dissimilar to that of his colleagues, while at Hereford, the chancellor Henry de Vere was a son of Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford (*Fasti*, VI, 9, 18–19 and VIII, 21 respectively); at Chichester, Master Jocelin in the 1150s was the nephew of Bishop Hilary (*Fasti*, V, 15). Exeter, Llandaff, St Asaph and St Davids lacked chancellors until the thirteenth century.

[42](#) Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), 20–2; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 10; Lanfranc was not recorded as *scolasticus* or *magister scholarum* at Avranches: see Spear, *Personnel*, 13–15.

[43](#) Johannes Fried, 'Gerard Pucelle und Köln', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*, 69 (1982), 125–35.

[44](#) On Bruno's teaching career, see Williams, 'The cathedral school of Rheims in the eleventh century', 666, citing Sigebert of Gembloux in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. Léopold Delisle, 24 vols. in 25 (Paris, 1840–1904), XIII, 258; on his later career see Beate Schilling, 'Zur Frühgeschichte der Kartäuser', *Deutsches Archiv*, 68 (2012), 53–89, and literature cited.

[45](#) *Recueil des historiens*, XIV, 781–6, at 783: 'S. Cuniberti Coloniensis, in regno Teutonicorum positi, canonicus est: cuius societatem non magnopere affectamus, utpote de cuius vita et libertate penitus ignoramus'. Manasses preceded this by complaining that Bruno was not a cleric of the diocese of Rheims: see above, [Chapter 2, n. 45](#).

[46](#) Peter Classen, *Gerhoch von Reichersberg* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 18–19; Peter Classen, 'Gerhoch von Reichersberg und die Regularkanoniker in Bayern und Oesterreich', in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII*, Atti della Settimana di Studio, Mendola, settembre 1959, 2 vols. (Milan, 1962), I, 304–40, at 313.

[47](#) *The Letter Collection of Peter Abelard and Heloise*, ed. and tr. David Luscombe (Oxford, 2013), 11, 21; and see also M.T. Clanchy, *Abelard: A Medieval Life* (Oxford, 1997), 70, 74; Robert-Henri Bautier, 'Paris au temps d'Abélard', in *Abélard en son temps*, ed. Jean Jolivet (Paris, 1981), 21–77, at 54–5. Abelard was not a canon of Notre-Dame in Paris, but was a canon of Sens cathedral: see C.J. Mews, 'The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard, and the fear of social upheaval', *Speculum*, 77 (2002), 342–82, at 357.

[48](#) Bautier, 'Paris au temps d'Abélard', 54–5, 63–4.

[49](#) '[N]ec etiam moderni temporis clericulis vagantibus comparari poterat': Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and tr. Edmond-René Labande (Paris, 1981), 26; for an English translation see John Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France* (New York,



1970, repr. Toronto, 1984) 45; for the date of composition, probably 1114 × 1115, see *Autobiographie*, pp. xv–xvi.

[50](#) Guibert, *Autobiographie*, 34–6; Benton, *Self and Society*, 47–8.

[51](#) Spectacles were only invented in the early fourteenth century, although lenses were being used to assist vision from the later thirteenth century: W. Pfeiffer, ‘Brille’, in *LMA*, II, 689–92.

[52](#) See [Chapter 8](#) below.

[53](#) Cf discussion of Odo of Tournai, Gerhoch of Reichersberg, Robert de Béthune and Alexander Nequam in [Chapter 3 above, at nn. 189, 199, 202, 207–8](#); on William of Champeaux see Bautier, ‘Paris au temps d’Abélard’, 54–5.

[54](#) P. Bourgain, ‘Jakob von Vitry’, in *LMA*, V, 294–5.

[55](#) On the ‘clericalisation’ of the Franciscans, see Adam J. Davis, ‘A thirteenth-century Franciscan money manager: Archbishop Eudes Rigaud of Rouen, 1248–1275’, *JEH*, 56 (2005), 431–54; L.C. Landini, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor 1209–1260* (Chicago, 1968), esp. 56–93.

[56](#) For some examples of secular canons becoming mendicants, see D.R. Winter, ‘The life and career of Master Wiger of Utrecht (fl. 1209–1237), an early convert to the Order of Friars Minor’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 31 (2005), 71–126: Wiger, perhaps a Paris graduate, was provost of St Peter’s church in Utrecht; see also [ibid.](#), 84, for the case of Henry, canon of Utrecht cathedral, who became a Dominican in 1220.

[57](#) Pierre Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through Eighth Centuries*, tr. John J. Contreni (Columbia, SC, 1976), 461–2; teaching to read syllables continued to be practised in Anglo-Saxon England for longer than in Gaul.

[58](#) Pierre Riché, *Les écoles et l’enseignement dans l’Occident chrétien de la fin du Ve siècle au milieu du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1979), 223. For an example of how this worked in practice, cf *Libellus de vita et miraculis S. Godrici, heremitae de Finchale, auctore Reginaldo monacho Dunelmensi*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, Surtees Society, 20 (London and Edinburgh, 1847), 59–60 (c. 16); Godric, *illiteratus* and a layman (cf [ibid.](#), 110, c. 47), learned the Psalms by heart by listening to the boys repeating them in a small school run in a parish church in Durham in the early twelfth century.

[59](#) Helmut Gneuss, *Ælfric von Eynsham und seine Zeit* (Munich, 2002), 29–32; Thomas N. Hall, ‘Ælfric as pedagogue’, in Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan, eds., *A Companion to Ælfric* (Leiden and Boston, 2009), 193–216.

[60](#) See above at [n. 34](#). Alcuin urged Archbishop Eanbald II of York in 796 to have separate masters for teaching book-learning, chant and script to the boys in the cathedral school: *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, II, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp., 4 (Berlin, 1895), 169 (no 114).

[61](#) Gérard Mathon, ‘Les formes et la signification de la pédagogie des arts libéraux au milieu du IXe siècle: L’enseignement palatin de Jean Scot Érigène’, in *Arts libéraux et philosophie au Moyen Âge*, Actes du 4e Congrès International de Philosophie Médiéval, Montréal et Paris 27 août–2 septembre 1967 (Montreal and Paris, 1969), 47–64; Alison

White, 'Boethius in the medieval quadrivium', in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1981), 162–205.

[62](#) Günter Glauche, *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlungen des Lektürekansons bis 1200 nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, 5 (Munich, 1970), 10–62 on the Carolingian period, 62–81 on the tenth and eleventh centuries; Martin Heinzelmann, 'Studia sanctorum: éducation, milieux d'instruction et valeurs éducatives dans l'hagiographie en Gaule jusqu'à la fin de l'époque mérovingienne', in *Haut Moyen-Âge: Culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, ed. Michel Sot, Claude Lepelley and Philippe Contamine (La Garenne-Colombes, 1990), 107–16.

[63](#) Michael Lapidge, 'Schools, learning and literature in tenth-century England', in Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066* (London, 1993), 1–48, esp. 39–46; R.M. Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England: The End of 'Alter Orbis'*, Lyell Lectures 2000–1 (Walkern, 2006), 2–10. Things had been rather different in Bede's day: C.W. Jones, 'Bede's place in medieval schools', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London, 1976), 261–85; Calvin B. Kendall, 'Bede and education', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge, 2010), 99–112.

[64](#) Günter Glauche, 'Die Rolle der Schulautoren im Unterricht von 800 bis 1100', in *La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, XIX, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1972), II, 617–36. The *Disticha Catonis* was a basic grammatical text, consisting of a set of moral sayings in verse, probably written in the late third century and used in Spain in the eighth century, spreading steadily into the rest of Latin Europe thereafter: cf Günther Bernt, 'Disticha Catonis', in *LMA*, III, 1123–7; Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy: Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2001), 37, 173–4. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon*, 67, notes that the *Disticha Catonis* was available at Laon in the time of Adelelm of Laon, who died 930.

[65](#) Glauche, *Schullektüre*, 62–5.

[66](#) See below at [nn. 75–9](#).

[67](#) C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 2000), 131–9 on rhetoric, and see also 36–52 on the liberal arts in general.

[68](#) Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd edn (London, 1979), esp. 156–8; Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS*, 10 (1988), 185–222; Simon Keynes, 'Giso, bishop of Wells (1061–88)', *ANS*, 19 (1997), 203–71; Julia Barrow, with an appendix by John Blair, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's reorganisation of the church of Hereford', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. David Whitehead, *BAACT*, 15 (Leeds, 1995), 29–49; Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100* (Leicester, 2013), 16–18; Mary Frances Smith, 'The preferment of royal clerks in the reign of Edward the Confessor', *Haskins Society Journal*, 9 (1997), 159–74.

[69](#) Cf e.g. Walter Koch, *Die Reichskanzlei in den Jahren 1167–1174: Eine diplomatisch-*

*paläographische Untersuchung* (Vienna, 1973), 63–74, 88–90, 116–21; Benoît-Michel Tock, *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XIIe siècle: Le cas d'Arras* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1991), 86–90, 134–45. Rolf Köhn, 'Schulbildung und Trivium im lateinischen Hochmittelalter und ihr möglicher praktischer Nutzen', in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Fried, Vorträge und Forschungen, 30 (Sigmaringen, 1986), 203–84 (see esp. 282–4), is unwilling to see that study of the liberal arts had a practical application for royal and administrators in the twelfth century, but surely wrongly so.

[70](#) John Marenbon, *Early Medieval Philosophy (480–1150): An Introduction* (London, 1983), 80–9: this growing interest had roots in work by Gerbert in the tenth century.

[71](#) *Letter Collection of Abelard and Heloise*, 4, 6–10; Clanchy, *Abelard*, 81–8.

[72](#) Paul Brand, *The Origins of the English Legal Profession* (Oxford, 1992), 43–69; Ralph Turner, *The English Judiciary in the Age of Glanvill and Bracton, c.1176–1239* (Cambridge, 1985), 17–125, 152–4.

[73](#) Johannes Fried, 'Die Bamberger Domschule und die Rezeption von Frühscholastik und Rechtswissenschaft in ihrem Umkreis bis zum Ende der Stauferzeit', in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, ed. Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen, 1986), 163–201, at 170–1.

[74](#) Adalbert was sent by his uncle, Archbishop Adalbert I of Mainz (1111–37): Anselm of Havelberg, *Vita Adelberti II Moguntini*, in *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Philipp Jaffé, BRG, III (Berlin, 1866, repr. Aalen, 1964), 565–603, at 575–86; for comment, see Joachim Ehlers, 'Verfassungs- und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zum Bildungsgang Erzbischof Adalberos II. von Mainz', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 42 (1978), 161–84, at 162–3, 170–1; Walter of Mortagne, bishop of Laon 1155–74, moved from Antoining (where he retained a prebend) to Tournai and then Rheims to study: Pycke, *Répertoire*, 201–2, no 179.

[75](#) R.W. Hunt, 'English learning in the late twelfth century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 19 (1936), 19–42; Charles Burnett, 'Mathematics and astronomy in Hereford and its region in the twelfth century', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. David Whitehead, BAAC 15 (Leeds, 1995), 50–9; for some pre-1100 exceptions, see Guy Beaujouan, 'L'enseignement du "quadrivium"', in *La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 19, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1972), II, 639–67.

[76](#) Lindgren, *Gerbert*, esp. 5–39, and 48–59, on his contemporaries.

[77](#) Arno Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform* (Hanover, 1998); Donald Bullough, 'York, Bede's calendar and a pre-Bedan martyrology', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 121 (2003), 329–55.

[78](#) On Bishop Robert (the Lotharingian) of Hereford's interest in computation and in the Domesday Survey, see William Henry Stevenson, 'A contemporary description of the Domesday survey', *EHR*, 22 (1907), 72–84; on the abacus, see G.R. Evans, 'Schools and scholars: the study of the abacus in English schools, c.980–c.1150', *EHR*, 94 (1979), 71–89; on arithmetic in government see *Dialogus de Scaccario* by Richard, Fitz Nigel, and

*Constitutio Domus Regis*, ed. and tr. Charles Johnson, with corrections by F.E.L. Carter and D.E. Greenway (Oxford, 1983), pp. xxii–xlvi; Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978), 162–7.

[79](#) Hunt, ‘English learning’; Margaret Gibson, ‘Adelard of Bath’, in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. Charles Burnett (London, 1987), 7–16; on Alfred of Shareshill, see J.K. Otte, ‘The life and writings of Alfredus Anglicus’, *Viator*, 3 (1972), 275–91; Charles Burnett, ‘Roger of Hereford’, *ODNB*, XXVI, 765; Charles Burnett, ‘Daniel of Morley’, *ODNB*, XXXIX, 212.

[80](#) J.D. North, ‘Some Norman horoscopes’, in *Adelard of Bath*, ed. Burnett, 147–61; Thérèse Charmasson, ‘Les premiers traits latins de géomancie’, *CCM*, 21 (1978), 121–36.

[81](#) Riché, *Les écoles et l’enseignement*, 274–6 (on music), and 237–42 (on chant).

[82](#) Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952), 37–52.

[83](#) For centres of interest in canon law c.900, see Wilfried Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900: Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht* (Hanover, 2008), 177–90.

[84](#) Exceptionally, learned bishops and other teachers might teach these subjects to a high level: see Ludger Körntgen, ‘Canon law and the practice of penance: Burchard of Worms’s penitential’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 14 (2006), 103–17, esp. at 114–17.

[85](#) Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, 49–51, 60–7; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, II, 25–35; Cédric Giraud, *Per verba magistri: Anselme de Laon et son école au XIIe siècle* (Turnhout, 2010), 183–326.

[86](#) The term was used in the ninth century by Hilduin of Saint-Denis but was unusual until the twelfth century, when it was popularised by Abelard; see C.J. Mews, ‘Peter Abelard’, in *Authors of the Middle Ages: Historical and Religious Writers of the Latin West*, ed. P.J. Geary, II (Aldershot, 1995), 1–88, 33; Clanchy, *Abelard*, 264–6.

[87](#) Charles M. Radding, *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence: Pavia and Bologna 850–1150* (New Haven, 1988), 158–78; Anders Winroth, *The Making of Gratian’s Decretum* (Cambridge, 2000), 157–74; John T. Noonan, ‘Who was Rolandus?’, in *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Robert Somerville (Philadelphia, PA, 1977), 21–48; Stephan Kuttner and Eleanor Rathbone, ‘Anglo-Norman canonists of the twelfth century: an introductory study’, *Traditio*, 7 (1949–51), 279–358; Charles Duggan, *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections and Their Importance in English History* (London, 1963); Peter Landau, ‘Die Entstehung der systematischen Dekretalensammlungen und die europäische Kanonistik des 12. Jahrhunderts’, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*, 65 (1979), 120–48; Jörg Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest: Episcopal Elections in Normandy and Greater Anjou, c.1140–c.1230* (Cambridge, 2008), 56–71, on how knowledge of canon law developed in Normandy and Anjou.

[88](#) *Lettres d’Étienne de Tournai*, ed. Jules Desilve (Valenciennes and Paris, 1893), no 274 (1182 × 1203): ‘profertur a venditoribus inextricabilis silva decretalium epistolarum quasi sub nomine sancte recordationis Alexandri pape, et antiquiores sacri canones abiciuntur, respuuntur, expuuntur’; PL 207: 91–2 (ep. 26).



[89](#) PL 207: 249–51 (ep. 81), at 250: ‘Tu vero vix in scholis quadriennium complevisti’.

[90](#) PL 207: 24–5 (ep. 9), at 24: ‘biennio respirare’.

[91](#) PL 207: 25, 251.

[92](#) For an eighth-century example, cf the *Dialogue* of Egbert, in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, 3 vols. in 4 (Oxford, 1869–79), III, 403–13; for a partial translation of this work, see *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, tr. John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer (Columbia, NY, 1938), 239–43; for discussion, see Martin Ryan, ‘Archbishop Ecgberht and his *Dialogus*’, in *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church from Bede to Stigand*, ed. Alexander R. Rumble (Woodbridge, 2012), 41–60.

[93](#) Susan A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire* (Notre Dame, IN, 2002), esp. 22–38.

[94](#) Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977), 45–79; Guy Devailly, ‘La pastorale en Gaule au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France*, 59 (1973), 23–54. Note also the oft-quoted story about the illiterate priest in a letter of Pope Zacharias to Boniface in 746: *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifazius und Lullus*, ed. Michael Tangl, MGH Epistolae Selectae, 1 (Berlin, 1916), 141 (no 68).

[95](#) See especially Martina Stratmann, *Hinkmar von Reims als Verwalter von Bistum und Kirchenprovinz* (Sigmaringen, 1991), 37–8; and Carine Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord* (Turnhout, 2007), 101–23; see also Alain Dierkens, ‘La christianisation des campagnes de l’Empire de Louis le Pieux: L’exemple du diocèse de Liège sous l’épiscopat de Walcaud (c.809–c.831)’, in *Charlemagne’s Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)*, ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1990), 309–29.

[96](#) Yitzak Hen, ‘Knowledge of canon law among rural priests: the evidence of two Carolingian manuscripts from around 800’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series, 50 (1999), 117–34.

[97](#) Helen Gittos, ‘Is there any evidence for the liturgy of parish churches in late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the status of Old English’, in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge, 2005), 63–82, esp. 67, for discussion of date and place of origin. For discussion of a similar compilation, Bodl. Laud. Misc. 482, see Victoria Thompson, *Death and Dying in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2004), 64, 66–88.

[98](#) Gittos, ‘Is there any evidence?’, 74.

[99](#) Gittos, ‘Is there any evidence?’, 78.

[100](#) The manuscript contains paschal tables for 1061–98, and a calendar: Gittos, ‘Is there any evidence?’, 67, 69.

[101](#) Ælfric’s pastoral letter for Bishop Wulfsgie of Sherborne, c. 51 (993 × c.995), CS I, i, 206–7 (‘namely, the holy books: a psalter and a book with the epistles, an evangeliary and a missal, songbooks and a manual, a computes and a passional, a penitential and a reading-book’); Wulfstan, ‘Canons of Edgar’ (c. 34; 1005 × 1008), *ibid.*, i, 325 (‘And it is



right that every priest provide carefully that he have good and indeed correct books'). For Carolingian examples, see C.I. Hammer, 'Country churches, clerical inventories and the Carolingian renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History*, 49 (1980), 5–17; and J.-P. Devroey, ed., *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens de l'abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims (IXe–XIe siècles)*, Travaux de l'Académie Nationale de Reims, 163 (Rheims, 1984), 14, 27, 46; for a mid-eleventh-century list from Sherburn in Elmet see Michael Lapidge, 'Surviving booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 33–89, at 56–7. See also [Chapter 10](#) below.

[102](#) Wilfried Hartmann, 'Neue Texte zur bischöfliche Reformgesetzgebung aus den Jahren 829/31: Vier Diözesansynoden Halitgars von Cambrai', *Deutsches Archiv*, 35 (1979), 368–94, at 392–4, edits a text probably by Bishop Halitgar of Cambrai (822–30) giving guidelines for examination before ordination; for a similar text from Anglo-Saxon England in the early eleventh century, based on Carolingian models but not Halitgar, see CS I, i, 422–7 (by Wulfstan of York).

[103](#) CS I, i, 424.

[104](#) Cf Gittos, 'Is there any evidence?', 80; Jonathan Wilcox, 'Ælfric in Dorset and the landscape of pastoral care', in *Pastoral Care*, ed. Tinti, 52–62.

[105](#) Bede's Letter to Ecgberht, in *Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. Charles Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896), I, 409; Bede, tr., *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1994), 346.

[106](#) Wilcox, 'Ælfric in Dorset', 57, 61. See also Nicole Bériou, 'Aux sources d'une nouvelle pastorale: Les expériences de prédication du XIIe siècle', in *La pastorale della Chiesa in occidente dall'età ottoniana al concilio lateranense IV*, ed. G. Andenna, Atti della quindicesima Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 27–31 agosto 2001 (Milan, 2004), 325–61, at 333.

[107](#) Wilcox, 'Ælfric in Dorset', 53.

[108](#) Stefan Esders and Heike Johanna Mierau, *Der althochdeutsche Klerikereid: Bischöfliche Diözesangewalt, kirchliches Benefizialwesen und volkssprachliche Rechtspraxis im frühmittelalterlichen Baiern* (Hanover, 2000), 77 (oath), 204–41 (use of vernacular), 271–3 (dating: c.811). For references to German sermon collections in the vernacular, see Bériou, 'Aux sources', 333–4; H.-J. Schiewer, 'German sermons in the Middle Ages', in *The Sermon*, ed. B.M. Kienzle, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental*, 81–3 (Turnhout, 2000), 861–961, at 864–8.

[109](#) Brihtric, priest of Haselbury Plucknett in the second quarter of the twelfth century, in *Wulfric of Haselbury, by John, Abbot of Ford*, ed. Dom Maurice Bell, Somerset Record Society, 47 (Frome and London, 1933), 29 (c. 14); for comment, see Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a twelfth-century recluse', *History*, 60 (1975), 337–52, at 342, 344.

[110](#) Gittos, 'Is there any evidence?', 68.

[111](#) Third Lateran, c. xviii: Mansi, XXII, 227–8. On William de Montibus teaching at Lincoln Cathedral see Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c.1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto, 1992), 12–26; Frans van Liere, 'The study

of canon law and the eclipse of the Lincoln schools, 1175–1225’, *History of Universities*, 18 (2003), 1–13.

[112](#) Bériou, ‘Aux sources’, 338; see also C.A. Robson, *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily, with the Text of Maurice’s French Homilies from a Sens Cathedral Chapter MS* (Oxford, 1952), 1–17.

[113](#) André Wilmart, ‘Un opusculé sur la confession composé par Guy de Southwick vers la fin du XIIe siècle’, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 7 (1935), 337–52.

[114](#) C.R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1968), 17, 34, 55; C.R. Cheney, ‘Statute-making in the English church in the thirteenth century’, in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Stephan Kuttner and J. Joseph Ryan (Vatican City, 1965), 399–414, esp. 403–4; Helen Birkett, ‘The pastoral application of the Lateran IV reforms in the Northern Province 1215–1348’, *Northern History*, 43 (2006), 199–219, at 203.

[115](#) P. Mandonnet, ‘La crise scolaire au début du XIIIe siècle et la fondation de l’ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs’, *RHE*, 15 (1914), 34–49; G.G. Coulton, ‘Priests and people before the Reformation’, in his *Ten Medieval Studies*, 3rd edn (Cambridge, 1930), 152–65. Jeffrey Denton, ‘The competence of the parish clergy in thirteenth-century England’, in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R.B. Dobson*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 11 (Donington, 2002), 273–85, points to ways in which the question could be freshly addressed.

[116](#) See [Chapter 10](#) below. Evidence is fuller from the late Middle Ages: cf Virginia Davis, ‘The contribution of university-educated secular clerics to the pastoral life of the English church’, in *The Church and Learning*, ed. Barron and Stratford, 255–72.

[117](#) Stuart Airlie, ‘Bonds of power and bonds of association in the court circle of Louis the Pious’, in *Charlemagne’s Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious*, ed. Peter Godman and Roger Collins (Oxford, 1990), 191–204, at 200–4 on Ebbo. (Ebbo’s origins, as the son of a royal wet nurse, are intriguingly similar to those of Alexander Nequam: see Richard Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157–1217)*, rev. by Margaret Gibson, ed. M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1989), 1–2; Joseph Goering, ‘Neckam, Alexander’, in *ODNB*, XL, 314–15.)

[118](#) *Vita Meinwerki episcopi Patherbrunnensis*, ed. F. Tenckhoff, MGH SRG, 59 (Hanover, 1983), 21–2 (cc. 12–13); Meinwerk eventually repented of his behaviour.

[119](#) See above at [n. 36](#).

[120](#) Wolfgang Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter: Diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordalpinen Reich (9.–11. Jahrhundert)*, 3 vols. (Hanover, 2003), I, 215–90; II, 843–55.

[121](#) See [Chapter 8](#), and also [n. 68](#) above.

[122](#) Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, II: *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, Schriften der MGH, 16, ii (Stuttgart, 1966), 289–90.

[123](#) Lanfranc had been able to display his administrative credentials to William the

Conqueror as prior of Bec and abbot of St-Etienne in Caen: H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 9–10.

[124](#) John Gillingham, ‘Some observations on social mobility in England between the Norman Conquest and the early thirteenth century’, originally in *Germany and England in the High Middle Ages: A Comparative Approach*, ed. Alfred Haverkamp and Hanna Vollrath (Oxford, 1996), 333–55, repr. with additional material in John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), 259–76, see esp. 268–71; Julia Barrow, ‘Origins and careers of cathedral canons in twelfth-century England’, *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), 23–40; Julia Barrow, ‘Education and the recruitment of cathedral canons in England and Germany, 1100–1225’, *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117–38.

[125](#) Baldwin, ‘Studium et regnum’, 206–7; William Mendel Newman, *Le personnel de la cathédrale d’Amiens (1066–1306)* (Paris, 1972), 6–7; Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca, NY, 1987), 67–72, who notes that bishops were more likely to come from the lower nobility than the upper nobility from c.1100 onwards.

[126](#) Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle: Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres* (Louvain-la-Neuve and Brussels, 1986), 85–90, examines the social origins of canons of Tournai (about 60 per cent from the nobility and knightly castes and 40 per cent from the patriciate and bourgeoisie, where known, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries); Newman, *Le personnel*, 6–7; Fernando Picó, ‘Changements dans la composition du chapitre cathédral de Laon, 1155–1318’, *RHE*, 71 (1976), 78–90, at 82–5; for a few Norman examples (by no means exhaustive), see Spear, *Personnel*, 3, 5, 13, 32–3, 35, 41, 43–6, 48, 203, 207, 213, 215, 217.

[127](#) Louis Amiet, *Essai sur l’organisation du chapitre cathédral de Chartres (du XIe au XVIIIe siècle)* (Chartres, 1922), 2 (seventy-two prebends and seventeen dignities in the central Middle Ages); Demouy, *Genèse d’une cathédrale*, 66 (seventy-two canons at Rheims by 1075: the number seventy-two was symbolic, recalling the number of Christ’s wider group of disciples; meanwhile Paris had fifty, Châlons and Langres forty-eight each and Amiens thirty-five); Tournai had thirty in 854 and forty-three by the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai*, 98, 100); Laon had eighty-three canons in the thirteenth century: see Hélène Millet, *Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon 1272–1412* (Rome, 1982), 34; Angers had thirty (FEG, 7: Angers, 13).

[128](#) Gillingham, ‘Some observations on social mobility’, in *England and Germany*, ed. Haverkamp and Vollrath, 337, 346–7, repr. in Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century*, 262, 270–1.

[129](#) On geographical mobility of clergy in later medieval England, closely linked to social mobility, see Virginia Davis, ‘Episcopal ordination lists as a source for clerical mobility in England in the fourteenth century’, in *England in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Nicholas Rogers (Stamford, 1993), 152–70; and Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran Cruz, ‘Education, economy, and clerical mobility in late medieval northern England’, in *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society*, ed. William J. Courtney and Jürgen Miethke (Leiden,

2000), 182–207, at 195–6.

[130](#) Harold selected eleven new clerks for Waltham: cf *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. and tr. Leslie Watkiss and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1994), 28. On pre-Conquest episcopal appointments, see Catherine Cubitt, ‘Bishops and succession crises in tenth- and eleventh-century England’, in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe. Strukturen bischöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 111–26, at 123–4. On royal patronage of clergy below episcopal level in pre-Conquest England, see Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100*, 28th Brixworth Lecture (Leicester, 2013).

[131](#) Martin Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), 6–8, 72–4, 105–12.

[132](#) On the unaristocratic nature of the English episcopate in the period c.900–1200, see [Chapter 4](#) above; Henry of Blois is an obvious exception, but was definitely an exception (Brett, *The English Church*, 113).

[133](#) Julia Barrow, ‘Education and the recruitment of cathedral canons in England and Germany 1100–1225’, *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117–38, at 133; Julia Barrow, ‘Origins and careers of cathedral canons in twelfth-century England’, *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), 23–40, at 35–7. On the thirteenth century, see Michael Burger, *Bishops, Clerks and Diocesan Governance in Thirteenth-Century England: Reward and Punishment* (Cambridge, 2012).

[134](#) M.L. Colker, ‘The Life of Guy of Merton by Rainald of Merton’, *Mediaeval Studies*, 31 (1969), 250–61, at 250 (according to Colker, Guy possibly can be identified with the Guido Langobardus, who occurs in a late eleventh-century list of philosophers published in *Recueil des historiens*, XII, 3), and 255 (‘Italicus genere’); Jones, ‘Master Vacarius’, 2–3; *Fasti*, VI, 9, 18–19, 91, on Simon of Apulia.

[135](#) Spear, *Personnel*, 4, 93, 134, 171, 199, 274, for examples of Norman bishops who had held positions (sometimes sees) in England before returning to hold sees in Normandy; see also Brett, *The English Church*, 9.

[136](#) In general on the identity debate, see Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), esp. 199–200, on intermarriage, including clerical marriage, and assimilation; Hugh Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation and Identity 1066–c.1220* (Oxford, 2003), esp. 209–13, on clergy.

[137](#) Renardy, *Le monde des maîtres universitaires*, 101–2, notes at least twenty-nine, perhaps as many as thirty-seven, probable clerics in the diocese of Liège in the twelfth century who appear to have undergone a course of higher study; Joachim Ehlers, ‘Deutsche Scholaren in Frankreich während des 12. Jahrhunderts’, in *Schulen und Studium*, ed. Fried, 97–120; Ehlers, ‘Verfassungs- und sozialgeschichtliche Studien’, esp. 182–3.

[138](#) Anselm, *Vita Adalberti*, in *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Philipp Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*, 3 (Berlin, 1866; repr. Darmstadt, 1964), 565–603, on Adalbert II of Mainz; Ehlers, ‘Verfassungs- und sozialgeschichtliche Studien’, 161–84; Ehlers, ‘Deutsche Scholaren’, 104; similarly Otto of Freising (Ehlers, ‘Deutsche Scholaren’, 110–



11; Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, I, 208–12). Both Adalbert and Otto took followings with them. Philip of Heinsberg (later archbishop of Cologne 1167–91) went to Rheims to study and took with him as his *magister et paedagogus* Master Godfrey, scholasticus of St Andreas in Cologne: Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, I, 84–6 (II, c. 16).

[139](#) E.g. Gerung, scholasticus of Bonn, who studied in Paris according to Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, II, 241 (X, c. 34).

[140](#) Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, I, 25, 26 (I, cc. 18, 31), commented on by Ehlers, ‘Deutsche Scholaren’, 115.

[141](#) On the Premonstratensians see Ehlers, ‘Deutsche Scholaren’, 111–12.

[142](#) Cf W. Kübel, ‘Albertus Magnus’, *LMA*, I, 294–9, at 294, on Albertus Magnus’ family background – not comital as was once assumed, but knightly.

[143](#) Cf works cited in [n. 2](#) above and also Delhay, ‘L’organisation’, 211–68; Baldwin, ‘Masters at Paris’, 138–72; C. Warren Hollister and J.W. Baldwin, ‘The rise of administrative kingship: Henry I and Philip Augustus’, *American Historical Review*, 83 (1978), 867–905.

[144](#) Some 329 out of 1,290 clergy in English secular cathedrals beginning their careers in the period 1066–1200 recorded in *Fasti* bore the *magister* title. At Lichfield in the twelfth century, twenty-seven out of eighty, or 33.75 per cent of canons were *magistri*, and the proportion rose to 107 out of 176 or 60.7 per cent in the thirteenth century (based on *Fasti*, XI: the high proportion of *magistri* at Lichfield results from the fact that Lichfield canons of the early twelfth century, when few would have borne the title, are poorly recorded). At Wells, Hereford and Lincoln slightly over 27 per cent of the canons were masters (thirty-seven out of 134 at Wells, forty-three out of 156 at Hereford and sixty-two out of 225 at Lincoln); 25.6 per cent of Salisbury canons were masters and 21 per cent of York canons.

[145](#) Pycke, *Répertoire*, 197, 199–200, nos 174, 177–8; see also Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai*, 68–70, for a discussion of the proportion of graduates from 1180 onwards (22 per cent in the last two decades of the twelfth century, 30 per cent in the first two decades of the thirteenth).

[146](#) Groten, ‘Der Magistertitel’, 26 (Trier, but more often from 1169 onwards), 27 (Mainz), 30 (Münster by 1170; Minden by 1186; Osnabrück by 1196; Bremen by 1189), 31 (Hildesheim by 1161); Renardy, *Le monde*, 101–2.

[147](#) Julia Barrow, ‘Education and the recruitment of cathedral canons in England and Germany 1100–1225’, *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117–37, at 127–8.

[148](#) C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994), 36–75.

[149](#) Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 277.

[150](#) Hagen Keller, ‘Origine sociale e formazione del clero cattedrale dei secoli XI e XII nella Germania e nell’Italia settentrionale’, in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della <Societas Christiana> dei secoli XI–XII: Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie*, Miscellanea del Centro di studi medievali, 8 (Milan, 1977), 136–86.



[151](#) John B. Freed, 'Nobles, ministerials and knights in the archdiocese of Salzburg', *Speculum*, 62 (1987), 575–611, at 580.

[152](#) Leo Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems* (Vienna, 1964), 133–57.

[153](#) Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte*, 134; Keller, 'Origine', 154.

[154](#) Alexander Budinszky, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1876), *passim*, but esp. 75–232; Baldwin, 'Masters at Paris', 148–50.

[155](#) Anselm, *Vita Adelberti* (Jaffé, *BRG*, III, 583–4); for other examples of international conflicts see Ehlers, 'Deutsche Scholaren', 118–19.

[156](#) Julian Haseldine, 'Introduction', in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud, 1999), xvii–xxiii, and literature there cited.

[157](#) *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. Frank Barlow, Camden Society, 3rd series, 61 (London, 1939), 6–7, no 4.

[158](#) For discussion of John of Salisbury's attempts at networking, see Timothy Reuter, 'John of Salisbury and the Germans', in *The World of John of Salisbury*, ed. M. Wilks, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3 (Oxford, 1984), 415–25; Yoko Hirata, 'John of Salisbury, Gerard Pucelle and *Amicitia*', in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Haseldine, 153–65.

[159](#) Peter of Blois in PL 207: 221–4 (ep. 72 to Gerard Pucelle), 428–32 (ep. 143 to Archbishop Conrad of Mainz, who according to Peter had been taught by the same doctor in the schools, asking him to help free Richard I); John Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, DC, 2009), 62.

[160](#) E.g. PL 207: 375–8 (ep. 126); Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera omnia*, ed. J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock and G.F. Warner, 8 vols., RS, 21 (London, 1861–91), I, 249 (in which Gerald of Wales commended Robert Grosseteste to William de Vere, bishop of Hereford).

[161](#) Cf Aelred, *De spiritali amicitia*, in Aelredi Rievallensis, *Opera Omnia*, ed. A. Hoste and C.H. Talbot, CCCM, 1 (Turnhout, 1971), 279–350; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Spiritual Friendship*, tr. Lawrence C. Braceland and ed. Marsha L. Dutton (Collegeville, MI, 2010).

[162](#) See e.g. Gerd Althoff, 'Friendship and political order', in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Haseldine, 91–105.

## 8 Household service and patronage

Patronage was an essential part of the careers of all clergy, and in most cases getting on meant, at some point in the process, winning the favour of social and political superiors who were not relatives. Only for those clergy whose ambitions could be met by their own relatives – in other words, those clergy belonging to families that controlled their own churches – was this not the case, and even they might have ambition for further promotion requiring assistance from someone outside the family orbit.<sup>1</sup> We have already observed one form of patronage, the fostering of boys and adolescents;<sup>2</sup> this chapter will deal with support given to adults in their careers. Here the clients were usually employees, though often trainees as well. Patronage was extended in return for service, which in the case of clerics could mean, particularly, being part of a household or court, celebrating household Masses, guarding relics and writing letters and charters. Some twelfth-century households went further and trained clergy (if only informally) in administration and law.<sup>3</sup>

### Clergy in royal households

Adult clergy could spend long periods of time in the households of secular lords of all ranks, of bishops and of kings and emperors. Royal households, or, as we should properly call them, courts, provided models which were imitated on a smaller and cheaper scale by heads of households lower down the hierarchy. Courts developed specialised terminology and also appropriate architectural settings in which attendant clerics could operate. Above all the Carolingians set precedents which were sooner or later adopted by royal courts in much of Europe. Although clerics had formed a part of rulers' households since the time of Constantine,<sup>4</sup> it was only in the eighth century in western Europe that special vocabulary began to evolve to define their status. The term *capella*, used by the Merovingians to describe one of their most valuable relics, the cloak of St Martin,<sup>5</sup> spawned the word *capellani* (chaplains) to describe the clerks who had the job of looking after the relics, a word which first occurs in 741.<sup>6</sup> Use of the title *capellanus* was fairly casual, and often Carolingian chaplains can be defined as such only from their activities and not from job titles.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, although a head chaplain (Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Denis) can be perceived from the reign of Pippin, he is rarely referred to as chaplain and much more often as abbot.<sup>8</sup> Late in the eighth century, Alcuin experimented with the term *primicerius* for the head chaplain, Archbishop Angilramn of Metz,<sup>9</sup> but under Angilramn's successor but one, Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis, the title *archicapellanus*, or archchaplain, became the normal way of describing the head of the group of chaplains, though the office fell into abeyance from 860.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile the term *capella* acquired a topographical and architectural meaning, becoming applied to the oratories in royal palaces from the 760s onwards,<sup>11</sup> and although at first it would presumably only have been used of that chapel in which the royal relics were currently kept, by at least the start of Louis the Pious's reign it was being used to define the oratories in all royal palaces simultaneously.<sup>12</sup> It is not clear whether or not these oratories were served initially by itinerant clergy alone, but by the later ninth century they were served by resident clergy,<sup>13</sup> as can be seen in Charles the Bald's foundation charter for his chapel at Compiègne in May 877.<sup>14</sup> It was only under Otto I in 972 that the office of abbot of St Mary of Aachen

was restricted to members of the imperial chapel.<sup>15</sup>

The range of activities undertaken by Carolingian chaplains was wide, and would probably have concentrated principally on the celebration of Mass and performance of the office at court, together with care of relics.<sup>16</sup> The *De ordine palatii* (as we have it, written by Hincmar late in 882, but largely taking over a text written by Adalhard of Corbie for Bernard, Charlemagne's grandson, between 811 and 814) refers three times to the court chaplain, describing him as *custos palatii* and *apocrisiarius*. *Custos palatii*, literally 'keeper of the palace', may mean that he was sacristan of the palace, since *custos* in an ecclesiastical context means 'treasurer' (as in a cathedral chapter) or 'sacristan'; *apocrisiarius*, a title taken over from the Roman church, can also have this meaning, though in addition it can mean 'envoy'. Since the office of archchaplain had been vacant for some time before Hincmar reworked the text, Löwe argued that we should view this description as his attempt to reinvent the office.<sup>17</sup> At any rate, Hincmar saw a strong connection between the chaplain and the task of keeping sacred vessels and relics. Earlier in the century, Amalarius, in his account of the origin of the grade of the deacon in Book II of his *Liber Officialis*, had paid particular attention to how the Levites had wrapped up the holy things before they were due to be taken on the next stage of the journey through the wilderness; clearly he was expecting his audience to think of the parallels with itinerant court life in the ninth century, in which the task of packing up must have been a major responsibility for court chaplains.<sup>18</sup> However, the aspect of the chaplains' duties that has aroused most interest in modern historians working on this period has been the writing of charters. Whereas this had been a job for a lay official (the referendary) under the Merovingians, it was given to a cleric by Pippin, and the association of clergy and royal charter production became standard in the Frankish kingdom, in its successor states and eventually in most of the rest of Europe. At first, the vocabulary used to define these clerics was fairly loose: 'chaplain', or 'chaplain and notary',<sup>19</sup> but from the early ninth century (the earliest occurrence is in a capitulary of 808) the term *cancellarius*, chancellor, begins to make an appearance. This term had originated in the late Roman Empire to describe servants of notaries, who, after beginning by controlling access to the notaries, gradually began to take on the task of writing documents themselves,<sup>20</sup> and in the early Middle Ages the term had been used to describe the notaries of counts in Francia.<sup>21</sup> As Fleckenstein showed, there was no chancery as such under the Carolingians;<sup>22</sup> the clerics who wrote royal documents belonged to the chapel and were all, including the head of the chancery, under the archchaplain. Louis the Pious's sons and their successors maintained similar arrangements in their separate kingdoms, though (with the exception of Charles the Bald's chapel) these were usually smaller and less elaborate.<sup>23</sup>

In the eastern Frankish kingdom, from the late ninth century onwards, the offices of archchaplain and head chancellor (increasingly termed 'archchancellor')<sup>24</sup> came to be combined in one person and reserved for archbishops;<sup>25</sup> in other words, it was essentially an honorary post. Although there was a hiatus in the line of archchaplains in the early years of Henry I's reign, as he tried to build up his authority, the position was revived by 922.<sup>26</sup> From 965 it was linked to the see of Mainz;<sup>27</sup> over the years 1040–53 the title disappeared and was replaced by that of archchancellor.<sup>28</sup> Beneath the now purely ceremonial figurehead, the archchaplain or archchancellor, were the people who attended

and did the work, the chancellor,<sup>29</sup> and, beneath him, the chaplains, some but not all of whom acted as notaries and drafted and wrote diplomas.<sup>30</sup> Numbers of chaplains rose from three, all told, under Henry I (919–36) to twenty-six identifiable notaries and seventeen other chaplains under Otto I (936–73), and this sizeable number was, albeit with fluctuations, maintained by his successors (for example, thirty-two chaplains can be identified under Henry III (1039–56), whose reign was less than half as long as Otto I's).<sup>31</sup> Lothar III (1125–37) appointed no chancellor but had eighteen chaplains, two more than his predecessor, Henry V, while Conrad III (1138–52) had twenty-five.<sup>32</sup> Frederick Barbarossa's thousand or so surviving diplomata were produced by, overall, twenty-three notaries under a protonotary; over the course of the reign (1152–90) there were four protonotaries and nine chancellors, and five or six notaries might be in employment at any given time.<sup>33</sup> The notaries were all chaplains, but there would presumably have been additional chaplains not involved in the production of documents.<sup>34</sup>

For French kings, the scope of their rule in the tenth and eleventh centuries was not such as to make a large entourage of court clergy a requirement, but the form in which diplomata continued to be drafted necessitated the employment of a chancellor, with a couple of scribes serving him.<sup>35</sup> This was the pattern (one chancellor and two notaries at any one time) still to be encountered under Louis VI (1108–37), who in addition had several chaplains, four of whom can be identified, who presumably had liturgical duties.<sup>36</sup> Louis VII (1137–80) employed at least fourteen of his own scribes over the course of his reign and Philip Augustus (1180–1223) seventeen.<sup>37</sup>

For the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon rulers, the lines of development of the clerical arm of the royal household are harder to grasp. However, we can observe both ecclesiastical attendance at court and royal patronage of ecclesiastical appointments. Kings kept a tight grasp on most high-level and many lower-level ecclesiastical appointments throughout the whole Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>38</sup> Ecclesiastical presence at court, however, may have been rather informal, consisting principally of attendance at royal assemblies and opportunities for individual communities to meet kings when the latter visited churches. Groups of clergy below episcopal level sometimes witness royal charters from the ninth century onwards. The ninth-century groups occur in Mercian charters and probably represent entire church communities (as beneficiaries) or clergy from several churches attending synods.<sup>39</sup> Where such groups occur in the charters of Edward the Elder (899–924) they are most likely to be members of the communities of Old Minster and New Minster, Winchester, and may suggest a particularly close bond between these communities and the king; however, in the two cases where there are large numbers of priests this may mean that priests in charge of several minster communities were being represented.<sup>40</sup> Royal control over patronage would have encouraged clergy to seek contact with kings, but there do not seem to have been formal arrangements for clergy at Anglo-Saxon courts before the eleventh century.

It is equally difficult to work out who was responsible for the production of royal charters: from the early tenth century onwards much of this seems to have been undertaken by royal personnel,<sup>41</sup> but the lack of recognition clauses in royal charters makes it impossible to name the individuals involved in the production of individual

documents. One royal scribe can be identified: Ælfwine, the beneficiary of a charter of Æthelred the Unready in 984, but we do not have evidence for what he wrote.<sup>42</sup> It has been fiercely argued whether or not there was ‘an Anglo-Saxon chancery’.<sup>43</sup> Many diplomas and, above all, writs (vernacular administrative documents) must have been written at court from the tenth century,<sup>44</sup> but some of the task of writing diplomas seems to have been devolved to particular major churches, for example Glastonbury between 951 and 975.<sup>45</sup> However, even though Cnut (1016–35) was impressed by Salian court practices and imported clergy from the empire to serve him at court, the terminology of chapel and chancery is essentially lacking until the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66). The word ‘chancellor’ does not occur in English sources before Edward’s reign,<sup>46</sup> while the word ‘chaplain’ is rare in English sources before the mid-eleventh century.<sup>47</sup> Edward imported Lotharingian clerics to serve him, who would have been used to these terms.<sup>48</sup> A chaplain and a chancellor occur together in the witness list to Edward the Confessor’s confirmation for Waltham of 1062, which is probably genuine,<sup>49</sup> though other charters of Edward the Confessor mentioning these terms are spurious.<sup>50</sup> In addition, Domesday Book has a reference to Regenbald as chancellor,<sup>51</sup> and to Smelt as Edward the Confessor’s chaplain.<sup>52</sup> Edward, therefore, must have had an organised chapel.

Domesday mentions no royal chaplains other than Smelt, but it contains numerous references to king’s priests, at the very least 112 over the period from 1066 to 1086. Many of the latter are individually named; they were probably a mixture of court clergy and more locally based clergy serving royal churches, either as canons in minsters or as priests in charge of royal manorial churches.<sup>53</sup> The latter were sometimes referred to as almoners in Domesday and in some cases are specified as having said Mass for the king on certain days of the week.<sup>54</sup> Not mentioned in Domesday, because he had left Edward’s service in 1052 to become bishop of Laon, was a French cleric called Helinand, whom Edward liked to employ on diplomatic missions.<sup>55</sup> Travelling to deliver messages or to confer with people of political importance was an important part of the duties of some clerics (here too we can see differences of status among the royal clergy), and they might be rewarded with grants of land positioned to assist them on the journeys they made most frequently.<sup>56</sup>

Regenbald the chancellor appears to have gone on to serve William I,<sup>57</sup> and thereafter a steady succession of chancellors can be observed under William I and his successors,<sup>58</sup> and an increasing number of court chaplains, mostly recruited from Norman clerical dynasties.<sup>59</sup> However, scribes in direct royal employment seem to have been very few until the reign of Henry I,<sup>60</sup> even under Henry I and Stephen the number of scribes remained fairly low,<sup>61</sup> only increasing under Henry II.<sup>62</sup> Scottish kings imitated English ones, employing a chancellor from the reign of Alexander I (1107–24). David I (1124–53) and his son Earl Henry employed between them about twelve chaplains and seven clerks.<sup>63</sup> Charters issued by Welsh princes were normally beneficiary productions, and although chaplains and clerks can occur in their witness lists they may often have been associated with churches or bishops rather than with rulers.<sup>64</sup>

## **Clergy in the households of magnates**



In imitation of kings, the great magnates in the kingdom of France began to build up elaborate households and bodies of administrative assistants in the eleventh century, including clergy, chaplains and chancellors. The counts of Anjou began to employ a chaplain early on in the eleventh century, and by the middle of the century were employing a deacon called Renaud to write charters for them; in the 1080s under Fulk le Réchin (d. 1109) the chaplain was sometimes entitled chancellor, while the number of chaplains had grown to three by the early twelfth century.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, the counts of Champagne employed a chaplain from the early eleventh century; by the early twelfth century they sometimes had two or more chaplains simultaneously and by 1102 were employing a clerk (titled chancellor from 1107) to write charters for them.<sup>66</sup> Count Stephen of Blois and his wife Adela employed several clerks and chaplains, with two of the chaplains writing charters for them.<sup>67</sup> In Normandy, clerics in the following of Richard II (996–1026) were sometimes titled chancellor and chaplain, but subsequent references to ducal clergy in the eleventh century are sparse until shortly before 1066. William the Conqueror (duke 1035–87) seems to have had three chaplains before 1066.<sup>68</sup> In Flanders, Count Robert I's son and heir Robert created the office of chancellor in 1089 and, to provide it with an endowment, attached it to the provostship of the collegiate church of St Donatian's within the comital castle of Bruges.<sup>69</sup> Further down the social scale, castellans began to found small communities of clergy in their castles.<sup>70</sup> Some of the followers of William the Conqueror who were rewarded with large landholdings in England had small clerical followings;<sup>71</sup> this was not a break with previous English practice, for Harold, for example, had had a sizeable clerical following, and he and several English aristocrats in the 1050s had founded or refounded minsters.<sup>72</sup>

In the twelfth century, aristocratic households continued to become more elaborate and with more numerous and more clearly defined offices. The surviving charters of Henry the Lion (d. 1195), duke of Saxony (1142–80) and Bavaria (1156–80), were produced by seven notaries, usually termed chaplains: Gisbert, Markward, Gottfried, Heimo, Master David and Gebhard 'chaplains and priests of the duke's court', and Master Conrad; he had other chaplains as well.<sup>73</sup> Henry the Liberal, count of Champagne (1152–81) employed a chancellor, a notary and a scribe, with a succession of three chancellors during his period of rule.<sup>74</sup> The earls of Chester, who were among the most important English magnates of the twelfth century, normally employed between two and four chaplains at a time from the 1120s onwards; at the same time, they employed a group of clerks. Under Earl Ranulf III (Earl of Chester 1181–1232) the chaplains disappear from charter witness lists (though they doubtless continued to feature in the household) and a chancellor emerges in charge of the household clergy and of document production.<sup>75</sup> In general, aristocratic households expanded considerably during the middle of the twelfth century, and began to employ a significant number of clerics with the *magister* title.<sup>76</sup>

## Clergy in episcopal households

Within episcopal households the employment of chaplains went very much further back than in the households of secular magnates, though here there was always overlap between the cathedral community and the episcopal household. Even after cathedral communities had become independent bodies, a slow process from the later eleventh century onwards,

bishops would make use of prebends to reward their household clerics and might continue to expect services from them. Alcuin uses the term ‘chaplains’ to refer to three young clerics in the household of his friend Bishop Arn of Salzburg c.803 (one of them was Aldric, later a member of Louis the Pious’s chapel and later still archbishop of Sens).<sup>77</sup> Thereafter chaplains occur, though not continuously, in the service of ninth-century bishops of Freising, Liège and Nevers.<sup>78</sup> Episcopal chancellors are evidenced from the late ninth century, the earliest examples being Ruotland, chancellor of Bishop Robert of Metz, who occurs in 886, and Arnold, chancellor in Langres Cathedral, who occurs in 907 and 910.<sup>79</sup>

Episcopal chancellors also occur at Le Mans, Bourges, Paris and Tours in the late tenth century.<sup>80</sup> At Langres and Paris, chancellors continue to occur down to the twelfth century; they also occur in many other dioceses, in several cases only fleetingly, but with strong continuity across the eleventh century and into the twelfth at Châlons and Rheims.<sup>81</sup> At Amiens the office is frequently attested from the end of the eleventh century onwards. At Laon, bishops are known to have employed chancellors from the mid-eleventh century onwards, the first, Alardus, occurring as chancellor and archchaplain under Bishop Helinand in 1055. Several of his successors were simultaneously cathedral dignitaries, though the chancellorship was never linked to a particular dignity; thus, for example, Robert the chanter was chancellor between 1065 and 1093, but Anselm combined the office of chancellor with that of master of the schools from 1095 until his death in 1117.<sup>82</sup> It is often possible to observe from charter witness lists that episcopal chancellors were members of cathedral chapters and, very often, dignitaries: bishops may have been relying on existing figures rather than bringing in talent from outside.

Episcopal chaplains start to occur much later than episcopal chancellors in France, and usually not in association with them – at Angers, for example, chaplains rather than chancellors occur in original episcopal acts.<sup>83</sup> Sometimes, bishops were accompanied by their chaplain or chaplains rather than by their chancellor, as for example Bishop Franco of Paris in 1025; perhaps on this occasion the bishop had travelled outside Paris, leaving his chancellor behind.<sup>84</sup> Episcopal charters often do not provide evidence for place of issue, but several charters mentioning chancellors say that they were issued in the episcopal city and often in a synod; perhaps chancellors preferred to stay in their cathedral communities most of the time.<sup>85</sup> Evidence for chaplains tends to be more plentiful after the middle of the eleventh century. At Laon, for example, a chaplain called Machelmus witnesses a charter of Bishop Helinand in 1081, and fuller evidence of chaplains comes in the pontificate of Bishop Bartholomew, who had chaplains called Godfrey and John.<sup>86</sup> In Normandy, bishops had already begun to have chaplains by the earlier eleventh century (Bishop Hugh of Bayeux had a chaplain called Tedoldus),<sup>87</sup> but references are very few until the later eleventh century, when we find chaplains of Bishops Geoffrey of Coutances, Hugh and Gilbert of Lisieux and Gerard I and Serlo of Sées.<sup>88</sup> During the twelfth century, numbers of chaplains remained low, but the size of clerical contingents in episcopal households greatly increased, the remaining clerical members being referred to simply as *clerici*.<sup>89</sup> The bishops of Tournai employed their own chancellor from 1146, usually backed up by a chaplain and, from the later twelfth century, a few *clerici*.<sup>90</sup>

Within the German kingdom, episcopal chancellors occur at Toul and Strasbourg in the middle of the tenth century,<sup>91</sup> and references to episcopal chaplains are not uncommon in the tenth century: Udalrich of Augsburg had several, according to his biographer Gerhard, who had been one of them.<sup>92</sup> Gerhard's account of their activities concentrates on their attendance on the bishop and their chanting of the office.<sup>93</sup> According to a thirteenth-century source, the late ninth- and early tenth-century bishops of Liège established abbacies to be held by chaplains who would each act as episcopal chaplain for one month, chanting the office; although the information is not necessarily reliable for the tenth century, part of this system still existed in the twelfth century.<sup>94</sup> More secure information survives for Bishop Notker (972–1008), who had chaplains, some of whom assisted with the production of charters.<sup>95</sup> At Freising a hierarchy of episcopal chaplains begins to be visible from the later tenth century onwards, but in most imperial dioceses this did not usually happen before the eleventh century; the term 'archchaplain' starts to occur for the leading episcopal chaplain,<sup>96</sup> though at Cologne, in imitation of changes in the imperial chapel under Henry III, *capellarius* was preferred.<sup>97</sup> Trier Cathedral in the tenth century had a writing office headed by a chancellor (who was usually the cathedral scholasticus) and staffed by notaries.<sup>98</sup> Archiepiscopal chaplains in the diocese of Mainz occur first in 1070.<sup>99</sup> The bishops of Cambrai also had a developed writing office in the eleventh century, headed by an archchaplain in the 1030s and a chancellor from 1057.<sup>100</sup> Episcopal chapels expanded, sometimes enormously, in the twelfth century.<sup>101</sup>

English episcopal households in the post-Conquest period show a similar pattern to Norman ones, but in a more exaggerated form.<sup>102</sup> Episcopal chaplains (by that term) appear from the 1070s in England, the earliest ones being brought in by Lanfranc, who had a small group of monks in close attendance on him, one of whom was his chaplain Walter, who was made abbot of Evesham in 1077.<sup>103</sup> Coleman (a monk) and Fritheric, a secular cleric presumably of Lotharingian origin (to judge from his name), were chaplains of Wulfstan of Worcester (Coleman for fifteen years, therefore presumably from 1080 to Wulfstan's death in 1095; Fritheric probably in the latter part of Wulfstan's pontificate, since he was still alive in the early twelfth century).<sup>104</sup> In the neighbouring diocese of Hereford, Bishop Robert the Lotharingian had at least two and more probably four chaplains, presumably to serve his Lotharingian-style two-storeyed chapel;<sup>105</sup> these were probably also members of the cathedral community, on which Robert also drew for his clerical followers.<sup>106</sup> During the course of the twelfth century, English bishops continued to employ chaplains, often two or occasionally three or four at a time,<sup>107</sup> and these were sometimes put on a firmer institutional footing by being provided with positions in endowed episcopal chapels, such as the chapel of Sts Katharine and Mary Magdalen at Hereford<sup>108</sup> and the chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels in York, founded by Archbishop Roger probably 1177 × 1181,<sup>109</sup> though in practice such positions tended to be used as a reward at the end of service rather than while the chaplains were in the bishop's immediate employment. Over the century, the chaplains became sidelined as the clerical contingents in English episcopal households became very much larger.<sup>110</sup> From the 1130s onwards the dominant group in each household began to be formed by clerks with the *magister* title,<sup>111</sup> and from the middle of the century bishops commonly employed four or

five *magistri* in their immediate entourage, with numbers rising to ten or fifteen by c.1200.<sup>112</sup> Not all the senior clergy associated with the bishop were *magistri*, but on the whole the masters tended to be listed first. In the very informally constituted *familiae* of this type the title may have helped to distinguish the top of the hierarchy. Occasionally, specific job titles appear; bishops of Winchester and Salisbury had started to employ dataries by the end of the twelfth century;<sup>113</sup> the leading clerk in the archiepiscopal entourage at Canterbury was sometimes (though not officially) referred to as ‘chancellor’ from the middle of the twelfth century onwards;<sup>114</sup> more lastingly, bishops began to employ officials from the end of the twelfth century,<sup>115</sup> and it was very common from the third quarter of the twelfth century onwards for bishops to employ a senior cleric as their steward.<sup>116</sup> Lower down the charter witness lists come the lowliest (though often the most permanent) members of the episcopal *familia*, the chaplains, the almoner (where there was one) and the bishop’s junior clerks, often termed *clerici* or *clerici episcopi*.<sup>117</sup> Overall, however, informality and impermanence were the main features for all clerks until they received a benefice or a prebend. English episcopal clerks usually risked losing their employment on the death of their employer, for succeeding bishops often had their own networks of supporters already and would not want to take on their predecessors’ households as a whole. In any case, episcopal vacancies would mean a period of uncertain length with no income.<sup>118</sup> Patterns of employment of episcopal clerks and chaplains were similar in Scotland from the middle of the twelfth century, at any rate in those dioceses whose records survive best (St Andrews, Glasgow, Moray and Dunkeld); Bishop Robert of St Andrews was the first Scottish bishop known to have employed *magistri* among his household clerks, in the 1150s.<sup>119</sup> Welsh bishops were slower to employ clerks and did not do so in large numbers; from the middle of the twelfth until the late thirteenth century the bishops of Llandaff and St Davids each had one chaplain and at most two clerks.<sup>120</sup>

## Activities and functions of household clergy

Work on chapels and clerical contingents in households tends to concentrate on the contribution made by chaplains and clerks to the production of charters, but this, while a highly significant part of their activities, was not the only one or even, necessarily, the principal one. Performance of the daily liturgy had been the original *raison d’être* of chaplains, and continued to be one of their principal duties.<sup>121</sup> Some idea of what could be involved can be obtained from the manuscript compiled for the personal use of Grimald, archchaplain of Louis the German, with its litany mentioning the Pope, Louis, his wife and children, and the judges and army of the Franks; in addition it contained a list of metropolitan sees with their suffragans and a calendar.<sup>122</sup> Tenth- and eleventh-century episcopal Lives can provide significant details about the religious duties of household chaplains. Gerhard in his Life of Bishop Uodalric of Augsburg says that several chaplains accompanied the bishop on his travels so that services could be celebrated with appropriate formality, and on journeys one of them sat on the same ox cart as the bishop and sang psalms the whole day (in other words, performed the daily office).<sup>123</sup> Abbot Widric (Wéry) of Saint-Mansuy in his *Vita* of Gerard, bishop of Toul (963–94, b. 935), says the bishop was keen to perform the hours night and day with his *clericis familiaribus*, and got them to read aloud to him at night-time in a rota system; although Gerard would



drop off to sleep he would always notice if anyone stopped reading.<sup>124</sup> William of Malmesbury in his *Vita Wulfstani* notes arrangements for household Mass.<sup>125</sup> The *clerici* accompanying Wulfstan on long journeys had to walk to a distant church in the early morning to say Matins (Wulfstan always insisted on going to a church for Matins),<sup>126</sup> and while on the road they had to recite the whole Psalter, with litanies and collects, each day (Wulfstan was trying to prevent his entourage from wasting time gossiping). When they arrived at a place to stay the night a priest had to ‘purify’ the house with holy water and a cross.<sup>127</sup> Not all bishops would have been quite as punctilious in their religious devotions as Uodalric, Gerard or Wulfstan, and in any case their biographers are stressing their virtues to present them as models to be emulated, but nonetheless daily worship was a central part of life in episcopal households. William fitz Stephen in describing his life in Thomas Becket’s service said that he had eaten with him, had drafted charters for him and had acted as subdeacon for him when the archbishop celebrated Mass in his chapel.<sup>128</sup> On the other hand, within England and France in the twelfth century, the social status of chaplains appears to have been on the decline, as we can guess from the positions that episcopal chaplains occupy in charter witness lists by the later twelfth century and also the disappearance of chaplains from witness lists in some magnate families in the last quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>129</sup> Those who celebrated Mass may, by now, often have been of too lowly a social status to require notice.

Assistance in the production of charters had been an important duty of royal chaplains from the eighth century, and, increasingly, of clergy attached to other courts and households. The system of producing charters at the Frankish court influenced subsequent chancery development within the Frankish successor states and eventually (though to a lesser extent) also those kingdoms that had never formed part of Francia: more experienced chaplains would work out the form of words to be used in the document and dictate them to junior chaplains, the actual scribes (though sometimes it is possible to see examples of a *dictator* writing his own charters).<sup>130</sup> The resulting document would then be read through by a senior cleric, who would write a line at the end of the document to say that he had checked the contents (the verb used is *recognovi*, and hence the person writing this line is the *recognoscens*). Usually this was the chancellor, and the recognition line would also mention the archchaplain or archchancellor in whose absence the chancellor was working.<sup>131</sup> Checking documents over before sending them out must have been a general practice, but recognition clauses occur only in formally written diplomas. Procedures in Anglo-Saxon England, where clauses of this type do not occur, must have been rather more informal. Even here, however, there must have been checking procedures, and by the end of the eleventh century control of the seal had become an established senior office in the English royal household.<sup>132</sup>

Rulers, magnates and bishops whose production of documents was low (true of most leading figures until at least the late eleventh century) were happy to allow beneficiaries to draft and write the charters for them to check over and seal.<sup>133</sup> However, in most places the output of documents rose markedly in the twelfth century, making it more necessary than hitherto to employ clerks on a permanent basis to write them.<sup>134</sup> Over the course of the twelfth century, an ever-deeper knowledge of law was required. In an ecclesiastical context, for example, bishops developed a whole new set of responsibilities in the twelfth



century: responding to demands for action from popes; informing secular courts about whether couples had been legitimately married or who had made the last presentation of a cleric to a benefice, and issuing mandates to archdeacons and rural deans ordering them to perform duties such as installing incumbents in parish churches.<sup>135</sup> Even where bishops themselves had some knowledge of canon law,<sup>136</sup> they required a body of experienced assistants to advise them or to carry out some of the work in their absence; hence the perceptible increase in the number of *magistri* employed by English bishops. Archbishops required very sizeable bodies of advisers; Archbishop Theobald's group of clergy included ten future bishops;<sup>137</sup> Herbert of Bosham listed Thomas Becket's numerous *eruditi*;<sup>138</sup> at York, both Roger of Pont-l'Évêque and Geoffrey Plantagenet employed very large numbers of *magistri*.<sup>139</sup> Numbers of chaplains employed by the archbishops of Salzburg rose strikingly in the third quarter of the twelfth century, from thirteen under Archbishop Eberhard, 1147–64, to thirty-three under Archbishop Adalbert, 1168–77 and 1183–1200;<sup>140</sup> another significant rise occurred in the early thirteenth century.<sup>141</sup>

Masses and charters do not account for all the duties undertaken by clerical members of households: chaplains and household clerks might act as tutors to their employer's children or nephews,<sup>142</sup> act as ambassadors or *missi*,<sup>143</sup> look after books,<sup>144</sup> perhaps also engage in literary activities,<sup>145</sup> and, presumably, simply stand around their employer to impress on any visitors a due sense of splendour and occasion. Court and household physicians were usually clerics.<sup>146</sup> By the later twelfth century, households might attract large numbers of these; it is not unknown for three or four physicians to occur in witness lists to episcopal acts, for example. It may well have been the case that wealthy patrons such as bishops might routinely employ at least one *medicus* on a more or less permanent basis and bring in other consultants during periods of severe illness.<sup>147</sup>

## **Recruitment and remuneration of household clergy**

Household and court clergy were recruited not only for the services that they could immediately perform, but also, in several (though by no means all) cases, to be trained up or prepared for higher positions elsewhere. As a result, patterns of recruitment and reward for service could vary considerably. Under the Carolingians the post of head chaplain or archchaplain very early on came to be given to clerics who had already attained high positions, bishoprics or abbacies (for example, Angilramn, bishop of Metz (768–91); Hildebald, archbishop of Cologne (d. 819); Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis (sacked as chaplain 830); Drogo, bishop of Metz).<sup>148</sup> Below the top position, however, clerics in the chapel were recruited often at a fairly young age, soon after they had completed their education. Pupils of Alcuin, Aldric (while abbot of Ferrières) and Hrabanus all became chaplains;<sup>149</sup> existing chaplains would bring their pupils and protégés to court with them, as Grimald brought Walafrid Strabo and Hilduin, abbot of Saint-Denis, brought Hincmar (the future archbishop of Rheims).<sup>150</sup> It has been suggested that Einhard was a chaplain in minor orders (he was married), but it is more probable that he was a layman.<sup>151</sup> Carolingian court chaplains were probably normally rewarded with grants of fiscal churches, and although evidence of specific examples is sparse, [Chapter 6](#) of *Capitulare de villis* makes it clear that this was normal practice.<sup>152</sup> Grants of fiscal land were also quite common.<sup>153</sup>

In the tenth century, in the Eastern Frankish kingdom, kings began to look to cathedral chapters to supply them with chaplains; this practice, already noticeable under Henry I (though his chaplains were very few),<sup>154</sup> became very marked indeed in the last quarter of the century.<sup>155</sup> Cathedrals as a source of supply often had to be supplemented under Otto I with recruitment from selected monasteries, St Maximin's near Trier and Otto's own foundation of St Maurice at Magdeburg, since as yet German cathedral schools were not producing sufficient supplies of clerics trained in *dictamen* or good enough scribal skills.<sup>156</sup> However, Otto I himself helped his brother (and chancellor) Brun to train up future bishops who would in their turn improve the standard of cathedral schools.<sup>157</sup> The cathedrals that built up the closest ties with German rulers and provided the most chaplains were Hildesheim, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Bamberg (founded in 1007) and Würzburg.<sup>158</sup> Service at court could potentially lead to significant rewards: most chancellors and very large numbers of chaplains were appointed to bishoprics as these fell vacant, with the ruler playing a large part in the choice.<sup>159</sup> This pattern of advancement received a check in the late eleventh century as imperial control over episcopal appointments was increasingly challenged by other political forces, increasingly able to exploit the opportunities offered by the Investiture Contest to put forward alternative candidates,<sup>160</sup> but rulers continued to exercise the greatest influence over appointments save in the nadir of royal authority 1125–39 under Lothar III.<sup>161</sup> On the other hand, imperial notaries were, by the middle of the twelfth century, beginning to be recruited from collegiate churches: the position had ceased to lead to high office.<sup>162</sup>

Although the powers of French kings were weak in the period down to the early twelfth century, they had effective control over appointments to the archiepiscopal sees of Sens and Rheims, and over four of the Sens suffragans (Paris, Orléans, Auxerre and Chartres) and all the Rheims suffragans save Cambrai (which was in the empire). The range of sees over which the king could exercise royal powers was increased steadily under Henry I, Philip I, Louis VI and Louis VII, so that by the death of the last-named, well over twenty sees were in royal control, and the number increased further under Philip Augustus.<sup>163</sup>

Anglo-Saxon rulers took their powers to appoint bishops almost for granted; with the exception of the far north of England there are no examples after the middle of the tenth century of successful attempts by other factions to secure episcopal appointments not to the king's taste: even the powerful Earl Godwin was unable to secure the election of his kinsman Æthelric as archbishop of Canterbury against Edward the Confessor's candidate, Robert of Jumièges.<sup>164</sup> For much of the twelfth century, English kings could offer patronage over a wide area, making cross-Channel careers common.<sup>165</sup> From at least the end of the ninth century, English rulers also disposed of a great deal of ecclesiastical patronage below the episcopate, largely in the form of minster churches (usually, in practice, small communities of clergy).<sup>166</sup> The head position (abbot or priest-abbot) in these could be granted to a royal clerk or a favoured bishop. Cnut and Edward the Confessor had no problems in rewarding their court clerics: Duduc, Stigand, Giso, Regenbald, Spirites and many others received headships of minster churches, in the case of Regenbald a very large number of these.<sup>167</sup> This pattern continued under William the Conqueror (Nigel the physician, for example, took over some of the holdings of

Spirites).<sup>168</sup> However, although a few minster churches remained in royal control and became 'royal free chapels', a significant resource for high-level royal patronage,<sup>169</sup> most were granted away, usually to form the basis for small Benedictine or Augustinian foundations,<sup>170</sup> and so twelfth-century kings of England had to range more widely when looking for possible rewards for their followers. All forms of ecclesiastical position could be brought into play, from a rectory upwards, and not only royal patronage but also, increasingly, patronage at the disposal of others could be exploited: for example, William Rufus and Henry I both encouraged bishops with secular cathedral chapters to create prebends that could then be given, in some instances, to royal clerks, and the great expansion of the chapters of Lincoln, Salisbury and Wells over the course of the twelfth century owes much to royal demand for suitable preferment for royal clergy.<sup>171</sup> Later kings were also persistent in their requests to bishops to find preferment for royal clerks.

As we have seen, the household clergy of magnates in the eleventh century in France tended to be supported by the creation of small collegiate churches, often in castles, to house them.<sup>172</sup> A roughly analogous process in very late Anglo-Saxon England saw the foundation of new minsters for this purpose, e.g. Waltham; some more foundations of this type emerged after the Conquest (Roger de Montgomery's Quatford, Hugh and Roger de Lacy's St Peter's Hereford, Robert d'Oilly and Roger d'Ivry's St George's in the Castle at Oxford),<sup>173</sup> with a final flourish in the 1120s, for example Walter of Gloucester's foundation of St Owen's in Gloucester (1123 × 1125).<sup>174</sup> But already in France and increasingly also in England major landowners were finding it more tempting to turn small collegiate foundations and old minster churches into Benedictine and Augustinian priories, presumably because a better liturgical range, including more impressive prayers for the dead, could be offered by the latter.<sup>175</sup> How magnates thereafter paid their chaplains and clerks is less clear: presumably they gave them bed and board, made them small money payments and promised to present them eventually to parish churches. Collegiate churches survived much more sturdily in Germany than further west; magnates, like bishops (though beginning at a later date),<sup>176</sup> founded their own, whose canons were then expected to act as chaplains in their service. Thus, for example, Henry the Lion could rely on the collegiate churches of St Blasius and St Cyriacus in Brunswick to supply him with chaplains.<sup>177</sup>

The very sparse evidence for episcopal chaplains in the Frankish empire in the ninth century suggests that they were funded by holding proprietary churches or chapels, though Atto, protochaplain of Bishop Franco of Nevers (894–c.905), also seems to have been canon of Nevers.<sup>178</sup> In tenth- and eleventh-century Germany, episcopal chaplains seem usually to have been cathedral canons or dignitaries (of sixteen chaplains for whom Haider found a reasonable amount of biographical information, fourteen belonged to cathedral chapters, and almost all of those belonged to the cathedral of which their employer was bishop);<sup>179</sup> equally, most of the ones for whom information survives were well born and of free status (*edelfrei*).<sup>180</sup> It is of course possible, as Haider remarks, that the ones for whom no information survives were of lower status; at Cologne apparently only a few chaplains were cathedral canons in the late eleventh century.<sup>181</sup> Some chaplains were *scholastici* (the *scholasticus* was the dignitary in charge of the cathedral school),<sup>182</sup> and a tenth-century

scholasticus of Trier cathedral, Wolfgang, was also the archbishop's chancellor.<sup>183</sup> Occasionally, chaplains were monks, but only rarely.<sup>184</sup> Archchaplains, where they existed, could be quite senior members of the cathedral chapter,<sup>185</sup> and the *capellarius* in charge of the archiepiscopal chapel at Cologne from the late eleventh century onwards was always a member of the cathedral chapter.<sup>186</sup> Since entry into German cathedral chapters often happened at an early age (so far as information survives), it is likely that tenth- and eleventh-century German bishops recruited their chaplains from their cathedral chapters rather than recruiting the chaplains independently and appointing them as cathedral canons later. The cathedrals of Mainz and Bremen continued to supply chaplains for their archbishops in the twelfth century.<sup>187</sup> The archbishops of Salzburg in the twelfth century employed Augustinian canons extensively (the cathedral chapter and the collegiate foundations in the diocese had been turned into Augustinian foundations);<sup>188</sup> however, many of the Salzburg chaplains were parish clergy.<sup>189</sup> Employment of Augustinians as episcopal chaplains was fairly common in Bavarian dioceses; elsewhere there was a shift away from cathedral canons to canons of collegiate churches, as in the case of Wortwin, canon of Neumünster at Würzburg,<sup>190</sup> though the speed with which this happened varied.

Work remains to be done on French episcopal chaplains and household clergy. The bishops of Arras drew partly on their cathedral chapter for their scribal resources, though for most of the episcopal *familia* it is not possible to see a connection with the chapter or find out how they were rewarded;<sup>191</sup> at Tournai information about the rewards for chaplains and clerks in the twelfth century is also limited, but one clerk was also a dean of Christianity (rural dean), and Bishop Stephen established an episcopal chapel in 1198.<sup>192</sup> In twelfth-century Normandy, it seems to have been normal for bishops to recruit clergy to serve in their *familiae* whom they would subsequently collate to cathedral prebends.<sup>193</sup>

This seems even more markedly to have been the case in twelfth-century England, though, as late as the middle decades of the twelfth century, cathedral canons can be found as close members of episcopal *familiae*, or at least so we may assume from their frequent occurrences as witnesses to episcopal charters. But, from the middle decades of the twelfth century onwards, bishops whose cathedral chapters were secular no longer drew on their chapters for staff, but instead collated members of their household to prebends and dignities after they had been in their service for a while. Bishops with monastic chapters (Canterbury, Winchester, Norwich, Ely, Worcester and Durham) had anxiety about how to reward their staff from the late eleventh century on.<sup>194</sup> The bishops of Durham expected the monks of Durham to present episcopal chaplains to their benefices;<sup>195</sup> the bishops of Norwich expected all patrons of benefices in their diocese, but especially monastic patrons (for example Bury St Edmunds and St Benet of Holme) to bestow their estate churches on episcopal chaplains;<sup>196</sup> the archbishops of Canterbury had numerous churches on their estates but could rely rather more on the fact that assisting with archiepiscopal administration gave clerics access to a large number of the powerful and the influential, and thus provided a good grounding for their future careers, as we have seen in the case of Theobald's household clerks.<sup>197</sup>

Scottish bishops were especially likely to appoint their clerks to cathedral prebends,

newly created in the middle of the twelfth century, though bishops of St Andrews had to resort to other opportunities as their cathedral chapter was Augustinian from 1144.<sup>198</sup> Quite a few Scottish bishops managed to recommend their clerks to their colleagues for further promotion.<sup>199</sup>

## Conclusion

The higher clergy required patronage, above all royal patronage, to attain the higher positions in the Church. Very often a condition of obtaining patronage was service in the household of a king; service in episcopal households was often helpful, especially from c.1100 onwards, and might act as a stepping stone on the way to royal service. Household service principally consisted of liturgical duties and of maintaining private relic collections and sacred vessels required for the lord's chapel, which, like the household itself, was often itinerant. Scholarly interest has especially concentrated on the charter-writing activities of court and household clergy, but the output of charters was mostly too low for this to be a full-time clerical duty until the twelfth century. Bishops would often draw their household clergy from their cathedral chapters, especially down to c.1100; thereafter, in England and in France, progression might more often be the other way round, and in the second half of the twelfth century work in an episcopal household was a recognised first step on the ladder to promotion. This pattern had the effect of encouraging clerics to develop knowledge and expertise, especially in the law, in order to be able to compete in what must have been an active job market. Both bishops and magnates often founded collegiate churches to provide prebends for their clerks and chaplains; kings had a varied range of resources at their disposal, including fiscal churches, positions in royal chapels and, through their bishops, prebends in cathedrals.

<sup>1</sup> For examples of clergy benefiting from family patronage see Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), 118–39, 152–66, 601–27, 659–80.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 5 above.

<sup>3</sup> Cf Avrom Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956), 165–77.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Classen, 'Kaiserreskript und Königsurkunde: Diplomatische Studien zum römisch-germanischen Kontinuitätsproblem, I. Teil', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 1 (1955), 1–87, at 75; Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige, I: Grundlegung: Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 16, 1 (Stuttgart, 1959), 3.

<sup>5</sup> Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 11–12. See also Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)* (Sigmaringen, 1997), 16–17, for some corrective to Fleckenstein's view of the *capella* as an administrative bureau.

<sup>6</sup> Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 56–7; Hans Walter Klewitz, 'Cancellaria: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistlichen Hofdienstes', *Deutsches Archiv*, 1 (1937), 44–79, esp. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 45–6; cf *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns*



und Karls des Großen, ed. Engelbert Mühlbacher, MGH Diplomata Karolinorum, 1 (Hanover, 1906), no 27 (as abbot nos 25, 26, 28).

[9](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 49, citing *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, II, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH Epp. in quarto (Berlin, 1895), 134 (*Epistolae Alcuini*, no 90, of 794 × 796).

[10](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 52. Hilduin was abbot of Saint-Denis 814–40 (d. 855 × 859) and succeeded Hildebald as head of the chapel in 819. On him see Ferdinand Lot, ‘De quelques personnages du IXe siècle qui ont porté le nom de Hilduin’, *Le Moyen Âge*, 16 (1903), 249–82, and 17 (1904), 338–42, both repr. in *Recueil des Travaux historiques de Ferdinand Lot*, 3 vols. (Geneva and Paris, 1968–73), II, 461–94, 495–9.

[11](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 19, citing *Vita Sancti Sturmi*, MGH SS, 2, 374 (c. 18); by 775 the term was being applied to the chapel in the palace at Düren in a charter of Charlemagne, *Die Urkunden Pippins, Karlmanns und Karls des Großen*, no 102.

[12](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 19.

[13](#) The case made by Ludwig Falkenstein, *Karl der Grosse und die Entstehung des Aachener Marienstifts* (Paderborn, 1981), 33–50, and Ludwig Falkenstein, ‘Charlemagne et Aix-la-Chapelle’, *Byzantion*, 61 (1991), 230–89, esp. 253, that Aachen was staffed by resident canons from its foundation, has not met with full acceptance: see e.g. Rudolf Schieffer, ‘Hofkapelle und Aachener Marienstift bis in staufische Zeit’, *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 51 (1987), 1–21, at 16–21; and Philippe Depreux, *Prosopographie de l’entourage de Louis le Pieux (781–840)* (Sigmaringen, 1997), 16.

[14](#) *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. Georges Tessier, 3 vols. (Paris, 1943–52), II, 448–54, no 425 (5 May 877: ‘atque clericos inibi numero centum, pro statu sanctae dei ecclesiae, pro genitoribus a progenitoribus nostris, pro nobis, conjugue et prole proque totius regni stabilitate iugiter domini misericordiam implorare decrevimus’, p. 451); for comment, and translations of part of the document, see Michael Herren, ‘Eriugena’s “Aulae sidereae”, the “Codex Aureus”, and the palatine church of St Mary at Compiègne’, *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series 28 (1987), 593–608, at 596–7; Rosamond McKitterick, ‘The palace school of Charles the Bald’, in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margaret Gibson and Janet Nelson, 2nd edn (Aldershot, 1990), 326–39, at 331; Janet Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (Harlow, 1992), 247.

[15](#) Falkenstein, ‘Charlemagne et Aix-la-Chapelle’, 255, n. 73.

[16](#) On the liturgical functions of the Carolingian chapel, see Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), 340–5 (on Aachen, see esp. 340, 342).

[17](#) Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, ed. Thomas Gross and Rudolf Schieffer, MGH, Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui, 3 (Hanover, 1980), 62, 68, 88 (and 10–11 on the date of composition; the passages referred to here are in the section originally written by Adalhard). On Hincmar and the office of *apocrisiarius*, see Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 44, n. 7, citing Heinz Löwe, ‘Hinkmar von Reims und der Apokrisiar: Beiträge zur

Interpretation von *De ordine palatii*, in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel*, 3 vols. (Göttingen, 1972), III, 197–225, esp. 205–7; see [ibid.](#), 211–17 for the papal *apocrisiarius*.

[18](#) Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II, 12, 3–5, in *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. Jean Michel Hanssens, 3 vols. (Vatican City, 1948–50), II, 222–3.

[19](#) Hitherius, the earliest clerical chancery official in the Frankish kingdom, is thus described in the *Liber Pontificalis: Le Liber Pontificalis*, I, ed. L. Duchesne (1886), 498. On the referendary under the Merovingians, see Peter Classen, ‘Kaiserreskript und Königsurkunde: Diplomatische Studien zum römisch-germanischen Kontinuitätsproblem, II. Teil’, *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 2 (1956), 1–115, at 71.

[20](#) Klewitz, ‘*Cancellaria*’, 50–1.

[21](#) *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, ed. J.F. Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft (Leiden, 1984), 125. In Hincmar, *De ordine palatii*, 62–4 (in the section originally written by Adalhard), the *summus cancellarius* is described as being associated with the chaplain; his title ‘a secretis appellabatur’, and he has under him prudent, intelligent and faithful men who write the king’s orders without immoderate love of gain and protect his secrets faithfully.

[22](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 74–9.

[23](#) Cf Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 139. On Charles the Bald’s chapel see McKitterick, ‘The palace school’, and Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 234, 247, 259–60, 262.

[24](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 190.

[25](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 197–8.

[26](#) Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, II: *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, Schriften der MGH, 16, ii (Stuttgart, 1966), 7–8.

[27](#) Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 12–13.

[28](#) Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 240. A separate archchancellorship for Italy existed from 962 (Wolfgang Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter: Diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordalpinen Reich (9.–11. Jahrhundert)*, 3 vols. (Hanover, 2003), I, 78), and from 1031 onwards was held by the archbishops of Cologne.

[29](#) Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 30.

[30](#) Cf Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 35–47, on the chaplains and notaries of Otto I.

[31](#) Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 6–11, 35–47, 265; at least thirteen, possibly fourteen, clerics served Henry IV as chancellor over the course of his reign, supported by at least seventeen notaries: *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, ed. Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, MGH DD, 6 (Berlin, Weimar and Hanover, 1941–78), xxiv–lxx (lxx–lxxxii on the Italian chancery; lxxxii–lxxxiii on the Burgundian chancery).

[32](#) Wolfgang Petke, *Kanzlei, Kapelle und königliche Kurie unter Lothar III. (1125–1137)* (Cologne and Vienna, 1985), 100; and see also 77–99: Lothar’s chaplains included the provosts of Hameln, Einbeck, St Blasius in Brunswick, Nivelles and St Mary’s in Utrecht, and a canon of Cambrai; *Die Urkunden Lothars III. und der Kaiserin Richenza*, ed. Emil von Ottenthal and Hans Hirsch, MGH DD, 8 (Berlin, 1957), xv–xxvii (Lothar to some extent relied on Bamberg Cathedral to provide scribes for him); *Die Urkunden Konrads III. und seines Sohnes Heinrich*, ed. Friedrich Hausmann, MGH DD, 9 (Vienna, Cologne and Graz, 1969), xx–xxvii (Conrad’s chancery was staffed by two chancellors in succession and ten notaries, only eight of whom were closely associated with the court). On Wibald, abbot of Stavelot, see *Das Briefbuch Abt Wibalds von Stablo und Corvey*, ed. Martina Hartmann, with Heinz Zatschek and Timothy Reuter, 3 vols., MGH, *Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 9 (Hanover, 2012), and Martina Hartmann, *Studien zu den Briefen Abt Wibalds von Stablo und Corvey sowie zur Briefliteratur in der frühen Stauferzeit*, MGH Studien und Texte, 52 (Hanover, 2011), 111–17; see also Friedrich Hausmann, ‘Wortwin, Protonotar Kaiser Friedrichs I. Stiftspropst zu Aschaffenburg’, *Aschaffener Jahrbuch*, 4 (1957), 321–72.

[33](#) *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.: Einleitung. Verzeichnisse*, ed. Heinrich Appelt, with Rainer Maria Herkenrath and Brigitte Meduna, MGH DD, 10, 5 (Hanover, 1990), 16–24, 50–74. For further discussion of the career of one of the notaries, Rainald H, who may possibly be identifiable with the Archpoet and with Rudolf, scholasticus at Cologne 1176–1201, see Johannes Fried, ‘Der Archipoeta: ein Kölner Scholaster?’, in *Ex ipsis rerum documentis, Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Festschrift Harald Zimmermann*, ed. Klaus Herbers et al. (Sigmaringen, 1991), 85–90.

[34](#) *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.*, v, 26; on the scribes, see Walter Koch, *Die Reichskanzlei in den Jahren 1167–1174: Eine diplomatische-paläographische Untersuchung* (Vienna, 1972), 185–7. For an overview of Frederick’s government, see Karl Leyser, ‘Frederick Barbarossa: court and country’, in Karl Leyser, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond*, ed. Timothy Reuter (London, 1994), 143–55, at esp. 146–7 (originally published as ‘Friedrich Barbarossa: Hof und Land’, in *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungswesen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. A. Haverkamp, *Vorträge und Forschungen*, 40 (Sigmaringen, 1992), 519–30).

[35](#) Georges Tessier, *Diplomatique royale française* (Paris, 1962), 129, on the chancellors, see 130–4; on the early tenth century see *Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul, rois de France: 922–936*, ed. Jean Dufour (Paris, 1978), xxix–xxxii.

[36](#) *Recueil des actes de Louis VI*, ed. Jean Dufour, 4 vols. (Paris, 1992–4), III, 37–44.

[37](#) Françoise Gasparri, *L’écriture des actes de Louis VI, Louis VII et Philippe Auguste* (Geneva and Paris, 1973), 46–52, 74–8.

[38](#) On patronage, see Julia Barrow, ‘The clergy in English dioceses c.900–c.1066’, in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge, 2005), 17–26, at 21–2; Julia Barrow, ‘The chronology of the Benedictine “reform”’, in *Edgar, King of the English, 959–975: New Interpretations*, ed. Donald Scragg (Woodbridge, 2008), 211–23; for discussion of the Domesday evidence, see Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100*, 28th Brixworth Lecture

(Leicester, 2013).

[39](#) Simon Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c.670–1066* (Cambridge, 1995), Table XVIII.

[40](#) Keynes, *Atlas of Attestations*, Table XXXIV; see also Simon Keynes, ‘The West Saxon charters of King Æthelwulf and his sons’, *EHR*, 109 (1994), 1109–49, at 1146–7, but note also [Chapter 2 above, at n. 223](#) on S 385 and 1285.

[41](#) Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred ‘the Unready’, 978–1016* (Cambridge, 1980), 134–53.

[42](#) *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. Florence Harmer (Manchester, 1952), 57–8; William, later bishop of Roskilde, mentioned in [ibid.](#), described as Cnut’s scribe and priest by Saxo Grammaticus, is less certain.

[43](#) For the debate on the Anglo-Saxon chancery, see Pierre Chaplais, ‘The Anglo-Saxon chancery: from the diploma to the writ’, in *Prisca Munimenta*, ed. Felicity Ranger (London, 1973), 43–62; Pierre Chaplais, ‘The royal Anglo-Saxon “Chancery” of the tenth century revisited’, in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (London, 1985), 41–51; Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, 134–53; Simon Keynes, ‘Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)’, in *ANS*, 10, ed. R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge, 1988), 185–222; Simon Keynes, ‘Royal government and the written word in late Anglo-Saxon England’, in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1990), 226–57.

[44](#) Discussion by Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred ‘the Unready’*, 134–42.

[45](#) Simon Keynes, ‘The “Dunstan B” charters’, *ASE*, 23 (1994), 165–93.

[46](#) A chancellor occurs in S 1186, supposedly a charter of the *dux* Berhtwald for Saint-Denis (795), but this is a forgery, almost certainly post-Conquest: Hartmut Atsma and Jean Vezin, ‘Le dossier suspect des possessions de Saint-Denis en Angleterre revisité (VIIIe–IXe siècles)’, *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, 6 vols. (Hanover, 1988–90), IV, 211–36, at 213–14, 230.

[47](#) An early occurrence is in Asser’s *Life of King Alfred*, ed. W.H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1906), 62 (c. 77: ‘Æthelstan quoque et Werwulfum, sacerdotes et capellanos’). The use of the term *capellanus* here may be partly to distinguish them from the monk-priests Grimbold and John the Old Saxon, [ibid.](#), 63 (c. 78: ‘Grimbaldum sacerdotem et monachum’ and ‘Iohannem quoque, aequè presbyterum et monachum’).

[48](#) On Lotharingian clerics, see discussion in Simon Keynes, ‘Giso, bishop of Wells’, *ANS*, 19 (1997), 203–71; Mary Frances Smith, ‘The preferment of royal clerks in the reign of Edward the Confessor’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 9 (1997), 159–73, at 164; Julia Barrow, ‘A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert’s reorganisation of the church of Hereford 1079–1095’, in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. David Whitehead, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 15 (Leeds, 1995), 29–49, at 31. Cnut also brought in a continental Saxon, Duduc.

[49](#) S 1036. Its authenticity has been disputed, but see Keynes, ‘Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)’, 200–3, 206 and *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. and tr. Leslie Watkiss and Marjorie



Chibnall, OMT (Oxford, 1994), xxiii–xxiv, xxxviii–xliii. S 1033 for Rouen Cathedral entitles Regenbald as ‘regis sigillarius’ (for discussion of this charter see Keynes, ‘Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)’, 200–1).

[50](#) S 1011, 1030, 1041, 1043, 1062, 1154.

[51](#) *Domesday Book*, 17: *Herefordshire*, ed. Frank and Caroline Thorn (Chichester, 1983), 1, 46 (i, fo. 180v: Eldersfield, Worcs.); Keynes, ‘Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)’, 196, 208.

[52](#) *Domesday Book*, 1: *Kent*, ed. Philip Morgan and Veronica Sankaran (Chichester, 1983), M9 (i, fo. 1c: Kent: canons of Dover); Smelt also held land from Edward the Confessor at West Preston in Sussex: *Domesday Book*, 2: *Sussex*, ed. Janet Mothersill (Chichester, 1976), 11, 4 and 63 (i, fo. 24d).

[53](#) Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 21, for the number (this is a minimum: owing to the difficulty of separating individuals with the same given name the total is probably higher); Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066*, 2nd edn (London, 1979), 129–37, 156–8; for discussion of the division between the two groups of royal clerks, see [ibid.](#), 130–1; and Barrow, ‘The clergy in English dioceses’, 21–2.

[54](#) Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 15; a further cleric to add to the list here is Thorkell, who held one hide at Wymington (Beds.) from the king TRE and had the land granted to him in alms by William I, for which he celebrated Mass for the king and queen every Monday (DB, i, f. 218d; *Domesday Book*, 20: *Bedfordshire*, ed. Veronica Sankaran and David Sherlock (Chichester, 1977), 57: 21). See also David Crouch, ‘The origin of chantries: some further Anglo-Norman evidence’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 27 (2001), 159–80.

[55](#) John F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France* (New York, 1970), 146; *Actes des évêques de Laon des origines à 1151*, ed. Annie Dufour-Malbezin (Paris, 2001), 15; Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 17–18.

[56](#) Earnwine, a clerk who held large estates in the East Riding of Yorkshire and who may have held smaller properties in Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Bedfordshire, may be an example: see Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 37–8; for episcopal use of staging posts, see Julia Barrow, ‘Way-stations on English episcopal itineraries, 700–1300’, *EHR*, 127 (2012), 547–65.

[57](#) Keynes, ‘Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)’, 195, 217–22; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)*, ed. David Bates (Oxford, 1998), 98, who sees the case for Regenbald as William’s chancellor as ‘largely inferential’; George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure 1066–1166* (Oxford, 2007), 13, who also notes that Regenbald presumably also was Harold II’s chancellor.

[58](#) *RRAN: William I*, ed. Bates, 48–102; *RRAN*, I, xviii; *RRAN*, II, ix–x; see new edition of acts of William II and Henry I by Richard Sharpe, forthcoming.

[59](#) William I had at least twenty-five chaplains: *RRAN*, I, xviii–xxi; at least fourteen chaplains of William II are evidenced, eleven of them occurring 27 January 1091 at Dover as witnesses to William’s confirmation of Bath Abbey to Bishop John of Bath (*RRAN*, I, no 315; for discussion see [ibid.](#), xxi). Henry I had at least twenty-two chaplains and six named scribes (*RRAN*, II, x–xi): for the number of scribes who can be identified from



hands see the next note. On social status see Lucien Musset, 'La formation d'un milieu social original: les chapelains normands du duc-roi au XI<sup>e</sup> et au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Aspects de la société et de l'économie dans la Normandie médiévale (Xe–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, ed. Lucien Musset, Jean-Michel Bouvris and Véronique Gazeau, Cahier des Annales de Normandie, 22 (Caen, 1988), 91–114, at 108–13.

[60](#) The *Constitutio Domus Regis* of c.1136 (looking back to Henry I) mentions only a chancellor, a *magister scriptorii* and a chaplain in charge of the chapel and relics (*capellanus custos capelle et reliquiarum*): Richard fitz Nigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario*, ed. and tr. Charles Johnson, 2nd edn with corrections by F.E.L. Carter and D.E. Greenway (Oxford, 1983), 129, but clearly Henry I's clerical household in its entirety had been considerably larger than this; the number of scribes in Henry's chancery rose from two in 1100 to four by c.1120 and perhaps five c.1130, and fifteen scribes can be identified working for him overall: T.A.M. Bishop, *Scriptores Regis* (Oxford, 1961), 30 and Plates IX–XVIII; Judith A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986), 27–30. William I may have had no more than one clerk writing charters at any given time: Pierre Chaplais, 'William of Saint-Calais and the Domesday Survey', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), 65–77, at 71.

[61](#) Bishop, *Scriptores Regis*, 30 (Stephen employed seven chancery clerks in 1139 but the number subsequently declined to two in the mid-1140s and perhaps only one in the final five years of his reign); Bishop identified a total of twelve chancery scribes working for Stephen ([ibid.](#), Plates XIV–XXII); seventeen clerks and chaplains of Stephen are identifiable by name, and another four clerks served his queen (*RRAN*, III, xi–xiii).

[62](#) Bishop, *Scriptores Regis*, 30; and, for further updates, Nicholas Vincent, 'Scribes in the chancery of Henry II, king of England 1154–1189', forthcoming.

[63](#) *The Charters of King David I*, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Woodbridge, 1999), 32–3; for Alexander's chancellor see *Early Scottish Charters Prior to A.D. 1153*, ed. Archibald C. Lawrie (Glasgow, 1905), nos 27–9.

[64](#) On the role of beneficiaries in the production of the charters of Welsh princes, see Huw Pryce, 'Culture, power and the charters of Welsh rulers', in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Marie Therese Flanagan and Judith A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), 184–202; for the charters themselves see *The Acts of Welsh Rulers 1120–1283*, ed. Huw Pryce (Cardiff, 2005).

[65](#) Olivier Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1972), I, 418–23. Chaplains begin to witness charters of the counts of Brittany by 1024 × 1034, but occurrences are sporadic thereafter until the early twelfth century: Hubert Guillotel, 'Recueil des actes des ducs de Bretagne, 944–1148', unpublished thèse de doctorat, Paris II, 1973, nos 30, 31, 34 42, 43, 76, 88, 124, 133, 146, 147, 148, 150, 152, 154, 155, 164, 16–8, 171.

[66](#) Michel Bur, *La formation du comté de Champagne v. 950–v. 1150* (Nancy, 1977), 425–7; the countesses of Champagne had their own personal chaplain from at least 1082 ([ibid.](#), 424). However, the counts did sometimes rely on episcopal chancellors, where these were to hand: Theobald III made use of Ingelrannus, dean and chancellor of Chartres Cathedral, in 1084 and Hugh I employed Fulcrad, chancellor of Archbishop Manasses of Rheims in

1102: *Chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France*, ed. Cédric Giraud, Jean-Baptiste Renault and Benoît-Michel Tock (Nancy, Centre de Médiévistique Jean Schneider, and Orléans, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, 2010), nos 854 (1102) and 3098 (1084), at [www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte854](http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte854) and [www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte3098](http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte3098), consulted 9 May 2013.

[67](#) Kimberly A. LoPrete, *Adela of Blois, Countess and Lord (c.1067–1137)* (Dublin, 2007), 156–8.

[68](#) *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066*, ed. Marie Fauroux (Caen, 1961), nos 7, 13, 18, 34; Lucien Musset, 'Chapelles et chapelains du duc de Normandie au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue d'histoire de droit français et étranger*, 53 (1975), 171–2; David Bates, *Normandy before 1066* (London, 1982), 155.

[69](#) Walter Prevenier, 'La chancelleries des comtes de Flandre, dans le cadre européen, à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 125 (1967), 34–93, at 36; Adriaan Verhulst, 'Les biens et revenus du chapitre Saint-Donatien de Bruges en 1089', in *Campagnes médiévales: L'homme et son espace. Études offertes à Robert Fossier*, ed. Elisabeth Mornet (Paris, 1995), 513–31; E. Reusens, 'Les chancelleries inférieures en Belgique depuis leur origine jusqu'au commencement du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 26 (1896), 20–206, at 64. See also [Chapter 4 above, at n. 56](#).

[70](#) Lucien Musset, 'Recherches sur les communautés des clercs séculiers en Normandie au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Bulletin de la société des antiquaires de Normandie*, 55 (1961 for 1959–60), 5–38, at 10, 28–31; see also David Crouch, *The Image of the Aristocracy in Britain, 1000–1300* (London, 1992), 247–8.

[71](#) See [n. 173](#) below.

[72](#) Harold granted land to a cleric at Writtle in Essex (*Domesday Book*, 32: Essex, ed. Alexander Rumble (Chichester, 1983), 1, 24 (DB ii, f. 5v)); see also [Chapter 3 above, at n. 110](#). For minsters founded by aristocrats in late Anglo-Saxon England, see John Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. Peter Sawyer (London, 1985), 104–42, at 121–3; and John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 357–61.

[73](#) *Die Urkunden Heinrichs des Löwen, Herzogs von Sachsen und Bayern*, ed. Karl Jordan, MGH Laienfürsten- und Dynastenerkunden der Kaiserzeit, 1 (repr. Stuttgart, 1995; first published 1941–9), xxiii–xxxv, and 10, 48, 118, 120, 122, 132, 134, 151, 165, 176, 183, 186; David became provost of Lübeck Cathedral.

[74](#) *Recueil des actes d'Henri le Libéral, comte de Champagne (1152–1181)*, ed. John Benton and Michel Bur, 1 vol. to date (Paris, 2009), xii–xv; the first chancellor, William, was a physician and the third, Haïce de Plancy, who belonged to the baronial class, became bishop of Troyes in 1191.

[75](#) David Crouch, 'The administration of the Norman earldom', in *The Earldom of Chester and Its Charters: A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough*, ed. A.T. Thacker, published as *Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society*, 71 (1991), 69–95, at 83–8. The clerical department was divided into two: chaplains and clerks. 'The titles were neither

synonymous nor transferable'. Although few studies of the households of English lay magnates in this period have been undertaken to date, Chester parallels what can be observed in other cases, for which see David Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986), 148–55; David Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147–1219* (Harlow, 1990), 142–9; *The Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, 1107–1191*, ed. D.E. Greenway (London, 1972), lxxv–lxxix; Keith Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon, 1152–1219: A Study in Anglo-Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1985), 151–4; over the period from the early twelfth century to 1217 the earls of Gloucester employed twelve *magistri* and thirty-five other clerks and chaplains, with the earliest *magistri* appearing in the 1140s: *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, ed. R.B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), 10–16; for the households of the Lacy family see W.E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194* (Oxford, 1966), 105–9.

[76](#) Judith A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge, 1997), 210–11, chiefly on Ranulf (II), Earl of Chester, 1129–53, and William, Earl of Gloucester (d. 1183); in general on the growth of aristocratic households in Britain, see Crouch, *The Image of the Aristocracy*, 215–36.

[77](#) Alcvini epistolae, no 264 (*Epistolae karolini aevi*, II, ed. Ernst Dümmler, MGH (Berlin, 1895), 421–2, discussed by Siegfried Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, I: *Von den Anfängen bis in das 13. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, Cologne and Graz, 1977), 39–44).

[78](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 46–61.

[79](#) Charte ARTEM/CMJS nos 296 (Metz, 886), 127, 155 (Langres, 907 and 910), consulted 31 March 2014. See also Peter Acht, *Die Cancellaria in Metz* (Frankfurt am Main, 1940), 18; Michel Parisse, 'Les chartes des évêques de Metz au XIIe siècle: Étude diplomatique et paléographique', *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 22 (1976), 272–316, at 275.

[80](#) Charte ARTEM/CMJS nos 1529 (Le Mans, 971), 2783 (Bourges, 978), 2055 (Paris, 995), 17 (Tours, 999).

[81](#) Charte ARTEM/CMJS nos 159, 801, 168, 180, 2804, 760, 833, 194 (Langres); nos 2080–1, 2920, 2100–1, 2103, 2108–9, 2731, 2119, 2122, 2124, 2128, 2130 (Paris); nos 21, 45, 53–4, 65, 67, 4876 (Châlons); nos 24, 32, 40, 47, 49, 51, 55, 57, 2104, 63, 428, 66, 84–5, 439, 86, 70, 88–91 (Rheims).

[82](#) *Actes des évêques de Laon des origines à 1151*, 27–31, at 27–8.

[83](#) Charte ARTEM/CMJS nos 4785, 3589, 3590, 3272, 3348, 3565 and 3271 (1046–1105).

[84](#) Charte ARTEM/CMJS no 2070 (1025).

[85](#) Charte ARTEM/CMJS nos 2080–1, 2100, 2731, 2119, 2130 (all Paris); nos 168, 2804, 760, 833, 194 (Langres).

[86](#) *Actes des évêques de Laon*, no 34 (Machelmus; 1081); nos 68, 82, 100, 129 (Godfrey, 1115–31); nos 77, 113, 124–5, 233, 261 (John, 1116–45).

[87](#) David S. Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911–1204* (London, 2006), 54, citing *Chartes de l'abbaye de Jumièges (825–1204)*, ed.

J.J. Vernier, 2 vols. (Paris, 1916), no VIII (Charte ARTEM/CMJS no 2687). Hugh was bishop of Bayeux by 1011 and died in or by 1050.

[88](#) Spear, *Personnel*, 104, 183, 285.

[89](#) Spear, *Personnel*, 54–6, 104–9, 150, 183–4, 230–6, 284–6, lists *clerici* occurring in the contexts of Norman cathedrals; most of these are episcopal clerks. Early examples are Fulk, clerk of Bishop Serlo of Sées in the 1090s (p. 284), and Robert, clerk of Archbishop Geoffrey of Rouen 1111 × 1115 (p. 233).

[90](#) Cyriel Vleeschouwers and Monique van Melkebeek, ‘Le rôle de l’entourage des évêques de Tournai (1146–1300) dans la chancellerie épiscopale (avec relevé des sceaux)’, *Mémoires de la Société Royale d’Histoire et d’Archéologie de Tournai*, II (Ghent, 1981), 7–80. In general on episcopal chancellors, see Benoît-Michel Tock, ‘Les droits et devoirs des chanceliers épiscopaux (XIe–XIIIe siècles): L’apport des textes réglementaires’, in *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250*, ed. Christoph Haidacher and Werner Köfler (Innsbruck, 1995), 269–80.

[91](#) Charte ARTEM/CMJS nos 107 (Toul, 943/4), 564 (Strasbourg, 956); the office of chancellor continues to be observable down to the twelfth century at Toul: nos 708, 225, 4404, 2433, 712. Parisse, ‘Les chartes des évêques de Metz’, 275, notes that tenth-century Metz charters usually close with mention of the chancellor, but in the late tenth century he was sometimes being replaced by a deputy and this became normal in the eleventh century; for the twelfth-century episcopal chancellors, see [ibid.](#), 276–8.

[92](#) Gerhard von Augsburg, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici*, ed. Walter Berschin and Angelika Häse (Heidelberg, 1993), 138, 230 (I, cc. 5, 17); Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 76–7; on other tenth-century episcopal chaplains, see [ibid.](#), 95–6 and 156–7.

[93](#) Gerhard, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici*, 138 (I, c. 5); and see text at [n. 123](#) below, this chapter.

[94](#) Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l’Église impériale, XIe–XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1981), 237.

[95](#) Kupper, *Liège et l’Église impériale*, 131–2, 249.

[96](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 108–16; at Freising in the later tenth century (p. 109); in the eleventh century at Basle, Metz, Bremen and Mainz (pp. 110–11); Kupper, *Liège et l’Église impériale*, 249–50.

[97](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 116–27, esp. 120, 126.

[98](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 127–34; Acht, *Die Cancellaria in Metz*, 21.

[99](#) Wilfried Schöntag, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Erzbistums Mainz unter den Erzbischöfe Arnold und Christian I. (1153–1183)* (Darmstadt and Marburg, 1973), 61.

[100](#) *Les chartes de Gérard Ier, Liébert et Gérard II, évêques de Cambrai et d’Arras, comtes du Cambrésis (1012–1092/93)*, ed. Erik Van Mingroot (Leuven, 2005), 12–13; see also Charte ARTEM/CMJS nos 377, 379, 399, 403, 413, 414, 418, 434–5, 445.

[101](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 210, 220, 244–6.

[102](#) In general, see C.R. Cheney, *English Bishops’ Chanceries 1100–1250* (Manchester, 1950), 4–21.



[103](#) *EEA*, XXVIII, xxxii–xxxiii; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 150–1.

[104](#) Coleman: William of Malmesbury says ‘ut quindecim annis capellanus’ (William of Malmesbury, *Saints’ Lives*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 10); Fritheric occurs as chaplain in Wulfstan’s 1089 Alveston charter for Worcester cathedral priory (*The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory (Register I)*, ed. R.R. Darlington, Pipe Roll Society, 76 (London, 1968), no 3, with facsimile; *EEA*, XXXIII, no 8), in which Coleman also occurs as the bishop’s chancellor. However, Tessa Webber has recently cast doubt on the dating of the hand of the charter (possibly as early as the later 1090s, but more probably from the 1110s: [ibid.](#), at p. 8). Fritheric also occurs c.1100 in *Worcester Cartulary*, no 53.

[105](#) Barrow, ‘A Lotharingian in Hereford’, discussing the Domesday evidence for Robert’s chaplains; on the chapel see especially Richard Gem, ‘The bishop’s chapel at Hereford: the roles of patron and craftsman’, in Richard Gem, *Studies in English Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Architecture*, 2 vols. (London, 2004), II, 633–45. For a summary of the current state of research see William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Michael Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007), II, 213–15, which notes an architectural detail that disproves the argument for a mid-twelfth-century dating proposed by Hans J. Böker, ‘The bishop’s chapel of Hereford cathedral and the question of architectural copies in the Middle Ages’, *Gesta*, 37 (1998), 44–54.

[106](#) *EEA*, VII, no 2; the eight clerics among the men of Bishop Robert who witness this can all be identified as members of the cathedral community (*Fasti*, VIII, 8, 23, 26, 63–4, 76, 88, 93).

[107](#) Ralph d’Escures and William at Canterbury employed two chaplains simultaneously, as did William Turbe and John of Oxford at Norwich (*EEA*, VI, xliii–xlv); Gilbert Foliot at Hereford employed two chaplains over the same period, though they do not occur together (*EEA*, VII, liii).

[108](#) Reginald, one of Bishop Robert Foliot’s chaplains at Hereford, was put in charge of the part of the episcopal chapel dedicated to St Mary Magdalen, but seems as a consequence of this to have stopped accompanying the bishop on his duties (*EEA*, VII, lv, and no 198 of 1187/8 × 1198, in which he resigned the chapel).

[109](#) Cf *EEA*, XXVII, xcix, civ; for the foundation of the chapel see *EEA*, XX, no 129.

[110](#) It must, however, be remembered that duties in chapel and the writing office could be performed interchangeably by clerks and chaplains: cf William fitz Stephen’s description of his services to Thomas Becket (*Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. James Craigie Robertson, 7 vols., RS, 67 (London, 1875–85), III, 1–2). Also, where bishops fell out with members of their entourage, chaplains could gain in significance, as in the household of Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York (*EEA*, XXVII, cii).

[111](#) *EEA*, XXXI, cxiii (two *magistri* in a charter of Bishop Nigel of Ely of 1133 × 1136, and eight in all during his pontificate); *EEA*, VI, xlv (one clerk with the *magister* title by 1135, under Bishop Everard, 1121–45), xlv–xlv (six *magistri* in the household of Bishop William Turbe); Theobald’s *magistri* included Master Vacarius, John of Pagham, John of



Salisbury, John of Tilbury, Roger Species and William of Northall, but several of these often occur without the *magister* title and many of Theobald's charters are unwitnessed (cf Saltman, *Theobald*, 165–77, 234, 242, 246, 255, 262–3, 269, 273, 276, 279, 283, 301–2, 307–8, 317, 341, 346–7, 363, 368–70, 377, 399, 403–5, 414, 453, 465, 482, 496–7, 529); at Hereford and Wells the earliest *magistri* in the episcopal entourage were cathedral canons, *EEA*, VII, lii (under Bishop Robert de Béthune (1131–48), from the early 1130s); *EEA*, X, xliii–xliv, in the first half of the pontificate of Robert of Lewes (1136–66). See also text at [n. 139](#) below, this chapter.

[112](#) Roger of Pont-l'Évêque, archbishop of York (1154–81), employed at least six *magistri* (and others frequently attest his charters), six or more other clerks and two chaplains (*EEA*, XX, xlvii–liv), while his successor, Geoffrey of York (1189–1212), employed at least fourteen clerks, several *magistri* and four chaplains (*EEA*, XXVII, xcvi–ci). At Hereford, William de Vere (1186–98) employed eight *magistri*, one of whom was also one of his chaplains, another chaplain and four or five other clerks, while his successor, Giles de Braose, employed six *magistri* (other than cathedral canons, or before making them cathedral canons), three other clerks and two chaplains on a permanent basis, with some other chaplains on a more temporary footing (*EEA*, VII, lvi–lx).

[113](#) *EEA*, VIII, lix, and nos 197–200, 207, 212–13, 219, 224 (1194), 225, 228–9, 231b, 235, 240, 242–3, 248–51b, 252–7; *EEA*, XVIII, lxxviii–lxxix, nos 215, 224 (both 1195).

[114](#) Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, 28–37 and *EEA*, II, xxv–xxvii.

[115](#) Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries*, 20–1; Michael Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance in Thirteenth-Century England: Reward and Punishment* (Cambridge, 2012), 6.

[116](#) *EEA*, XXIV, liii (six clerical stewards under Bishop Hugh du Puiset); *EEA*, VII, liii.

[117](#) E.g. *EEA*, VII, nos 196, 199, 226–7.

[118](#) Durham bucked this trend, as noted by Philippa Hoskin, 'Continuing service: the episcopal households of thirteenth-century Durham', in *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith*, ed. Philippa Hoskin, Christopher Brooke and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge, 2005), 124–38, at 129–33: thirteenth-century bishops of Durham ensured an unusual degree of continuity among their clerks from one pontificate to the next. For a more typical diocese (Ely) see *EEA*, XLII, lxxiii, lxxv.

[119](#) Norman Shead, 'Compassed about with so great a cloud: the witnesses of Scottish episcopal *acta* before ca 1250', *Scottish Historical Review*, 86 (2007), 159–75, esp. 161, 167.

[120](#) *Llandaff Episcopal Acta, 1140–1287*, ed. David Crouch, South Wales Record Society, 5 (Cardiff, 1989), nos 20, 22, 25, 49; *St Davids Episcopal Acta, 1085–1280*, ed. Julia Barrow, South Wales Record Society, 13 (Cardiff, 1998), pp. 26–7.

[121](#) Cf Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 65.

[122](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 173, discussing St Gall MS 397.

- [123](#) Gerhard, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici*, 138: the office was chanted *cum decore* even though from the top of an ox cart (I, c. 5); discussion by Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 76–7.
- [124](#) *Widrici Vita S. Gerardi episcopi Tullensis*, ed. D.G. Waitz, MGH SS, 4 (Hanover, 1841), 485–520, at 494 (c. 4).
- [125](#) William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 76–7, 96–7 (*Vita Wulfstani*, ii, cc. 7, 18).
- [126](#) Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, 112–14 (*Vita Wulfstani*, iii c. 4).
- [127](#) Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, 114 (*Vita Wulfstani*, iii, c. 5).
- [128](#) *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, III, 1.
- [129](#) Crouch, 'The administration of the Norman earldom', 85, commenting on the chaplains of the earls of Chester; there were 'fleeting' occurrences of chaplains under Ranulf III in the thirteenth century, but clearly the chaplains had ceased to play a public role in the administrative duties of the earldom on Earl Hugh II's death in 1181.
- [130](#) Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien*, 2nd edn, 3 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912–60), I, 4–5; II, 134–44.
- [131](#) Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, I, 375–7. For discussion of the activity of an episcopal chancellor, see Erik van Mingroot, 'Kanzlei, Jurisdiktion und Verwaltung im Bistum Kammerich', in *Recht en instellingen in de oude Nederlanden tijdens de middeleeuwen en de nieuwe tijd: Liber amicorum Jan Buntinx*, ed. G. Asaert, W. Buntinx, M. Cloet and J. Dauwe (Leuven, 1981), 1–26, esp. 8–14.
- [132](#) On writ production in pre-Conquest England, see *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to AD 1100 Presented to V.H. Galbraith*, ed. T.A.M. Bishop and Pierre Chaplais (Oxford, 1957), x–xi; Richard Sharpe, 'The use of writs in the eleventh century', *ASE*, 32 (2003), 247–91; for later developments see Richard Sharpe, 'Address and delivery in Anglo-Norman royal charters', in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Flanagan and Green, 32–52.
- [133](#) For discussion of beneficiary output among episcopal charters, especially in the earlier twelfth century, see Peter Johanek, *Die Frühzeit der Siegelurkunde im Bistum Würzburg* (Würzburg, 1969), 43–197; Benoît-Michel Tock, *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XIIe siècle: Le cas d'Arras* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1991), 36–50; Julia Barrow, 'From the lease to the certificate: the evolution of episcopal acts in England and Wales (c.700–c.1250)', in *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250*, ed. Christoph Haidacher and Werner Köfler (Innsbruck, 1995), 529–42, at 533–5.
- [134](#) M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1993), 44–80.
- [135](#) Barrow, 'From the lease to the certificate', 538; cf also Brian Kemp, 'The acta of English rural deans in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries', in *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith*, ed. Philippa Hoskin, Christopher Brooke and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge, 2005), 139–58.
- [136](#) E.g. Bartholomew of Exeter, Roger of Worcester, Gilbert Foliot: cf Adrian Morey,

*Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1937), 44–78; Mary Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester, 1164–1179* (Oxford, 1980), 82–4, 90–8, 113–93; Adrian Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters* (Cambridge, 1965), 230–44.

[137](#) Saltman, *Theobald*, 165 n. 3.

[138](#) *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, III, 523–31.

[139](#) *EEA*, XX, xlvii–xlvi (at least seven *magistri* in Archbishop Roger of York’s closest entourage, but others attending as well) and *EEA*, XXVII, cvi–cxii, esp. cix: ten *magistri* in Archbishop Geoffrey’s closest entourage, but well over twenty others attending from time to time.

[140](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 216, 220 and 244–6.

[141](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 227, 246–8: sixty-five chaplains under Archbishop Eberhard II, 1200–46.

[142](#) E.g. Walahfrid Strabo: Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, 82–8; Bishop Notker of Liège insisted on one of his chaplains teaching boys in his entourage when he took them on his travels (Anselm of Liège, *Gesta Episcoporum Leodicensium*, MGH SS, 7, 205 (c. 28)); Adela of Blois employed three masters to teach her children: LoPrete, *Adela of Blois*, 158; Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins*, 150, on Hugh Barre, chaplain of Robert, Earl of Leicester, acting as tutor to Robert’s son; on Thomas, clerk of Évreux, master of Archbishop Theobald’s nephews, see Saltman, *Theobald*, 166 and no 255.

[143](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 59–60, 235.

[144](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 66.

[145](#) For example, the Archpoet, on whom see Fried, ‘Der Archipoeta: ein Kölner Scholaster?’

[146](#) On William the Conqueror’s physician Nigel see Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 22–3, 45–6; on Frederick Barbarossa’s Master Cuno see *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.*, v, 26.

[147](#) *EEA*, I, xlv (Robert Chesney’s physicians Roger and Master Ralph, the latter a frequent witness to Robert’s acts and also physician to Henry II); *EEA*, II, xxv (Master Elias, *medicus* of Archbishop Hubert Walter, on whom see also below); *EEA*, V, xxxvi (Master Walter, *medicus* of Archbishop Thurstan); *EEA*, VI, xlii (Master Roger, *medicus* of John of Oxford, bishop of Norwich); *EEA*, VII, no 166 (Master Maurice *medicus* witnessed a charter of Bishop Robert Foliot); *EEA*, VIII, lix, nos 144, 147, 153, 162, 164, 166–7, 175, 181, 188, 190, 192, 204, 214, 226 (four *medici* together witnessed three acts of Bishop Richard of Ilchester of Winchester: Master Hamo, Master Gregory, Master Richard, Master Hugh (nos 188, 190, 192), while Bishop Godfrey de Lucy employed two physicians); *EEA*, IX, xliii (one of the household of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, Master Thomas of Ebbesbourne, is known to have written a medical receipt); *EEA*, X, lii (three *medici* in the household of Reginald de Bohun, bishop of Bath: M Roger *medicus*, possibly to be identified with Master Roger de Sanford, nephew of Dean Alexander of Wells, Master Peter *medicus* and Master Nicholas *medicus*, possibly to be

identified with Master Nicholas de Louvières); *EEA*, XVII, no 6 (Master Richard *medicus* occurs in the following of Hugh de Nonant, bishop of Coventry); *EEA* 18, lxx (Bishop Jocelin de Bohun's *medicus*, Master Alexander), lxxiv (three *medici* of Hubert Walter as bishop of Salisbury: Master Elias, Master Richard and Master Thomas); *EEA*, XX, xlix (Roger of Pont-l'Évêque, archbishop of York, had in his entourage four physicians, some of whom were attached to the Hospital of St Peter, later St Leonard, at York: Master Robert of the Hospital, Master Swane of the Hospital and Master Roger the physician (*medicus*), canon of York); *EEA*, XXIV, xliii (Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham, employed a *medicus* throughout his episcopate, Master Stephen, and two other *medici* occur in his witness lists, Robert and Master Nicholas), xlvii (Philip of Poitou, bishop of Durham, employed Master Alexander *medicus* or *fiscus*, probably identifiable with Alexander Nolan); *EEA*, XXVII, cvii (Master Amfridus, possibly identifiable with the Oxford physician of that name, was employed by Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York); *EEA*, XXVIII, xlvi (Roland *medicus* was employed by Ralph d'Escures, archbishop of Canterbury); *EEA*, XXXI, cxv (Bishop Nigel of Ely employed two *medici*, John and Arnold). In Normandy *medici* occur fairly often in episcopal entourages (Spear, *Personnel*, 15, 148, 182 (though not the Turgis mentioned here, who must have been a teacher), 228).

[148](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 48–9, 52–5; Fulco, archchaplain between Hilduin and Drogo, was also an abbot: [ibid.](#), 54.

[149](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 60 (Amalarius, a pupil of Alcuin, probably a chaplain), 70–1 (Angilbert, Fridugis, Osulf and Aldric, all pupils of Alcuin), 72 (Lupus of Ferrières, a pupil of Aldric and of Hrabanus).

[150](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 72–3.

[151](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 68–70.

[152](#) Fleckenstein, *Die karolingische Hofkapelle*, 61, 101–3, 225; *MGH Capitularia*, I, 83: 'Et non alii clerici habeant ipsas ecclesias (*scilicet* "ecclesias in nostris fiscis"), nisi nostri aut de familia aut de capella nostra'.

[153](#) E.g. *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve roi de France*, ed. G. Tessier, 3 vols., Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France (Paris, 1941–55), nos 172, 317, and see also nos 271, 325, cited by Fleckenstein, 155; he also notes that Charles the Bald granted numerous fiscal chapels without naming a chaplain as the recipient (nos 9, 10, 16, 24, 35, 42, 75, 90, 105, 106, 125, 150, 159, 178, 239, 269, 293, 302, 326, 328, 329, 347, 353, 371, 372, 377, 425, 431, 444, 445).

[154](#) Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 14 (Hildesheim; Würzburg).

[155](#) Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 126–32.

[156](#) Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 37–8.

[157](#) Brun's role in improving educational standards did not involve systematising education or stressing its functional value, but its spiritual value in raising levels of knowledge: see discussion in Henry Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian*



Germany: *The View from Cologne* (Oxford, 2007), 130–43.

**158** Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 126–32; Herbert Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002–1125)* (Stuttgart, 1984), 105–6 (Henry II preferred chaplains from the cathedrals with the best schools, in his time Liège, Hildesheim and Magdeburg).

**159** Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, 75, 114–15; Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat*, 104, notes that at least 113 out of 400 imperial bishops from 1002 to 1125 were appointed out of the imperial chapel. For a recent overview of historiographical debate on the *Reichskirchensystem*, see Steffen Patzold, ‘L’épiscopat de haut Moyen Âge du point de vue de la médiévisque allemande’, *CCM*, 48 (2005), 341–58.

**160** Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat*, 105; Josef Fleckenstein, ‘Hofkapelle und Reichsepiskopat unter Heinrich IV.’, in *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein, *Vorträge und Forschungen*, 17 (Sigmaringen, 1973), 117–40.

**161** Kupper, *Liège et l’Église impériale*, 141–88 (even though imperial involvement was less powerful in the twelfth century than it had been in the eleventh, it was nonetheless perceptible).

**162** Hausmann, ‘Wortwin’; *Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.*, v, 20–1, on Heinrich von Wiesenbach, like Wortwin a canon of Neumünster, and later provost of St Stephen in Mainz; *ibid.*, 24, for Master Rudolf and Master Henry, recruited from the cathedrals of Worms and Utrecht.

**163** Marcel Pacaut, *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France* (Paris, 1957), 63–72; and see also 72–82; W.M. Newman, *Le domaine royal sous les premiers Capétiens (987–1180)* (Paris, 1937), 67–9, 216–24; Jörg Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest: Episcopal Elections in Normandy and Greater Anjou, c.1140–c.1230* (Cambridge, 2008), 238–52. On Burgundy, in which some sees were largely outside royal control, see Constance B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca, NY, 1987), esp. 71–2: Auxerre and Langres came under Capetian influence, but Mâcon, Autun, Chalon and Nevers were distant from royal control and were influenced by local noble families.

**164** *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster*, ed. and tr. Frank Barlow, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1992), 30–1; on royal control see Catherine Cubitt, ‘Bishops and succession crises in tenth- and eleventh-century England’, in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe. Strukturen bischöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Göttingen, 2011), 111–26, at 124–5.

**165** David Spear, ‘The Norman empire and the secular clergy, 1066–1204’, *Journal of British Studies*, 21, 2 (1982), 1–10; Musset, ‘La formation d’un milieu social original’, 111–13; for a new overview of the subject, see Everett U. Crosby, *The King’s Bishops: The Politics of Patronage in England and Normandy 1066–1216* (New York and Basingstoke, 2013).

**166** Discussion by David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great*



(Cambridge, 2007), 57; and by Julia Barrow, 'Chronology of the Benedictine reform', 215–16 and 221–3; and Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 12, 15–30.

[167](#) Simon Keynes, 'Giso, bishop of Wells', in *ANS*, XIX, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1997), 203–71; Keynes, 'Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)'; Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 21–6.

[168](#) On Nigel and Spirites see Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 22–3, 45–6, 51–2.

[169](#) Jeffrey Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels, 1100–1300: A Constitutional Study* (Manchester, 1970), 23–47, 69–77; Egbert Türk, *Nugae Curialium: Le règne d'Henri II Plantagenêt (1145–1189) et l'éthique politique* (Geneva, 1977), 46–7; see also [Chapter 9 below](#), at nn. 49, 53.

[170](#) John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 509; Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels*, 47–69, 77–82.

[171](#) See [Chapter 9](#) below.

[172](#) See [n. 70](#) above.

[173](#) Barrow, 'The clergy in English dioceses', 23. St George's chapel in Oxford castle was founded by Robert d'Oilly and Roger d'Ivry in 1074; the d'Oilly family remained patrons and its canons included Geoffrey of Monmouth and Robert de Chesney, bishop of Lincoln (1148–66), but it was taken over by Oseney Abbey in 1149: *VCH Oxfordshire*, II, 160–1, and IV, 381. For further examples see also discussion by Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 366.

[174](#) St Owen's in Gloucester was founded as a collegiate church by Walter, castellan of Gloucester, probably 1123 × 1125 (Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, 2004), 104–6, suggesting 1095 as the date of consecration, based on David Walker, *Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095–1201*, Camden Miscellany, 22, Camden Society, 4th series, 1 (1964), 37–8; for why 1123 × 1125 is more likely, see review of this book by Julia Barrow in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 48 (2004), 236–40, at 239–40; and *EEA*, VII, no 10).

[175](#) Emma Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England* (Woodbridge, 1998), 30–3; Allison D. Fizzard, *Plympton Priory: A House of Augustinian Canons in South-Western England in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008), 15–43; see also [Chapter 3](#) above.

[176](#) Peter Moraw, 'Über Typologie, Chronologie und Geographie der Stiftskirche im deutschen Mittelalter', in *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 68 (Göttingen, 1980), 9–37, at 26–8.

[177](#) Karl Jordan, *Henry the Lion*, tr. P.S. Falla (Oxford, 1986), 126; Henry refounded the collegiate church in the great fortress at Brunswick, and dedicated it to St Blasius (Blaise): *Die deutsche Königspfalzen*, IV: *Niedersachsen*, part 1: *Bardowick-Braunschweig (Anfang)*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 11 (Göttingen, 1999), 77–9.

[178](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 47–8, 60–1.

[179](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 89, and see in general 88–92.

[180](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 86–7.

[181](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 116–19; he suggests (at 119) that the remainder were perhaps canons of collegiate churches in Cologne, which makes it likely that they were ministerials.

[182](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 88–9, 94–5.

[183](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 133; see 134 for other Trier archiepiscopal chancellors who were cathedral canons and dignitaries.

[184](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 108.

[185](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 108–16 (Freising; also Bremen, Mainz, Basel and Metz).

[186](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 120–5.

[187](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 282–3, 285–6; at Magdeburg, however, chaplains in the twelfth century received preferment after their years of service rather than being drawn from ecclesiastical communities ([ibid.](#), 284–5; in the thirteenth century, chaplains were drawn from collegiate churches).

[188](#) See [Chapter 3, at n. 196](#); and Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 210–78.

[189](#) Haider, *Das bischöfliche Kapellanat*, 289–90.

[190](#) Wortwin (d. 1198 or slightly later) became provost of several collegiate churches, including Neumünster in Würzburg in 1180, and Aschaffenburg in the diocese of Mainz by 1183, and this would have given him the status of a cathedral canon. For his career, see Hausmann, ‘Wortwin’; Alfred Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, IV: *Das Stift Neumünster in Würzburg*, Germania Sacra, neue Folge, 26 (Berlin, 1989), 293–4.

[191](#) Tock, *Une chancellerie épiscopale au XIIe siècle: Le cas d’Arras*, 173–94.

[192](#) Vleeschouwers and van Melkebeek, ‘Le rôle de l’entourage des évêques de Tournai (1146–1300)’, 30, 38.

[193](#) Spear, *Personnel*, 16–17 (Avranches, where among the chaplains Richard I and Rualenus both seem to have become canons), 53–6 (Bayeux, where among the chaplains Humphrey Bove became chancellor, and among the clerks Azo and Master Richard de Flori became canons), 102–9 (Coutances, where among the chaplains Master Geoffrey le Cheminant, Peter and Robert were also canons, and among the clerks Humphrey Bove moved into the service of the bishop of Bayeux and Master Ralph de Sancto Salvatore probably became an archdeacon, while Richard Comin was also canon of Bayeux), 149–50 (Évreux, where the chaplain Peter de Molinis was also canon), 183–4 (Lisieux), 228–36 (Rouen, where among the chaplains Elias II, Eustace and Nicholas were canons and Master Robert became one, and among the clerks Master Alexander de Sancto Albano, Ansel of Eu, Master Everard of Chauvincourt, Master John Brito, Master Ralph of Richespald, Robert son of Richard, William of Saint-Paul and Master William of Verdun became canons), 283–6 (Sées).

[194](#) William of Malmesbury noted that Bishop Walkelin of Winchester disliked the

monks in his cathedral on his arrival, though he came eventually to approve of them: *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom, with commentary by R.M. Thomson, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2007), I, 272.

[195](#) *EEA*, XXIV, xlii–xliii, xlv–xlix.

[196](#) Christopher Harper-Bill, ‘The struggle for benefices in twelfth-century East Anglia’, *ANS*, 11 (1989), 113–32, at 130–1.

[197](#) See [n. 137](#) above, this chapter.

[198](#) E.g. Peter Baillard, clerk of Bishop William Malveisin (1202–38), who was presented to the church of Newton in Midlothian by Dunfermline abbey, and Alan de Richemund, clerk of Bishop Roger (1198–1202), who was presented to the church of Edrom in Berwickshire by Durham cathedral priory: D.E.R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish University Graduates to AD 1410* (Oxford, 1977), 22, 469.

[199](#) Shead, ‘Compassed about’, 165–6.

## 9 Clergy of cathedral and collegiate churches

The medieval clergy about whom we are best informed were the members of communities serving cathedral and collegiate churches.<sup>1</sup> In the earliest period of the Church's history, clergy operated in groups, each working with, and directly obedient to, a bishop; even when further churches were set up in each diocese these, too, would often be served by small groups of clergy.<sup>2</sup> Co-existence of clergy in groups had first and foremost a liturgical purpose. In the very earliest years of the Church's existence clergy in minor orders assisted the bishop when he celebrated Mass, and as minor churches began to be founded and as the ability to perform Mass was extended from the bishop to the presbyters, clergy in minor orders also assisted the latter. By the fourth century, clerics in all grades were beginning to perform the office as well.<sup>3</sup> Financial arrangements, too, like the liturgy, were communal; from early on churches practised a threefold or fourfold division of property to allow shares for the bishop, the clergy, the church fabric and the poor.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that it was this form of payment that provided the term 'canon' (from the *kanon*, the list of people to receive payments from a church).<sup>5</sup> However, the numerous decrees of church councils against clergy engaging in certain forms of gainful employment remind us that income received from the church might only represent a small part of a cleric's income.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, canon law never prevented clerics from having private income; Gregory VII's attempt to encourage all clergy into following a rule of communal life was unsuccessful.<sup>7</sup> Generally, income from property acquired through inheritance or purchase was regarded as acceptable under canon law, and many clerics probably also did well out of marriage. What is trickier to work out is the extent to which living arrangements for clergy who worked in groups were communal. This is true even in the cases where communities are known to have adopted a rule and a structured framework (the cathedral and collegiate churches of the chapter title). Even Chrodegang, though he presumably wished most of the clergy of Metz Cathedral to sleep in a communal dormitory, specifically allowed that exceptions might be made for some members of the community to have their own small houses within the precinct.<sup>8</sup> The Rule of Aachen was less specific, comparing the precinct to a sheepfold from which wolves must be excluded; it said that the precinct should contain dormitories, refectories, cellars and other living quarters (*habitationes*) necessary for brothers to live in as a single society (*in una societate*); later on it mentions the houses (*mansionibus*) of the canons.<sup>9</sup> Presumably its authors also assumed that senior canons might be allowed to have houses of their own.

Small churches were not necessarily each served by a single priest early on; although it is likely that private oratories, which are recorded from the late fourth century onwards,<sup>10</sup> were more likely to have only one cleric serving them, we cannot assume that this was always the case. Rural churches in the eighth and ninth centuries were often served by a plurality of clergy.<sup>11</sup> The 'community' might be very small indeed; among the numerous churches defined as *monasteria* (minsters) in Domesday Book were many served by probably no more than a handful of clergy,<sup>12</sup> perhaps only two or three if we extrapolate from twelfth- and thirteenth-century evidence for portionists and co-rectors.<sup>13</sup>

The aim of this chapter is to look at developments within clerical communities to see

how they helped to shape the careers of their inmates. It will concentrate on the larger and more structured communities, those serving cathedral and collegiate churches, since these are the best evidenced. After a very brief summary of the development of cathedral and collegiate chapters, it will deal with the recruitment of canons, the degree of intensity of communal life, with discussion of housing, residence and absenteeism, and developments in the ways in which canons were funded. The creation of hierarchies within communities (which allowed significant opportunities for promotion) will be discussed. Finally, the emergence of communities of minor clergy within cathedrals and collegiate churches will be dealt with.

## Bishops and cathedrals

Theoretically, the leading figure within many of these communities was the bishop. This was especially true of cathedral churches, the churches housing the bishop's own throne, but also applied to collegiate churches in the bishop's own patronage. Although by the end of the eleventh century the bishop and his cathedral community were becoming more distinct from each other, the former continued to have considerable influence, often through patronage, over the careers of the clergy making up the latter. The bishop's significance was underlined symbolically in the internal organisation of the church. A feature of very early churches was the throne of the bishop (or presiding priest);<sup>14</sup> in churches with a basilican plan this was originally placed at the back of the eastern apse, behind the altar.<sup>15</sup> The rest of the clergy would sit around the apse in a semicircle. Clergy benches or seats for priests might still be placed on the eastern wall of churches quite late, as for example in the tiny church of Raunds in the tenth century.<sup>16</sup> For each bishop, one particular church would contain his throne or *cathedra*, the adjectival form of which, *cathedralis*, gives us the term for the bishop's church, his cathedral.<sup>17</sup> The bishop would also have a seat in the choir, sometimes specially marked out.<sup>18</sup> During the twelfth century, the final part of the period we are dealing with, relations between the bishop and his cathedral church became much more distant, eventually being restricted to the purely ceremonial,<sup>19</sup> and the jurisdictional,<sup>20</sup> though many chapters managed to fight off most episcopal intervention by obtaining exemptions. However, down to late in the eleventh century, and sometimes later, bishops continued not merely to direct the activities of the communities that served their cathedral churches, but to spend time with them at a personal level too.<sup>21</sup> Cathedral clergy continued throughout the whole of our period to be associated with bishops: they were often appointed by the latter. Archdeacons, who in the early Middle Ages had been in charge of training clergy in minor orders in cathedrals, continued to be members of the cathedral chapter even after they had begun to take on a new role in diocesan administration (a process beginning in the Carolingian heartlands at the end of the ninth century).<sup>22</sup> Moreover, bishops might devote a great deal of time to the internal organisation of cathedral communities, for example by trying to persuade them to adopt rules,<sup>23</sup> or, from the later twelfth century onwards, drafting statutes for the chapter, often in collaboration with the latter.<sup>24</sup> From the eleventh century, with the encouragement of the Gregorian reformers, cathedral communities became, at least theoretically, the bodies responsible for electing bishops<sup>25</sup> (in some dioceses more complex arrangements were necessary to facilitate involvement by some other major churches),<sup>26</sup> and together



with this new role came the use of the term ‘chapter’ to define the cathedral community from the end of the eleventh century.<sup>27</sup> However, it was relatively uncommon for cathedral chapters to have much of a say in the election of bishops: royal control over episcopal appointments remained strong in much of western Europe throughout this period, irrespective of the Investiture Crisis, and papal influence was also significant.<sup>28</sup> In territories where royal control was weak, as in upper and lower Lotharingia in the twelfth century, the most prominent families of the region would pack the chapter with relatives and hangers-on and thus control elections.<sup>29</sup>

## **Collegiate churches with royal or aristocratic patrons**

As we have observed, it was common for churches to be served by groups of clergy. Some of them were established with groups of clerics organised in a hierarchy and often observing the Rule of Aachen or an equivalent. The royal chapel at Aachen may have been reorganised in this way under Louis the Pious;<sup>30</sup> when Charles the Bald established the chapel at his palace of Compiègne in 877 he set it up as a college of canons.<sup>31</sup> In the ninth century, some shrine basilicas on the outskirts of what had been Roman cities, often defined as abbeys,<sup>32</sup> though not especially monastic in character, adopted an internal structure similar to that of cathedrals,<sup>33</sup> though others settled for a more distinctly monastic form of existence.<sup>34</sup> One of the most influential shrine churches to adopt a canonical structure was the ancient basilica of Saint-Martin of Tours, which became a trend-setting church for the secular clergy.<sup>35</sup> Saint-Martin was under royal protection, but in many cases ancient shrine churches were under episcopal authority; this was especially the case in the Rhineland and on the Meuse and Moselle. Here many of these churches were re-established by bishops as collegiate churches in the tenth century.<sup>36</sup> At the same time, bishops in these areas felt the need to found further collegiate churches,<sup>37</sup> in order to create a ring of churches surrounding their cathedrals in which they could celebrate Mass on particular days and set up a stationary liturgy as practised by the Pope in Rome<sup>38</sup> and by a few other bishops, for example those of Metz, whose cities already happened to have the large number of churches that made this possible.<sup>39</sup> The trend was also adopted by bishops east of the Rhine from the eleventh century; at Hildesheim, Paderborn, Würzburg and Bamberg, and in many other cities, collegiate churches, or a mixture of collegiate and monastic churches, would be built along a north–south or east–west axial line with the cathedral in the middle.<sup>40</sup> In quite a few instances collegiate churches were set up adjacent to the cathedral (for example, Neumünster at Würzburg, founded 1057), to provide the cathedral clergy with auxiliaries.<sup>41</sup>

As we saw in [Chapter 8](#), rulers and secular magnates also founded collegiate churches. Here too it is sometimes possible to see a mixture of organic development and new foundation, as for example in the evolution of St Donatian’s in Bruges in the county of Flanders as the latter developed over the later ninth and the tenth centuries. Relics were moved to the fortress of the count of Flanders in the 840s; a community of clerks associated with the counts of Flanders had grown up by the 940s, serving the church of St Donatian’s in the castle at Bruges. The development of the comital churches of Saint-Amé at Douai and Saint-Wulmer at Boulogne was similar, but there were some *de novo* comital foundations in the tenth century as well.<sup>42</sup>

German rulers could continue to make use of the old Carolingian network of palace chapels, but new ones were established in Saxony by the Salians, especially Henry III, who set up a prestige foundation in the 1040s dedicated to the saints of the day of his birth (St Simeon and St Jude) at the palace of Goslar in the Harz.<sup>43</sup> In the diocese of Cologne the earliest collegiate foundation by a secular magnate was in the early eleventh century;<sup>44</sup> east of the Rhine, magnate foundations were more plentiful from the twelfth century. Henry the Lion founded the collegiate church of St Blasius (Blaise) in Brunswick, the town that became his chief residence.<sup>45</sup> Elsewhere in Europe secular magnates founded many such churches in the eleventh century. The counts of Anjou founded or refounded the collegiate churches of Saint-Laud and Saint-Martin in Angers;<sup>46</sup> Harold Godwineson acquired the church of Waltham in Essex, and refounded it on a more generous scale, importing a cleric called Master Adelard from Utrecht (or possibly from Maastricht) to help the senior canon, Wulfwin.<sup>47</sup> By the late eleventh century, it was becoming quite common for French castellans at all social levels to establish tiny collegiate churches in their castles; minor castellans were already beginning to do this in the Île-de-France in the 1020s.<sup>48</sup> Briefly this trend was taken up in post-Conquest England, where small groups of canons were established in castles (e.g. St George's in Oxford Castle) or in small communities set up by major magnates (e.g. Roger de Montgomery's foundation at Quatford in Shropshire, established in 1086 and later moved to Bridgnorth in 1098).<sup>49</sup> But in most cases in England, and in many cases in France, small communities of secular canons were swiftly turned by their patrons into small Augustinian or Benedictine houses: in England, the principal survivors included some churches under the patronage of bishops (for example St John's in Chester;<sup>50</sup> St Chad's in Shrewsbury;<sup>51</sup> Beverley, Ripon and Southwell in the archdiocese of York)<sup>52</sup> and a fluctuating group of minsters under royal patronage known as royal free chapels. Some of these were given to bishops or monasteries in the twelfth century and later, and some were converted into Augustinian or Benedictine foundations, but a surviving core of royal secular establishments included St Martin-le-Grand in London, Wolverhampton and Bridgnorth, which was forfeited to the king in 1102.<sup>53</sup>

As we have seen in [Chapter 8](#), patrons of collegiate foundations used them to provide patronage for their household clergy, especially where the communities were based in or near castles that were their principal seats. It was common for collegiate churches to have to supply scribes and notaries for their lords: already in the eleventh century this was true in various comital foundations in France and Flanders.<sup>54</sup> Churches of this type provided positions for court clergy, though this could lead to logistical problems, since lords and rulers had to be mobile. Henry III created his palace church at Goslar in the 1040s partly to provide positions for his court chaplains, who were recruited from various cathedral chapters.<sup>55</sup> Episcopal foundations within cities might be chiefly intended to enhance liturgical provision within a city; thus the canons of Saint-Maurille, Angers, had to support the cathedral canons on major feasts.<sup>56</sup>

## **Recruitment of canons**

Seigneurial control also had a powerful role to play in recruitment. In Germany, inmates

of collegiate churches tended to be ministerials, mostly from the retinue of the lord who was patron of the church.<sup>57</sup> Ministerials were unfree – technically speaking, serfs – even though, thanks to the offices they filled for their lords as estate bailiffs, minor judges, mint-masters, toll-masters and so on, their social and economic status might be quite high.<sup>58</sup> Their unfree status tied them to the service of their lord, thus to a particular area, and was inherited by their children. Churches in the empire reflected the strict social stratification to be found there, and cathedral communities were largely drawn from the ranks of the freeborn nobility, the *edelfrei*, and from families of episcopal ministerials. Overall, reluctance to admit ministerials to cathedrals lasted longer in Saxony than further south; only a few were admitted in the twelfth century at Halberstadt, for example.<sup>59</sup> In Franconia some ministerials entered Würzburg Cathedral in the second half of the twelfth century.<sup>60</sup> In Carinthia most of the upper class consisted of ministerials by the later twelfth century, and ministerial recruitment into churches at all levels was unavoidable.<sup>61</sup> Perhaps unsurprisingly, discussion of the social origins of clerics is far more extensive in German historiography than elsewhere; developed by Aloys Schulte (1857–1941) at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in his classic work *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche*,<sup>62</sup> the analysis of the social origins of clergy has formed one of the main lines of enquiry in ecclesiastical historiography in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, and is an important feature of prosopographical repertories.<sup>63</sup> Further west, recruitment policies may well have been more flexible in social terms, though here too it seems probable that, by and large, canons of minor churches were recruited more locally than were cathedral canons. This did not mean that patrons of churches did not take a strong interest in collegiate churches for purposes of patronage, however: for example, we can see that the archbishops of York made full use of the prebends at their collegiate churches to assist the careers of their household clergy.<sup>64</sup>

It is probably safe to assume that recruitment into cathedrals was usually on a higher social basis than recruitment into collegiate churches, though the absence or infrequency of surnames before the later twelfth century means that we cannot be certain. By the twelfth century, the sharpness of the divide between cathedral and collegiate church was more marked in Germany and Lotharingia than elsewhere: here, families of comital and ducal status,<sup>65</sup> even of imperial status,<sup>66</sup> found it useful to enter sons into cathedral chapters. To some extent this pattern is also observable in Flanders, though here the social mix was wider than in the empire from a slightly earlier date.<sup>67</sup> Social hierarchies in areas further west were rather less sharply demarcated. In England there seems to have been a decision by the higher aristocracy, both before and after the Conquest, not to bother with entering sons into the secular clergy;<sup>68</sup> members of knightly and burgess families and especially the kin of royal administrators formed the bulk of the intake in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for those inmates whose family backgrounds can be traced or guessed at.<sup>69</sup>

Recruitment into cathedrals also drew people from a much wider geographical basis than did recruitment into collegiate churches. Nonetheless there was a strong tradition, only slowly overcome in some areas, that clergy should be drawn from the dioceses into which they had been born and where they had been baptised. As we have seen in [Chapter 2](#) above, this was an ancient canon law requirement affecting all clergy, and could be

dispensed with by acquiring a letter from one's bishop giving permission to move to another diocese.<sup>70</sup> In France, recruitment into cathedrals remained predominantly local for a long time,<sup>71</sup> but already by the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was a significant degree of entry from outside, partly as a result of the shaking up of the school system.<sup>72</sup> Because of the lack of surnames in pre-Conquest England, we cannot be sure about the geographical origins of clergy in most cases; however, Domesday evidence shows that, thanks to royal patronage, some clerics picked up positions in widely spread churches.<sup>73</sup> The job market in English cathedrals was almost certainly expanded as a result of the Norman Conquest. Although Anglo-Saxon clerics below the level of bishop were not generally threatened with expropriation after 1066,<sup>74</sup> they found themselves joined by numerous Norman and other French colleagues, while Lotharingian contacts, already established before the Conquest, continued, though much diminished.<sup>75</sup> This pattern continued in the twelfth century at all English cathedrals save Exeter and Chichester, whose intake was essentially local. Although Lincoln and York both had large and populous dioceses to recruit in, about 35 per cent of the Lincoln canons whose origins can be identified came from outside the diocese, while York had a noticeable group of Italian canons by the end of the twelfth century.<sup>76</sup> In Wales, local recruitment seems to have been the normal pattern throughout our period, though as a result of the settlement of Anglo-Norman knightly families in southern Wales from the early twelfth century onwards chapters by the middle of the twelfth century consisted of a mixture of Anglo-Norman and Welsh clerics, the latter still often coming from clerical dynasties far into the twelfth century.<sup>77</sup> In Scotland, where cathedral chapters began to be formed in the mid-twelfth (Glasgow) and early thirteenth centuries (e.g. Dunblane, Dunkeld, Moray), recruitment to start with came almost entirely from the households of the bishops in question.<sup>78</sup>

Family networks of uncle–nephew and father–son type could operate within an individual diocese but also, quite often, across diocesan boundaries.<sup>79</sup> Entry into English, Welsh and Scottish cathedrals lay almost entirely in the hands of the respective diocesan bishops.<sup>80</sup> In most of northern and central France, bishops could collate to prebends, though in practice they might be open to persuasion from their chapters, but in Burgundy some chapters had won the power to collate by the twelfth century.<sup>81</sup> Several knightly families in England and in Normandy in the first half of the twelfth century created prebends for relatives, but when these families tried to retain patronage rights in these prebends after the death of the first (or at latest second) generation of prebendaries their efforts were stymied and collation passed to the diocesan.<sup>82</sup> On the other hand, though bishops usually retained their right to collate, this did not prevent pressure from outside bodies. In vacancies in English bishoprics, kings controlled the gift of vacant prebends and dignities within cathedrals and used them to provide resources for their administrators; even during pontificates, they might lean on bishops to provide positions.<sup>83</sup> By the later twelfth century, cardinals and popes were making use of the freer system of entry into English and French cathedrals as a means of providing for younger relatives by pressuring bishops to admit them. Within the empire, cathedrals were coming to adopt the *turnus* system for regulating the appointment of new canons during the thirteenth century: in this system, each canon took his turn to nominate when there was a vacancy, and the bishop had to take his turn as a canon.<sup>84</sup> It is not clear what system operated earlier on; probably

bishops had the power to nominate canons, but would have been expected to take into consideration the views of the community and, through them, their relatives.

## The hierarchy of the chapter

On being collated to prebends, new canons were given a seat in chapter and a stall in choir (hence ‘installation’).<sup>85</sup> The head of the chapter would sit in the place of greatest dignity in choir and in chapter; thus in French and English choirs it was normal for the dean to sit on the southern side of the western entrance into the choir, with the cantor or precentor usually in the equivalent place on the northern side (hence *decani* and *cantoris* for the facing sides in a choir). Some idea of how complex these layouts might be emerges from a charter defining the rights of the cantor at Chartres Cathedral in 1221.<sup>86</sup> According to this charter, the subdean was to sit in third place from the dean with the major archdeacon between them, and the chamberlain in the corner on the same side of the choir, while on the other side the succentor was to sit in either second or third place from the cantor, with the chancellor in the corner, and the *capicerius* (treasurer) at the end. When the number of dignitaries at Amiens Cathedral was increased in 1219, it was established that the dean would sit next to the precentor, who would sit next to the cantor, while the master of the schools would sit next to the archdeacon of Amiens and the penitentiary next to the archdeacon of Ponthieu.<sup>87</sup> In chapters headed by a dean, all the members of the community theoretically shared equal rights, though the dean was above the rest and dealt with internal discipline.<sup>88</sup> Within choir, however, strict hierarchy was observed; here, as we have seen, positions of greatest dignity (the stalls in the highest row and nearest the entrance to choir) were reserved for the dignitaries; otherwise canons usually sat according to grade of ordination. Those below the grade of subdeacon might be required to sit on benches in front of the stalls otherwise used by clerks of the choir and choirboys.<sup>89</sup> Thirteenth-century cathedral statutes normally lay down that before their installation new canons should vow to obey the chapter’s own internal regulations,<sup>90</sup> and this is likely to have been a requirement long before the formal compilation of customs and statutes in the thirteenth century and later;<sup>91</sup> perhaps originally such a vow would have been made to the bishop.

## Residence and accommodation

Entry into a chapter (cathedral or collegiate) also meant, at least in theory, living in accommodation close to the church in question, usually within a precinct (an area with jurisdictional immunity)<sup>92</sup> and sometimes in a communal dormitory and refectory. Encouragement of clergy to live together can be observed early on (some clergy might be encouraged to live in the bishop’s house, for example, in fifth- and sixth-century Gaul), but may not necessarily have been constantly enforced.<sup>93</sup> When rules for clergy began to be drawn up in the eighth and ninth centuries, these (the Rule of Chrodegang, the Rule of Aachen and the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang) insisted that each community should have a dormitory and a refectory.<sup>94</sup> From time to time in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, we see attempts to establish or restore these arrangements.<sup>95</sup> One of the ecclesiastical communities in Winchester in the very early tenth century had a dormitory and refectory, though its church was only made of wattle.<sup>96</sup> In the first half of the eleventh



century, Archbishop Aelfric Puttoc of York and his successor Cynesige tried to establish communal buildings at Beverley, and a later successor, Ealdred, repeated this at Beverley and set up communal buildings at Southwell and York Minster.<sup>97</sup> However, the general tendency in western Europe was towards individual houses for canons. Germany, including Lotharingia, retained the features of communal living longer than the rest; by the later twelfth century, churchmen were aware of a difference between ‘German’ and ‘French’ patterns of cathedral community, the former still retaining dormitories and refectories, the latter having long discarded them. Rheims, which had effectively dissolved *vita communis* by the middle of the eleventh century, made a semblance of retaining it until the later twelfth century; in about 1188 Stephen of Tournai wrote to Master Ralph de Serres, dean of Rheims, to complain about its final dissolution: he observed that ‘brotherly’ (*germana*) Germany, which was avoiding ‘modern dissolution’, would pity or insult Rheims for losing its former glory. Stephen described Rheims (in the words of the Song of Songs 6:4) as ‘terrible as an army with banners’, and worried that its gold would dim (Lamentations 4:1).<sup>98</sup>

The existence of a communal dormitory and refectory did not necessarily mean that all the inmates of a cathedral lived in them. As we have seen, the term *vita communis* only slowly began to be applied to the living arrangements of groups of clergy.<sup>99</sup> Chrodegang himself said in his rule that, although the majority of the clergy of Metz Cathedral should sleep in a dormitory and eat in a refectory, exception might be made for some members of the community to have their own little houses.<sup>100</sup> Use of individual houses seems also to be implied in IC, and may have been allowed quite frequently, to judge from ninth- and tenth-century charters.<sup>101</sup> When Odo (later abbot of Cluny) became a canon at Saint-Martin in Tours, he was granted his position as canon there together with a *cella* (evidently a small house) by Fulk, count of Anjou.<sup>102</sup> At Angers, Bishop Ragino granted individual houses to his canons in the *claustrum* between 882 and 886.<sup>103</sup> By the late eleventh century there is sizeable evidence for individual canons living in individual houses (or at least having such houses available to them); the house sites were usually in the lordship of the church.<sup>104</sup> Domesday Book records houses for the clerics serving the churches of St Werburgh’s and St John’s in Chester.<sup>105</sup> At Bayeux, Conan the treasurer (d. by 1122) had a house that burned down in 1105, which was replaced with a fine stone house that was subsequently referred to in several Bayeux Cathedral charters.<sup>106</sup> Stone houses were still fairly uncommon in most of Europe north of the Alps in the later twelfth century, but references to ones lived in by canons increase in frequency then.<sup>107</sup> By the end of the twelfth century, more durable houses were being built even in areas where timber construction predominated (the key development here was the construction of stone or later brick sills into which the timber framework could be fitted, meaning that the timbers would be protected from rot).<sup>108</sup>

The change in building techniques had implications for inheritance. As long as houses were purely made of timber and could be moved from site to site, canons were allowed to bequeath the structure to their kin, while the ground plot (if in the lordship of the cathedral or of the bishop, as it usually was), would be passed on to another canon.<sup>109</sup> At about the time that houses became more durable, we find evidence for canons arranging for them to be granted to their churches on condition that future occupants should pay dues to fund

their anniversaries. In such cases they might also request that the houses should pass to their heirs, provided that the latter were themselves canons or intending to become canons.<sup>110</sup> Many canons granted their houses to their nephews (where these were members of the chapter or were expected to enter it); or the house might pass to another canon, not necessarily related, on the expectation that he would fund an anniversary service for the deceased.<sup>111</sup> English canons sometimes gave houses to cathedrals, often to fund their anniversaries; it was common for such houses to be, or to pass into, the collation of the bishop.<sup>112</sup> In 1219, when the new cathedral close was being built at Salisbury, canons and vicars built houses at their own expense on *areae* allotted to them, and it was agreed that two-thirds of the costs could be refunded to their estates, with the remaining third passing to the bishop, along with the right to collate to the houses.<sup>113</sup> In Lincoln, there is evidence for some canons leaving their houses to kinsmen (often laymen); on some occasions the houses were resold to other members of the chapter.<sup>114</sup>

Some twelfth-century documentation shows evidence for orally delivered deathbed wills, but in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council, bishops began to legislate about how wills should be made,<sup>115</sup> and during the thirteenth century, formally written testaments by canons start to survive as well as post-obit grants.<sup>116</sup> From Laon there survives what appears to be a record of an orally delivered deathbed will of 1185 by Master Bertrannus, canon of Laon, setting up a chaplaincy in the cathedral which he requested the dean and chapter to allow his 'little nephew', Adam, to hold should his morals be suitable when he got old enough.<sup>117</sup> William, chancellor of Laon, issued a deathbed charter in 1205, granting a rent from his houses to Laon Cathedral to fund his anniversary, but protecting the rights of Elisabet and her son Drogo, whose relationship to William is not explained.<sup>118</sup> In the aftermath of the Fourth Lateran Council 1215, bishops urged, when issuing diocesan statutes, the making of formal wills.<sup>119</sup> A formally written will by a canon of Saint-Ursin in Bourges survives from 1216;<sup>120</sup> by the middle decades of the thirteenth century, formal wills were more frequent, and though they themselves do not necessarily survive, documents mentioning them, for example referring to executors, do.<sup>121</sup>

It is generally true that communal living arrangements were less popular, and were more likely to break down earlier, in western areas of northern Europe; from about the valley of the Meuse eastwards communal living arrangements were more tenacious and only began to give way to individual houses from the start of the twelfth century. However, it was normal for communal buildings to co-exist with individual houses for each canon. In churches where it remained normal for canons to be recruited in boyhood or adolescence, younger canons may have slept in a dormitory where one was available, acquiring houses later in their careers, perhaps on the death of a relative.<sup>122</sup> Refectories were useful whether or not canons lived together, for they might all enjoy feasts together at regular points throughout the year (these might well, of course, be funded by special endowments).<sup>123</sup> Communal bakehouses and brewhouses also occur in sources, and could co-exist equally comfortably with communal living arrangements or with individual ones (it would be cheaper for canons to obtain their bread from a communal oven fired with a common stock of fuel than to get their servants to bake in their own kitchens).<sup>124</sup> Nor

would the fact that each canon had his own house necessarily prevent the development of communal identity. Canons' houses very often had to stand within a particular area (to prevent jurisdictional claims by other lords); they would often be crammed together into a precinct adjacent to the church, guarded by walls and a gate.<sup>125</sup> Where disputes about urban jurisdiction were less intense, as for example in twelfth-century England, canons often acquired or built their own houses outside episcopal or capitular lordship; as a result the sites might be scattered across the town. In Lincoln, some canons had property outside the bail, the walled northern area of the city, by the late twelfth century.<sup>126</sup> Nonetheless, precincts might be desirable and in some English cities, notably London, they were quite well defined.<sup>127</sup> Canons might, indeed, acquire numerous houses to let out and thus increase their income; sometimes these later formed the nucleus of a charitable bequest or endowment, for example the foundation of a hospital.<sup>128</sup>

Imposing communal dormitories and refectories on canons was probably principally done to discourage clerical marriage; where we have evidence, we see that the agents behind such imposition were bishops with strong views on clerical behaviour. But it is possible that some bishops were trying to cope in a practical way with the needs of quite diverse communities; younger canons might well have needed to live communally, postponing the responsibility of running their own households until later in life. Or, indeed, some canons with houses of their own might have been required to spend some nights in a communal dormitory to have speedier access to church for Matins. Where clergy were married and had children of their own they presumably must have lived in their own houses; we need not assume, however, that this would necessarily have separated them much from their colleagues, who might well be relatives or in-laws<sup>129</sup> and whose children would be playfellows and school companions of their own. Nor did unmarried canons lack family life: they were often expected to house younger relatives, especially where these were young clerics; they might also take in female kin (as in the case of Fulbert and his niece Heloise), and any household would have to include servants (some of whom might also be relatives). Houses gave canons, married or unmarried, a degree of independence; they made residence attractive.

For much of the period we are dealing with it was expected that the members of cathedral and collegiate communities would normally be resident. But even in the period before the later eleventh century, royal service might well draw cathedral canons away from their communities; this was especially the case under the Ottonians and Salians, who expected certain cathedrals in their empire to supply them with young canons to serve in their court chapel.<sup>130</sup> Extensive pluralism was also the rule for court clergy in England under Edward the Confessor, and is well evidenced, thanks to Domesday Book; it may have been the case under earlier English kings also.<sup>131</sup> During the twelfth century, the phenomenon of absence became much more noticeable, especially in England and France, exacerbated by the increasing demands of kings for preferment for their clerks, and also, concomitant with this, by pluralism,<sup>132</sup> which itself was encouraged by royal patronage. Although absenteeism was often presented as an abuse, it may not necessarily have been resented by those canons who remained on the spot (the residentiary canons), since they could in some cases reduce prebendal payments to the absentees,<sup>133</sup> or, where the latter had full control over their prebends, limit other sources of income such as payments from

the common fund.<sup>134</sup> In the empire, where worries about absence intensified from the middle of the twelfth century, the usual response was to make more insistent demands for residence, and certainly to prevent prebendal payments from being made to absent canons, though exceptions were made for the sick, for archdeacons, for those with short-term business affairs and for those attending higher schools.<sup>135</sup> It was also generally accepted that only those canons who attended anniversary services should have a share in the distribution of food or money that was made on such occasions.<sup>136</sup> Financially, therefore, residentiaries benefited from a reduction in their own numbers, though they might groan about 'bearing the heat and burden of the day'.<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, chapters might agree that only resident canons should have the right to make decisions about the distribution of offices or election to dignities.<sup>138</sup> Regulations about residence begin to appear in the twelfth century,<sup>139</sup> and in the thirteenth century, when many cathedrals drew up elaborate sets of statutes (often drawing, in part, on much earlier material), these often concentrated on protecting the rights of residentiaries and on defining their duties.<sup>140</sup> Statutes show that cathedral chapters were not necessarily exacting in their demands on residentiaries; this was especially true in England, where a period of two-thirds of a year or sometimes as little as six weeks might be enough to qualify:<sup>141</sup> with care, this would not have to preclude employment away from the cathedral. Nor did periods of residence necessarily mean work all the time. Canons in priests' orders took it in turns to serve the high altar for a week or several weeks at a time, with the canon celebrating Mass in any particular week being termed the hebdomadary canon.<sup>142</sup> This practice is evidenced among clergy at least as early as the tenth century, though it was much earlier still in monastic practice.<sup>143</sup>

## ***Praebenda* and prebends**

Payment to canons originally consisted of food, or provender (a word derived, via French, from the Latin term used, *praebenda*). This originally was distributed to canons daily. When Count Fulk of Anjou made Odo a canon of Saint-Martin of Tours at the very end of the ninth century, this entailed giving him 'daily food' from the *canonica*.<sup>144</sup> Within communities of clerics, distribution of food was made by the provost (if there was one), who received food renders from the various estates especially earmarked to support the canons;<sup>145</sup> at many churches, elaborate support systems were set up according to which each estate would supply specified quantities and types of food for a given number of weeks at a time,<sup>146</sup> which the provost then had the duty of 'dispensing' to the canons.<sup>147</sup> This power could make him an unpopular figure; most French cathedrals shed the office early on and even where it survived, for example at Chartres and Amiens, attempts had been made to limit its powers by at least the late eleventh century.<sup>148</sup> By this point, Chartres had devolved the duty of running the chapter estates to a small group of provosts, beneath the dean and the other dignitaries. Presumably originally, in the ninth century, there had been one provost and he had been the senior dignitary. By the late ninth century, however, the dean (a spiritual, liturgical and disciplinary official rather than a property manager) had risen above the provost in the rankings, although archdeacons often ranked ahead of deans in witness lists until the middle of the eleventh century.<sup>149</sup> During the course of the twelfth century, those French cathedrals that still had provosts got rid of the office and worked out other ways of organising the chapter property, usually giving

individual canons autonomy (though this might be regulated by insisting on redivisions of the prebendal fund every few years to make sure that the separate payments remained evenly balanced).<sup>150</sup> Evidence for provosts in England is scanty, but they were a feature of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, and the office of provost was established at Beverley, one of the major collegiate churches in the diocese of York, by Archbishop Thomas of York in 1092;<sup>151</sup> a sequence of provosts briefly occurs at Wells from the end of the eleventh century to the 1130s,<sup>152</sup> and we can see a provostship being made elective at Crediton (Devon) in the mid-twelfth century.<sup>153</sup> Provosts remained the leading figures in German cathedrals and collegiate churches, even after they lost the responsibility of distributing food renders to the canons, a process drawn out across the twelfth century, as chapters split up their endowments to supply one body of estates to fund the provostship and the remainder for the rest of the chapter.<sup>154</sup>

What had been the *praebenda*, the single body of income for all the community to be distributed daily among them, progressively became individual *praebendae* or prebends.<sup>155</sup> The usual starting point was sharing out the revenues among individual canons, a process that began in parts of western France as early as the mid-tenth century;<sup>156</sup> further east the process was slower, and in the German kingdom it usually began in the twelfth century. By the eleventh century, ecclesiastical communities in France were using the term *praebenda* to describe the income for an individual canon, while in England cathedrals were splitting up some of their estates into small parcels of property to be run by individual members of the community, a process first observable at Worcester in the later tenth century.<sup>157</sup> In England there are a few examples of individual canons with separate landholdings before 1066,<sup>158</sup> but individual holdings are better recorded from 1086 onwards. This may be owing to Domesday's choice of material to record rather than a change in episcopal policy after the Conquest, since for cathedral churches Domesday was only interested in their internal organisation of property in so far as it needed to mark a distinction between the community and the bishop, as the king would be able to take over the latter's estates in vacancies. The earliest occurrences of the term *praebenda* in England (much later than in the successor states of the Frankish empire) were in Domesday Book, which uses the term to refer to single holdings for some individual canons of Chichester and St Martin's of Dover, and to refer to property held communally as distinct from single holdings at Southwell.<sup>159</sup> In the eleventh century in England, evidence suggests that some land was held communally at several, perhaps most, churches, and this is referred to in Domesday as lands being 'for the use' of clerics or 'for food' (*ad victus*).<sup>160</sup> At St Paul's the community managed the estates it held as tenant-in-chief in the eleventh century in common, but individual canons held small separate properties from the bishop in Middlesex in Domesday and these were referred to as 'shoeland' in a charter of Henry I.<sup>161</sup> Then Bishop Maurice (1086–1107) fixed the small territorial holdings more firmly, linking each with the duty of chanting five psalms each day, and a thirteenth-century list of the holdings (or prebends) survives with the names of their late eleventh- and twelfth-century holders.<sup>162</sup> At Hereford Bishop Robert the Lotharingian (1079–95; he had been a canon of Liège)<sup>163</sup> created tenancies for his clergy and chaplains (who, together, evidently made up his cathedral clergy), on the estates of the church of Hereford.<sup>164</sup> At Exeter, where Leofric had actually enforced use of the Enlarged



Rule of Chrodegang, the cathedral estates remained communally managed throughout the Middle Ages and the canons' prebends continued to consist of a share of the annual revenues.<sup>165</sup>

By the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as the cries of the Gregorian reformers against lay control over churches became shriller, secular landowners were increasingly encouraged to give away their rights of advowson over parish churches to ecclesiastical beneficiaries, including cathedrals.<sup>166</sup> Kings also joined in this process: in England Henry I in particular made generous grants of parish churches to cathedrals, specifying that these should be *in praebendam*.<sup>167</sup> William I and Henry I were especially generous to Lincoln, which, being effectively a new foundation (the see had been based at Dorchester before the Conquest), was in need of financial assistance.<sup>168</sup> The grants helped to make it one of the very wealthiest English cathedrals, and also helped it to expand its numbers of clergy. More normally, bishops would arrange for prebendal endowments,<sup>169</sup> but in some cases knights, often royal officials, similarly gave parish churches to form prebends, chiefly at Lincoln, Wells and Salisbury, but also at Hereford.<sup>170</sup> Such grants were made with thought of return; kings expected that several of the prebends they had established could be enjoyed by royal clerks, while knightly families created prebends for relatives. Steadily, however, bishops won the right to collate to all these prebends.<sup>171</sup> Prebends funded with parish churches tended to be among the most valuable of all prebends; some of the parish churches thus granted were ancient and well endowed, such as Brixworth and Inkberrow, former Anglo-Saxon minster churches; some prebends were endowed with more than one church (for example the prebend of Moreton and Whaddon in Hereford Cathedral).<sup>172</sup> At Wells, Lincoln and York a very high proportion of prebends were endowed essentially or at least partly with churches; this was also the case for two-thirds of the prebends at Chichester and Lichfield, and for nearly half the prebends at Salisbury, but for only four out of twenty-eight prebends at Hereford and not for any of the prebends at St Paul's.<sup>173</sup> A large part of the church's revenues would be directed to the canon holding the prebend, leaving the remainder to support a vicar who would actually conduct the services. Prebends endowed with churches counted as benefices without cure of souls, which was important for canons on the lookout for further preferment to hold in plurality;<sup>174</sup> it also meant that canons holding such prebends could choose whether they wished to reside at the cathedral, at their prebendal church or elsewhere.

Prebends did not form the sole source of revenues that canons could obtain from cathedrals. Extra sources came from distributions made following anniversary services, often in the form of food and drink but, increasingly, in cash; such services began to be endowed in the eleventh century.<sup>175</sup> The twelfth century saw the development of a range of further sources of supply; in England and in Normandy cathedrals began to set up a separate body of property, the common fund, to supply cash or food payments for residentiaries (these payments were known as commons).<sup>176</sup> At about the same time different systems began to emerge in some German cathedrals: in Franconia the 'oblation' or *Oblei*, and elsewhere the 'obedience'. Oblations, an important feature of the cathedrals of Bamberg and Würzburg in the high Middle Ages, were created by individual canons or their families and tended to be hereditary, each canon passing on his oblation to an heir who happened to be a canon: they were small parcels of property whose revenues could be

enjoyed by canons individually.<sup>177</sup> Obediences, common in the Rhineland and Westphalia, were pieces of chapter property held by individual canons who had to share out the revenues among their colleagues; unlike oblations, they were not hereditary.<sup>178</sup>

## Dignitaries

Clerical communities were headed by groups of dignitaries, each responsible for a particular aspect of the church's activities. The earliest to appear in sources were the archdeacon, first evidenced in the fourth century, and the *primicerius*, a term first used in ecclesiastical contexts in the sixth century.<sup>179</sup> At this point the archdeacon was the senior deacon and in charge of training up clergy in minor orders.<sup>180</sup> The office of archdeacon underwent a significant change from the late ninth century onwards, which will be outlined below. The archdeacon and the *primicerius* were the only two dignitaries mentioned by Chrodegang in his Rule. Metz retained the office of *princier* (*primicerius*) for many centuries,<sup>181</sup> as did the neighbouring sees of Toul and Verdun, and in all three it was equivalent to the office of provost; outside Lorraine, the term never became popular north of the Alps. The *Institutio Canonorum* mentions provosts; the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang mentions an archdeacon and provosts.<sup>182</sup> By the middle of the ninth century in western Francia it seems to have been normal for major churches to have a provost and a dean.<sup>183</sup> Provosts, as we have seen, were supposed to run the community's estates and distribute the income, a position which gave them a great deal of power. The position of cathedral provost in German cathedrals was quite a common jumping-off point for promotion to the episcopate in the twelfth century, and was thus usually in demand among the powerful for their clerical sons.<sup>184</sup> Earlier on, service in the imperial chapel was more important, but this too could lead to appointment as provost of Aachen or of Sts Simeon and Jude at Goslar.<sup>185</sup> Provostships of minor churches were also useful; in the empire it was normal by the twelfth century for provostships of episcopal collegiate churches to be reserved for cathedral canons, which gave favoured individuals within the cathedral chapter important additional sources of revenue.<sup>186</sup> It was also normal in Germany for provostships to be linked to archdeaconries.<sup>187</sup> Where provosts supervised the community estates, they were usually assisted by further dignitaries, the cellarer and the *vicedominus*.

The term 'dean' was a title that made its way into communities of clergy from the monastic life from the 840s onwards.<sup>188</sup> In communities of clergy the role of the dean was always seen as chiefly spiritual and disciplinary, irrespective of whether he came second to the provost (as in German communities of clergy) or was the leading figure in the chapter (as in French clerical communities after c.900, and English ones from the late eleventh century onwards); where he was the latter, he was viewed as *primus inter pares* and was expected to make decisions with the rest of the chapter and not over their heads. Jurisdictional disputes with the outside world, giving counsel to the bishop (the dean and chapter of his cathedral might often provide support for the latter) and big fund-raising drives for rebuilding programmes could all present deans with opportunities to make their mark. Deans were expected to be in priest's orders, and, although it is not clear how fully this ideal was upheld, it appears that many of them were priests and most were resident (within the residence requirements laid down by cathedral statutes, which might be lax).<sup>189</sup> The office demanded a high degree of competence, and also a willingness to be

resident. It could lead to promotion to the episcopate, but more often was a final position in a career.<sup>190</sup>

The dean was in overall charge of services within his church, but, since running a full daily office and Masses in a great church was a complex operation, he had support from several of the other dignitaries in this, in particular the precentor and the treasurer, and to some extent also the dignitary in charge of the schools (the chancellor or scholasticus – see [Chapter 7](#)). The precentor was in charge of chant. Originally the *cantor* or chanter,<sup>191</sup> he sometimes became known as the ‘praecentor’ to distinguish him from a deputy, the ‘succentor’, as dignitaries in the larger cathedrals were provided with subordinates in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>192</sup> Cantors begin to occur in charter witness lists in France in the tenth century<sup>193</sup> and much more frequently in the eleventh century. They were responsible for discipline among the minor clergy in choir, for training choirboys and other singers (this might be done by the succentor), often for running the song school (a school for boys of not very high social status intended for careers as vicars choral), and above all for making sure that everyone knew what was to be sung at each service.<sup>194</sup> It was not uncommon for chanters to become deans (the former position was good training for the latter).

The treasurer was the dignitary in charge of the sacred vessels and relics, the elements of the Mass, the care of vestments and the lighting and cleaning of the church, which meant that he was the dignitary who supervised the lay servants (*marguilliers* in French) whose job it was to scrub floors and ring bells. The name for this dignitary varied widely. At Saint-Martin, Tours, *thesaurarius* became the normal term in the tenth century and became popular elsewhere in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>195</sup> However, in much of France, especially southern France, *capicerius* or *chevecier* was preferred; the terms *secretarius* and *sacrista* occur too.<sup>196</sup> In Lotharingia and Germany he was the *custos* or warden.<sup>197</sup> In England he occurs occasionally in the later Anglo-Saxon period as the *circward* and then, after the Norman Conquest, with French influence, as the *thesaurarius*. Because of the cost of lighting, treasurers might often have considerable financial responsibilities. Like the precentorship, the treasury was often a stepping stone to a deanery. The treasury of York Minster, very well endowed, was rather more (mainly because kings kept an eye on it): six of the men who held it in the twelfth century went on to become bishop or archbishop.<sup>198</sup>

Archdeacons were in the best position for eventual promotion. This dignity evolved during the ninth and tenth centuries away from being a position within a cathedral community to one which, though still based within the cathedral community (archdeacons were almost always cathedral canons)<sup>199</sup> exercised functions within the diocese as a whole. This was because during this period bishops in the Carolingian heartlands, who were in need of diocesan administrators to keep an eye on disciplinary problems among the rural clergy,<sup>200</sup> shifted the archdeacons (previously in charge of cathedral clergy in minor orders) sideways to fill the gap left by *chorepiscopi* (‘country bishops’), whom they had previously employed as deputies but who, because of their sacramental status, had turned into potential rivals. Archdeacons, who were expected to remain in deacons’ orders, were not likely to rival bishops in sacramental terms; on the other hand, they had seniority

and (usually) experience. Bit by bit the bishoprics in what had been the core of the Carolingian empire began to have several archdeacons, each responsible for a particular part of the diocese.<sup>201</sup> In addition, the new definition of the office of archdeacon spread more widely, being taken up in other parts of what had been the Frankish empire.<sup>202</sup> In pre-Conquest England archdeacons occur only rarely and normally only as assistants to elderly bishops (usually archbishops of Canterbury).<sup>203</sup> In the reign of Athelstan (924–39) a group of ‘extra’ bishops can sometimes be found in witness lists to royal diplomas: they possibly came from Wales, and may have been *chorepiscopi* in function if not in title.<sup>204</sup> In England a decisive break with the past came in the 1070s when William I insisted on the separation of church from secular courts. Previously church cases had been dealt with in the local hundredal and shire courts, though under the bishop on his own: now separate ecclesiastical courts were required and bishops had to employ archdeacons.<sup>205</sup> Territorial division of English sees seems to have occurred either at this point or soon after, and was conducted according to shire boundaries as far as possible.<sup>206</sup> However, the absence of territorial titles and a shortage of charter material can make it hard to associate particular archdeacons with particular territories until well into the twelfth century.<sup>207</sup>

Within cathedral communities, archdeacons enjoyed quite high status, which can be measured by their position in charter witness lists; until late in the eleventh century they normally occur in such lists immediately after the head of the chapter, and they might also combine holding an archdeaconry with holding a dignity.<sup>208</sup> After about 1100, some of the other dignitaries began to take precedence over archdeacons in witness lists, but this was probably more of a ceremonial reordering of the court cards in the pack than a real shift in status. Some English archdeaconries were supplied with separate endowments, thus making it easier for their holders to be absentees if they so desired.<sup>209</sup> Jurisdictional duties provided archdeacons with income (some of this came in the form of hospitality dues). In Germany, archdeacons were responsible for visitations in three years out of the four, with the bishop undertaking visitation every fourth year (the *Life of Uodalric of Augsburg* suggests that this was already the case in the tenth century),<sup>210</sup> and were also responsible for investing parish clergy with their churches. French archdeacons enjoyed a wide range of legal responsibilities.<sup>211</sup> In England, institutions of clergy to churches were essentially carried out by bishops, but the archdeacon would induct the new incumbent into corporal possession, sometimes in a meeting of a rural deanery chapter, and might also carry out institutions.<sup>212</sup> Some evidence also survives for settlements of disputes in archidiaconal courts.<sup>213</sup> During the twelfth century, experience gained by archdeacons as ecclesiastical judges at a local level was a valuable preparation for work as a bishop; in some sees, particular archidiaconal courts (for example Oxford in the diocese of Lincoln) attained some distinction, drawing to them learned canonists.<sup>214</sup> Moreover, archdeacons, like other cathedral dignitaries, had a good chance of being nominated papal judges-delegate, which could provide the chance to hear cases with a higher profile and of more legal complexity.<sup>215</sup>

## Minor clergy

By the end of the eleventh century, the range of services offered by most cathedrals had become complex enough for additional support to be helpful to bodies of canons. In some

cases, where there were episcopal collegiate churches near the cathedral, it was possible to get the canons of such establishments to boost the size of the choir in the cathedral on major feasts.<sup>216</sup> They were not required to provide extra sound – quite a small choir could, by means of suitable voice projection, make enough noise to fill a very large Romanesque space – but extra bodies to make processions look more impressive. But a bigger problem was posed by the need to provide Masses at particular altars; the number of these grew steadily throughout the twelfth century. Even a request for celebrating an anniversary Mass would increase the workload for the available manpower. Moreover, all the celebrants would have to be in priests' orders, but the number of priests within a particular chapter might be small. At the same time, the pressures on canons to absent themselves at least some of the time from cathedrals were rising in the twelfth century. Replacements for them in choir had to be found, to ensure the presence of a sufficiently large body of singers during the office and Mass. Cathedrals began to build up significant numbers of auxiliary clergy (usually termed 'minor clergy', because they were of lower social status than the canons and had no voice in chapter or much influence to speak of). Chaplains would be employed to serve at endowed altars; sometimes the founder might have some say in the appointment of the earliest chaplain in a series and then power usually passed to the dean and chapter. To fill the gaps in the choir, 'clerks of the choir' (France) or 'vicars choral' (England) would be employed, early on by each absentee canon individually, and later by the chapter as a whole (sometimes such posts were created irrespective of the number of canons who might or might not be absent; sometimes the chapter might require each canon to employ a vicar irrespective of whether he was resident or absent).<sup>217</sup> Further east, in Flanders and Lotharingia, arrangements for every second or third prebend to be filled by a priest are visible just after 1200;<sup>218</sup> in some cases prebends reserved for the bishop or for the emperor might be divided in half so that the resulting half-prebends could fund priests, who would be ordered to perform permanent residence and would be instructed to celebrate Mass as required.<sup>219</sup> An alternative method of supplying subordinates was to draw on the resources of the minor collegiate churches in the same city as the cathedral and especially any that stood close to the latter.<sup>220</sup> Minor clergy were not established simply to stand in for absentee canons or to provide the services of priests when too few canons opted to be ordained priest; they were also there to enlarge the range of provision of services within major churches. They also made it possible to improve – eventually to make more professional – the quality of singing. Without their contribution, the development of polyphony would have been a slower process. Where we have information about these clerics in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries we can see that they were usually recruited very locally;<sup>221</sup> in some instances they might be related to cathedral canons (but were, presumably, poor relations).<sup>222</sup> By the early thirteenth century, cathedral chapters in England were beginning to insist that the minor clergy of their churches live communally, close to the cathedral, and under the discipline of the dean and chapter.<sup>223</sup> Boy singers could be provided from the cathedrals' song schools, though at several cathedrals more formal arrangements were made eventually.<sup>224</sup> The twelfth and thirteenth centuries also saw more formal organisation for bellringers and other assistants (in France often termed *matricularii* or *marguilliers*) required for cleaning and for lighting candles, and separate funds were often secured to support their work.<sup>225</sup>



## Conclusion

The liturgical duties of cathedral and collegiate churches required significant forces of clergy; some cathedral communities could be very large indeed. The complexity of their operations grew steadily throughout our period. As a result, bishops were usually happy to allow cathedral chapters increasing independence in their operations, and the dignities (offices) in cathedral and collegiate churches became administrative positions of some importance, often a good preparation for episcopal office. Being a cathedral canon gave a cleric an established income and from quite early on it might be possible for canons to be absent from their churches if required for royal service. By the twelfth century, absenteeism and pluralism were accepted as normal in England and France, allowing cathedral canons the opportunity to pursue a variety of activities. Their absence could be more than compensated for by the employment of minor clergy to undertake the bulk of the liturgical responsibilities.

[1](#) Guy P. Marchal, 'Was war das weltliche Kanonikerinstitut im Mittelalter? Dom- und Kollegiatstifte: Eine Einführung und eine neue Perspektive', *RHE*, 94 (1999), 761–807, and 95 (2000), 7–53.

[2](#) Brigitte Meijns and Charles Mériaux, 'Le cycle de Rictiovar et la topographie des campagnes septentrionales à l'époque mérovingienne', in *Les premiers temps chrétiens dans le territoire de la France actuelle*, ed. Dominique Paris Poulain, Daniel Istria and Sara Nardi Combescure (Rennes, 2009), 19–33; Franz-Josef Heyen, 'Das bischöfliche Kollegiatstift ausserhalb der Bischofsstadt im frühen und hohen Mittelalter am Beispiel der Erzdiözese Trier', in *Studien zum weltlichen Kollegiatstift in Deutschland*, ed. Irene Crusius (Göttingen, 1995), 35–61, at 41–8.

[3](#) See [Chapter 2](#) above.

[4](#) Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), 10.

[5](#) Cf discussion in [Chapter 3](#) above.

[6](#) E.g. MGH *Capit. ep.*, I, 215 (Haito of Basle, 802/3 × 813, c. 17); III, 31 (*Capitula Parisiensia*, c.800, c. 8).

[7](#) See [Chapter 3](#) above.

[8](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis Episcopi Regula Canonorum*, ed. Wilhelm Schmitz (Hanover, 1889), 4 (c. 3): 'preter illos quibus episcopus licentiam dederit ... ut in ipso clauastro per dispositas mansiones dormiant separatim'.

[9](#) MGH *Conc.*, I, 398, 418 (IC, cc. 117, 144).

[10](#) Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses rurales du 4e au 11e siècle* (Paris, 1900, repr. Paris, 1979), 28.

[11](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 35; Stefan Esders and Heike Johanna Mierau, *Der althochdeutsche Klerikereid: Bischöfliche Diözesangewalt, kirchliches Benefizialwesen und volkssprachliche Rechtspraxis im frühmittelalterlichen Baiern*, MGH Studien und Texte, 28 (Hanover, 2000), 149–51; *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, ed. Theodor Bitterauf, 2 vols. (Munich 1905–9; repr. Aalen, 1967), I, nos 581–2; *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Passau*, ed. Max Heuwieser (Munich, 1930; repr. Aalen, 1969), no 63.

[12](#) John Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. Peter Sawyer (London, 1985), 104–42, at 106–14, 127; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 368–74; on small minsters in twelfth-century England, see John Blair, 'Clerical communities and parochial space: the planning of urban mother churches in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in *The Church in the Medieval Town*, ed. T.R. Slater and Gervase Rosser (Aldershot, 1998), 272–94, at 272–6.

[13](#) For example, in the diocese of Hereford, Bromyard (*EEA*, VII, xxx; Julia Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's reorganisation of the church of Hereford 1079–1095', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. David Whitehead, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 15 (Leeds, 1995), 29–47, at 35–6); Ledbury (Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford', 35–6; *Registrum Thome de Cantilupo, episcopi Herefordensis, AD MCCLXXV–MCCLXXXII*, ed. R.G. Griffiths and W.W. Capes, Canterbury and York Society, 2 (London, 1907), 27, 141–2, 185).

[14](#) Henri Leclercq, 'Chaire épiscopale', in *DACL*, III (Paris, 1914), 19–75.

[15](#) Leclercq, 'Chaire épiscopale', 21.

[16](#) David Parsons, 'Liturgical and social aspects', in *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard*, ed. Andy Boddington, English Heritage Archaeological Report, 7 (London, 1996), 58–66, at 63.

[17](#) *Cathedralis* was already being used as a noun by the sixth century: *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, ed. J.F. Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft (Leiden, 1984), 158.

[18](#) Kathleen Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn (Manchester, 1967), 102–3.

[19](#) Bishops were usually expected to attend at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun: Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 104–5; cf *Lincoln Statutes*, II (2), 62.

[20](#) French cathedral chapters frequently obtained exemptions by the thirteenth century: FEG, 12: *Autun*, 14; FEG, 7: *Angers*, 10; FEG, 1: *Amiens*, 7. English cathedral chapters were essentially independent bodies by the thirteenth century, but there was scope for episcopal participation in chapter meetings, statute making, intervention and visitation: Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 113–34 on the extent of this. On the process by which some German bishops got excluded not only from their cathedrals (except on major feasts) but also from their see-cities in the thirteenth century and later, see, for example, Nathalie Kruppa, 'Emanzipation vom Bischof: Zum Verhältnis zwischen Bischof und Stadt am Beispiel Mindens', in *Bischof und Bürger: Herrschaftsbezeichnungen in den Kathedralstädten des Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. Uwe Grieme, Nathalie Kruppa and Stefan Pätzold (Göttingen, 2004), 67–87; and Eike von Boeselager, 'De bischup schal macht hebben in der stad Bremen', *ibid.*, 89–113.

[21](#) For some examples of bishops who had close relations with their communities: Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral c.1075–c.1125* (Oxford, 1992), 140 (on Osmund of Salisbury); Diana Greenway, '1091: St Osmund and the constitution of the cathedral', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral*, ed. Laurence Keen and Thomas Cocke, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 17 (London, 1996), 1–9, esp. 4–8. On Notker in late tenth-century Liège, see Godefroid

Kurth, *Notger de Liège et la civilisation au Xe siècle*, 2 vols., paginated and bound as one (Paris, 1905), esp. 251–99; on Burchard of Worms, see Stephanie Coué, ‘Acht Bischofsviten aus der Salierzeit: neu interpretiert’, in *Die Salier und das Reich*, ed. Stefan Weinfurter with Hubertus Seibert, 3 vols. (Sigmaringen, 1991), III, 347–413, at 350–9.

[22](#) On archdeacons see below in this chapter, at nn. 199–215. It was not possible for archdeacons to be members of monastic cathedral communities: archdeacons in the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester, Norwich, Ely and Durham, and in the diocese of Carlisle, whose cathedral was Augustinian, often formed part of the households of their bishops in the early twelfth century (for discussion, see for example *EEA*, VI, xxxix–xliii; *EEA*, VIII, lv–lvii; *EEA*, XXIV, xxxvi–xxxviii; *EEA*, XXXIII, lvi, lvii, lix–lxi). Multiple archdeaconries in some German dioceses (Münster from the late twelfth century onwards was a particularly extreme example) might occasionally lead to most of the canons being archdeacons, though sometimes only of tiny territories: see [n. 187](#) below.

[23](#) See [Chapter 3](#) above.

[24](#) Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 22–8, 115–19; Julia Barrow, ‘The statutes of St Davids Cathedral 1224–1259’, in *St David of Wales: Cult, Church and Nation*, ed. J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan Wooding (Woodbridge, 2007), 317–29; Julia Barrow, ‘The constitution of Hereford cathedral in the thirteenth century’, in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London, 2000), 633–6.

[25](#) Originally the election of bishops was in theory a duty of the clergy and the laity of the diocese together: Roger Gryson, ‘Les élections ecclésiastiques au IIIe siècle’, *RHE*, 68 (1973), 353–404, esp. 403; Roger Gryson, ‘Les élections épiscopales en occident au IVe siècle’, *RHE*, 75 (1980), 257–83. For literature on later developments, see Jörg Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest: Episcopal Elections in Normandy and Greater Anjou, c.1140–c.1230* (Cambridge, 2008), 20–72.

[26](#) The Priorenkolleg at Cologne, which took shape under Archbishop Anno II (1056–75), included the cathedral provost, the provosts of three of the collegiate churches in Cologne, the provosts of St Victor in Xanten and St Cassius in Bonn, and eventually the cathedral dean and the abbots of some of the archiepiscopal monasteries (Wilhelm Neuss and Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, *Das Bistum Köln von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1964), 246–7; Daniel Berger, *Stift und Pfründe: Die Ausbildung der Kanonikerpräbende im Erzbistum Köln bis 1300* (Siegburg, 2011), 30). It was the electoral college for Cologne until well into the thirteenth century: Manfred Groten, *Priorenkolleg und Domkapitel von Köln im hohen Mittelalter*, *Rheinisches Archiv*, 109 (Bonn, 1980), 110. For the complex arrangements in the English dioceses of Coventry (from 1255 Coventry and Lichfield) and Bath (from the early thirteenth century Bath and Wells), see *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300*, VII: *Bath and Wells*, ed. Diana E. Greenway (London, 2001), xxiv–xxv; and *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066–1300*, XI: *Coventry and Lichfield*, ed. Christopher Brooke, Jeffrey Denton and Diana E. Greenway (London, 2011), xxxvi–xxxix.

[27](#) The term *capitulum* was being used to describe the body of canons serving a church from the late eleventh century in France: see Charte ARTEM/CMJS, no 3445 (Poitiers

Cathedral, 1089), though more commonly after 1100 (Charte ARTEM/CMJS nos 2122 and 2742, both of 1107, respectively concerning Paris Cathedral and Rouen Cathedral in 1107); this use starts being observable in the diocese of Cologne in the 1140s, though more strongly in the later twelfth century: Berger, *Stift und Pfründe*, 107–8; the earliest English evidence for this meaning supplied by *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R.E. Latham and D.R. Howlett, 2 vols., in progress (Oxford, 1975–), I, 272 ('Capitulum', meaning 6) is 1148.

[28](#) For detailed examination of twelfth-century episcopal elections in Normandy and Anjou, see Peltzer, *Canon Law, Careers and Conquest*.

[29](#) Michel Parisse, 'La noblesse lorraine XIe–XIIIe siècle', thèse, Université de Nancy, 2 vols. (Lille, 1976), I, 402–29, on Metz, Toul and Verdun; Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l'Église impériale XIe–XIIIe siècles*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 228 (Paris, 1981), 141–210.

[30](#) Rudolf Schieffer, 'Hofkapelle und Aachener Marienstift bis in staufische Zeit', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 51 (1987), 1–21, at 19–20, points out that the clergy at Aachen were being criticised for not having a rule as late as the late 820s.

[31](#) Charles the Bald's foundation charter for Compiègne refers to its community as being staffed by clerks, and then later in the document by canons: *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. Georges Tessier, 3 vols. (Paris, 1943–52), II, 448–54, at 453, no 425 (5 May 877).

[32](#) Brigitte Meijns, 'L'ordre canonial dans le comté de Flandre depuis l'époque mérovingienne jusqu'à 1155. Typologie, chronologie et constants de l'histoire de foundation et de réforme', *RHE*, 97 (2002), 5–58, at 20.

[33](#) Discussion by Peter Moraw, 'Über Typologie, Chronologie und Geographie der Stiftskirche im deutschen Mittelalter', in *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift*, Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte (Göttingen, 1980), 9–37; for the example of St Gereon in Cologne, see Frank Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung, Bauprojekte und Grossbaustellen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1998), 19–20; Berger, *Stift und Pfründe*, 30–1, 58.

[34](#) Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung*, 261, for St Maximin vor Trier; Reinhold Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstentum: Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch-französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter*, Pariser Historische Studien, 17 (Bonn, 1981), 590–1, on Saint-Médard in Soissons.

[35](#) Edgard Raphaël Vaucelle, *La collégiale de Saint-Martin de Tours: Des origines à l'avènement des Valois, 397–1328* (Paris, 1908), 41, 71–86 (Vaucelle is keen to stress the monastic nature of the community under Alcuin, [ibid.](#), 38–71, but this seems open to question); on the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Sharon Farmer, *Communities of St Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, NY, 1991), 205–21. The canons of Saint-Martin of Tours gave advice to Mainz Cathedral in the twelfth century and later: Würzburg, Staatsarchiv, Mainzer Bücher verschiedenen Inhalts 17, fos. 101v, 102v.

[36](#) Peter Moraw, 'Über Typologie, Chronologie und Geographie der Stiftskirche im deutschen Mittelalter', in *Untersuchungen zu Kloster und Stift*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 68, Studien zur Germania Sacra, 14 (Göttingen,



1980), 9–37, at 19–23; at Constance, several collegiate churches were newly founded in the tenth century in an axial arrangement: Helmut Maurer, ‘Kirchengründung und Romgedanke am Beispiel des ottonischen Bischofssitzes Konstanz’, in *Bischofs- und Kathedralstädte des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Franz Petri (Cologne and Vienna, 1976), 47–59; Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung*, 68–9, 229, 264, 360–1.

[37](#) Berger, *Stift und Pfründe*, 37–8; on the ‘sacred landscape’ of towns, see Günter Bandmann, ‘Die vorgotische Kirche als Himmelsstadt’, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 6 (1972), 67–93; Alfred Haverkamp, ‘“Heilige Städte” im hohen Mittelalter’, in *Mentalitäten des Mittelalters: Methodische und inhaltliche Probleme*, ed. Frantisek Graus, Vorträge und Forschungen, 35 (Sigmaringen, 1987), 119–56, esp. 131–9; Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung*, 28–9, 85, 90–8, 217, 228–30, 294–6, 302–4; Frank G. Hirschmann, ‘Die Domannexstifte im Reich: Zusammenstellung und vergleichende Analyse’, *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*, 88 (2002), 110–58, at 116–24.

[38](#) J.F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Meaning and Development of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987), 105–66, on stational liturgy in Rome.

[39](#) Theodor Klauser, ‘Eine Stationsliste der Metzger Kirche aus dem 8. Jh., wahrscheinlich ein Werk Chrodegangs’, *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 44 (1930), 162–93, and see [Chapter 3 above, at n. 33](#).

[40](#) Erich Herzog, *Die ottonische Stadt: Die Anfänge der mittelalterlichen Stadtbaukunst in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1964), esp. 102–15, 147–61, 171–81; Stefan Petersen, ‘Stadtentstehung im Schatten der Kirche: Bischof und Stadt in Hildesheim bis zum Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts’, in *Bischof und Bürger*, ed. Grieme, Kruppa and Pätzold, 143–63, at 148–50.

[41](#) Hirschmann, ‘Die Domannexstifte im Reich’, 127, and more generally 118–28.

[42](#) Meijns, ‘L’ordre canonial’, 24–8.

[43](#) Moraw, ‘Über Typologie’, 25–6; Rudolf Meier, *Die Domkapitel zu Goslar und Halberstadt in ihrer persönlichen Zusammensetzung im Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1967), 13.

[44](#) Berger, *Stift und Pfründe*, 37–8: Count Balderich of Drenthe and his wife Adela founded St Martin’s at Zyfflich.

[45](#) Karl Jordan, *Henry the Lion: A Biography*, tr. P.S. Falla (Oxford, 1986), 115, 157–8; Moraw, ‘Über Typologie’, 27–8, notes the development of *Residenzstifte* in the thirteenth century by magnates building up their territorial powers.

[46](#) FEG, 7: *Angers*, 5–7; Saint-Laud was founded by Geoffrey Martel 1056 × 1060.

[47](#) *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. and tr. Marjorie Chibnall and Leslie Watkiss (Oxford, 1994), 28 (Wulfwin is referred to as dean, but this may be anachronistic); on Traiectum, Adelard’s place of origin, see [Chapter 6 above, n. 128](#).

[48](#) Jean-François Lemarignier, ‘Aspects politiques des fondations de collégiales dans le royaume de France au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII*, Atti della Settimana di Studio, Mendola, settembre 1959, 2 vols. (Milan, 1962), I, 19–40, at 25; Lucien Musset, ‘Recherches sur les communautés de clercs séculiers en Normandie au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 55 (1961, for 1959–60),



5–38; Moraw, ‘Über Typologie’, 27, notes that an equivalent process did not occur in Germany in the same period. See also [Chapter 8](#) above.

[49](#) For St George’s see [Chapter 8](#) above, and J.H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100–1300: A Constitutional Study* (Manchester, 1970), 119–21; for Bridgnorth see [ibid.](#), 119; and *VCH Shropshire*, II, ed. A.T. Gaydon (Oxford, 1973), 123–8.

[50](#) A.T. Thacker, ‘Collegiate church of St John’, in *VCH Cheshire*, V, Part 2: *The City of Chester: Culture, Buildings, Institutions*, ed. C.P. Lewis and A.T. Thacker (Woodbridge, 2005), 125–33, at 125–6; C.P. Lewis, ‘Communities, conflict and episcopal policy in the diocese of Lichfield, 1050–1150’, in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Paul Dalton, Charles Insley and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge, 2011), 61–76, at 63–4, 70–3: St John’s briefly became the cathedral of the diocese when Bishop Peter moved his see from Lichfield to Chester in 1072/3.

[51](#) *VCH Shropshire*, II, 114–19; *Domesday Book*, 25: *Shropshire*, ed. Frank and Caroline Thorn (Chichester, 1986), 1, 1–2 and 3f, 1–7; Steven Bassett, ‘Anglo-Saxon Shrewsbury and its churches’, *Midland History*, 16 (1991), 1–23.

[52](#) *Beverley Minster Fasti*, ed. Richard T.W. McDermid, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 149 (1993 for 1990), xv–xxx; Lucius Smith, *The Story of Ripon Minster: A Study in Church History* (Leeds, 1914), 76–7; Frank Merry Stenton, ‘The founding of Southwell Minster’, in his *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England: Being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. Doris Mary Stenton (Oxford, 1970), 364–70; *EEA*, XX, l–lii and *EEA*, XXVII, lxxiii–lxxxvi.

[53](#) Jeffrey H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels, 1100–1300* (Manchester, 1970), esp. 28–40 on St Martin-le-Grand, 41–4 on Wolverhampton; Pamela Taylor, ‘Ingelric, Count Eustace and the foundation of St Martin-le-Grand’, *ANS*, 24, ed. John Gillingham (Woodbridge, 2002), 215–37, on St Martin-le-Grand (esp. 215–16, 220, on its foundation, probably before the Conquest, by Ingelric).

[54](#) See [Chapter 8](#) above, at n. 69.

[55](#) Meier, *Die Domkapitel zu Goslar und Halberstadt*, 18–21, 29, 179–94, 208–19 on recruitment of Goslar and Halberstadt; Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, II: *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, Schriften der MGH, 16, 2 (Stuttgart, 1966), 263–4.

[56](#) *Cartulaire d’Angers*, no 115 (a charter of Bishop Renaud of Angers issued 1103); see also Julia Barrow, ‘The origins of vicars choral to c.1300’, in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals: Cantate Domino*, ed. Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford, 2005), 11–16, at 11–12.

[57](#) Provosts of collegiate churches in episcopal patronage, however, were often freeborn. See below in discussion of dignitaries.

[58](#) Wolfgang Metz, ‘Ministerialität und Geldwirtschaft in mittelhessischen Bischofsstädten des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts’, in *Ministerialität im Pfälzer Raum*, ed. Friedrich Ludwig Wagner (Speyer, 1975), 34–41. In general on ministerials see literature in [n. 61](#) below in this chapter; and Marc Bloch, ‘Un problème d’histoire comparée: La ministérialité en France et en Allemagne’, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*,

4th series, 7 (1928), 46–91, translated as ‘A problem in comparative history: the administrative classes in France and Germany’, in Marc Bloch, *Land and Work*, tr. J.E. Anderson (London, 1967), 82–123.

[59](#) Meier, *Die Domkapitel zu Goslar und Halberstadt*, 30–109 (at 74 on Halberstadt).

[60](#) E.g. Dietrich Blümlein (occ. 1182–1215), August Amrhein, ‘Reihenfolge der Mitglieder des adeligen Domstiftes zu Würzburg, St. Kilians-Brüder genannt, von seiner Gründung bis zur Säkularisation, 742–1803’, *Archiv des historischen Vereines von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg*, 32 (1889), 1–315, and 33 (1890), 1–380, i, 100; family mentioned in Johanna Reimann, ‘Die Ministerialen des Hochstifts Würzburg in sozial-, rechts- und verfassungsgeschichtlicher Sicht’, *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch*, 16 (1964), 1–266, at 29; Dietrich von Hohenberg (occ. 1195–1225, bishop of Würzburg 1223–5: Amrhein, ‘Reihenfolge’, i, 102; family mentioned in Reimann, ‘Die Ministerialen’, 9); Iring von Zabelstein (occ. 1195–1221: Amrhein, ‘Reihenfolge’, i, 104; family mentioned in Reimann, ‘Die Ministerialen’, 9).

[61](#) John B. Freed, ‘Nobles, ministerials and knights in the archdiocese of Salzburg’, *Speculum*, 62 (1987), 575–611, esp. 588–611; see also John B. Freed, ‘The formation of the Salzburg ministerialage in the tenth and eleventh centuries: an example of upward social mobility in the early Middle Ages’, *Viator*, 9 (1978), 67–102.

[62](#) Schulte, who was born and educated in Münster, was a Catholic and found his career prospects restricted as a result: Max Braubach, ‘Aloys Schulte: Kämpfe und Ziele’, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 78 (1959), 89–109; Aloys Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1910; 2nd edn Stuttgart, 1922; 3rd edn, Darmstadt, 1958).

[63](#) Leo Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonisch-salischen Reichskirchensystems*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, 229 (Vienna, 1964), 123–32 (on bishops), and 133–57 (on canons); Meier, *Die Domkapitel zu Goslar und Halberstadt*, 74, 98–109. Cf also Béatrice Wiggenhauser, *Klerikale Karrieren: Das ländliche Chorherrenstift Embrach und seine Mitglieder im Mittelalter* (Zürich, 1997), 171–5.

[64](#) *EEA*, XX, xlvii–lii; 27, lxxiv–lxxxvi. For the career of Master Vacarius: *Fasti*, VI, 130; [Chapter 6 above, at n. 239](#); Michael Jones, ‘Master Vacarius, civil lawyer, canon of Southwell and parson of Norwell, Nottinghamshire’, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 53 (2009), 1–20.

[65](#) On the influence of the dukes of Lorraine, see Parisse, *La noblesse lorraine*, I, 412–21; the families of the counts of Bar and the counts of Louvain dominated appointments to the office of primicerius at Metz: Michel Parisse, ‘Les princiers messins au XIIe siècle’, *Annuaire de la société d’histoire et d’archéologie de la Lorraine*, 71 (1971), 23–8; among numerous examples from comital families, note archbishops Adalbert I and Adalbert II of Mainz, sons of successive counts of Saarbrücken (Alois Gerlich, ‘Adalbert I., Erzbischof von Mainz’, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, I, 99–100; and Alois Gerlich, ‘Adalbert II., Erzbischof von Mainz’, in *ibid.*, 100). See also [n. 181](#) below.

[66](#) E.g. Philip of Swabia, son of Frederick Barbarossa, on whom see [Chapter 4 above, n. 28](#).

[67](#) See Jacques Pycke, *Répertoire biographique des chanoines de Notre-Dame de Tournai, 1080–1300* (Louvain and Brussels, 1988), *passim*, e.g. 7–16, nos 6–10, for the twelfth-century deans of Tournai.

[68](#) David Crouch and Claire de Trafford, ‘The forgotten family in twelfth-century England’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 13 (1999), 41–63, at 47; see also [Chapter 4](#) above.

[69](#) For some discussion of the burgess class among the canons of Hereford cathedral, see Julia Barrow, ‘The canons and citizens of Hereford c.1160–c.1240’, *Midland History*, 24 (1999), 1–23, at 4–7.

[70](#) See [Chapter 2 nn. 41–4](#); and also *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux*, ed. Frank Barlow, Camden Society, 3rd series, 61 (London, 1939), 137, no 83, a letter from Arnulf of Lisieux to Bartholomew of Exeter on behalf of a clerk called Jordan.

[71](#) Where the origins of twelfth-century Norman cathedral canons can be identified (usually through surnames), they tend to be local, with most Avranches and Coutances canons coming from the modern department of Manche, most Évreux canons coming from the modern department of Eure, and most Lisieux and Bayeux canons from Calvados. Bayeux and Rouen recruited from a much wider geographical area than the other Norman cathedrals, drawing more widely across Normandy itself and with a significant English intake. See David S. Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911–1204* (London, 2006), *passim*.

[72](#) Spear, *Personnel*, 80 (Roscelin of Compiègne at Bayeux); C.J. Mews, ‘The Council of Sens (1141): Abelard, Bernard, and the fear of social upheaval’, *Speculum*, 77 (2002), 342–82, at 357, for Abelard (born near Nantes) as a canon of Sens.

[73](#) Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100* (Leicester, 2013), esp. 25–6.

[74](#) See e.g. *Fasti*, I, 4, 8, 23, 27, 29, 32, 36, 40, 57, 65, 71, 73, 77, 87, for Old English and Old Norse names at St Paul’s (most of the generation active in the 1080s–90s); VIII, 8–9, 63, 65–6, 76, 79, 88, 97–8 (Hereford); X, 20, 38–9, 42–3, 46–7, 57, 59, 75–6, 84 (Exeter): for an overview see Ann Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), 127–30; Hugh Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation and Identity, 1066–c.1220* (Oxford, 2003), 211–12; see also Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 25–6.

[75](#) For Lotharingians, see e.g. *Fasti*, I, 59; VIII, 1–2, 8 (and, in the 1120s, X, 81).

[76](#) See [Chapter 1, n. 29](#) above; Julia Barrow, ‘Origins and careers of cathedral canons in twelfth-century England’, *Medieval Prosopography*, 21 (2000), 23–40.

[77](#) For examples of Welsh dynasties see *Fasti*, IX, 18–19, 39, 45, 57; and for examples of Anglo-Norman family links see *ibid.*, 46, 55.

[78](#) For the origins of institutional chapters, see *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad Annum 1638*, ed. D.E.R. Watt and A.L. Murray (Edinburgh, 2003), 104–5, 132–3, 196–7, 283, and also 6–8, 57; for a few examples of Scottish career trajectories, see D.E.R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish University Graduates to AD 1410* (Oxford, 1977), 1 (Matthew de Aberdeen (1)), 8 (Peter de Alinton, probably from the north of England), 582

(William (2)).

[79](#) Cf the examples in David S. Spear, 'The Norman empire and the secular clergy, 1066–1204', *Journal of British Studies*, 21, 2 (1982), 1–10.

[80](#) *Fasti*, V, xxiv; VI, xxiv; VIII, xxvii; the bishops of London found it harder to control recruitment into St Paul's, but had managed this by the earlier twelfth century: *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London*, ed. Marion Gibbs, Camden Society, 3rd series, 58 (London, 1939), xxi–xxviii; Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 119–23.

[81](#) Émile Lesne, 'Les origines de la prébende', *Revue de l'histoire de droit français et étranger*, 4th series, 8 (1929), 242–90, at 269–71, thought that the role for the chapter became significant from the late eleventh century in France, but in much of France it appears that bishops collated to prebends throughout the Middle Ages: see e.g. FEG, 1: *Amiens*, 9; FEG, 3: *Reims*, 17; FEG, 7: *Angers*, 13. However, it is very likely that cathedral chapters exercised a strong influence on what their bishops did: a clear example of this is visible at Chartres 1183 × 1193, where the chapter asked the bishop to allow the cantor to grant one of his prebends to his nephew (*Cartulaire de Chartres*, I, no 102). For Burgundy, see Constance Bouchard, *Sword, Miter and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca, NY, 1987), 73–4, who shows that recruitment into the cathedral chapter of Chalon-sur-Saône lay in the hands of the chapter in the twelfth century, and argues that this was generally true in Burgundy; see also FEG, 12: *Autun*, 20.

[82](#) *Fasti*, IV: *Salisbury* (1991), 55, 77, 97, 101 (in the final case the founder created a prebend for his *nutritus*); *Fasti*, VII: *Wells*, 41, where the Buzun family managed two presentations to their prebend of Carhampton; *Fasti*, VIII: *Hereford*, 47–8, 59–60. For one of the resulting disputes see M.G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester, 1164–1179* (Oxford, 1980), 260–1; see also Stephen Marritt, 'Secular cathedrals and the Anglo-Norman aristocracy', in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Paul Dalton, Charles Insley and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge, 2011), 151–67, at 158–62; and Christopher Norton, *St William of York* (Woodbridge, 2006), 10–16.

[83](#) For some examples of kings collating canons in episcopal vacancies (most evidence is late), see e.g. *Fasti*, IV, 63, 66, 76, 83, 94, 105, 108; *Fasti*, VIII, 34, 37, 43, 56, 71, 75, 78; cf comments by Marie Lovatt on Richard I's appointments at York in the vacancy between Roger of Pont-l'Évêque and Geoffrey Plantagenet: *EEA* 27.

[84](#) Hans-Erich Feine, *Kirchliche Rechtsgeschichte*, I: *Die katholische Kirche*, 4th edn (Cologne, 1964), 386; cf Dietrich Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in das 12. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Cologne and Vienna, 1972–5), II, 206, n. 194 (thirteenth-century Magdeburg Cathedral statutes); the *turnus* system operated at Würzburg from the middle of the thirteenth century: Amrhein, 'Reihenfolge', i, 20–3, 301–5, and was adopted by ecclesiastical communities in the diocese of Cologne from the early fourteenth century: Berger, *Stift und Pfründe*, 183–7.

[85](#) E.g. *Lincoln Statutes*, II (1), 44–5 (Hereford in the mid-thirteenth century).

[86](#) *Cartulaire de Chartres*, II, no 237. See also John Baldwin, *Paris, 1200* (Stanford, CA, 2010), 141–3.



[87](#) *Cartulaire d'Amiens*, I, no 152. At the collegiate church of Saint-Pierre in Lille, the provost, dean and cantor were the three senior dignitaries: see *Cartulaire de Lille*, I, nos 39 (1183 × 1190) and 81 (1206).

[88](#) Cf Edwards, *Secular Cathedrals*, 143–6.

[89](#) Edwards, *Secular Cathedrals*, 160–1, 165, 249, 255, 295, 303.

[90](#) Edwards, *Secular Cathedrals*, 145–6; *Lincoln Statutes*, II (1), 44–7.

[91](#) On the compilation process, see [n. 24](#) above, this chapter.

[92](#) Jean-Charles Picard, 'Les quartiers canoniaux des cathedrals en France', in *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1993), 191–202; FEG, 7: *Angers*, 87–101; FEG, 11: *Sens*, 27–48; FEG, 12: *Autun*, 27–42; R. Brandts, 'Kapitelshäuser im Domviertel von Trier', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 1 (1949), 89–135; Ursula Hoppe, *Die Paderborner Domfreiheit* (Munich, 1975), 48–52; Joseph Prinz, *Mimigernaford-Münster* (Münster, 1960), 144–5; and see also *Westf. UB*, II, nos 342, 432; and III, no 136; Carol Davidson Cragoe, 'Fabric, tombs and precinct 1087–1540', in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London, 604–2004*, ed. Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint (New Haven and London, 2004), 127–42, at 141; Stanley Jones, Kathleen Major and Joan Varley, *The Survey of Ancient Houses in Lincoln, I: Priorygate to Pottergate*, Lincoln Civic Trust (Lincoln, 1984); Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *Salisbury: The Houses of the Close* (London, 1993).

[93](#) Robert Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne* (Brussels, 2001), 63–6, 223–7.

[94](#) See [nn. 8–9](#) above, in this chapter, and *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, ed. Brigitte Langefeld, Münchener Universitätschriften, 26 (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 196–7 (c. 11).

[95](#) Josef Siegwart, *Die Chorherren- und Chorfrauengemeinschaften der deutschsprachigen Schweiz vom 6. Jahrhundert bis 1160*, Studia Friburgensia, NF, 30 (Fribourg, 1962), 101–2, 107–8, 123, 132–3. (This work draws its earlier medieval evidence across all German-speaking areas, not only in Switzerland.)

[96](#) Alexander R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester*, Winchester Studies 4, 3 (Oxford, 2002), 50–6, no ii (= S 1443).

[97](#) *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. James Raine, 3 vols., RS, 71 (London, 1879–94), II, 353 (*Chronicon pontificum ecclesiae Eboracensis*), and see also 107–8 (Hugh the Chantor, *History of the Four Archbishops of York*) for Archbishop Thomas building a refectory and dormitory at York on his accession; Stenton, *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, 369; Julia Barrow, 'English cathedral communities and reform in the late tenth and eleventh centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, ed. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 25–51, at 33. See also [Chapter 3 above, at nn. 104–5](#).

[98](#) *Lettres d'Etienne de Tournai*, ed. Jules Desilve (Valenciennes and Paris, 1893), 201–3, no 172, at p. 202: 'In his et aliis observanciis regularibus incedebat Remensis ecclesia, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinate, amabilis suis, admirabilis alienis. Si hec immutari ceperint, quid dicet germana loco et ordine Germania, que inter alias institutiones



ecclesiasticas refectionis adhuc et quietis fraternam communionem sic observat, ut modernam dissolutionem non admittat? Clamabit vel compaciens vel insultans: Quomodo obscuratum est aurum, mutatus est color optimus? Clamabunt et Gallicane ecclesie, dispensationis levamen libencius admittentes quam austeritatis rigorem: Ecce Remensis ecclesia facta est quasi una ex nobis'. See also FEG, 3: *Reims*, 11.

[99](#) [Chapter 3](#) above.

[100](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis Episcopi Regula Canonorum*, ed. Schmitz, 4 (c. 3): 'in ipso claustro per dispositas mansiones'.

[101](#) Discussed by Lesne, 'Les origines de la prébende', 244–8; see also [n. 9](#) above, this chapter.

[102](#) PL 133: 48: 'cellam iuxta beati Martini tribuit ecclesiam, et cotidianum victum ex eadem canonica ... concessit'. See also discussion by Isabelle Cochelin, 'Quête de liberté et réécriture des origines: Odon et les portraits corrigés de Baume, Géraud et Guillaume', in *Guerriers et moines: Conversion et sainteté aristocratiques dans l'Occident médiéval (IXe–XIIe siècle)*, ed. Michel Lauwers (Antibes, 2002), 183–215, at 188.

[103](#) Gérard Robin, 'Le problème de la vie commune au chapitre de la cathédrale Saint-Maurice d'Angers, du IXe au XIIe siècle', *CCM*, 13 (1970), 305–21, at 308; FEG, 7: *Angers*, 88. Burgundy was much slower to move towards separate houses for canons (see e.g. FEG, 12: *Autun*, 30–4).

[104](#) It was often necessary for further house sites to be acquired and if possible for the precinct to be enlarged: Prinz, *Mimigernaford-Münster*, 144; for acquisition of sites, see *UB Halberstadt*, I, no 307 (1184); *UB Hildesheim*, I, no 762 (1221); *HMC Wells*, I, 491.

[105](#) *Domesday Book*, 26: *Cheshire*, ed. Philip Morgan (Chichester, 1978), B11 (DB i, fo. 263a: eight houses for the *matricularius* and canons of St John's), A1 (DB i, fo. 263b: thirteen houses for the *custos* or warden and the canons of St Werburgh's); in Oxford, the canons of St Frideswide's had fifteen messuages and the priests of St Michael's had two messuages: *Domesday Book*, 14: *Oxfordshire*, ed. Clare Caldwell (Chichester, 1978), B10 (DB, i, fo. 154b).

[106](#) *Antiquus cartularius*, I, nos 138, 251, 272, 275; for Conan's career, see Spear, *Personnel*, 45; on the stone house see [ibid.](#), 46.

[107](#) *MUB*, II, no 374 (1175); *UB Speyer*, I, no 118 (1197). At Lille, the provost in 1190 had a timber house but was building stone chambers for himself in what had been the canons' dormitory, and stables in what had been the refectory (*Cartulaire de Lille*, I, no 45). The stone house built by Hermann, scholasticus of Minden (occ. 1181–98), was thought worth mentioning in the Minden obit book: see *Necrologien, Anniversarien- und Obödienzverzeichnisse des Mindener Domkapitels aus dem 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ulrich Rasche, MGH Libri Memoriales et Necrologia, new series, 5 (Hanover, 1998), 102 (8 April).

[108](#) On evolving urban house-building in England, see John Schofield and Alan Vince, *Medieval Towns* (London, 1994), at 64–9, 80.

[109](#) At the Moritzstift in Hildesheim in 1151 canons could pass on buildings (*edificia*)

with the *supellex* to their kin, but the *area* would be passed on to a canon (*UB Hildesheim*, I, no 275); at St Donatian's in Bruges the conditions of holding a property were changed after a stone house was built on a *fundus*, after 1213, while in a charter of 1216 the provost granted two house sites to canons who could possess the superstructure themselves and who would be able to let the cellars (made of stone?) to laymen if they wished (*Cartulaire de la prévôté de Bruges*, ed. L. Gilliodts van Severen, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1887), II, nos 12–13).

[110](#) *Cartulaire d'Autun*, part 1, no 35 (1109); part 2, no 59 (1227); Supplément, nos 2 (1217), 3 (1221), 4 (1221); *Antiquus cartularius*, II, no 318; *Cartulaire de Chartres*, II, no 145 (c.1200); *UB Halberstadt*, I, no 306 (1184); *UBMRh*, III, no 44 (1216: St Castor, Koblenz); *UBNRh*, no 508 (1188); *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, nos 31 (1109), 58 (1178); *Cartulaire de l'Yonne*, II, no 470 (1197); *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, no 111 (1205). Caesarius of Heisterbach recounts how a dean of Cologne sold his house to a fellow canon so that the money could be distributed to the poor, rather than (as was more usually the case) being given to kinsmen or friends: *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. Joseph Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851), I, 352 (VI, c. 5).

[111](#) *Cartulaire d'Autun*, ii, no 59 (1227); *Antiquus cartularius*, I, no 227 (not dated); II, no 315 (1236), and cf nos 316 (1236), 317–18, 453 (1213 × 1226); Joseph Barbier, 'Documents extraits du cartulaire du chapitre Saint-Aubain, à Namur', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 11 (1874), 99–128, at 110–11 (no XI of November 1266); *Cartulaire de Lille*, I, no 173 (1221).

[112](#) *HMC Wells*, I, 29, 35; for Hereford, see Bodl. MS Rawlinson B 329, fo. 129v, and *Fasti*, VIII, 94, 124; for St Paul's, see *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London*, nos 103–5, 274, 277, 280–1.

[113](#) *RSO*, II, 10 (1219), 21 (1222).

[114](#) Francis Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), 116.

[115](#) E.g. legislation by Bishop Richard Poore of Salisbury c.1223: *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City and Diocese of Salisbury, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. William Henry Rich Jones, RS, 97 (London, 1891), 158.

[116](#) *Cartulaire d'Angers*, nos 163, 176.

[117](#) Laon, A-D Aisne, G 1850, fos. 193v–194r; Adam's career had taken another direction by 1190: see [ibid.](#), fo. 196v.

[118](#) Laon, A-D Aisne, G 1850, fo. 224v.

[119](#) *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral of Salisbury*, ed. Jones, 158 (Bishop Richard Poore, c.1223).

[120](#) *Statistique monumentale du département du Cher*, ed. A. Buhot de Kersers, 8 vols. (1875–98), II, 362–4, pièces justificatives, no 11 (will of Odon Trousseau, 1216).

[121](#) *Antiquus cartularius*, II, no 369 (1240); for references to formal wills and to executors see e.g. Laon, A-D de l'Aisne, G253, fo. 150r–v, where the official of Soissons says he has read the will of a canon of Soissons and summarises the contents (February

1251); Bourges, A-D Cher, 8 G 957 (1226); *Cartulaire d'Autun*, no 59 (1227).

[122](#) *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, nos 31 (houses of canons dying intestate could pass to canons who were kinsmen), 84 (the statutes of 1203 stated that canons might have houses, but could only sleep outside the dormitory with the dean's permission); *UB Hildesheim*, I, no 762 (1221: a reference to a dormitory long after canons had begun to have individual houses). For the provost of Lille's creative reuse of the dormitory and refectory in 1190, see [n. 107](#) above. In the empire, dormitories lasted longer in collegiate churches than in cathedrals: the dormitory at Neumünster in Würzburg was still functioning in 1169 (Munich, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv, WU 5660); at Saint-Aubain, Namur, canons had to sleep in the dormitory and attend Matins in order to receive a share of the offertory at Mass as part of the terms of a grant by Count Philip of Namur in 1207 (Barbier, 'Documents extraits du cartulaire du chapitre Saint-Aubain, à Namur', 99, no 1); for a similar arrangement made by Count Philip of Namur in 1210, see Joseph Barbier, 'Documents extraits du cartulaire du chapitre Saint-Aubain, à Namur, concernant le village de Mellet (Hainaut)', *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique*, 5 (1868), 198–204, at 200–2 (no 3).

[123](#) *UB Hildesheim*, I, no 413, of 1182, referring to three major feasts a year in the refectory at Hildesheim Cathedral, but not excluding the possibility that other communal meals were eaten there; *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, nos 27 (1085), 64 (1186); Joachim Deeters, *Servatiusstift und Stadt Maastricht*, *Rheinisches Archiv*, 73 (Bonn, 1970), 55–6, with references to the refectory at the collegiate church of St Servatius in Maastricht during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For feasting arrangements at Bamberg, see [Chapter 1 above, at n. 55](#); FEG, 11: *Sens*, 39–40.

[124](#) Hereford Cathedral's bakehouse starts to be mentioned in the earlier thirteenth century; it stood in a street in which also stood numerous houses of canons: Julia Barrow, 'Athelstan to Aigueblanche, 1056–1268', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London, 2000), 21–47, at 34.

[125](#) *Cartulaire de l'Yonne*, no 126 (1120); *Cartulaire de Chartres*, I, nos 42, 67, 121; II, no 246; *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, no 87 (1198). At Amiens in 1177, the citizens complained that their access to the cathedral had been limited after the canons rebuilt the gate to the *claustrum*, and the bishop had to intervene (*Cartulaire d'Amiens*, I, no 56). Frederick Barbarossa freed canons of Würzburg living outside the immunity from having to provide hospitality to the imperial court when it visited the city (*Die Urkunden Friedrichs I.*, ed. Heinrich Appelt, with Rainer Maria Herkenrath, 5 vols., MGH DD, 10 (Hanover, 1975–90), III, no 591 of 24 April 1172).

[126](#) For several Hereford examples: Barrow, 'Athelstan to Aigueblanche', 39; for Lincoln, see Jones, Major and Varley, *The Survey of Ancient Houses in Lincoln*, I, 3; and Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 117–18; Lincoln's close was walled only in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.

[127](#) On the precinct at St Paul's see Cragoe, 'Fabric, tombs and precinct 1087–1540', 141.

[128](#) Cf the property acquisitions in the early thirteenth century by Elias of Bristol, canon of Hereford, which served as the nucleus of the endowments for St Ethelbert's Hospital in

Hereford, founded by c.1225: Barrow, 'The canons and citizens of Hereford, c.1160–c.1240', 13–14.

[129](#) Cf Peter of Blois's comment about the marriage patterns of the clergy of Wolverhampton, 'one [married] the daughter or niece of another': *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, ed. Elizabeth Revell (Oxford, 1993), 26 (no 4).

[130](#) Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, *passim*.

[131](#) Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 22–3 and 33, 34, 37–9, 45–9, 51.

[132](#) For some discussion of pluralism, see Barrow, 'Origins and careers of cathedral canons', 29–34. Hubert Walter tried to extend the licence for canons to be absent to clerics in his own entourage (since Christ Church Canterbury was monastic, he was unable to give them prebends): PL 207: 403–4.

[133](#) For Peter of Blois complaining about Salisbury docking a fifth of the prebendal incomes of non-resident canons, see PL 207: 395–6.

[134](#) E.g. *Lincoln Statutes*, II, 1, 48–9.

[135](#) Leo Santifaller, 'Papsturkunden für Domkapitel bis auf Alexander III.', in *Festschrift für Albert Brackmann*, ed. Leo Santifaller (Weimar, 1931), 81–122, at 106–7; *UB Hildesheim*, I, nos 634 (Kreuzstift, 1209), 684 (1216), 759 (1221); *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, nos 84 (1203), 112 (1214).

[136](#) For some examples, see *Cartulaire d'Arras*, nos 73 (1176 × 1188; this does not mention the requirement to be present, which may mean that fairly full attendance was assumed), 94 (not dated, but 1200); *Cartulaire d'Autun*, nos 51 (1217), 83 (1239); *Antiquus cartularius*, I, nos 227 (not dated, but earlier thirteenth century), 275 (1189 × 1205); *Chartularium ecclesiae Cenomannensis*, no 70 (c.1190); *Cartulaire de Lille*, I, nos 35 (1181), 36 (1182: 'Qui non laborat, non manducet'); *UBMRh*, II, no 64 (Bishop Bertram of Metz for Saint-Arnoul, Metz, 1183). Obit books can also provide plenty of evidence for arrangements for anniversaries: for references in Hereford Cathedral obit book, almost all thirteenth-century arrangements, see *Fasti*, VIII, 103–4, 107, 109, 113–15, 118, 121–2, 124–5, 127–8, 130, 132–7, 139, 141–5, 147–50, 153–4, 156–7.

[137](#) Matthew 20:12 (in the parable about the labourers in the vineyard, not wholly appropriate here), quoted by Honorius III in a bull for Salisbury Cathedral (RSO, I, 365). In general see Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, 20–1, 33–56.

[138](#) *Lettres d'Étienne de Tournai*, ed. Jules Desilve (Valenciennes and Paris, 1893), no 96 (1184, concerning electing the dean of Notre-Dame in Paris); Jean Paquay, *La collégiale Saint-Barthélemy à Liège: Inventaire analytique des chartes*, *Analecta Ecclesiastica Leodiensis*, 1 (Liège, 1935), 103–4, no 20.

[139](#) *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London*, xx; Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 50–1, 53–4.

[140](#) Barrow, 'The statutes of St Davids Cathedral 1224–1259'; Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 50–6.



[141](#) *Cartulaire de Lille*, I, no 75 (1205: eight months); *RSO*, II, 18–20 (forty days at Salisbury, 1222); *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, II, 1, 48–9 (thirty-six weeks at Hereford, mid-thirteenth century); see also Julia Barrow, ‘Cathedrals, provosts and prebends: a comparison of twelfth-century German and English practice’, *JEH*, 37 (1986), 536–64, at 561–2.

[142](#) *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, II (1), 62, for the hebdomadary canon substituting for the dean in the latter’s absence at Hereford; see also Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, 58–9.

[143](#) Jean de Saint-Arnoul, *La vie de Jean, abbé de Gorze*, ed. and tr. Michel Parisse (Paris, 1999), 54 (c. 17): John of Gorze for a time acted as hebdomadary priest serving the altar in the nunnery of Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains in Metz. For the monastic origins of the practice (reading at mealtimes), see *La règle de Saint Benoît*, ed. and tr. Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville, 7 vols., Sources chrétiennes, 181–6 (Paris, 1972–7), II, 572–6 (c. 38), and *La règle du maître*, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, with concordance by Jean-Marie Clément, Jean Neufville and Daniel Demeslay, 3 vols., Sources chrétiennes, 105–7 (Paris, 1964–5), II, 122–33 (c. 24).

[144](#) PL 133: 48, discussed above at [n. 102](#), this chapter.

[145](#) Barrow, ‘Cathedrals, provosts and prebends’, 540, 542–4. On the division of *mensae* for bishop and canons, note the very early reference in Gregory of Tours’s *Ten Books of the Histories* to Bishop Bauduinus of Tours setting up a table for the canons (‘Hic instituit mensam canonicorum’, *Gregorii episcopi Turonensis libri historiarum* X, ed. Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM, 1, i (Hanover, 1951), 533 (X, c. 31); Emile Lesne, *L’origine des menses dans le temporel des églises et des monastères de France au IXe siècle* (Paris, 1910), 52–62; in general see Émile Lesne, ‘*Praebenda*: Le sens primitif du terme prébende’, in *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (Paris, 1929), 443–53; E.U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994), 10–11.

[146](#) Cf [Chapter 1 above, n. 55](#), for arrangements at Bamberg and Utrecht; on Waltham, where the system may perhaps have been introduced by a cleric imported from Utrecht (or perhaps Maastricht), see *The Waltham Chronicle*, ed. and tr. Leslie Watkiss and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1994), 28–30 (Chapter 15).

[147](#) Barrow, ‘Cathedrals, provosts and prebends’, 542; Anselm of Havelberg, *Vita Adelberti Maguntini Archiepiscopi*, in *Monumenta Moguntina*, ed. Philipp Jaffé, Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, 3 (Berlin, 1866), 565–603, at 570, describing Adalbert (later Archbishop Adelbert II of Mainz) dispensing the revenues of St Mary’s, Erfurt, to the canons there: ‘non tepide quaeque dispensans fratribus eque’ (‘not unenthusiastically dispensing everything equally to the brothers’).

[148](#) Louis Amiet, *Essai sur l’organisation du chapitre cathédral de Chartres (XIe au XIIIe siècle)* (Chartres, 1922), 112–22; Ivo of Chartres, *Correspondence*, I: (1090–1098), ed. Jean Leclercq (Paris, 1949: only vol. publ.), 100–7, no 25, concerns a clerk to whom Ivo’s predecessor Bishop Geoffrey had sold a *prepositura*; *Cartulaire de Chartres*, I, nos 57, 86–7, 119. Some twelfth-century Amiens witness lists include a provost, but the language of the first occurrence suggests that the one mentioned here was in charge of only some of the chapter’s land: *Cartulaire d’Amiens*, I, nos 14 (1115 × 1118), 15 (1135),



18 (1145), 23 (1146); for Tournai, see Pycke, *Répertoire*, 129–32. Arras in the mid-twelfth century had a single provost, ranking ahead of the dean in witness lists, but usually coming behind the archdeacon: *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras (1093–1203)*, ed. Benoît-Michel Tock (Paris, 1991), nos 86 (1139 × 1145), 101 (1153), 104 (1153); *Cartulaire d'Arras*, no 20 (1152: Provost Clarembald occurs after the archdeacon but before the dean).

[149](#) *Cartulaire d'Angers*, nos 15 (886 × 888), 29 (1025), 45 (1049), 46 (1047 × 1055): the dean occurs immediately after the bishop in the last of these, but earlier on after at least one archdeacon, and in no 29 after several members of the chapter; *Cartulaire de Chartres*, I, nos 9 (950), 10 (c.970): the dean occurs immediately after bishop (or bishops).

[150](#) Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*, 40.

[151](#) On Beverley see *Beverley Minster Fasti*, 3. The *matricularius* who headed the canons of St John's church in Chester in 1086 was presumably a provost (DB, I, fo. 263a: the title *matricularius* would refer to the *matricula* or list of persons to receive funding from the church, and would thus refer to the provost's role in dividing up income); St Werburgh's in Chester was headed by a *custos* (i.e. a warden or sacrist: *Domesday Book*, 26: *Cheshire*, ed. Philip Morgan (Chichester, 1978), A1 (i, fo. 263b)) before it got turned into a Benedictine abbey.

[152](#) *Historiola de primordiis episcopatus Somersetensis*, in *Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. J. Hunter, Camden Society, 8 (1840), 23–4; the provostship was brought to an end by Bishop Robert, *EEA*, X, no 46.

[153](#) *EEA*, XI, no 15; although Frank Barlow thought this charter was probably a forgery, it is probably genuine: see discussion by Julia Barrow, 'Why forge episcopal acta? Preliminary observations on the forged charters in the *English Episcopal Acta* series', in *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith*, ed. Philippa Hoskin, Christopher Brooke and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge, 2005), 18–39, at 21.

[154](#) Barrow, 'Cathedrals, provosts and prebends', 545. Separation of revenues was necessary because on the one hand holding provostships of German collegiate churches under episcopal proprietorship was by the early twelfth century usually restricted to cathedral canons, who were as a result not usually resident at the churches of which they were provost, and on the other hand cathedral provosts were usually expected to enfeoff military retainers with some of their estates, but the rest of the cathedral chapter would try to prevent this happening to the estates providing their own income.

[155](#) Lesne, 'Les origines de la prébende', 242–90; see also Emile Lesne, '*Praebenda*: Le sens primitif du mot prébende'.

[156](#) Lesne, 'Les origines', 243, discussing a charter of Louis of Outremer for Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers (942), and 259–60 on *praebenda* to mean a canon's individual position.

[157](#) Barrow, 'Cathedrals, provosts and prebends', 555–6.

[158](#) Francesca Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100* (Farnham, 2010), 33–5, discusses leases (usually for three lives) of property of the church of Worcester by Bishop Oswald (961–92) to individual members of the cathedral

community; for pre-Conquest Hereford, see Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford', 36, 40; for some separate holdings at St Paul's, Chichester and elsewhere, see Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 54–7.

[159](#) See Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 71; *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R.E. Latham and D.R. Howlett, fascicle XII ('Pos-Pro'), 2376–7, at 2377 ('praebenda', meaning 4).

[160](#) Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 14–15, 214; Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 54–7; Julia Barrow, 'Cathedrals, provosts and prebends', 556. The discussion of pre-Conquest charter sources by Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England*, is weakened by inability to discriminate between genuine and forged material (see e.g. 234–8).

[161](#) *Domesday Book*, 11: *Middlesex*, ed. Sara Wood (Chichester, 1975), 2: 2, 4–11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 24; for 'shoeland' (*sceolanda*, *solanda*), see *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul*, xxii–xxvi; in general on the estates of St Paul's, London, see Pamela Taylor, 'Foundation and endowment: St Paul's and the English kingdoms, 604–1087', in *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London*, ed. Keene, Burns and Saint, 5–16, at 14–16.

[162](#) Discussion by Gibbs, in *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul*, xxi–xxviii; C.N.L. Brooke, 'The composition of the chapter of St Paul's, 1086–1163', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1951), 111–32, at 112–18. For the names in the lists, see the entries in the lists for each prebend in *Fasti*, I, *passim*.

[163](#) *L'obituaire de la cathédrale Saint-Lambert de Liège (XIe–XVe siècle)*, ed. Alain Marchandise (Brussels, 1991), 89.

[164](#) Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford', 29–47; several of Robert's household clergy are named in his land grant to Roger de Lacy (*EEA*, VII, no 2); they can all be identified as canons of Hereford cathedral from the cathedral obit book: *Fasti*, VIII, 8–9, 23, 26, 63–4, 88, 93, and cf additional note on identification in *EEA*, XXXV, 194.

[165](#) David Blake, 'The development of the chapter of the diocese of Exeter, 1050–1161', *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 1–11; *Fasti*, X, xvii–xviii. The cathedral estates at Exeter were managed by two canons acting as stewards of the exchequer, who shared out revenues annually among the canons (Blake, 'The development', 4–5).

[166](#) See [Chapter 10](#) below for further discussion, explanation and literature.

[167](#) See for example *RRAN*, II, nos 746, 753, 1043, 1104, 1372, and I, no 473; II, nos 731, 1972, for grants of land as prebends; for further details of prebends endowed with royal grants, see entries for individual prebends in *Fasti*, III, 47, 49, 50, 54, 55, 59, 62, 73, 74, 76, 86, 89, 92, 99, 104, 108; IV, 63, 73, 78, 84, 105. Royal officials and bishops were more prominent than kings in grants of prebendal endowment to Salisbury (cf *Fasti*, IV, 55, 57, 61, 67–8); at Wells, a substantial part of the endowments for prebends came from grants made by Edward the Confessor: *Fasti*, VII, 15, 18, 43, 51, 52, 58, 61, 70, 72, 74, 75, 77. Henry II granted churches *in praebendam* to Bayeux and confirmed a prebend as it had existed under Henry I: *Antiquus cartularius*, I, nos 20, 31.

[168](#) Cf *Fasti*, III, 47, 49, 50, 54, 59, 62, 68, 73, 74, 76, 86, 89, 99, 104, 108. On the foundation of Lincoln Cathedral see Dorothy Owen, 'The Norman cathedral at Lincoln',

ANS, 7 (Woodbridge, 1985), 187–99; Dorothy Owen, ‘Historical survey, 1091–1450’, in *A History of Lincoln Minster*, ed. Dorothy Owen (Cambridge, 1994), 112–63, at 114–15; David Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, 1067–92* (Lincoln, 1992), 21–3, 26.

[169](#) Cf work of Philip of Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux: *Antiquus cartularius*, I, nos 52 (1147), 117 (1153), 127 (1162), 148 (1153); and see II, no 291, for his endowment of a dignity c.1153.

[170](#) Royal grants: *Fasti*, III, 59, 62, 71, 73–4, 76, 86, 89, 92, 99, 104, 108; IV, 57, 63, 73, 78, 105; VI, 66, 86; grants by secular landowners: III, 50, 57–8, 68, 81, 85, 94, 103; IV, 45, 55, 59, 65, 92, 100, 102; V, 32; vi, 65 87; VII, 38–9, 41–2, 50, 53–6, 66, 68–9, 71; VIII, 47, 59; see also Marritt, ‘Secular cathedrals and the Anglo-Norman aristocracy’, 158–62. Knightly activity in endowing prebends is less noticeable outside England, but see *Antiquus cartularius*, I, no 100, for a knightly grant of a church for the succentory at Bayeux Cathedral by 1147; see also I, nos 51, 92, for knightly grants of tithes and land; and I, nos 52, 99, for renunciations of property by knights to Bayeux Cathedral.

[171](#) See above at [n. 82](#), this chapter. Cf e.g. Cheney, *Roger*, 260–2, for a legal process excluding a lay patron from control over one of the Hereford prebends.

[172](#) For Brixworth, see *Fasti*, IV, 55; and Barrow, *Who Served the altar at Brixworth?*, 28–30; for Inkberrow, see *Fasti*, VIII, 46; and Julia Barrow, ‘Way-stations on English episcopal itineraries, 700–1300’, *EHR*, 127 (2012), 549–65, at 562–4; for Moreton and Whaddon, see *Fasti*, VIII, 47–8.

[173](#) *Fasti*, VII, III, VI, V, XI, VIII, I. The prebends at Exeter (*Fasti*, X) were funded by a distribution of income from the chapter estates. See also [Chapter 10 below, n. 178](#).

[174](#) Papal permission was required to hold more than one benefice with cure of souls (though it was not difficult to obtain this). See, e.g. *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters (1198–1492)*, ed. W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow, 14 vols. (London, 1893–1960), I, 13, 53. See Jörg Peltzer, ‘Master Arnulf, archdeacon of Rouen, unlicensed pluralism, and *idoneitas*: Defining eligibility in the early thirteenth century’, *Haskins Society Journal*, 19 (2007), 51–64, for discussion of attempts to tighten up restrictions after the Fourth Lateran and especially in the 1230s.

[175](#) See [Chapter 1 above, at nn. 57–8](#), 60.

[176](#) Barrow, ‘Cathedrals, provosts and prebends’, 560–2; *Antiquus cartularius*, I, nos 68–9, 71, 81, 83, 87, 92, 139–40, 181–2, 197, 238, 247–8, 266, 273–4, 279–80; II, nos 287, 297, 299.

[177](#) Amrhein, ‘Reihenfolge’, i, 27–8 (the earliest example evidenced at Würzburg was set up in the mid-twelfth century). Oblations were established at Bamberg in the eleventh and twelfth centuries but the earliest example of a canon holding one is in 1201: *Urbare und Wirtschaftsordnungen des Domstifts zu Bamberg*, ed. Erich von Guttenberg and Alfred Wendehorst, *Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte*, 10, 7 (Würzburg, 1969), 18.

[178](#) *Necrologien, Anniversarien- und Obödienzverzeichnisse des Mindener Domkapitels*, ed. Rasche, 217–37; Berger, *Stift und Pfründe*, 87, 101, 131.

[179](#) Optatus of Milevum in the year 365 refers to an archdeacon Caecilianus becoming bishop of Carthage in 311 (*LMA*, s.v.). The term *primicerius* (head notary) was taken over from Roman imperial government; by 526 it was being used in the Roman church and it was used for senior church dignitaries in Eugippius' *Vita Severini*, c. 46, and by Gregory of Tours, *Libri Historiarum* X, 86 (ii, c. 37).

[180](#) Jean-François Lemarignier, Jean Gaudemet and Guillaume Mollat, *Institutions ecclésiastiques*, Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Âge, ed. Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, 3 (Paris, 1962), 19–20.

[181](#) *S. Chrodegangi Metensis Episcopi Regula Canonorum*, 4 (c. 3); Parisse, *La noblesse lorraine*, I, 424, lists the *princiers* of Metz, Toul and Verdun; Émile Duvernoy, *Le duc de Lorraine Mathieu Ier (1139–1176)* (Paris, 1904), 63–4, describes how Duke Matthew forced Toul cathedral to re-establish the office of *princier* so that it could be given to his son. Gunther *primicerius* of Metz occurs 1 May 888 (*UBMRh*, I, 134, no 127); Leutmundus *primicerius* of Toul occurs 15 October 838 (*MGH Conc.*, II, 783).

[182](#) *MGH Conc.*, I, 415 (IC, c. 139); *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*, 206 (c. 16), 256 (c. 44).

[183](#) *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. Georges Tessier, 3 vols. (Paris, 1943–55), I, 179, no 62 (a dean at Saint-Martin at Tours 844/5), and 364, no 137 (a dean at the cathedral of Paris in 851). Developments in Eastern Francia were slower, but Münster had a provost by 889: Rudolf Schieffer, 'Zur Frühgeschichte des Domstifts von Münster', *Westfälische Forschungen*, 28 (1976–7), 16–29, at 29.

[184](#) Alfred Wendehorst, *Das Bistum Würzburg*, I: *Die Bischofsreihe bis 1254*, *Germania Sacra*, neue Folge, 1.1 (Berlin, 1962), 118, 166, 175, 180, 183, for bishops of Würzburg between 1085 and 1197 who had previously been cathedral provosts (not necessarily at Würzburg); Erich von Guttenberg, *Das Bistum Bamberg*, I, *Germania Sacra*, 2, 1 (Berlin, 1937), 156–7, at 160, for two late twelfth-century Bamberg bishops who had previously been provosts of Bamberg; Hans Götting, *Das Bistum Hildesheim*, III: *Die Hildesheimer Bischöfe von 815 bis 1221 (1227)*, *Germania Sacra*, neue Folge, 20, 3 (Berlin, 1984), 327, 342, 478, for three Hildesheim cathedral provosts becoming bishop between 1119 and 1199.

[185](#) Götting, *Die Hildesheimer Bischöfe*, 275–6, 416–17, 458; von Guttenberg, *Das Bistum Bamberg*, I, 102, 111, 156–7.

[186](#) Barrow, 'Cathedrals, provosts and prebends', 545. It could also be a stepping stone to the episcopate: see e.g. Wendehorst, *Die Bischofsreihe bis 1254*, 138, 140, 152, 170. At Würzburg, Bishop Reginhard laid down that only cathedral canons could hold archdeaconries or be provosts of the collegiate churches of Neumünster and Stift Haug in Würzburg (*MB*, 37, no 133).

[187](#) For the allotment of archdeaconries to the provostships of archiepiscopal collegiate churches in the diocese of Mainz, see Wilfried Schöntag, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Erzbistums Mainz unter den Erzbischöfen Arnold und Christian I. (1153–1183)* (Darmstadt and Marburg, 1973), 57–60; in the diocese of Münster, where numerous tiny archdeaconries were created in a parcellisation process for various religious houses over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, three of the six largest archdeaconries were attached to



provostships of collegiate churches: Nikolaus Hilling, 'Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Münsterschen Archidiaconate', *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*, 60 (Münster, 1902), 13–88, at 47–50; and Wilhelm Kohl, *Das Domstift St. Paulus zu Münster*, *Germania Sacra*, neue Folge, 17, 1 (Berlin, 1987), 201–11. For a similar situation at Halberstadt by c.1400, see A. Brackmann, 'Urkundliche Geschichte des Halberstädter Domkapitels im Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift des Harz-Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 32 (1899), 1–147, at 129–30.

[188](#) See [Chapter 3 above](#), at nn. 85–8.

[189](#) For deans of Tournai from the 1080s to the 1220s, see Pycke, *Répertoire*: nos 2, 5, 7 were priests and no 10 became a priest over a decade after taking office; nos 1, 4, 8, 11 and 13 have no grade recorded for them; no 3 was recorded as a deacon three years before becoming dean but his subsequent ordination history is unknown; no 9 appears to have been below the grade of priest while still chancellor, fourteen years before becoming dean; no 13 was subdeacon until seven months before becoming dean. See also [Chapter 2 above](#), n. 122.

[190](#) On the basis of entries for clergy listed in *Fasti* who became bishops in the period between 1066 and 1300 (some of these became bishops outside England), thirty-three had been archdeacon immediately before becoming bishop, fifteen had been dean and six had been treasurer. In the thirteenth century, the number of deans being promoted to the episcopate rose: see discussion in [Chapter 2](#) above.

[191](#) E.g. in Metz Cathedral in 933: Daniel Misonne, 'Les membres du chapitre cathédral de Metz au Xe siècle', in *Clio et son regard: Mélanges d'histoire, d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie offerts à Jacques Stiennon*, ed. Rita Lejeune and Joseph Deckers (Liège, 1982), 495–508.

[192](#) A cantor and succentor occur together in *Cartulaire de Saint-Pierre de Troyes*, no 98 (January 1201); *Cartulaire de Chartres*, II, no 237.

[193](#) Charte ARTEM/CMJS, nos 1120 (957) and 1135 (969), for Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers, and no 2661 (984), witnessed by a cantor of Chartres cathedral; *Helvetia Sacra*, II, 2, examines the emergence of the term *cantor* in the tenth century in the area that became Switzerland.

[194](#) For some idea of the huge range of knowledge required and the complexity of the variations imposed by the church calendar, see John Harper, 'The vicar choral in choir', in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals: Cantate Domino. History, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford, 2005), 17–22.

[195](#) Charte ARTEM/CMJS, nos 1515 (943), 1533 (988).

[196](#) Charte ARTEM/CMJS, nos 3238 (1028), 4853 (1063), 1251 (1079), for examples of *capicerii*; at Sens Cathedral c.1171 the offices of the treasury and the *capiceria* were separate (though held by the same person), with the latter post being responsible for supplying candles: *Cartulaire de l'Yonne*, II, no 215.

[197](#) Misonne, 'Les membres', 500, for a custos at Metz cathedral in 933; Charte ARTEM/CMJS, no 222 (1050), for a bull of Leo IX for Toul mentioning the dignity of the *custos*.



[198](#) *Fasti*, VI, 21–4: William fitz Herbert and Geoffrey Plantagenet as archbishops of York; Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham; John of Canterbury, bishop of Poitiers and then archbishop of Lyons; Ralph de Warneville, bishop of Lisieux; Eustace, bishop of Ely.

[199](#) The main exceptions were where monastic houses operated their own archdeaconries (effectively, areas of exemption from archidiaconal jurisdiction), and also archdeacons in dioceses with monastic cathedrals (as in several cases in England): here, in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, archdeacons formed part of the episcopal household. For examples of monastic houses with archidiaconal powers over some of their lands, see Hilling, ‘Die Entstehung der Münsterschen Archidiakonate’, 66–8.

[200](#) The Carolingian heartlands – especially the dioceses of Liège, Basle and Rheims – were active centres in the production of episcopal statutes in the ninth century (so too was much of Neustria, esp. Orléans): cf MGH *Capit. ep.*; Wilfried Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900: Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht*, Schriften der MGH, 58 (Hanover, 2008), 78–83; Carine Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord* (Turnhout, 2007), *passim*.

[201](#) Lemarignier, Gaudemet and Mollat, *Institutions ecclésiastiques*, 19–22.

[202](#) E.g. at Rouen by 989: Spear, *Personnel*, 205.

[203](#) See [Chapter 10 below, n. 159](#).

[204](#) Simon Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1995), Table XXXVII.

[205](#) Christopher Brooke, ‘The archdeacon and the Norman Conquest’, in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. Diana Greenway, Christopher Holdsworth and Jane Sayers (Cambridge, 1985), 1–19, with discussion of dating at 7; see also H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), 132–6.

[206](#) Brooke, ‘The archdeacon’, 13–19.

[207](#) *Fasti*, IV, 23–5; v, 20; VI, 30–1; VII, 25–6; XI, 24.

[208](#) For some examples, see Spear, *Personnel*, 34 (William of Rots at Bayeux), 174 (William of Glanville at Lisieux), 221 (Gerard at Rouen).

[209](#) Some English archdeaconries were endowed, for example Dorset, Berkshire and Wiltshire in the diocese of Salisbury (*Fasti*, IV, 25, 28, 34); however, the value of the jurisdiction was much greater than that of the endowments.

[210](#) Gerhard von Augsburg, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici: Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Ulrich*, ed. and tr. Walter Berschin and Angelika Häse (Heidelberg, 1993), 142 (I, c. 6).

[211](#) Lemarignier, Gaudemet and Mollat, *Institutions ecclésiastiques*, 185–7.

[212](#) *Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, ed. B.R. Kemp, Canterbury and York Society, 92 (Woodbridge, 2001), xlii–xliii; B.R. Kemp, ‘Archidiaconal and vice-archidiaconal acta: additions and corrections’, *Historical Research*, 80 (2007), 1–21, e.g. 6, 10.

[213](#) Kemp, ‘Archidiaconal and vice-archidiaconal acta’, 16–17 (a dispute over tithes and

Peter's Pence delegated to the archdeacon of Worcester by his diocesan, 1186 × 1189). On the courts over which archdeacons presided, see *Archidiaconal Acta*, ed. Kemp. pp. xlvii–xlix.

[214](#) 'From schools to university', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, I: *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. J.I. Catto, with Ralph Evans (Oxford, 1984), 1–36, at 15–19.

[215](#) Jane E. Sayers, *Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury, 1198–1254: A Study in Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Administration* (London, 1971), 126–8.

[216](#) In 1103 it was laid down that the canons of the collegiate church of Saint-Maurille had to assist the cathedral canons of Angers from Matins to Mass on the feast of St Maurice, the cathedral's patron: *Cartulaire d'Angers*, no 115. Some similar liturgical requirements are noted by Hirschmann, 'Domannexstifte', 123–4 (the collegiate church of St Maurice in Constance put on plays on Good Friday and Easter Sunday), 128 (the canons of Neumünster in Würzburg joined the cathedral canons in a procession to Stift Haug on Palm Sunday and helped the cathedral canons receive other collegiate canons at the cathedral door on Whitsunday).

[217](#) Julia Barrow, 'The origins of vicars choral to c.1300', in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals: Cantate Domino: History, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford, 2005), 11–16, at 12–13; Nicholas Orme, 'The medieval clergy of Exeter Cathedral: I. The vicars and annuellars', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 113 (1981), 79–91.

[218](#) *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, no 84 (1203); *Cartulaire de Lille*, I, no 80 (1205).

[219](#) *Cartulaire Saint-Lambert*, I, no 116 (1215); *OB Utrecht*, I, no 530 (1196).

[220](#) See [n. 216](#), this chapter; and Christian Dury, 'Fraternités et clergé secondaire du diocèse de Liège au Moyen Âge: Contribution à la protohistoire des assemblées représentatives', *Le Moyen Âge*, 96 (1990), 287–315.

[221](#) Barrow, 'The origins of vicars choral to c.1300', 16.

[222](#) Barrow, 'The origins of vicars choral to c.1300', 16.

[223](#) David Stocker, 'The vicars choral of York: a summary and interpretation of recent archaeological work', in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals*, ed. Hall and Stocker, 147–63; David Stocker, with Naomi Field, 'The development of the college of vicars choral at Lincoln Minster', in *ibid.*, 76–97.

[224](#) At Rheims, boy singers were supplied from the cathedral song school: Patrick Demouy, 'Les *pueri chori* de Notre-Dame de Reims: Contribution à l'histoire des clergeons au Moyen Âge', in *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1993), 135–49, at 139; for the development of more formal arrangements for adolescent singers at Exeter (the 'secondaries'), see Nicholas Orme, 'The medieval clergy of Exeter Cathedral: 2. The secondaries and choristers', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 115 (1983), 79–100.

[225](#) *UBMRh*, II, no 269 (1196 × 1210; St Castor, Koblenz, mentioning bellringers); *OB Utrecht*, I, no 489 (grant of tithes by Bishop Godefrid of Utrecht for Deventer to ensure that the bellringer would not have to serve the altar in torn or dirty clothes, 1197);

*Cartulaire de Chartres*, II, no 151 (a grant by the counts of Blois to pay for *matricularii* to keep a candle burning before the reliquary of the Virgin at Christmas).

## 10 Clergy serving local churches 800–1200

### The emergence of parish clergy

On a certain Sunday when Sir Brictric was blessing the water in church and the holy water sprinkler was missing because his son Osbern had by chance taken it home, the anxious boy did not know what he should do; when suddenly by divine inspiration, as is thought, it came into his head that he might meanwhile produce the holy water-sprinkler of the man of God.<sup>1</sup>

This passage from the Life of the twelfth-century English anchorite Wulfric of Haselbury gives us a glimpse of the existence of a rural parish priest, Brictric, going about his work, unaccompanied save by his small son, Osbern, in the parish church of Haselbury in Somerset in the mid-twelfth century, which happened to have Wulfric's anchorhold built next to it. So far we have observed clergy in cathedral and collegiate churches: these belonged to structured communities, which often observed a rule such as the Rule of Aachen, but even if they did not observe a rule they were nonetheless organised with a clear hierarchy and with established customs. But the great majority of churches were not served by clergy in highly structured communities, but by smaller, more informal groups of clerics or by a single priest. Most churches providing pastoral care fell into these categories. For most of the period covered by this book they lacked clear-cut terminology: by the twelfth century (and in some areas rather earlier) they were parish churches, churches with defined territories for baptism, burial and tithe payment, or dependent chapels subject in some capacity to the former. However, at the outset of our period, and over much of its course, 'parish' (*parochia*) usually meant 'diocese', even though, increasingly, it was coming to be used for the spiritual territory of lesser churches.<sup>2</sup>

These churches and the clerics who served them are much less well documented than cathedral and collegiate churches and their canons. In particular, individual clerics associated with them, if they are mentioned at all, usually occur only fleetingly, which means that we can rarely find out about their family backgrounds or careers. Where, exceptionally, more information survives we cannot be sure that the examples are representative. The cases that will be discussed towards the end of this chapter need to be treated with some caution, therefore. Before trying to find evidence for clergy, however, we need to examine the contexts in which they operated, especially the churches they served. These are somewhat better recorded than their incumbents, and have attracted much more scholarly attention, above all in recent years. A brief overview of the historical debate and an outline of the main developments in the provision of pastoral care between the eighth and the early thirteenth centuries will suffice here.

### The debate on minor (or local) churches

Scholarly interest in minor or local churches as a theme began with their legal position and above all with the question whether they were personal property of their founders and how this affected their relationship with the diocesan bishop. In 1894 Ulrich Stutz claimed that the proprietary nature of minor churches was a specifically 'German' phenomenon, whose roots could be traced back to pre-Christian family worship, and which contrasted with

what he saw as a Roman system in which minor churches were under episcopal authority.<sup>3</sup> Not long after Stutz set out his thesis, Pierre Imbart de la Tour, in a book on the development of the parish in France in the earlier Middle Ages, noted that proprietary churches were widespread here too and posited the roots of this in the development of patronage from the later Merovingian period onwards.<sup>4</sup> But Stutz's thesis had more impact, however, finding wide support in France as well as in Germany, and forming a basis for Feine's work on the canon law basis of ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>5</sup> Legal approaches, often concentrating on property, have continued to dominate German-language scholarship on minor churches, but more recently with greater emphasis on charter material.<sup>6</sup> Recently Susan Wood, in an important survey of the whole topic, has examined the range of ways in which churches could be controlled and has concluded that all churches were in some sense proprietary.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile historians have become more aware of the contribution other disciplines can make to the history of the local or parish church, especially topography and archaeology. These make it easier to see how churches fitted into the landscape and are also informative about the services they provided to local communities, especially about burial, which for obvious reasons provides more physical evidence than do baptism or Mass.<sup>8</sup> Archaeological excavations of church sites, where available, are especially useful in establishing the approximate date of original foundation.<sup>9</sup>

## **The provision of pastoral care in the earlier Middle Ages**

'Local' or minor churches had very varied origins, and this is the main reason why they did not start to have a single defining term to group them together until late. Even by the twelfth century, significant differences between them remained in terms of wealth, and often also hierarchy and function. Furthermore, there are considerable regional variations, both in date of origin and in terminology. By the fourth century, churches were being set up in the Roman Empire under episcopal authority in small towns or other major settlements, *castra* and *vici*, outside episcopal cities, a phenomenon most frequent in the more populous parts of western Europe. Such churches often thrived and survived; by the high Middle Ages some were collegiate churches and many others were parish churches of greater than usual wealth and significance. Between the eighth and the tenth centuries they could, and very often did, find themselves coming into the patronage of some figure other than the bishop, for example that of a ruler.<sup>10</sup>

In several of the areas with which this book is principally concerned, however, the Roman *civitas* structure was weaker or non-existent, and episcopal authority was affected in consequence. J.-F. Lemarignier argued that in northern Gaul the dominant ecclesiastical structures apart from episcopal churches tended to be, from the sixth or seventh century onwards, monasteries (*monasteria*),<sup>11</sup> and it is certainly true that bishops in Neustria faced difficulties in dealing with abbots in the seventh century.<sup>12</sup> However, the weakness of bishops in northern France can be exaggerated: Brigitte Meijns and Charles Mériaux suggest that bishops in north-eastern France were able to set up networks of rural basilicas, often based on saints' cults and sited on major routes.<sup>13</sup> Even in Brittany, where episcopal control seems to have been limited, the local clergy paid some attention to bishops. The Bretons used Roman terminology for their principal system for providing



pastoral care, the term *plebs* or *plou* for a church with baptism rights and a defined territory. However, since churches were often owned by small family groups of clergy hereditarily, the pattern may not perhaps be so very different from that to be found on the other side of the Channel.<sup>14</sup> Monastic involvement in pastoral care is best evidenced in Britain and Ireland, but here too we should be cautious about downplaying episcopal authority too much and especially we need to take care not to assume that British and Irish monasteries were necessarily ascetic or contemplative.<sup>15</sup> *Monasterium* could often simply mean an establishment served by a community, though some authors used the term in a more specific way. Bede tended to use *monasterium* to specify a religious community not under episcopal control, preferring to use the term *ecclesia* especially for episcopal churches and when stressing the church as a building, as Catherine Cubitt has shown.<sup>16</sup> Monastic communities could contain inmates with a variety of religious roles: for example, Repton in 698 is described by Felix as having an abbe, brethren, and a future hermit being trained as a cleric; presumably the brethren were clerics as well.<sup>17</sup>

Monasteries underwent divergent fates in the ninth century; many Frankish ones, especially those under royal patronage, became larger and more powerful; their monastic characteristics were strengthened, especially when Carolingian rulers insisted on observance of the Benedictine rule.<sup>18</sup> Powerful communities of this type might devolve pastoral care to subordinate communities of clergy.<sup>19</sup> Smaller and weaker communities, however, tended to become less monastic; later sources often blamed Viking raids for this,<sup>20</sup> but other factors might also have been at play.<sup>21</sup> The high-status church at Bondeville in Normandy, probably a seventh-century family monastery, was abandoned after one or two centuries, while a second church next to it continued to exist and became a parish church.<sup>22</sup> In Anglo-Saxon England it is likely that large numbers of seventh- and eighth-century monastic foundations (minsters) were taken over by bishops, kings or aristocrats in the eighth and ninth centuries, a process that began well before Viking raids began. Thanks to sparse charter survival, this process is poorly recorded and its significance has not been fully evaluated, but it can be measured in the large number of minsters taken over by the bishops of Worcester.<sup>23</sup> Similar activity can be spotted by the archbishops of Canterbury and the bishops of Lindisfarne,<sup>24</sup> and much sparser evidence may suggest similar trends in other bishoprics.<sup>25</sup> In several instances bishops took over minsters in dioceses other than their own, probably to provide themselves with stopping places on frequently made journeys.<sup>26</sup> Many of the churches in royal patronage at Domesday may have come into royal control at about this time too, though later takeovers cannot be ruled out.<sup>27</sup> By the high Middle Ages most of these churches had become parish churches:<sup>28</sup> the ninth century may well have been the period when the principal function of these establishments switched to pastoral care. The earliest occurrence of *parochia* to mean a parish rather than a diocese in an Anglo-Saxon source concerns the minster church of Westbury-on-Trym, c.1000.<sup>29</sup>

## **The multiplication of minor churches**

From well before the outset of our period, however, small churches could be founded by landowners on their estates; these are often termed oratories (*oratoria*). Their relationship to episcopal authority is not necessarily clear early on,<sup>30</sup> but presumably bishops wanted

them to play a subordinate role and, where they could demand this, prevented them from having baptism rights. Development of burial rights was also slow, since canon law began to insist on church burial relatively late.<sup>31</sup> Churches might be built within existing burial sites,<sup>32</sup> or new church graveyards might grow up around churches founded earlier.<sup>33</sup> During the eighth and ninth centuries, very large numbers of small estate churches were founded in the more prosperous and more settled parts of the Carolingian empire. They are well recorded in some ninth-century polyptychs,<sup>34</sup> and in several early collections of charters and tradition notices.<sup>35</sup> This means that small estate churches tend to be recorded once they entered the control of major churches, either because the latter founded them on their estates or, very often, because the small churches were given to them by their founders or by members of the founders' kin. Before the thirteenth century, and especially before c.1100, churches that remained in lay patronage, or in the hands of clerical families, are almost certainly seriously under-recorded, although we can guess that the former were numerous and that the latter may also have existed.<sup>36</sup> In the diocese of Freising, in Bavaria, the codex containing tradition notices that began to be compiled under Bishop Hitto (811–35) shows a steady stream of grants of churches to the cathedral from the 760s, with a peak in the 820s, after which further churches tended to come into the control of the cathedral through exchanges of property.<sup>37</sup> Episcopal permission would have been needed for founding new churches; detailed accounts in a few of the traditions suggest that the normal practice was for churches to be built and arrangements made for their endowment before the bishop was invited to consecrate the new building and put relics inside the altar.<sup>38</sup> It seems likely that the Freising bishops wished all new foundations to be given to them, but the extent to which this happened cannot be verified. Sometimes grants of new churches took effect on the deaths of founders or of the clerical kinsmen appointed by the founders as the initial incumbents. Very probably many churches remained in lay patronage.<sup>39</sup>

The foundation of numerous smaller rural churches was closely linked to the intensification of rural settlement and the setting up of new estates. It was not uncommon for minor churches or chapels to be described as *indominicata*, part of the manorial demesne, and often they would have been built close to the lord's house.<sup>40</sup> In eighth- and ninth-century Bavaria, lay landlords often established them in subordinate, outlying settlements, often at some distance from their own chief dwellings;<sup>41</sup> central places and more favoured locations would have possessed churches already, or were more likely to have churches founded by bishops that would not occur in tradition notices.<sup>42</sup> Carolingian rulers founded churches on their estates also; in addition to the chapels built at major palaces, small fiscal chapels were built on minor royal estates as well, principally to provide pastoral care for the inhabitants, though they also provided rulers with a useful source of patronage.<sup>43</sup> This expansion in church numbers was most marked in the core areas of the Carolingian empire; territories to the east of the Rhine and to the north and east of the Bavarian plain were slow to acquire significant numbers of minor churches. So too was northern Neustria, disrupted by Viking attacks in the later ninth century, where the growth of lesser churches essentially happened in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.<sup>44</sup>

Anglo-Saxon England was also noticeably slower than the heartlands of the Carolingian

empire to develop nucleated settlements and thus a network of minor rural churches.<sup>45</sup> There are a few references in the eighth century to what were probably estate churches, such as the church founded by the gesith Addi that was dedicated by St John of Beverley,<sup>46</sup> and the estate oratory (*villulae oratorium*) where Drythelm prayed after his vision of the afterlife.<sup>47</sup> However, scope for them was limited until nucleated settlements developed, which did not start in England until the end of the ninth century, beginning in the east Midlands and expanding to other eastern areas of England in the tenth century.<sup>48</sup> The process of founding minor estate churches to go with them began in the tenth century.<sup>49</sup> Western areas of England developed large numbers of village churches significantly later, usually in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As in the areas that had formed part of the Carolingian empire, the people principally responsible for founding rural churches were lay landowners; the majority were thegns, minor figures in the landowning class. Their churches were often next door to their halls and the thegns would have regarded them as part of their appurtenances.<sup>50</sup> Not all estate churches were small: kings and other major landowners sometimes established small minsters to serve important estates in the early tenth century.<sup>51</sup>

Minor churches were not merely a feature of the rural landscape but also of towns. Some originated as small shrines or as chapels attached to private houses, developing into parish churches later; some were attached to monasteries or collegiate churches in towns, giving the latter an opportunity to tap into revenues from spiritual care.<sup>52</sup> Numbers of minor urban churches became especially large in some English towns from the tenth century onwards; by the end of the twelfth century, London had over a hundred, Norwich and Winchester fifty-seven each, Lincoln forty-eight and York forty. Many other English towns had over ten churches each.<sup>53</sup> The pattern was replicated in Scandinavian towns,<sup>54</sup> but was less frequent elsewhere, since churches with existing parish rights were more successful in maintaining them; multiplication of parishes mostly occurred later and on a smaller scale.<sup>55</sup> A more common pattern in cities in what had been the Carolingian empire was to have several major churches, some of which might have smaller churches or chapels associated with them.<sup>56</sup> In early twelfth-century Antwerp, the fact that there was only one church, served by a priest who was married to his niece, made it easier for the preacher Tanchelm to arouse support among the townsfolk; at Arras between 1099 and 1115 Bishop Lambert, the first holder of the newly re-created see, had to divide the parish of the new *burgus* from that of the old *burgus*, naming the parishioners of the latter in the charter creating the dividing line.<sup>57</sup> Just as in the countryside, so also in towns, landlords often played a large role in foundation; in some towns kings, bishops or royal officials might be prominent as founders.<sup>58</sup>

## **Tithe and patronage**

Minor churches began to develop territories within which they could exercise pastoral care from early on.<sup>59</sup> Their influence was strengthened by the introduction of tithe, a tax of one-tenth of all natural increase, to be paid to one's local church. Payment of tithe was made compulsory in the Carolingian kingdoms by Charlemagne in 779, building on pre-existing arrangements in some areas, for example Bavaria.<sup>60</sup> Only churches of baptismal status were able to receive it, at least in theory;<sup>61</sup> sometimes only a restricted group among

the baptismal churches could do so, reinforcing the tendency to have a two-tier system of local churches.<sup>62</sup> Anglo-Saxon England, which from the end of the seventh century had had its own ecclesiastical taxation in the form of church scot, a tax of grain paid from each hearth, adopted tithe as well in the reign of Athelstan (924–39).<sup>63</sup> Fuller detail about what this entailed came in the early 960s under Edgar, who stipulated that tithe should be paid to ‘the old minster to which the parish belongs’, but he allowed that minor churches with graveyards could have a third of the tithe from the landlord’s inland.<sup>64</sup> However, in much of eastern England it would already have become impossible for old minsters to assert their rights to collect tithe vis-à-vis the newer generation of church foundations. In western areas of England old minsters were more successful at maintaining superior rights over newer churches as the latter came to be founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the superior right they tended to insist on was not tithe payment or baptism, but burial.<sup>65</sup>

Tithe was the most attractive feature of minor churches to their patrons, and in much of France and in western Germany it was common for them to take a portion of it, often two-thirds, for themselves, leaving one-third for the incumbent. This is documented as early as the ninth century, and had become widespread by the eleventh.<sup>66</sup> But patrons could take a rather larger proportion of church income, since they could also lay claims to some of the land with which the church had originally been endowed. Usually this right was known simply as the *ecclesia*,<sup>67</sup> but in Flanders the patron’s rights were called the *bodium*, a word possibly connected with the English word ‘body’ and thus perhaps referring to the nave of the church where the congregation would stand.<sup>68</sup> The incumbent of the church retained some rights, and these were generally referred to (in France and Germany as well as in Flanders) as the *altare* or altar from the end of the tenth century onwards.<sup>69</sup> This term, which Benoît-Michel Tock argues emerged under pressure from bishops to strengthen their authority over spiritual affairs in minor churches,<sup>70</sup> in essence refers to those offerings and payments that were made on the altar, such as Mass pence, but usually covered in addition the one-third share of the tithe the incumbent could claim and a portion of the land with which the church was endowed.<sup>71</sup>

The frequent documentation of tithe divisions in the eleventh century is largely a reflection of the frequency with which grants of tithe or of churches were made to monastic houses.<sup>72</sup> These had identified small churches as useful sources of income from some way back in the past; in the ninth century, Carolingian monasteries would often expect local churches on their own estates to make an annual payment of some money, often five shillings, or a horse.<sup>73</sup> Some of the richer Carolingian monasteries already possessed, in their lordship, dozens of minor churches.<sup>74</sup> But by the end of the ninth century, monasteries were also tapping into the most valuable tithes, those of grain and hay.<sup>75</sup> By the eleventh century, monasteries were encouraging minor landowners and clerics to make grants of lordship over minor churches and of tithes to them in return for being brought into confraternities of spiritual friendship and prayer.<sup>76</sup> Towards the end of the eleventh century, the number of churches being given by lay patrons to monastic houses was rapidly increasing as a result of the Gregorian Reform, which sought to remove the rights of lay patrons to any ecclesiastical revenue, and this trend continued in

the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>77</sup> By the thirteenth century, the number of minor churches in monastic patronage was very substantial.<sup>78</sup>

## **Incorporation (or appropriation)**

However, monasteries did not stop at patronage: from the eleventh century onwards in Lotharingia and in eastern France they were starting to take over the spiritual share as well, thus becoming the parsons or rectors themselves, a process known as incorporation.<sup>79</sup> Obviously it was not possible for the monastic house to serve the church thus taken over; monks do occasionally occur providing pastoral care, but not often outside Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>80</sup> In the wake of the Gregorian Reform, Augustinian foundations made some attempts to exercise pastoral care, but these were not very frequent;<sup>81</sup> on the whole, Augustinians and Benedictines preferred to exercise patronage or to incorporate churches and present vicars.<sup>82</sup> Thus deputy clergy had to be appointed to perform the church services. New terminology had to evolve to distinguish the owner of the spiritual share of the church from the priest who actually served it.<sup>83</sup> The term *rector* or ‘ruler’ had been used for heads of churches below episcopal status since the seventh century.<sup>84</sup> Also available was the term *persona* or parson, a term that had been applied to cathedral dignitaries from the ninth century, and which by 1040 had begun to be used for parish incumbents in the province of Rheims.<sup>85</sup> By the final quarter of the eleventh century, it was being used in the province of Rouen, though at first very rarely.<sup>86</sup> The clergy standing in for the appropriating abbey could be referred to as vicars (*vicarius* in Latin means ‘stand-in’, ‘replacement’); sometimes in earlier charters monastic houses were allowed to appoint temporary chaplains whom they could fire at will.<sup>87</sup> When the phenomenon of incorporation took hold in England, as it did from about the 1130s, such grants are usually termed in charters as being *in proprios usus*, and eventually the process became known as appropriation; here the term ‘vicar’ became standard for the cleric replacing the rector.<sup>88</sup> By the second half of the twelfth century, however, the legal position of these deputies was becoming much more secure as bishops insisted on ensuring that they would have adequate revenues and life tenure of their vicarages.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, the fashion for granting churches to monastic houses was waning.

It will have become obvious from the foregoing that the clergy serving minor churches were subject to several influences, and in particular owed loyalty to their immediate patrons, almost always the ground landlord of their church. Some churches might be divided among several lords (divided lordship of this type was most frequent in France), but usually only one of them would have the right to nominate the priest who would serve the church.<sup>90</sup> However, at the same time, clergy would be expected to be obedient to their diocesan and his officials, a theme that will be considered further below. For those clerics whose ground landlord was the bishop, loyalties were straightforward, if not always necessarily easy to observe; we can begin by considering them and then move on to think about clergy with secular lords and clergy with royal patrons.

## **Relations between episcopal patrons and the clergy of their minor churches**

Bishops in the eighth and ninth centuries often sought to extend their influence over clergy



in their dioceses by taking over churches. In the diocese of Freising a steady stream of newly founded churches from the 760s to the mid-820s was given by their founders (many of whom were clerics) to the bishop; the clerical donors often retained a life interest in their churches while many of the lay donors ensured that the churches would be served by members of their kin.<sup>91</sup> Further east, in the diocese of Passau, there were far fewer churches; only sixteen are mentioned in Passau traditions in the same period and only four priests bestowed churches.<sup>92</sup> At the same time, Anglo-Saxon bishops were trying to take over minster churches, a process that tended to lead to a more pastoral role for these foundations.<sup>93</sup> In all these cases the clergy who had been serving these churches would become more closely associated with the bishop. Bishops could also train up clergy to serve in those churches of which they were patrons. Hincmar of Rheims noted that a certain Gozmer, who had been priest of Coucy-le-Château for thirty years, had been sent there from the *canonica* of Rheims; that is, presumably the cathedral community. Coucy-le-Château lay in the diocese of Laon but had, according to Hincmar, belonged to the diocese of Rheims since the time of Remigius.<sup>94</sup> Over a century and a half later, Bishop Brihtheah of Worcester (1033–8) took the future St Wulfstan into his household, promoted him through the clerical grades and then gave him the church of Hawkesbury, which belonged to the abbey of Pershore, whose abbacy Brihtheah seems to have retained after becoming bishop.<sup>95</sup> In the twelfth century and later, we routinely see English bishops rewarding their household clergy and protégés with churches on episcopal estates, but the number of these available was not usually sufficient for their needs.<sup>96</sup> Bishops preferred, where possible, to give cathedral prebends to their household clerks.<sup>97</sup>

Already in the first half of the eleventh century, French bishops were trying to insist on confirming grants of altars to monasteries, to place some limit on the control monasteries could exercise over parishes.<sup>98</sup> By the twelfth century, bishops were handling patronage in their dioceses in a more systematic way, insisting on issuing charters to confirm changes in church patronage and rights of presentation.<sup>99</sup> This contributed to the great increase in the production of episcopal charters which was characteristic of western Europe in the twelfth century. It was above all in France and in England that bishops produced numerous charters concerning parish churches; indeed, of the surviving charters of the bishops of Arras in the first half of the twelfth century, the vast majority confirm grants of altars.<sup>100</sup> Interest in documenting incumbents was especially noticeable in England, where a charter recording the institution of a cleric on presentation by a patron could act as a title deed for the advowson of the church.<sup>101</sup> A few bishops began to keep lists of which clerics they had instituted in benefices.<sup>102</sup> Bishops could then put their knowledge of patrons and churches to use. If patrons delayed too long before making a presentation (the Third Lateran Council in 1179 fixed the time limit at six months), the bishop could collate to the benefice.<sup>103</sup> But they could also make proposals to patrons. Charter evidence shows that many monastic and lay patrons of minor churches presented archdeacons, cathedral canons and episcopal clerks as candidates for institution in benefices; in other words they chose clergy who were directly connected with the bishop.<sup>104</sup> The monastic houses included some very powerful ones, such as Westminster Abbey, which would certainly have had clients of their own.<sup>105</sup> This phenomenon has been studied by Christopher Harper-Bill in an examination of the workings of patronage in the diocese of Norwich, and

has been attributed by him to the fact that the bishops of Norwich, whose cathedral chapter was monastic rather than secular, lacked adequate patronage of their own.<sup>106</sup> This is certainly true, but in fact bishops with secular chapters, even those with sizeable chapters such as the bishops of Lincoln, can also be found encouraging monastic houses to make patronage available.<sup>107</sup> In bowing to episcopal suggestions (though they by no means always did so), monastic houses probably regarded the acceptance of episcopal candidates as a sensible business proposition, because it would simplify the process of choosing possible incumbents and would help to secure a good working relationship with the diocesan.

## **Relations between monasteries as patrons and the clergy of their minor churches**

Monastic houses exercising patronage adopted a variety of strategies when bestowing churches, though it is usually only from the middle of the eleventh century that enough information can be obtained about the incumbents to observe these. One earlier scrap of evidence comes from the ninth-century polyptych of Saint-Remi in Rheims, whose church of Ville-en-Selve was held by the priest Nortbert, who also held half the church of Louvois, which belonged to Rheims cathedral; since he also lived at Louvois he was probably more closely linked to the cathedral or the archbishop than to Saint-Remi.<sup>108</sup> The abbey of Marmoutier was happy to have its churches served by freed serfs and members of its *familia* in the eleventh century, though what proportion of the total number of the abbey's priests these formed we do not know.<sup>109</sup> Quite often our documentation for monastic patronage concerns the point at which churches were granted to monasteries, and it is evident from many of these documents, especially in the twelfth century, where individuals are more likely to bear surnames, that they were happy to retain the existing incumbent, or to agree to the choice of new candidate made by the previous patron. Both these processes meant that priests were quite likely to be kinsmen, often sons or brothers, of local landowners.<sup>110</sup> But monasteries can also be found presenting clergy who are clearly related to local landowners some years after they had originally obtained the right of presentation.<sup>111</sup> Equally, they might present sons of clerics to their fathers' churches, as Leominster Priory did for a dynasty of clerics in the twelfth century at the church of Eye in Herefordshire.<sup>112</sup> In other words, even in the twelfth century, by which time there was greater social mobility and a wider range of outside pressures (episcopal, royal and papal) on monasteries to appoint particular candidates,<sup>113</sup> monastic bodies nonetheless often preferred to consider the interests of those connected with their churches, aiming at social stability. Local candidates would in any case have been more likely to be resident and their characters would have been better known.

## **Relations between royal patrons and the clergy of their minor churches**

Rulers took a keen interest in churches at all levels: although royal patronage of bishoprics and abbeys has attracted more interest from historians, unsurprisingly because of their political significance, the patronage that kings and other rulers exercised in minor churches is also worth studying. It operated at a variety of levels: for example, in Bavaria the Carolingians had at their disposal palace chapels, churches in what had been Roman *castra* and had remained significant centres, and chapels on minor royal estates,<sup>114</sup> where

evidence survives they were granted to royal chaplains, which took them out of episcopal control, as chaplains were supposed to be under the direction of the archchaplain.<sup>115</sup> Rulers ensured that their administrators possessed detailed knowledge of what such churches were worth. In Charlemagne's reign the furnishings of royal fiscal churches figure in the *Brevium Exempla*;<sup>116</sup> in the 880s Alfred of Wessex was able to supply Asser with detailed lists of the appurtenances of the two minsters of Congresbury and Banwell with which he rewarded him;<sup>117</sup> Domesday Book presents considerable detail about royal patronage of churches and clergy in late eleventh-century England.<sup>118</sup> In it we can see that, for example, William I relied on some of the clergy serving his minor churches to celebrate Masses or to perform escort duty,<sup>119</sup> while several clerics serving minor churches are referred to as almoners, and presumably were expected to pray for the king. Doubtless all of them carried out pastoral duties as well.<sup>120</sup> Some clerics in the king's service are not defined more closely but guesses can be made about their functions from the amount of land they held or the frequency with which they occur: king's clerks who occur once and hold less than a hide are likely to have had purely local duties.<sup>121</sup> Those with holdings of two hides or so might have had more than purely local importance but might have stayed within one shire, perhaps being in charge of a small minster.<sup>122</sup> Those with holdings of about ten hides or upwards (the four richest royal clerics recorded in Domesday had about eighty hides each, making them richer than the poorest English bishops) would have spent most of their time at court or otherwise directly in royal service.<sup>123</sup> The clerics with the smallest holdings would have been valuable to the king by maintaining cohesion and loyalty at a local level.

## **Relations between other lay patrons and clergy of minor churches**

Other lay landowners who were patrons of churches would have had interests not dissimilar to those of kings. They too appreciated having prayers said for them and often treated clergy serving their churches as their own bedesmen. Anglo-Saxon wills of the tenth and eleventh centuries often show testators referring to 'my priest' or 'my church' and specifying Masses or prayers to be said.<sup>124</sup> A comparable case in the Rhineland is that of a female proprietor, Gilismont, founding an oratory at Bubenheim near Koblenz in 1052, and giving it to the priest who had sung there for her, asking him to sing three days a week for the dead (presumably Mass) and perform the office.<sup>125</sup> Lords might expect their clergy to eat at their table and act as their messengers.<sup>126</sup> But in addition to this, landowners appreciated being able to bestow patronage on their protégés, and especially on their relatives. The evidence for lay patrons appointing sons or brothers or other kinsmen to churches is extensive in all periods and in all areas.<sup>127</sup> Lords with only a few manors were perhaps the most likely to present their own kinsmen to their churches; those with many manors would have had wider networks of clients, and their sons and brothers would have been of too high status to serve local churches (though where it was possible to hold a church as an absentee rector, clergy of high status were happy to have churches of any size). Even in the case of smaller landowners the tendency to promote one's own kin did not exclude other possibilities, such as dynastic succession (discussed below) or the presentation of the lord's own clerks.<sup>128</sup>

From about the end of the tenth century in towns, the opportunities for groups of

inhabitants in particular settlements to exercise communal influence over their local church grew greater.<sup>129</sup> In some areas of Europe this trend also occurred in rural areas from the twelfth century onwards; this was particularly the case in areas where the peak period for the foundation of rural parish churches came after the middle of the twelfth century, notably in Saxony. Although the tendency was much patchier in the middle Rhineland, it can be observed in some twelfth-century charters there, for example parishioners making a joint endowment for a priest to serve a chapel dedicated at Enkirch on the River Moselle in 1135, and parishioners of a chapel subordinate to the mother church of Villmar demanding better service for their chapel in 1191.<sup>130</sup> A natural development from this was for the whole community of parishioners to acquire the right to elect their parish priest; this can be observed in Thuringia from 1103, in the diocese of Hildesheim from 1147, and in the diocese of Halberstadt about two decades later.<sup>131</sup> The election of parish clergy by their parishioners became normal in Saxony, the Netherlands, Frisia and southern Switzerland in the later Middle Ages.<sup>132</sup> Information about the people most likely to win support for election in the pre-1200 period is extremely limited, but Emo, elected parson of Huizinge (near Groningen) in the later twelfth century, was the son of a local nobleman and was also highly educated.<sup>133</sup>

## **The exercise of spiritual authority by bishops over minor churches**

So far we have considered bishops as possible patrons of minor churches, but their main role in relation to the latter was as spiritual superior, and this was a role they exercised over all churches in their diocese, irrespective of patron. The flood of new foundations of minor churches that was a feature of many areas in the Carolingian empire in the eighth and ninth centuries led to a rethinking of how bishops needed to exercise authority within their dioceses, maintain discipline among the clergy and try to give some guidance about the spiritual care offered to the laity. The principal moments at which bishops could demand attention were when new churches had just been built and required to be consecrated, and also when clergy needed to be ordained.<sup>134</sup> The documentation from Freising, for example, shows that bishops could make demands on how churches ought to be established before agreeing to consecrate them: landowners would explain how their new foundations would be endowed before the bishop would agree to dedicate the church.<sup>135</sup> The consecration service itself was an impressive one, which culminated in the bishop enclosing relics of saints in the altar.<sup>136</sup> However, consecration and ordination did not give the bishop frequent points of contact: a more structured response was needed.

From the middle of the eighth century, bishops in the Frankish empire were insisting on annual diocesan synods, mirroring on a smaller scale the councils they themselves held as bishops; these were supposed to take place on Maundy Thursday. By the ninth century, diocesan synods often took place twice a year, with the second synod sometimes happening in the summer; however, they were essentially a feature of the Carolingian heartlands.<sup>137</sup> On the basis of discussion arising out of these meetings bishops compiled sets of instructions for the clergy in their dioceses; these texts survive most frequently from the heartlands of the Carolingian empire, the areas with the largest numbers of small churches.<sup>138</sup> Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims was especially active in drafting guidance for his diocesan clergy.<sup>139</sup> The texts cover matters such as the priest's knowledge and

comprehension of basic theology and the liturgy, the upkeep of churches and their furnishings, and appropriate behaviour for the laity.<sup>140</sup> In addition to the Lenten synods, clergy were expected to attend the cathedral on Maundy Thursday to collect holy oils for the coming year, which would have provided the bishop with another opportunity for giving advice.<sup>141</sup> However, this was not sufficient to ensure that what got decided by the bishop in synod was carried out in all corners of the diocese, so, from the later ninth century, Frankish bishops began to carry out systematic visitations, first recorded in the diocese of Constance in the 870s.<sup>142</sup> Preliminary enquiries made by the archpriest and by the archdeacon were an important part of this, and in the process the archdeacon, previously the senior deacon within the cathedral with a responsibility for training up junior cathedral clergy, became a mobile figure, representing the bishop in all areas of the diocese.<sup>143</sup> To help carry out the work, multiple archdeacons were created in each diocese, though this was a very slow development. The diocese of Rheims was split up into territories for more than one archdeacon from 877, but in most French dioceses the process did not begin until the tenth or even the eleventh century.<sup>144</sup> The process was equally slow in Germany. Territorial archdeacons, operating under the title of *chorepiscopi*, occur already in the ninth century at Cologne, but elsewhere much later, usually from the eleventh century.<sup>145</sup> Bishops also tried to group clergy in localities under archpriests, as evidenced in the *capitula* of Hincmar and of Riculf, bishop of Soissons (889).<sup>146</sup> Theoretically, the offices of archpriest were to be held by heads of collegiate churches in settlements that had originally been Roman *vici*, but in practice arrangements were often influenced by the developing castellanies of the eleventh century.<sup>147</sup> Again, this system seems to have taken some time to be accepted, becoming widespread in France only in the eleventh century;<sup>148</sup> the term ‘rural dean’ or ‘dean of Christianity’ came to replace that of ‘archpriest’.<sup>149</sup> Their duties included holding chapter meetings of the clergy in their territories on the first day of each month (‘calendar chapters’, from the Latin *Kalends* for the first day of the month), in which the clergy would discuss their faults.<sup>150</sup> All of this would have reinforced episcopal authority, though it is important not to interpret this system as impersonal and bureaucratic. For medieval clergy in the period down to the eleventh century, the authority that a bishop could exercise in canon law was not easily distinguishable from the authority he could exercise in lordship: it is not surprising that the early ninth century saw the formulation of an Old High German oath for priests to swear to bishops in the diocese of Freising that underlined not only their canonical duties of obedience and stability but also their duties towards the bishop as lord: loyalty and promises to be of use and not to bring disgrace.<sup>151</sup> Clergy in Francia would use the word *senior* (lord) when addressing their bishop.<sup>152</sup>

England did not adopt a separate system of ecclesiastical courts until shortly after the Norman Conquest; before that point, secular and ecclesiastical jurisdictions were essentially united in a single system, in which Anglo-Saxon kings legislated in ecclesiastical as well as in secular matters. This was done with the advice of their magnates, and especially their bishops, one of whom, Wulfstan the Homilist (archbishop of York 1002–23), was the principal draftsman of law codes for Æthelred the Unready and Cnut from 1006 to his death.<sup>153</sup> Church councils, commonly held between 672 and the 840s, had faded after the collapse of the Mercian kingdom in the 870s; instead, important



ecclesiastical matters were dealt with in general meetings of lay and ecclesiastical magnates.<sup>154</sup> Although these were occasionally called synods they were different in character to what had gone before.<sup>155</sup> In the final century of Anglo-Saxon England bishops presided together with earls as the king's representatives in shire courts;<sup>156</sup> this was probably where the graver cases involving ecclesiastical discipline were heard, even though some of Wulfstan's legislation (the so-called 'Laws of Edward and Guthrum', and also II Cnut) stipulates that clerics accused of crimes should be tried by their bishop, perhaps meaning that he should act on his own without other shire officials.<sup>157</sup> It might have been possible to set aside time within the shire court hearings for the bishop to deal with cases involving clerics, but it is difficult to see how he could have found ways of preventing powerful patrons from protecting their clerical protégés, and the king's clerks would have been especially secure. Wulfstan possessed a compilation of Frankish canon law, but although this would have provided him with ideas for legislation he would not have found it possible to replicate Frankish judicial structures and institutions.<sup>158</sup> Archdeacons were occasionally appointed in Anglo-Saxon England, but essentially as deputies for bishops who had become infirm.<sup>159</sup> The Northumbrian Priests' Law, a mid-eleventh-century law code from the diocese of York, echoes the concerns of Carolingian episcopal capitularies at several points (for example, its comments about not storing unsuitable things in churches, and about how priests should not conceal wrongdoing among their flock), and use of a Carolingian model may also explain its comment about how priests should not stay away from synods; otherwise we do not possess evidence for Anglo-Saxon bishops holding diocesan synods, and it is more likely that in the diocese of York cases involving clergy were held in the shire court.<sup>160</sup> For William I the mixture of secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction that he found in England was strange and repugnant, and in 1070 he insisted on setting up a separate set of ecclesiastical courts; bishops now had to appoint archdeacons. The new system was rapidly mapped out using shires as the territorial basis.<sup>161</sup> Rural deans followed by the early twelfth century.<sup>162</sup>

## **The origins and training of clergy serving local churches**

Given the range of patronage that operated and the different types of church providing pastoral care at a local level it should not be a matter of surprise that the backgrounds of clerics who served such churches were quite varied, even as early as the ninth century. By the twelfth century, the variety was greater still. Socially there was considerable breadth. Some clerics in the period down to c.1100 had been of unfree birth and were emancipated to serve churches.<sup>163</sup> Some actually served churches while unfree, contrary to canon law, but might be freed later.<sup>164</sup> But it is likely that most clerics serving local churches were freeborn and often of some social standing. The ninth-century Freising evidence shows that they often possessed inherited property or slaves themselves, meaning that they were of free birth; many of the Freising *Traditionsnotizen* also show clergy being related to well-born donors, often as sons or brothers, and the clerical founders themselves would have been of good birth.<sup>165</sup> Legislation drafted by Wulfstan for Æthelred and Cnut stated that clergy who remained chaste should be regarded as of thegnly status.<sup>166</sup> Eleventh- and twelfth-century French charters show a large number of clergy belonging to knightly families; for example, several of the clergy who granted churches or disputed agreements

with the abbey of Marmoutier in the eleventh century fall into this category.<sup>167</sup> Since clergy serving parish churches were often related to lay patrons of those churches, this is not surprising.<sup>168</sup> This arrangement lent itself to the development of uncle-to-nephew clerical dynasties in many churches, suggesting that landowning families could encourage celibacy among some of their kin by offering churches as a reward. It is noticeable that all the evidence for succession in ninth-century Freising *Traditions* is of this kind.<sup>169</sup>

Father-to-son dynastic succession of clergy serving local churches was also frequent in the period down to c.1100 and often well after, especially in Normandy, in some other parts of northern France and also in England and the rest of Britain well into the twelfth century.<sup>170</sup> Sometimes the succession patterns involved more than one church, a practice which became more necessary in the second quarter of the twelfth century as the demands of the Gregorian Reform began to bite; even so, the dynasties of incumbents of Whalley in Lancashire and Eye in Herefordshire managed to preserve their link with a particular church throughout the twelfth century and deep into the thirteenth.<sup>171</sup> Other dynasties of long duration jumped from church to church. In twelfth-century Norwich, Stigand, priest of St Michael at Plea, together with his son, gave his church to the abbey of St Benet of Holme in 1126 or 1127; Stigand's son Thurbern became a rural dean and the father of yet another cleric, Thomas of Ludham, who eventually became parson of Potter Heigham, all thanks to the family's close connection with Holme Abbey.<sup>172</sup> Henry of Huntingdon, the historian, who was archdeacon of Huntingdon and himself the son of another archdeacon, Nicholas, was the father of Master Adam of Stukeley, who became parson of King's Walden in the 1160s; Adam's son Master Aristotle was parson of Hemingford St Margaret in the 1190s, and Aristotle's son Nicholas of Stukeley was also a clerk, though he seems to have relied on the family tenancy for a living rather than becoming a parish clergyman.<sup>173</sup> Paulinus, vicar of St Peter's, Leeds, on the presentation of Holy Trinity Priory, York, was probably the son of Ailsi, priest of Leeds in the mid-twelfth century; Paulinus later became master of St Peter's Hospital in York and his son Thomas became a canon of York Minster.<sup>174</sup> Adrian IV, the only English pope, belonged to just such a family, though a less wealthy one; his father Richard was parson of a church in Hertfordshire but retired to become a monk at St Albans, and his brother Ranulf or Ralph was incumbent of Feering, becoming a canon at Missenden Abbey in his old age, 1175 × 1180; Ranulf had a son N., who held land in fee from St Albans Abbey.<sup>175</sup> Evidence for father-son clerical relationships is extensive in twelfth-century English episcopal acts.<sup>176</sup> Specific evidence in episcopal acts for bishops acting against married or concubinous clerks is rarer, which, taken in connection with the evidence for fatherhood, may perhaps suggest that bishops were reluctant to move against married clergy.<sup>177</sup>

Just as monasteries could become rectors of churches and appoint vicars, so individual clerics who were rectors could also appoint a vicar to replace them. This made it possible for clerics who intended to be absentees to hold churches. The arrangement was essential where the church formed part of the endowment for a canon's prebend, as was often the case in English cathedrals, especially those that had been endowed or re-endowed in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>178</sup> Thus among many other similar examples we find John of Coutances, holding the prebend of Grantham Borealis in Salisbury Cathedral, presenting Adam son of Reginald as perpetual vicar in the chapel of Towthorpe (c.1188 ×

1196).<sup>179</sup> But it was a common arrangement in churches that were not prebendal also. On some occasions we can see that rector and vicar might be of rather different social status, for example Hugh Peverel as rector and Richard (with no surname) as vicar of Hardwick in Buckinghamshire,<sup>180</sup> or Nicholas the king's chaplain and Hugh at West Bromwich (Staffs.),<sup>181</sup> but it was also not unknown for rectors and vicars to be related to each other. At Castle Holdgate in Shropshire in the mid-twelfth century, the rector, Master Godfrey, was the nephew of the vicar, Ernald,<sup>182</sup> and at Rousdon in Devon the incumbent, Walter, who was trying to pay for his son's education in the schools, had to explain that his son was neither the parson nor the vicar to a team of papal judges-delegate.<sup>183</sup>

Evidence about grades of ordination of clergy serving minor churches is patchy. Carolingian royal chaplains may have been encouraged to stay in deacons' orders to ensure that they could be mobile.<sup>184</sup> Where churches could support several clergy, as was often the case with ancient minsters in England, most of the clerics could be in grades below the priesthood.<sup>185</sup> Sometimes the head cleric might be in lower orders than his colleagues, making use of the revenues to further a career elsewhere while they performed the services. Thus at the ancient minster of Diddlebury in Shropshire, 1119 × 1127, Alvric the clerk was supported by 'his priest' Osbert.<sup>186</sup> A similar context might perhaps be imaginable for the Thurstan, deacon and parson of Thornham in Norfolk, who is said in a later account to have lived in the time of Bishop Herbert of Norwich (1091–1119).<sup>187</sup> In twelfth-century charters recording institutions of candidates in benefices they are often described simply as 'clerks'. This seems to have been a standard description, and may not necessarily exclude the possibility that they were priests. It is likely that most of them were priests, since very occasionally there are charters that show some unease about the status of the candidate: the clerk Peter being presented to the parsonage of Foxton on the presentation of Ely Cathedral priory is described as a deacon, no doubt as a reminder that he would need further ordination (1158 × 1173).<sup>188</sup> Walter of Stockton, becoming vicar of the parochial altar of Holy Cross in Leominster priory, 1186 × 1193, was to be supported by three chaplains until he was ordained.<sup>189</sup>

Traditionally, clergy serving minor churches have had a bad press in terms of their educational attainments, but recent researches concentrating on possession of books and the use of works to guide clergy through their tasks have suggested a somewhat brighter picture for the Carolingian period.<sup>190</sup> The position in England in the later Anglo-Saxon period may have been similar with respect to book ownership, though with very few schools and probably a more informal pattern of education.<sup>191</sup> Helen Gittos has pointed out that the Red Book of Darley is an important example of a parish incumbent's vademecum from the second half of the eleventh century, with useful information about how to baptise and to bury.<sup>192</sup> There is some evidence in England for a variety of social backgrounds and educational levels among parish clergy in the twelfth century. Evidence for parish clergy with the *magister* title in England is rich after the middle decade of the twelfth century; although *magistri* were a minority of incumbents and were often absentee rectors, nonetheless several of them were vicars and presumably resident.<sup>193</sup>

## Conclusion

Generalising about what sort of clerics became incumbents of local churches is difficult because the ranges both of clerics and of churches are wide. Most of them, over the whole period we are dealing with, probably had no more than local backgrounds and local interests, encouraged by family connections with churches, either through hereditary control of the right to present the priest on the part of lay landlords, or through father-to-son succession among the priests themselves. However, at all periods, powerful patrons might enlarge the social mix. There was a class barrier between potential cathedral canons and parish clergy in much of western Europe (especially Germany), and it is certainly true that most parish clergy in all areas would have had no hope of any further preferment. Nonetheless there was considerable overlap between the two groups in twelfth-century England (and also in Scotland and Wales).<sup>194</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Wulfric of Haselbury*, by John, Abbot of Ford, ed. Dom Maurice Bell, Somerset Record Society, 47 (Frome and London, 1933), 52 (c. 35; my translation).

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Imbart de la Tour, *Les origines religieuses de la France: Les paroisses rurales du IV<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1900; repr. Paris, 1979), 50–8; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 427–33; Philippe Depreux and Cécile Treffort, ‘La paroisse dans *De ecclesiis et capellis* d’Hincmar de Reims: L’énonciation d’une norme à partir de la pratique’, *Médiévales*, 48 (2005), at <http://medievales.revues.org/document1064.html> (accessed 23 March 2007).

<sup>3</sup> Ulrich Stutz, *Die Eigenkirche als Element des mittelalterlich-germanischen Kirchenrechts* (Berlin, 1895), publishing a lecture given at Basel in 1894; discussion by Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), esp. 92–100.

<sup>4</sup> Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses*; discussion by Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 98.

<sup>5</sup> Hans-Erich Feine, *Kirchliche Rechtsgeschichte*, I: *Die katholische Kirche*, 4th edn (Cologne, 1964); Andreas Hedwig, ‘Die Eigenkirche in den urbarialen Quellen zur fränkischen Grundherrschaft zwischen Loire und Rhein’, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*, 109 (1992), 1–64, at 59–62, notes the different fortunes of Stutz’s and Imbart de la Tour’s views and regrets the relative obscurity of the latter.

<sup>6</sup> Cf Hedwig, ‘Die Eigenkirche’; Wolfgang Petke, ‘Von der klösterlichen Eigenkirche zur Inkorporation in Lothringen und Nordfrankreich im 11. und Jahrhundert’, *RHE*, 87 (1992), 34–72 and 375–404; Siegfried Haider, ‘Zum Niederkirchenwesen in der Frühzeit des Bistums Passau (8.–11. Jahrhundert)’, in *Das Christentum im bairischen Raum*, ed. Egon Boshof and Hartmut Wolff, Passauer historische Forschungen, 8 (Cologne, 1994), 325–88; Stefan Esders and Heike Johanna Mierau, *Der althochdeutsche Klerikereid: Bischöfliche Diözesangewalt, kirchliches Benefizialwesen und volkssprachliche Rechtspraxis im frühmittelalterlichen Baiern* (Hanover, 2000); on French charters see Benoît-Michel Tock, ‘Altare dans les chartes françaises antérieures à 1121’, in *Roma, Magistra Mundi: Itineraria culturae medievalis. Mélanges offerts au Père L.E. Boyle à l’occasion de son 75<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998), 901–26.

<sup>7</sup> Wood, *The Proprietary Church*.

<sup>8</sup> John Blair, ed., *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition*



(Oxford, 1988); John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 206–8, 241–5, 459–63; Steven Bassett, ed., *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600* (Leicester, 1992), especially Julia Barrow, ‘Urban cemetery location in the high Middle Ages’, 78–100; and Birthe Kjølbbye-Biddle, ‘Dispersal or concentration: the disposal of the Winchester dead over 2000 years’, 210–47; Dawn Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c.800–1100* (London, 2000), 216–97; Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, ‘The making of churchyards and parish territories in the early-medieval landscape of France and England in the 7th–12th centuries: a reconsideration’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (2003), 1–19; Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, ‘L’historiographie des paroisses rurales à l’épreuve de l’archéologie’, in *Aux origines de la paroisse rurale en Gaule méridionale (IVe–IXe siècles)*, ed. Christine Delaplace (Paris, 2005), 15–23.

[9](#) Andy Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: The Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard* (London, 1996); Zadora-Rio, ‘L’historiographie’, 16–17 (Bondeville), 19–20 (Rigny).

[10](#) Cf Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 584; Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses*, 192–8.

[11](#) Jean-François Lemarignier, ‘Quelques remarques sur l’organisation ecclésiastique de la Gaule du VIIe à la fin du IXe siècle principalement au nord de la Loire’, in *Agricoltura e mondo rurale in Occidente nell’Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 13 (Spoleto, 1966), 451–86.

[12](#) Paul Fouracre, ‘The work of Audoenus of Rouen and Eligius of Noyon in extending episcopal influence from the town to the country in seventh-century Neustria’, *Studies in Church History*, 16 (1979), 77–91.

[13](#) Brigitte Meijns and Charles Mériaux, ‘Le cycle de Rictiovar et la topographie des campagnes septentrionales à l’époque mérovingienne’, in *Les premiers temps chrétiens dans le territoire de la France actuelle*, ed. Dominique Paris Poulain, Daniel Istria and Sara Nardi Combescure (Rennes, 2009), 19–33.

[14](#) Wendy Davies, ‘Priests and rural communities in east Brittany in the ninth century’, *Études celtiques*, 20 (1983), 177–97, esp. 192–6; Wendy Davies, *Small Worlds: The Village Community in Early Medieval Brittany* (London, 1988), 100–2. *Plebs* (*pieve*) was also the normal term for a baptismal church in Italy, where there was a two-tier structure for rural churches down to the twelfth century, and often later: Catherine E. Boyd, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, NY, 1952), 47–74 and 154–64.

[15](#) Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 41–3, 73–8; Sarah Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c.600–900* (Cambridge, 2006), 85–6, 285–91. On Ireland see Richard Sharpe, ‘Churches and communities in early medieval Ireland: towards a pastoral model’, in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), 81–109; Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland AD 650–1000* (Maynooth, 1999), esp. 47–104.

[16](#) Catherine Cubitt, ‘The clergy in early Anglo-Saxon England’, *Historical Research*, 78 (2005), 273–87.

[17](#) *Felix’s Life of St Guthlac*, ed. Bertram Colgrave (Cambridge, 1956), 85, cc. 20–1; on the dating, see 2–4. For a similarly hybrid community at Lucheux in Flanders, see Brigitte Meijns, ‘Des basiliques rurales dans le nord de la France? Une étude critique de l’origine



mérovingienne de quelques communautés de chanoines', *Sacris Erudiri*, 41 (2002), 301–40, at 316–17.

[18](#) David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, Beihefte der Francia, 20 (Sigmaringen, 1990), 22–33; Janneke Raaijmakers, *The Making of the Monastic Community of Fulda, c.744–c.900* (Cambridge, 2012), 83–305.

[19](#) Brigitte Meijns, 'Chanoines et moines à Saint-Omer: Le dédoublement de l'abbaye de Sithiu par Fridogise (820–834) et l'interprétation de Folcuin (vers 962)', *Revue du Nord*, 83 (2001), 691–705; Brigitte Meijns, 'L'ordre canonial dans le comté de Flandre depuis l'époque mérovingienne jusqu'à 1155: Typologie, chronologie et constantes de l'histoire de fondation et de réforme', *RHE*, 97 (2002), 5–58, at 18–23; Brigitte Meijns, 'Communautés de chanoines dépendant d'abbayes bénédictines pendant le haut Moyen Âge. L'exemple du comté de Flandre', *Rev. bén.*, 113 (2003), 90–123.

[20](#) On how stories of Viking raids were often exaggerated or even invented in later periods, see David Dumville, *The Churches of North Britain in the First Viking Ages*, Fifth Whithorn Lecture (Whithorn, 1997); Anna Trumbore Jones, 'Pitying the desolation of such a place: rebuilding religious houses and constructing memory in Aquitaine in the wake of the Viking incursions', *Viator*, 37 (2006), 85–102; Julia Barrow, 'Danish ferocity and abandoned monasteries: the twelfth-century view', in *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past*, ed. David Woodman and Martin Brett (forthcoming). For an example see OV, III, 276–7, 286–7, 328–33.

[21](#) Brigitte Meijns, 'Deux fondations exceptionnelles de collégiales épiscopales à la frontière du comté de Flandre: Maroeuil et le Mont-Saint-Éloi (milieu du Xe siècle)', *Revue du Nord*, 88 (2006), 251–73, at 255–6; Marjorie Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Woodbridge, 1984), 18; and OV, I, 12–13, on Saint-Evroult before the mid-eleventh century.

[22](#) Zadora-Rio, 'L'historiographie des paroisses rurales', 16–17. For a not dissimilar Anglo-Saxon example, see discussion of Flixborough in Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 206–7.

[23](#) Francesca Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100* (Farnham, 2010), esp. 151–224; Steven Bassett, 'The landed endowment of the Anglo-Saxon minster at Hanbury (Worcs.)', *ASE*, 38 (2009), 77–100; Steven Bassett, 'Prestetone: the land of the clerics of Wootton Wawen (Warwickshire)', in *The Church in Place-Names*, ed. Eleanor Quinton, English Place-Name Society, extra series, 2 (Nottingham, 2009), 25–38.

[24](#) Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), 175–206; Eric Cambridge, 'Why did the community of St Cuthbert settle at Chester-le-Street?', in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. Geoffrey Bonner, Clare Stancliffe and David Rollason (Woodbridge, 1989), 367–86, at 379–86; William M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham, 1071–1153* (Woodbridge, 1998), 9–37.

[25](#) Julia Barrow, 'Survival and mutation: ecclesiastical institutions in the Danelaw in the ninth and tenth centuries', in *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. Dawn Hadley and Julian Richards (Turnhout, 2000),

155–76; Julia Barrow, ‘Way-stations on English episcopal itineraries, 700–1300’, *EHR*, 127 (2012), 549–65.

[26](#) Barrow, ‘Way-stations’.

[27](#) Julia Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth? Clergy in English Minsters c.800–c.1100* (Leicester, 2013), 12–13.

[28](#) E.g., on the estates of the church of Worcester, the ancient monasteries of Bibury, Bishop’s Cleeve, Blockley, Bredon, Fladbury, Kempsey, Ripple, Stratford-on-Avon, Withington and (probably an ancient minster) Tredington: Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 169–211.

[29](#) Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 248, discussing Byrhtferth’s *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, iii, 8: Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine*, ed. and tr. Michael Lapidge (Oxford, 2009), 68–9.

[30](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 10–16, 67–8.

[31](#) Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 244, 464–5.

[32](#) Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, ‘Early medieval villages and estate centres in France (c.300–1100)’, in *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*, ed. Juan Antonio Quirós Castillo (Bilbao, 2009), 77–98, at 91 (Saleux-les-Coutures, a church built in the eighth or ninth century in a cemetery used from the seventh century); for a later example, see *Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Dunois)*, no 115.

[33](#) Zadora-Rio, ‘Early medieval villages’, 91 (Rigny, with an eighth-century graveyard); a similar but later case is Raunds Furnells: Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*, 5–6, 14–15.

[34](#) The evidence is surveyed by Hedwig, ‘Die Eigenkirche’.

[35](#) See, for example, *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, ed. Theodor Bitterauf, 2 vols. (Munich 1905–9; repr. Aalen, 1967). A *Traditionsnotiz* is a document written to record a grant, sale, or exchange for a beneficiary; it is usually the beneficiary that makes the record.

[36](#) The surviving evidence is surveyed by Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 585–680.

[37](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 80–1 (compilation), 119 (fewer grants and more exchanges after mid-820s); Heike Johanna Mierau, ‘Die Seelsorgeorganisation auf dem Lande im frühmittelalterlichen Bistum Freising’, in *Pfarreien im Mittelalter: Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Vergleich*, ed. Nathalie Kruppa (Göttingen, 2008), 121–54; the peak period for noble grants of churches in the diocese of Passau was in the mid-ninth century, but there were fewer there than in the diocese of Freising: Haider, ‘Zum Niederkirchenwesen’, 354.

[38](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 105–7.

[39](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 107–19; Haider, ‘Zum Niederkirchenwesen’, 355.

[40](#) Hedwig, ‘Die Eigenkirche’.

[41](#) Mierau, ‘Die Seelsorgeorganisation’, 143; Helmuth Stahleder, ‘Bischöfliche und adelige Eigenkirchen des Bistums Freising im frühen Mittelalter und die

Kirchenorganisation im Jahre 1315, I. Teil', *Oberbayerisches Archiv*, 104 (1979), 117–88, at 177 (the modern place-name forms often contain directional indicators such as 'Nieder' or 'Unter' that suggest secondary settlements).

[42](#) Cf Mierau, 'Die Seelsorgeorganisation', 144.

[43](#) Haider, 'Zum Niederkirchenwesen', 347; Stefan Pätzold, 'Von der Fiskalkapelle zur Pfarrkirche? Vermutungen zu den frühmittelalterlichen Anfängen der Bochumer Propsteikirche', in *Pfarreien im Mittelalter*, ed. Kruppa, 155–81.

[44](#) Jean-François Lemarignier, 'Le monachisme et l'encadrement religieux des campagnes du royaume de France situées au nord de la Loire, de la fin du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XI–XII: Diocesi, pievi e parrocchie*, Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali, 8 (Milan, 1977), 357–94.

[45](#) Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 422–5, points out contrasts but also (423) similarities.

[46](#) Bede, *HE*, 464–5 (v, 5).

[47](#) Bede, *HE*, 488–9 (v, 12). See also, with further references and discussion, Catherine Cubitt, 'Pastoral care and conciliar canons: the provisions of the 747 council of *Clofesho*', in *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. Blair and Sharpe, 193–211.

[48](#) David Hall, 'Late Saxon topography and early medieval estates', in *Medieval Villages*, ed. Della Hooke (Oxford, 1985), 61–9; David Hall, 'The Late Saxon countryside: villages and their fields', in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Della Hooke (Oxford, 1988), 99–122; Rosamond Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (London, 1997), 153–77.

[49](#) Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 417–22, and more widely 368–425; Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*, 5–6, 14–15; Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw*, 287–92, notes the rapid spread of minor churches in the tenth century in areas that had been densely settled by Scandinavians.

[50](#) Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 387–92; Boddington, *Raunds Furnells*, 5; Guy Beresford, *Goltho: The Development of an Early Medieval Manor, c.850–1150* (London, 1987) 4–6 (the existing sixteenth-century brick church building next to the long-abandoned hall site was built on the remains of an earlier stone church); William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, ed. Michael Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 94–7 (*Vita Wulfstani*, ii, 17), for a thegn founding a church and then objecting when Bishop Wulfstan ordered him to cut down a nut-tree next to it under which he liked to relax in summer.

[51](#) Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 371–2.

[52](#) For an example of a church developing from a private chapel, cf St Martin's in Oxford: *VCH Oxford*, IV: *The City of Oxford*, ed. Alan Crossley (Oxford, 1979), 384. For examples of parish churches attached to collegiate churches, see Frank G. Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung, Bauprojekte und Großbaustellen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1998), 33 (some Cologne examples) and 92 (the parish church of St Martin next to the

collegiate church of St Paul, Liège).

[53](#) Richard Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London, 1989), 169, 172–5 and 178; Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 402–7; Julia Barrow, ‘Churches, education and literacy in towns 600–1300’, in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, I: 600–1540, ed. D.M. Palliser (Cambridge, 2000), 127–52, at 134–5; Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 645–51.

[54](#) Morris, *Churches*, 191–2.

[55](#) Lille had four parishes by the twelfth century, with another three established between 1233 and 1274, while Tournai had eight parishes by 1167, with another four founded between 1252 and 1285: Jacques Pycke, ‘Les patronages de paroisses urbaines: Le cas du diocèse médiéval de Tournai’, *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France*, 97 (2011), 269–89, at 275–7, 283–6. Paris had twelve parishes by the end of the eleventh century and thirty-three by the end of the thirteenth: Adrien Friedmann, *Paris, ses rues, ses paroisses du Moyen Âge à la Révolution: Origine et évolution des circonscriptions paroissiales* (Paris, 1959), 87–121, 345–409.

[56](#) Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung* (*passim*), supplies numerous examples. The single parish of Erfurt was split up into numerous parishes in 1182, by raising chapels to parochial status; eventually there were twenty-eight parish churches in the town: Dietrich Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gemeinde and des Niederkirchenwesens* (Cologne and Graz, 1966), 364.

[57](#) *Vita Norberti* in MGH SS, 12, 663–706, here 690–1; *Les chartes des évêques d’Arras*, no 21 (by the 1150s, Arras had more than five parish churches: cf [ibid.](#), no 105).

[58](#) Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, 2004), 102, 109, 112 (probable royal parish foundations in Gloucester), 204, 209, 210, 211, 213 (foundations probably by bishops or royal clerics in Worcester).

[59](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 67–74.

[60](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 460–1; for Charlemagne’s legislation see MGH *Capitularia*, I, 48 (no. 20 c. 7 (Heristal)).

[61](#) MGH *Capitularia*, II, 64 (Lothar’s Capitulary of the Missi, 832); for discussion, see Francesca Tinti, ‘The “costs” of pastoral care: church dues in late Anglo-Saxon England’, in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge, 2005), 27–51, at 27.

[62](#) For how this operated in the diocese of Passau in the tenth century, see Haider, ‘Zum Niederkirchenwesen’, 376–7.

[63](#) *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, ed. Felix Liebermann, 3 vols. (Halle, 1903–16), I, 146–9 (I Athelstan), and see also I, 184 (I Edmund c. 2, also in CS I, i, 62); Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 435–7, 440; Tinti, ‘The “costs” of pastoral care’, 28, 33; for church scot, see Ine, c. 4 (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, 90).

[64](#) *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, 196 (II Edgar 1, 1 and 2); discussion by Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 442–5; Tinti, ‘The “costs” of pastoral care’, 33.



[65](#) Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 431, 450, 463–7; John Blair, ‘Introduction: from minster to parish church’, in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition*, ed. John Blair (Oxford, 1988), 1–19, at 13; Barrow, ‘Urban cemetery location’.

[66](#) Hedwig, ‘Die Eigenkirche’, 56; Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 489, 492, 512; Grégory Combalbert, ‘Gouverner l’Église: Évêques et paroisses dans la province ecclésiastique de Rouen (v.1050–v.1280)’, 2 vols., thèse de doctorat (unpublished), Université de Caen (2009), I, 157–8, 169–70.

[67](#) On France, cf Combalbert, ‘Gouverner l’Église’, 184–5; for some German examples see Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 502.

[68](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 502, 697.

[69](#) Tock, ‘Altare’, 907–8; other terms could be used in place of *altare*, such as, especially in the Loire valley, *iunioratus* (e.g. *Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Vendômois)*, no 4), and also as *presbiterium* and *cantaria*: Combalbert, ‘Gouverner l’Église’, 166–8, discussing the diocese of Sées and adjacent areas. See also Michel Parisse, ‘Recherches sur les paroisses du diocèse de Toul au XIIe siècle: L’église paroissiale et son desservant’, in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche*, 559–70, at 562.

[70](#) Tock, ‘Altare’, 918–19.

[71](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 697–9, and see also 486–505; Tock, ‘Altare’, 909; Combalbert, ‘Gouverner l’Église’, 166–75, 184–9.

[72](#) Combalbert, ‘Gouverner l’Église’, I, 113–21.

[73](#) Hedwig, ‘Die Eigenkirche’, 11, 33, 50 (a church and a chapel paying one pound between them); the term for the payment was *census*.

[74](#) Hedwig, ‘Die Eigenkirche’, 10, 32, 54.

[75](#) Hedwig, ‘Die Eigenkirche’, 56.

[76](#) E.g. *Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Dunois)*, nos 22, 115; *Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Vendômois)*, nos 1, 14, 46–7, 50; *Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Perche)*, no 7.

[77](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 681–95.

[78](#) The figures for the diocese of Norwich are discussed by Christopher Harper-Bill, ‘The struggle for benefices in twelfth-century East Anglia’, in *ANS*, 11, ed. R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge, 1989), 113–32, at 119: at least 270 parish churches out of over 1,200 in the diocese had been appropriated by the year 1200. For the very large number of Scottish parishes that had been appropriated by the end of the Middle Ages, see *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, ed. Peter G.B. McNeill and Hector L. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1996), 366–9.

[79](#) Petke, ‘Von der klösterlichen Eigenkirche’, 51, finds the earliest incorporation 1034 × 1035, in the diocese of Rheims; Tock, ‘Altare’, 913, notes that the earliest occurrence of incorporation in a surviving original is at Cambrai in 1048. Incorporation began later in Bavaria: Dominikus Lindner, ‘Die Inkorporation im Bistum Regensburg während des Mittelalters’, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*, xvi (1950), 205–327. In England, incorporation was known as appropriation:



see below at [n. 88](#).

[80](#) Ursmer Berlière, 'L'exercice du ministère paroissial par les moines dans le Haut Moyen-Âge', *Rev. bén.*, 39 (1927), 227–50; and Ursmer Berlière, 'L'exercice du ministère paroissial par les moines du XIIe au XVIIe siècle', *ibid.*, 340–64; Carine Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout, 2007), 6. On Anglo-Saxon England, see e.g. William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives*, 32–8; Richard Gameson, 'St Wulfstan, the library of Worcester and the spirituality of the medieval book', in *St Wulfstan and His World*, ed. Julia S. Barrow and N.P. Brooks (Aldershot, 2005), 59–91, at 60, 63–9.

[81](#) E.g. *UBMRh* I, no 527 (1142), concerning Springiersbach and Keymte; and II, no 136 (1194) concerning Ravengiersburg.

[82](#) Mathieu Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme: Études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen*, Bibliotheca Victorina, 11 (Turnhout, 2000), 130–9; Allison D. Fizzard, *Plympton Priory: A House of Augustinian Canons in South-Western England in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008), 63–4, 179–210. On a related issue see Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), 99–136.

[83](#) Cf Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', 185.

[84](#) *Formulae* from Angers (late seventh century) and Sens: *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer, MGH (Hanover, 1886), 20, 724.

[85](#) *Les chartes de Gérard Ier, Liébert et Gérard II, évêques de Cambrai et d'Arras, comtes du Cambrésis (1012–1092/93)*, ed. Erik Van Mingroot (Leuven, 2005), no 1.02 of 1030 × 1036. The first occurrence in a surviving original charter from France of *persona* for the incumbent of a parish church is in 1040, at Rheims: Tock, 'Altare', 912, using the evidence of the Charte ARTEM/CMJS database.

[86](#) Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', 189–91 (the earliest use of the term within the province of Rouen, in 1071, is for churches in the part of the diocese of Rouen lying outside the duchy of Normandy).

[87](#) Petke, 'Von der klösterlichen Eigenkirche', 393–4; for some examples of temporary chaplains in England, see *EEA*, I, no 285; *EEA*, IV, no 11; *EEA*, VI, no 391; *EEA*, VII, no 216; *EEA* XVI, no 107.

[88](#) Ulrich Rasche, 'The early phase of appropriation of parish churches in medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), 213–37; Harper-Bill, 'The struggle for benefices'.

[89](#) B.R. Kemp, 'Towards admission and institution: English episcopal formulae for the appointment of parochial incumbents in the twelfth century', in *ANS*, 16, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Woodbridge, 1994), 155–76; Rasche, 'The early phase of appropriation'.

[90](#) Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', 134, provides an example from Grosville in the Cotentin, where one person had the key of the church and the right to present the priest; for some other examples, see *Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Vendômois)*, nos 46–7, 50. In general on divided lordship, see Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 635–7.

[91](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 102, 119 (on peak period of recorded donations in the codex containing Freising traditions), 120–6 (on clerical founders/donors), 109, 131–2 for a few examples of lay donors ensuring their kinsmen could hold the church. Over 200 churches are recorded in the diocese before the middle of the ninth century: Stahleder, ‘Bischöfliche und adelige Eigenkirchen’, I, 120–36, and II, 59–60.

[92](#) Haider, ‘Zum Niederkirchenwesen’, 330 (proprietary churches mentioned 739–850), 334–5 (grants by clerics 739–903). Here too bishops would let donors retain a life interest, 357.

[93](#) Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 328–9; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 169–213; Barrow, ‘Way-stations’, 559–64; Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 9–13.

[94](#) Van Rhijn, *Shepherds*, 181; Martina Stratmann, *Hinkmar von Reims*, 48.

[95](#) William of Malmesbury, *Saints’ Lives*, ed. and tr. Michael Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson (Oxford, 2002), 108–9 (*Vita Wulfstani*, iii, 2); Julia Barrow, ‘Wulfstan and Worcester: bishop and clergy in the early eleventh century’, in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York*, ed. Matthew Townend (Turnhout, 2004), 141–59, at 153.

[96](#) EEA, XXXI, no 30; *The Acta of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln 1209–1235*, ed. David M. Smith, Lincoln Record Society, 88 (Woodbridge, 2000), nos 133 (1220), 398 (1233).

[97](#) Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 28–30. See also Stephen Marritt, ‘Secular cathedrals and the Anglo-Norman aristocracy’, in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Paul Dalton, Charles Insley and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge, 2011), 151–67, at 158–62; see also [Chapters 8–9](#) above.

[98](#) Combalbert, ‘Gouverner l’Église’, 68–9, 93–103, 143–52; also in the diocese of Cambrai, in the empire: *Les chartes de Gérard Ier*, ed. Van Mingroot, nos 1.02–3 (and *passim* for the second half of the eleventh century).

[99](#) Julia Barrow, ‘From the lease to the certificate: the evolution of episcopal acts in England and Wales (c.700–c.1250)’, in *Die Diplomatie der Bischofsurkunde vor 1250*, ed. Christoph Haidacher and Werner Köfler (Innsbruck, 1995), 529–42, at 531–2, 535–6.

[100](#) *Les chartes des évêques d’Arras*, nos 1–7, 9, 11, 14–17, 19–20, 24–30, 32–4, 36–41, 43, 45–6, 51–4, 56–8, 60–3, 65, 67, 69–72, 74–5, 77, 79–81, 83, 86–90, 92–3, 96, 98–102 (and several of the others concern churches and tithes); *Catalogue des actes des archevêques de Bourges antérieurs à l’an 1200*, ed. Alfred Gandilhon (Bourges and Paris, 1927), 16–187, shows fairly frequent documentation concerning minor churches from the end of the tenth century onwards; Combalbert, ‘Gouverner l’Église’, 336–41, discusses how Norman bishops focused on presentation from 1135 onwards; charters issued by bishops of Laon begin to be concerned with local churches (‘altars’) from the 1040s or perhaps the 1030s: *Actes des évêques de Laon des origines à 1151*, ed. Annie Dufour-Malbezin (Paris, 2001), nos 19–21; for English dioceses, see EEA, *passim*, and comment by F.M. Stenton, ‘Acta episcoporum’, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 3 (1929), 1–14. German bishops’ charters east of the Rhine tend not to be concerned with parish churches to nearly the same extent as French or English episcopal charters, largely because the number of parish churches there was much lower.

[101](#) None of the charters in *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras* notifies the institution of a priest in a church, or mandates an archdeacon or rural dean to induct a priest; charters recording institution in Normandy were also fairly rare until the 1220s (Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', 368). By contrast, *EEA* is rich in notifications of institution; these begin in the 1130s (*EEA*, I, no 31 (1123 × 1142, probably late); *EEA*, VII, no 15 (probably 1134); *EEA*, XXXIII, no 92 (1125 × 1150), and also nos 63, 82, both lost and of the 1140s), but are more frequent from the 1150s and 1160s (e.g. *EEA*, V, no 133; VI, nos 74, 81, 85, 87–8, 104; VII, nos 75–6; they became even more frequent after Henry II's legislation on *darrein presentment*, itself prompted by the move in the Third Lateran Council of 1179 to limit the time for which benefices could be left vacant: see *EEA*, *passim*); see also Kemp, 'Towards admission and institution', esp. 157.

[102](#) For example, Bishop Roger of Worcester (1164–1179): see Mary G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester* (Oxford, 1980), 82–4; the wording of *EEA*, XVIII, no 78, suggests that by the middle of the twelfth century the bishops of Salisbury also kept a list of who had the advowson of each church; cf also the earliest episcopal registers.

[103](#) Third Lateran Council, c. 8 (Mansi, XXII, 222). E.g. *EEA*, VII, no 245, which makes reference to the council as a reason for the bishop's action; by the thirteenth century, Bishop Hugh of Wells at Lincoln was mentioning this routinely in his *acta*: *The Acta of Hugh of Wells*, nos 43, 119, 149, 162, 226, 248, 270, 440.

[104](#) Some English examples (not a complete list): *EEA*, I, nos 196, 280, 317; *EEA*, IV, nos 6, 14, 26, 43, 76–8, 81, 184, 204, 209, 296; *EEA*, VI, nos 70, 97, 188, 213, 237, 341; *EEA*, VII, nos 205, 228; *EEA*, XV, nos 79, 88–9, 112, 129, 242; *EEA*, XVI, no 12A; *EEA*, XVII, no 16; *EEA*, XX, no 131; *EEA*, XXVI, nos 1, 15, 23; *EEA*, XXVII, nos 37, 51, App. I, no 12; cf also *EEA*, X, no 57.

[105](#) *EEA*, IV, no 209.

[106](#) Harper-Bill, 'The struggle for benefices', 129–32.

[107](#) See references to *EEA*, I, IV and VII in [n. 104](#) above, and also *EEA*, X, nos 15–17, 20, 26–7.

[108](#) P. Devroey, ed., *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens de l'abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims (IXe–XIe siècles)*, Travaux de l'Académie Nationale de Reims, 163 (Rheims, 1984), 14; discussed by Hedwig, 'Die Eigenkirche', 41–3.

[109](#) *Le Livre des serfs de l'abbaye de Marmoutier*, ed. André Salmon (Paris, 1845), nos 13, 49, 112, for freed serfs serving Marmoutier churches, commented on by Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses rurales*, 312; also *Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Dunois)*, no 14, where the witness list includes a priest who is one of the abbey's *famuli*.

[110](#) For example, *EEA*, IV, nos 100, 197.

[111](#) *EEA*, I, no 128; IV, no 11.

[112](#) B.R. Kemp, 'Hereditary benefices in the medieval English church: a Herefordshire example', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 43 (1970), 1–15; see also Julia Barrow, 'Hereford bishops and married clergy, 1130–1240', *Historical Research*, 60 (1987), 1–8.

[113](#) For examples, see *EEA*, IV, nos 207, 290; *EEA*, XVI, no 12A; *EEA*, XVII, no 17; *EEA*, XX, no 17; *EEA*, XXVII, no 17, and [n. 106](#) above.

[114](#) Haider, 'Zum Niederkirchenwesen', 342–8.

[115](#) Haider, 'Zum Niederkirchenwesen', 347–8; see Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 157–9, citing *Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, no 351, for a similar case involving the church of Oberföhring, where Huuezzi the deacon, given the church by the emperor, promised loyalty to the bishop in 815.

[116](#) *Brevium Exempla*, MGH *Capitularia*, I, 250–1 (no 128); Carl I. Hammer, 'Country churches, clerical inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria', *Church History*, 49 (1980), 5–17, at 7 n. 10.

[117](#) Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, ed. William Henry Stevenson, new edn with introduction by Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford, 1959), 68, c. 81.

[118](#) For discussion, see Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 15, 18–30, 32–64.

[119](#) In 1086 three priests in Archenfield, a Welsh-speaking area in south-west Herefordshire, took messages for the king into Wales and each sang Mass for him two days a week: *Domesday Book*, 17: *Herefordshire*, ed. Frank and Caroline Thorn (Chichester, 1983), A1.

[120](#) For royal *elemosinarii* in Domesday, see Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 15, 33–6, 39, 41, 44–6, 48–9, 52–3; for those holding in alms from lords other than the king, see *ibid.*, 59, 61, 63.

[121](#) Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 15–16, 21, 23–4; a hide is an area of land of about 120 acres.

[122](#) John Blair, 'Secular minster churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. Peter Sawyer (London, 1985), 104–42, for an analysis of the landholdings of English minsters and the clergy who served in them in 1086.

[123](#) The four richest clerics in Domesday were Spirites (disgraced shortly before Edward the Confessor's death), Regenbald, whose royal service spanned the 1066–86 period, Nigel (William I's physician, not stated to be a cleric in Domesday but probably one because he succeeded to most of Spirites's holdings) and Ingelric: see Barrow, *Who Served the Altar at Brixworth?*, 24–5, 42–6, 48–9, 51–2. See also [Chapter 8](#) above.

[124](#) *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, nos 13, 14, 26, 34, 37; *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, XII: *Charters of St Albans*, ed. Julia Crick (Oxford, 2007), 144–54, no 7. For discussion, see John Blair, 'Local churches in Domesday Book and before', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), 265–78, at 269–71; Linda Tollerton, *Wills and Will-Making in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2011), 261–5, 268–72 (and see also 211–14 on grants of religious items); Julia Barrow, 'The clergy in English dioceses c.900–c.1066', in *Pastoral Care*, ed. Tinti, 17–26, at 22–3.

[125](#) *UBMRh*, I, no 336, with comment in Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 443–4; the oratory was consecrated by Gilismont's *senior* (her lord), Archbishop Eberhard of Trier.

[126](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 529, 559, commenting on the council of Lillebonne



in 1080 and on the duties of the king's clergy in Archenfield in Domesday Book.

[127](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 572, 915; Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 133–8; Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église', 153–4, 420–2; for twelfth-century England (a sample only) cf *EEA*, IV, nos 22A, 42, 100; VI, no 201–2, 428–9, 433; VII, no 27; XII, no 180 (I); 16, no 14; 20, no 25; 26, no 28.

[128](#) *EEA*, X, no 48; XI, no 36.

[129](#) Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 645–51.

[130](#) *UBMRh*, I, no 478, and II, no 115.

[131](#) Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen*, 145, 150, 163.

[132](#) Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen*, 246.

[133](#) Kurze, *Pfarrerwahlen*, 186–7; Emo had studied at Paris, Orléans and Oxford.

[134](#) On ordination, see [Chapter 2](#) above.

[135](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 104–8.

[136](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 106; Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'Lieu de culte et exégèse liturgique à l'époque carolingienne', in *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, ed. Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Turnhout, 2003), 215–44, at 230–1.

[137](#) Martina Stratmann, *Hinkmar von Reims als Verwalter von Bistum und Kirchenprovinz*, Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter, 6 (Sigmaringen, 1991), 35; Van Rhijn, *Shepherds*, 50; Steffen Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 2008), 302–13.

[138](#) Wilfried Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900* (Hanover, 2008), 78–83; *MGH Capit. ep.*, 2, 8–89.

[139](#) Hinkmar von Reims, *Collectio de ecclesiis et capellis*, ed. Martina Stratmann, *MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui*, 14 (Hanover, 1990), written c.859 (at 20); Stratmann, *Hinkmar von Reims*, 24.

[140](#) Discussion in Van Rhijn, *Shepherds*, 107–38.

[141](#) Wulfstan the Homilist in the 'Laws of Edmund and Guthrum' (1002 × 1008) said priests must fetch chrism at the appointed time (*CS I*, i, 306).

[142](#) Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht*, 245–57, esp. 254.

[143](#) Hartmann, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht*, 251, 256.

[144](#) Jean-François Lemarignier, Jean Gaudemet and Guillaume Mollat, *Institutions ecclésiastiques*, Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Âge, ed. Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, III (Paris, 1962), 20–1.

[145](#) Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, *Das Bistum Köln von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Geschichte des Erzbistums Kölns, 1, 2nd edn (Cologne, 1972), 201. Plural chorepiscopi (in effect archdeacons) occur in the diocese of Mainz from 1019, with clearly defined territories from the year 1100: Wilfried Schöntag, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte*



*des Erzbistums Mainz unter den Erzbischöfe Arnold und Christian I. (1153–1183)* (Darmstadt and Marburg, 1973), 57.

[146](#) MGH *Capit. ep.*, II, 73 (Hincmar, Capitulary III, c. 1), 101 (Riculf, c. 1 (referred to as *consacerdotibus et cooperatoribus nostris*)). See also Lemarignier, Gaudemet and Mollat, *Institutions*, 22–3; Martina Stratmann, *Hinkmar von Reims als Verwalter von Bistum und Kirchenprovinz* (Sigmaringen, 1991), 24.

[147](#) Daniel Pichot, ‘Doyennés et organisation de l’espace diocésain, le cas du Bas-Maine (XIe–XIVe siècle)’, in *L’espace du diocèse: Genèse d’un territoire dans l’Occident médiéval (Ve–XIIIe siècle)*, ed. Florian Mazel (Rennes, 2008), 343–65, esp. 354–7.

[148](#) For a case study, see Pichot, ‘Doyennés’.

[149](#) Deans and archpriests occur together in the diocese of Rouen under Archbishop William Bona Anima (1079–1110): OV, III, 24.

[150](#) Guibert de Nogent describes a revenge killing of a cleric reporting a fault at a calendar chapter: Guibert de Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. and tr. Edmond-René Labande (Paris, 1981), 374, (III, c. 11) with translation by John F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France* (New York, 1970), 189.

[151](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 56–68, 77; see also 271–3 for the probable date (c.811).

[152](#) Imbart de la Tour, *Les paroisses rurales*, 336.

[153](#) Patrick Wormald, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan: eleventh-century state-builder’, in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York*, ed. Matthew Townend (Turnhout, 2004), 9–27; and also literature cited at 10–11.

[154](#) Catherine Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, c.650–c.850* (London, 1995), 235–45.

[155](#) Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, 238–9.

[156](#) See, for example, a Herefordshire lawsuit of Cnut’s reign recorded in Hereford Cathedral’s gospel book: *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A.J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1956), 150–3, 399–402 (no 78); Richard Sharpe, ‘The use of writs in the eleventh century’, *ASE*, 32 (2003), 247–291, at 251.

[157](#) ‘Laws of Edward and Guthrum’, c. 4.2 (‘7 gyf gehadod man hine forwyrce mid deadscyld, gewylde hine man 7 healde to bisceopes dome’: ‘if a man in orders commits a crime, he is to be seized and kept for the bishop’s judgement’), and II Cnut 43 (the same wording, but adding ‘be þam þe seo dæd si’: ‘in proportion to the deed’): *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, 130–1, 342–3; ed. with tr., CS I, i, 307–8, 493–4; see also Dorothy Whitelock, ‘Wulfstan and the so-called Laws of Edward and Guthrum’, *EHR*, 56 (1941), 1–21.

[158](#) *Wulfstan’s Canon Law Collection*, ed. J.E. Cross and Andrew Hamer (Cambridge, 1999).

[159](#) On pre-Conquest archdeacons, cf Brooks, *Early History*, 162, 358; Mary Frances Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2007), 120, 122,

sees a somewhat stronger role for archdeacons in pre-Conquest England, but her case is based on prescriptive sources influenced by Carolingian models.

[160](#) For the text, see CS I, i, 449–68; for comment on the date, see Hans P. Tenhaken, *Das nordhumbrische Priestergesetz: Ein nachwulfstanisches Pönitential des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Düsseldorf, 1979), 23–35; and Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century, I: Legislation and Its Limits* (Oxford, 1999), 396–7. Possible Carolingian models behind this text have not been investigated, perhaps partly because it also possesses some idiosyncrasies, such as allowing that priests might be married (c. 35), or that purchase of a church is permitted where the previous holder had been convicted of a crime (c. 2).

[161](#) Archdeacons were well established by the time of Domesday; see for example ‘The Archbishop’s rights in York’, in David Palliser, *Domesday York*, Borthwick Paper 78 (York, 1990), 25. See also Martin Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), 199–211; C.N.L. Brooke, ‘The archdeacon and the Norman Conquest’, in *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, ed. Diana Greenway, Christopher Holdsworth and Jane Sayers (Cambridge, 1985), 1–19; *Twelfth-Century Archidiaconal and Vice-Archidiaconal Acta*, ed. B.R. Kemp, Canterbury and York Society, 92 (Woodbridge, 2001).

[162](#) Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, 211–15; the 1108 Council of London mentions the duties of (rural) deans (p. 212).

[163](#) *Urkundenbuch Sanct Gallen*, ed. Hermann Wartmann, 2 vols. (Zürich, 1863–6, repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1981), II, no 417 of 851, cited by Van Rhijn, *Shepherds*, 173–4; see also [n. 109](#) above.

[164](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 87, n. 28, citing *Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, nos 514 (of 825), 953 (of 876 × 883), 1171, 1176, 1186, 1194, 1201, 1203 (all of 957 × 972), 1344, 1347 (both 994 × 1005); further unfree clerics occur in nos 1212, 1232 (both 972 × 976), 1256, 1263 (both 977 × 994), 1269–70, 1274 (all 977 × 981), 1286 (981), 1322–4, 1328 (all 994 × 1005); an unfree priest also occurs in the late tenth-century will of the Anglo-Saxon landowner Æthelgifu in *Anglo-Saxon Charters, XII: Charters of St Albans*, ed. Julia Crick (Oxford, 2007), 144–54 (no 7).

[165](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 87, n. 28, listing freeborn and noble clerics occurring in tradition documents from Freising, and 120, for comment on the probable high social status of clerical founders of churches.

[166](#) VIII Æthelred 28 and 30 (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, 266–7; CS I, i, 397–8); I Cnut 6, 2 (*Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I, 288–90).

[167](#) *Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Dunois)*, nos 14 (1060 × 1064, with a cleric who is a knight’s son; among the witnesses, however, is another cleric who is a *famulus*: see above), 22–4 (Guanilo, the wealthy treasurer of the collegiate church of Saint-Martin of Tours, who also happened to own other churches, and his clerical heir); *Cartulaire de Marmoutier (Vendômois)*, no 14 (Ansauld, priest of the important church of Vendôme, a knight’s brother, granting another church that his brother had given him). For Normandy, cf Combalbert, ‘Gouverner l’Église’, 153–4; for Artois, see *Les chartes des évêques d’Arras*, no 45 (1127).

[168](#) See above at [n. 127](#); also Combalbert, ‘Gouverner l’Église’, 153–4.

[169](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 127, 130–7.

[170](#) *Livre des serfs*, no 7 (1032 × 1061); Combalbert, ‘Gouverner l’Église’, 153 (church of Airan); Pichot, ‘Doyennés’, 357 (a combination of uncle–nephew and father–son patterns); Davies, *Small Worlds*, 101; for some pre-Conquest English evidence, see Barrow, ‘The clergy in English dioceses’, 19–20.

[171](#) For Whalley and Eye, see Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, 678–80; for Eye, see also Kemp, ‘Hereditary benefices’.

[172](#) *EEA*, VI, nos 33, 104; *St Benet of Holme, 1020–1210*, ed. James West, 2 vols., Norfolk Record Society, 2–3 (London, 1932), I, 83, 95, 183.

[173](#) *EEA*, I, nos 168–9; and IV, no 159; *Fasti*, III, 27; Diana Greenway, ‘Henry [Henry of Huntingdon]’, in *ODNB*, XXVI, 413–15.

[174](#) David X. Carpenter, ‘The several lives of Paulinus, Master of St Leonard’s Hospital, York: *ex uno plures*’, *Northern History*, 46 (2009), 9–29, separates Paulinus of Leeds from Master Paulinus, son of Bishop Ralph of Orkney.

[175](#) Christoph Egger, ‘The canon regular: Saint-Ruf in context’, in *Adrian IV: The English Pope (1154–1159)*, ed. Brenda Bolton and Anne J. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), 15–28, at 15–19; *EEA*, XV, nos 239–40.

[176](#) In addition to references in nn. 172–3, 175 above, see for example *EEA*, I, no 75; *EEA*, VI, nos 166, 236, 309–10; *EEA*, XV, nos 13, 142, 156, 239–40; *EEA*, XX, nos 17, 25.

[177](#) *EEA*, VII, no 34 (Bishop Robert de Béthune of Hereford expels two concubinous clerks from Marcle church); *EEA*, XI, no 115 (a clerk becomes a corrodian and his wife is told to stay away).

[178](#) At Lincoln, forty-two out of fifty-six prebends by 1300, and also three dignities, were wholly or partly endowed with parish churches: *Fasti*, III, 5–7, 12, 15–16, 47, 49–52, 54–9, 61–4, 66, 68–75, 78–9, 83–4, 86–7, 89, 91–5, 97–101. At Salisbury seven out of twelve dignities and twenty-six out of forty-eight prebends by the year 1300 (excluding prebends held by abbots) were funded wholly or partly with parish churches: *Fasti*, IV, 7–8, 12–13, 16, 20, 25, 28, 33, 45, 47, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 63, 66–9, 73–4, 76–8, 81, 84, 88, 91, 97, 100, 102, 106. At Chichester three dignities and eighteen out of thirty prebends (excluding the prebend held by the abbot of Grestain) were wholly or partly funded with parish churches by 1300: *Fasti*, V, 11, 14, 17, 26, 27–9, 31–8, 40–1, 44, 48–9. At York six dignities and twenty-five out of thirty-six prebends were wholly or partly funded with parish churches, or, in one case, a chapel, by the year 1300: *Fasti*, VI, 7, 17, 20–1, 26–8, 40, 52, 57, 59, 62, 65–6, 70, 77, 79, 81–2, 84, 86–7, 89, 94–5, 97–8, 101, 103, 105, 107–10. At Wells seven dignities and thirty out of fifty-two non-abbatial prebends were funded with parish churches: *Fasti*, VII, 12, 15, 18, 20, 26, 31, 39, 41, 49–56, 58–9, 61–6, 68–72, 75–8. At Hereford only four dignities and four out of twenty-seven non-abbatial prebends were funded with parish churches: *Fasti*, VIII, 7–8, 13, 17, 20–1, 46–8, 57, 59. See also Marritt, ‘Secular cathedrals and the Anglo-Norman aristocracy’, 158–62.

[179](#) *EEA*, IV, no 69. John of Coutances, who was bishop of Worcester from 1196 to 1198, was the nephew of Walter of Coutances, bishop of Lincoln and then archbishop of Rouen.

[180](#) *EEA*, IV, nos 21–2 (1186 × 1200).

[181](#) *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. Adrian Morey and C.N.L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967), no 470, calendared *EEA*, XV, no 246.

[182](#) *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. Morey and Brooke, no 326, calendared *EEA*, VII, no 93.

[183](#) *EEA*, X, no 144 (1186 × 1189); the church is misidentified here as Down Umphrville, but it can be identified as Rousdon from *EEA*, XI, nos 66, 116.

[184](#) Esders and Mierau, *Klerikereid*, 157–8 (Huuezzi the deacon and royal protégé); Haider, ‘Zum Niederkirchenwesen’, 347 (Louis the German grants the chapel at Inzing to the deacon Engildeo).

[185](#) Bassett, ‘*Prestetone*’, 32–4, for an example of what might happen to such a community.

[186](#) *EEA*, XV, no 26; Diddlebury church (occurring as the church of the manor of Corfham) was endowed with a hide at Domesday, and so was probably of minster status (*DB*, 25: *Shropshire*, ed. Frank and Caroline Thorn (Chichester, 1986), 4:1:6).

[187](#) Harper-Bill, ‘The struggle for benefices’, 127. Thornham was a very wealthy church, assessed at £28 plus a vicarage of £5 6s 8d in the *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV circa A.D. 1291*, HMSO (London, 1802), 89, and presumably could easily have supported several clerics in the late eleventh century.

[188](#) *EEA*, VI, no 88.

[189](#) *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, ed. B.R. Kemp, 2 vols., Camden Society, 4th series 31, 33 (London, 1986–7), I, 290–2, no 359; calendared *EEA*, VII, no 210. *EEA*, I, no 75, agrees that a priest’s son can become vicar of a church once he has been ordained; *EEA*, X, no 112, lays down that in future no one can become vicar of St John the Baptist’s in Glastonbury without being ordained priest.

[190](#) See [Chapter 6](#) above, and *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens de l’abbaye de Saint-Remi*, 27, 46, 55; for references to schooling, see Van Rhijn, *Shepherds*, 175–7.

[191](#) Guidelines for the right books to possess can be found in Aelfric’s pastoral letters, for which see CS I, i, 191–229, 255–302; and discussion by Jonathan Wilcox, ‘Ælfric in Dorset and the landscape of pastoral care’, in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Tinti, 52–62; see also, on homilies, Jonathan Wilcox, ‘The use of Ælfric’s Homilies: MSS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85 and 86 in the field’, in *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan (Leiden, 2009), 345–68; and also, though here concerning the use of books by bishops, Joyce Hill, ‘Two Anglo-Saxon bishops at work’, in *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Europe. Strukturen bischöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven (Berlin, 2011), 145–161.

[192](#) Helen Gittos, ‘Is there any evidence for the liturgy of parish churches in late Anglo-

Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the status of Old English', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Tinti, 63–82.

[193](#) E.g. *EEA*, IV, nos 88A, 126, 159, 210; *EEA*, VII, nos 137 (the circumstances suggest a resident incumbent), 228. No *magistri* occur as incumbents of parish churches in *Les chartes des évêques d'Arras*.

[194](#) Cf, though on a later period, S.H. Rigby, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages: Class, Status and Gender* (Basingstoke, 1995), 223–31.



## Conclusion

Career patterns among the medieval clergy underwent a major change in the sixth and seventh centuries, before the outset of the period we have been considering, and then a further change in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. The first of these two changes saw the end of adult recruitment into the clergy for several centuries, while the second saw a shift in the relationship between ordination and education. No longer was the start of education necessarily so closely linked to the start of the ordination process and in consequence the normal age of entry into the clergy, while still young, began to rise slightly. Between these two periods of change, however, was a much longer one of stability: the eighth and ninth centuries saw the establishment of a framework for clerical careers which proved extremely durable, lasting until the later eleventh century in what had been the western half of the Frankish empire but much longer further east. Carolingian churchmen refined ideas about ordination and about the school curriculum, creating structures that were imitated in neighbouring areas of Europe.

Childhood entry into the clergy had been possible and fairly frequent in the early Middle Ages, but became absolutely normal from the end of the seventh century. It could occur very early in childhood: references to it happening after weaning in tenth-century Lives may only be a slight exaggeration (and in addition probably suggest a late point for weaning for high-born boys). This pattern meant that the power to decide which boys entered the clergy lay with parents, and to a lesser extent also with the clerical communities to which parents wished to offer their sons. This is not a very different pattern from what we can observe in the careers of monks, among whom entry as child oblates was normal over the period from the eighth to the twelfth century also, but it was always possible for adult clerics to become choir-monks, and monastic founders in particular had often begun their careers as clerics. By contrast, adult entry into the clergy between the end of the seventh century and the end of the twelfth century was much harder, because it was unlikely that adult laymen would have the necessary level of education to cope.

In much of the Carolingian empire and also its successor states the better-off clergy (that is, cathedral clergy but also many clergy in charge of rural churches) tended to be the sons of laymen. Landowning families tried to cut down the numbers of heirs in future generations by encouraging some of their sons to be celibate, with the inducement of being well provided for in their clerical careers, and possibly of promotion to the episcopate (after the mid-eighth century it was highly unusual for married men to be made bishop in Francia). Further support was provided by clerical uncles, themselves also celibate, who would take on a father-like role in bringing up clerical nephews and would eventually make them their heirs. This practice made it possible for families to retain durable connections with cathedral chapters. But in the British Isles and Brittany, and also in northern Neustria after the Scandinavian settlements, a different succession pattern was normal: here clerics tended to be the sons of clerics. This meant that provision of schools was less necessary in these areas, as fathers tended to train their own sons (though sometimes young clerics might be apprenticed to older clerics outside the family circle). The clerics who were fathers might remain in minor orders for long periods, a situation that was easy to maintain in clerical communities where only one member of the

community needed to be in priest's orders, with perhaps one or two members in the diaconate to allow succession when the head of the community died. In areas with father-son clerical succession, the secular aristocracy was less closely integrated with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, though there were some kinship links and contacts were also possible through public assemblies and patronage.

Brothers and sisters played a large role in the lives of clerics. Older brothers would help to advance the careers of younger brothers, especially if they themselves were clerics; sisters might hope that clerical brothers might advance the careers of some of their children (clerical uncles could play an important role in assisting not only clerical nephews but also other nephews and nieces, for example in arranging marriages). Siblings might dispute succession to their parents' property, and here clerics might face difficulties – either a strict limit on what they could expect to inherit, in areas where primogeniture was practised, or heavy pressure from their brothers to conform to family expectations, in areas where partible or shared inheritance was the norm. But clerics could turn the tables on their kin if they were raised to high office: becoming bishop often meant attaining a level of political influence and wealth far above that of one's kin, and bishops often became the dominant figures in their families.

Not only biological relatives but also foster fathers might involve themselves in the lives of young clerics. Down to the middle of the ninth century (and later in Anglo-Saxon England), foster fathers were often kings, or magnates, and might have to devolve the education of boys intended for the clergy to bishops; subsequently it was more normal for bishops or other senior clerics to take on the role of foster father and for the process of commendation to be combined with the handing over of boys to the clerical office. By the early twelfth century, fosterage was on the wane outside Germany, especially for clerics, but commendation to a major church might help to support their careers: ordination in the higher grades was only possible for clerics who had parish churches or prebends or who had the support of a major church.

For most of the period from 800 to 1100, but until at least the thirteenth century in Lotharingia and Germany, education was closely linked to the stages of the clerical office, especially in those churches (principally cathedrals) that were able to run effective schools. Parents would hand over their sons to become clerics at an early age at a church in the diocese to which they belonged; movement to another diocese was possible if family connections existed, which was often the case among the higher nobility, among which far-flung marriage alliances were frequent. The boys would receive their first tonsure from the bishop, and would be handed over to the care of the church's scholasticus or schoolmaster to receive education in the liberal arts (with stress on grammar and rhetoric). The lowest four grades of ordination would be bestowed between the ages of about seven and fifteen; by the close of our period it was normal for all four grades to be received on the same day, and although it is not possible to be sure how early the process had been telescoped in this way, it is certain that the lowest three grades had lost any real significance early on. The grade of acolyte, however, though also lowly, was significant, as it was the stage at which clerics decided whether or not to progress to the higher grades of ordination. Becoming a full member of a cathedral or a collegiate church was only possible once one had progressed to the subdiaconate, and this grade (which was generally accepted as the first of the higher grades of ordination from the eleventh century) marked

the point at which young canons escaped the control of the schoolmaster and could have a voice in chapter. The minimum age for the subdiaconate was supposed to be twenty, and this seems to have been observed in northern Europe during our period, though a lower limit was preferred in southern Europe from the eleventh century. Clerics did not have to progress through all the grades of ordination, but for those who were not members of clerical communities the opportunities for obtaining positions were limited unless they happened to be priests and able to celebrate Mass. However, mobility was easier for clerics who were not in priests' orders, and the diaconate often offered the best possibilities for promotion to the episcopate, since deacons were not bound to a particular altar as priests were.

Promotion to high office meant attracting the notice of the powerful. Although family contacts mattered at the outset they were usually not sufficient to take one far. Naturally, the best opportunities were available from rulers, and to obtain them ambitious clerics had to perform court service, which might consist of a mixture of liturgical and administrative duties. Rulers had a range of rewards to offer favoured clergy, from bishoprics to minor churches on royal estates. By the eleventh century, magnates were imitating rulers, and establishing small collegiate churches to provide for their clerical contingents. Bishops had always been able to draw on the clerics serving their principal church for liturgical and administrative support, and from the ninth century in the Frankish empire some cathedral canons were invited to become chaplains.

Canon law allowed much more freedom of movement to clerics than it did to monks or nuns, but in theory at least clerics were not supposed to leave the diocese in which they had been ordained (which was supposed to be the diocese in which they had been born and baptised) without the permission of their diocesan. In practice things might be very different, and one of the main pressures on clerics to move from diocese to diocese was royal service. It was thanks to royal service that it became acceptable for cathedral and collegiate canons to be absent from their churches for periods of time and in some cases also to be pluralists. This was well established by the ninth century, as we can see from the careers of Alcuin and Asser. By and large, however, the majority of members of clerical communities between the ninth and the earlier twelfth centuries were expected to be resident and would live near their churches, often in walled precincts. Clergy serving minor churches may have had fewer inducements to move away and probably feared the anger of their patrons should they do so.

By the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, various changes were visible in the clerical landscape, chiefly in France and England. Here family pressure slackened somewhat; parents were still powerful, as they would make the main decision about the type of education a boy would receive, but schooling was now becoming separate from the decision about which community to join as a cleric, and the longer period needed for a full academic education with higher schooling (which was becoming necessary for the top administrative careers) meant that appointments might now wait until adulthood. Education became more varied, as it was now easier than it had been for pupils to move from school to school should they wish. Provision of higher schools made specialisation in law or theology possible, and rulers and bishops tried to attract talented products of higher schools into their employment. As a result the ruling class set its face against the conversion of all clerical communities into houses of regular canons, since their inmates

were not mobile enough to be employed as administrators: instead, absenteeism and pluralism were encouraged for a proportion of canons in each cathedral, with new opportunities being opened up for vicars choral to fill the liturgical gaps. Bishops in particular needed patronage in the form of prebends and parish cures to reward not only their household clerics but also royal clerics. Not just cathedrals but also minor churches were affected to some extent by these developments, as quite a few of the high-flying clerics in search of patronage were presented to parish churches, and even where the clergy serving such churches remained more locally based they would have noticed greater movement around them and were also brought into a tighter relationship with their diocesan bishops and the latter's deputies. The picture is somewhat different east of the French kingdom, however: here, family pull ensured entry into clerical communities and education was regarded more as a finishing process, to provide high-ranking clerics with suitable polish. In France and England, by contrast, education became the principal factor in clerical career building.

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