Authority and Reform: Historiographical Frameworks for Understanding Tenth and Eleventh-Century Bishops

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Abstract

In the last decade the bishops of the tenth and eleventh centuries, long treated rather dismissively as secondary figures on the historical stage, has expanded greatly. This paper aims to provide an overview not only of the papers that follow but of some other recent work on the topic, to allow contextualisation. Traditionally, bishops of this period have been principally treated as political figures, particularly in relation to rulers but also as local lords; new approaches to the subject, focusing on the ability of bishops to exercise authority, continue to explore political aspects but also allow the spiritual authority of bishops to be considered and even more intimate areas such as their family background and upbringing. Bishops could express claims to authority through prayer, historical writings and charters.

After many years of being treated as supporting actors on the historical stage, tenth and eleventh century bishops are finding a new voice and a central position in historical debates. Aided by millenary conferences dedicated to various episcopal figures, for example Burchard of Worms and Wulfstan the Homilist,[1] by new editions of some of the key biographical and hagiographical sources, a new interest in episcopal charters and a better understanding of the Carolingian underpinnings of the tenth and eleventh centuries, historians have found a new interest in bishops.[2] This interest still frequently focuses on their political role, though now the

[1] For novocentenary and millenary volumes on individual bishops see e.g. *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988); *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. by Nigel Ramsey, Margaret Sparks and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992); *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996); *Bischof Burchard von Worms, 1000-1025*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann (Mainz: Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 2000); *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); *St Wulfsige and Sherborne: Essays to celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey 998-1998*, ed. by Katherine Barker, David A. Hinton and Alan Hunt (Oxford: Oxbow, 2005); *St Wulfstan and His World*, ed. by Julia S. Barrow and N.P. Brooks (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

[2] For more general surveys of bishops, or studies of aspects of episcopal activity, see e.g.: Constance B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Crozier: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987); C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200* (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 1994); *Les évêques normands du XI^e siècle*, ed. by Pierre Bouet and François Neveux (Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 1995); *The Bishop: Power and Piety at the First Millennium*, ed. by Sean Gilsdorf (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004); Steffen Patzold, 'L'épiscopat du haut Moyen Âge du point de vue de la médiévistique allemande', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale X^e-XII^e siècles*, 48 (2005), 341-58; Mary Frances Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007); *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by John Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Steffen Patzold, *Episcopus: Wissen über Bischöfe im Frankenreich des späten 8. bis frühen 10. Jahrhundert*, Mittelalter-Forschungen, 25 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2008); *L'espace du diocèse: Genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident medieval (Ve-XIIIe siècle)*, ed. by Florian Mazel (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2008); Laurent Jégou, *L'évêque, juge de paix. L'autorité épiscopale et le règlement des conflits (VIIIe-XIe siècle)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe. Strukturen bischöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Wassenhoven (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011); John Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship and*

dual role of the bishop as local political figure as well as royal advisor and court attender is better appreciated, but their cultural patronage, their interest in canon law and liturgy and in education are coming into clearer focus too. From a slower start, hesitant curiosity about the pastoral role of bishops is turning to much more energetic study in spite of rather sparse primary sources. Several of these topics are represented in this volume. Given the geographical focus here, with stress on Lotharingia and on the border between Lotharingia and France, it is perhaps unsurprising that political aspects dominate. In chronological terms, the idea of concentrating on the tenth and eleventh centuries is easily defensible. It allows us to look at core areas of the Carolingian successor states at the point at which they were shedding their Carolingian dynasties and assuming new political forms, but breaking off before the Gregorian reformers got into action in the later eleventh century.

Before commenting on the articles in this collection and on some recent trends in scholarship on bishops, I should like to fit them into the existing historical debates (– or indeed to try to see how far they fit in – do some of them break away?), and I want to outline two principal areas of discussion at the outset. These are first authority or authorities ('authority' features in the title of the volume itself and of several papers) and secondly reform, which appears in some of the contributions. Reform as a concept will also help us to think about periodization, and thus encourage us to think about the special characteristics of the 'iron century', as the tenth Century has been described by Baronius and Lorenzo Valla.[3]

Authority

Treating authority as a central theme in our handling of bishops in the pre-1100 period is a fairly recent phenomenon, partly influenced by increasing interest in cultural history and a growing awareness of the contribution this field can make to political and social history. However, if we think of the term more loosely, allowing it to include ideas of power and power relationships, we can see that it has been a feature of historical discourse about bishops for a very long time. For most historians of the Middle Ages living in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at least down to the 1980s, the main area of enquiry where tenth and eleventh-century bishops were concerned was their relationship with kings. Here we might start to think about periodization – political activity is a major theme for historians when thinking of, say, twelfth and thirteenth-century bishops, but by no means the only one or even necessarily the main one.

Community, 950-1150 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Sarah Hamilton, 'Bishops, Education and Discipline', in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. by John H. Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 531-49; Maureen Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c.800-1200* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014); John Ott, *Bishop, Authority and Community in North-Western Europe, c.1050-1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Tina Bode, *König und Bischof in ottonischer Zeit: Herrschaftspraxis – Handlungsspielräume – Interaktionen* (Husum: Matthiesen, 2015); Florian Mazel, *L'évêque et le territoire: L'invention médiévale de l'espace* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2016).

[3] Cf. Caesarius Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ed. by Augustin Theiner, 37 vols (Bar-le-Duc: Guerin, 1864-83), XV, 467: 'iron in its harshness and in its sterility of goodness' 'sui [saeculi] asperitate ac boni sterilitate ferreum, malique exundantis deformitate plumbeum, atque inopia scriptorium obscurum', and Lorenzo Valla's description of the tenth century as an age of lead an iron; for comment see Girolamo Arnaldi, 'Mito e realtà del secolo X romano e papale', in *Il secolo di ferro: Mito e realtà del secolo X*, 2 parts, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 38 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 1991), I, pp. 27-53, 47.

The stress on the political role of bishops pre-1100 has formed an important part of German historiography since the earlier nineteenth century, with the development of the Reichskirchensystem thesis[4] and the full discussion of the role of royal clergy, including bishops, in imperial charter production.[5] In comparison with French bishops, German bishops of this period have also received much fuller prosopographical treatment.[6] These studies tend to focus on the links between bishops and rulers, even though they pay attention to the bishops' family background.[7] Less attention, however, has been paid to the bishops' clerical formation and clerical networking. Prosopographical treatment of French bishops for this period has until recently been much more limited.[8] Although some important outlines were produced in the 1960s-70s, much of the bean-counting still needs to be done (David Spear's work on Normandy is an important exception).[9] Here too it is the connection between bishops and rulers that has attracted most attention.

From the 1980s onwards study of the political role of bishops in eastern France and Lotharingia branched out in a new direction to examine how bishops developed seigneurial powers in their own localities, and here the work of Reinhold Kaiser, Olivier Guyotjeannin and Jean-Louis Kupper particularly deserves mention.[10] Their studies were not uninterested in the

[4] The term was coined by Leo Santifaller, *Zur Geschichte des ottonischen-salischen Reichskirchensystems* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1954; 2nd edn Vienna, 1964), but grew out of earlier lines of thinking; for subsequent developments in the debate see Timothy Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: a Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 347-72; Josef Fleckenstein, 'Problematik und Gestalt der ottonisch-deutschen Reichskirche', in *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit. Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlass des achtzigsten Geburtstags von Gerd Tellenbach*, ed. by Karl Schmid (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1985), pp. 83-98; Rudolf Schieffer, 'Karolingische und ottonische Kirchenpolitik', in *Mönchtum – Kirche – Herrschaft 750-1000*, ed. by D.R. Bauer et al. (Sigmaringen, Thorbecke, 1998), pp. 311-26; Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Der König und seine Bischöfe in Frankreich und im Deutschen Reich 936-1060', in *Bischof Burchard*, ed. by Hartmann, pp. 79-127; and Patzold, 'L'épiscopat'.

[5] Josef Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, *II. Teil: Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966); Wolfgang Huschner, *Transalpine Kommunikation im Mittelalter: Diplomatische, kulturelle und politische Wechselwirkungen zwischen Italien und dem nordalpinen Reich (9.-11. Jahrhundert)*, 3 vols (Hanover: Hahn, 2003).

[6] Aloys Schulte, *Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter: Studien zur Sozial-, Rechts-, und Kirchengeschichte* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1910); Fleckenstein, *Hofkapelle*, *II. Teil*; Herbert Zielinski, *Der Reichsepiskopat in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit (1002-1125)*, *I. Teil* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1984); Bode, *König und Bischof*. Note also Hagen Keller, 'Origine soziale 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*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali, 8 (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1977), pp. 136-59.

[7] E.g. Zielinski, *Reichsepiskopat*; Bode, *König und Bischof*.

[8] For the post-1200 period, however, note *Fasti Ecclesiae Gallicanae*, 16 vols to date (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996).

[9] Jean Gaudemet, 'Recherches sur l'épiscopat medieval en France', in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. by Stefan Kuttner and J. Joseph Ryan (Vatican City: S. Congregatio de Seminariis et Studiorum Universitatibus, 1965), pp. 139-54; Jacques Boussard, 'Les évêques en Neustrie avant la réforme grégorienne (950-1050 environ)', *Journal des savants*, 3 (1970), 161-96; David Spear, *The Personnel of the Norman Cathedrals during the Ducal Period, 911-1204* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2006). Note also Bouchard, *Sword*; Stephen Fanning, *A Bishop and his World before the Gregorian Reform: Hubert of Angers, 1006-1047*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 78, part 1 (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1988). On the province of Rheims, see Jelle Lisson, *Ut pastorem commodum eligatis. Bisschopszetels, verwantschap en locale aristocratische netwerken in de kerkprovincie Reims in de 'lange' tiende eeuw (888-1049)* (unpublished doctorol thesis, KU Leuven, 2016).

[10] 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: Röhrscheid, 1981); Olivier Guyotjeannin, *Episcopus et comes: Affirmation et déclin de la*

bigger picture, but allowed readers to see how much of a bishop's time was spent negotiating powers and status with the local nobility and with local officials. Intensive study of the cultural attributes of episcopal authority – for example liturgy, buildings, iconography (including seals) and the way in which bishops are described in *Vitae* and in *Gesta Episcoporum* – has essentially developed more recently still (mostly from the 1990s onwards) and we are still only in the initial phases of assessing it.[11] Clearly, however this is proving to be an area in which new ideas are burgeoning.

Reform

The other historical debate that we need to address is reform. This is a theme that crops up constantly in narratives of this period; as a theme, indeed, it shapes the narrative and since there are several different reform narratives it therefore opens opportunities for debate on periodization. I have to declare a personal interest here: I am a reform sceptic. The frequency with which 'reform' is used in modern scholarship about the Middle Ages is far greater than the frequency with which the words *reformare* and *reformatio* occur in medieval sources. Gerd Tellenbach was right when he said the term is grossly over-used by modern medievalists and rarely with any awareness of how people in the middle ages understood change.[12] Recently there has been increasing awareness that medieval bishops can only be made to fit into a 'reform' narrative at the expense of ignoring some important aspects of their roles: John Ott, for example, has argued this strongly in his book on episcopal authority.[13] In other words, as Charles West suggests in this volume, should we be looking for other key terms to explain what bishops thought they themselves were doing, for example, reaction and conservatism?[14]

But let us see what the traditional reform debates do to our historical narratives. Do they, perhaps, deform them? For historiographical reasons it is best to look at the reform narratives in reverse chronological order here – Gregorians first, tenth-century monastic reform second. Defining the Gregorian movement as reform began in the early nineteenth century. As such, the term is, to employ a useful German expression, *zeitbedingt*. It is rooted in the period immediately after the Napoleonic Wars in which popular thinking was much influenced on the one hand by British political thinking, in which 'reform' was stressed, and on the other by a

seigneurie épiscopale au nord du royaume de France (Beauvais-Noyon, Xe-début XIIIe siècle) (Geneva and Paris; Droz, 1987); Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l'église impériale XIe-XIIe siècles* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1981).

[11] Sarah Hamilton, this volume; Jesse Billett, *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597-c. 1000* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2014); Henry Parkes, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church: Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950-1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Miller, *Clothing the Clergy*; Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, 'The bishop makes an impression: seals, authority and episcopal identity', in *The Bishop*, ed. by Gilsdorf, pp. 137-54; Michel Sot, *Gesta episcoporum, gesta abbatum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981); Ott, *Bishops, Authority*, pp. 197-221; Theo Riches, 'The Changing Political Horizons of *Gesta episcoporum* from the Ninth to Eleventh Centuries', in *Patterns of Episcopal Power*, ed. by Körntgen and Wassenhoven, pp. 51-62.

[12] Gerd Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, tr. Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; first published as *Die westliche Kirche vom 10. bis zum frühen 12. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988)), pp. 157-64.

[13] Ott, *Bishops, Authority*, pp. 14-16, 199-200.

[14] Charles West, this volume.

keen interest in the Middle Ages and its contribution to European civilisation.[15] During the Napoleonic Wars, indeed, one German scholar had daringly compared Gregory VII with Martin Luther.[16] The link between Gregory VII and reform was made first by Protestants – chiefly Guizot, who was also strongly influenced by British political thinking – but by the second half of the nineteenth century had also been accepted by many, though by no means all, Catholic scholars.[17] The concept of the Gregorian reform had become widely and firmly established by the start of the twentieth century thanks to, on the one hand, popular French historical writing (Michelet for example) and on the other, the development of the Investiture Contest as a key topic in Bismarckian Germany.[18] Traditionally the Gregorian reform narrative, most classically presented by Augustin Fliche in the earlier twentieth century, meant that the tenth and early eleventh century had to be written off as a period of decay and corruption.[19] The *siècle de fer* narrative of a near-wipe out of European civilisation at the hands of Vikings, Magyars and Saracens naturally assisted this, and the acts of violence perpetrated by these peoples were portrayed as uniform and continuous across Europe for the whole of the 850-950 period.[20] Bishops of the 900-1050 period were treated with disdain by Fliche's co-authors Émile Amann and Ernest Dumas, as weak and decadent and as part of the system that was preventing the reform of the church; bishops of the post-1050 period were neatly divided into 'reformers' and 'imperialists'.[21]

More recently the Gregorian reform narrative has been harnessed to an alternative narrative of church history.[22] Here the fundamental shift is often seen as the successful rejection

[15] Joanna Innes, '"Reform" in English Public Life: the Fortunes of a Word', in *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780-1850*, ed. by Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 71-97; Ian Wood, *The Modern Origins of the Earlier Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[16] Johannes Voigt, *Hildebrand, als Papst Gregorius der Siebente und sein Zeitalter, aus den Quellen dargestellt* (Weimar: Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs, 1825).

[17] François Guizot, *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe: Depuis la chute de l'Empire romain jusqu'à la Révolution française*, 6th edn (Paris: Masson, 1851), 162-65. Note the reluctance of L. Cristiani, 'Réforme' and 'Réforme catholique', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. by Alfred Vacaut, Eugène Mangenot and Émile Amann, 15 vols in 33 (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1925-72), XIII, part 2, respectively cols 2020-97 and 2097-2100, esp. col. 2098, to see good in the term 'réforme'.

[18] Guizot, *Histoire générale*, pp. 138-65; Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France*, 17 vols (Paris: Chamerot, 1856-67), esp. II, pp. 140-6. On the Investiture Contest see e.g. Wilhelm Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 6 vols in 7 (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1876-95), III.

[19] Augustin Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols (Louvain: Spicilegium, 1924-37). By contrast, in German Protestant scholarship there was approval for the 'reform' activities of the emperors down to and including Henry III.

[20] Note also Christopher Dawson, *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1950), e.g. pp. 143-44; Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe: an Introduction to the History of European Unity* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1932), pp. 234-72. For a modern restatement of this viewpoint, much more hostile to the Vikings than was Dawson, see John Howe, *Before the Gregorian Reform: The Latin Church at the Turn of the First Millennium* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016).

[21] Émile Amann and Auguste Dumas, *L'Église au pouvoir des laïques (888-1057)* (Paris, 1948).

[22] E.g. Jo Ann McNamara, 'The *Herrenfrage*: the Restructuring of the Gender System, 1050-1150', in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Clare A. Lees with Thelma Fraser and Jo Ann McNamara (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 3-29; R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c.970-1215* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 10-11, 62-3, 88; Henrietta Leyser, 'Clerical Purity and the Re-ordered World', in *Christianity in Western Europe c.1100-c.1500*, ed. by Miri Rubin and Walter Simons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 11-21; Maureen Miller, 'Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture: Narratives of Episcopal Holiness in the Gregorian era', *Church History*, 72 (2003), 25-52; note also Jennifer Thibodeaux, *The Manly Priest: Clerical Celibacy, Masculinity and Reform in England and Normandy, 1066-1300* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

of clerical marriage by the Gregorian reformers and the changes this brought to clergy (now 'a third sex' or newly professionalised or both). Here too bishops tend to be weighed up as reformers or as conservatives depending on their reactions to papal demands for change; they also tend to be seen as following events rather than as shaping them. Instead, popular movements of the laity, now grouped into newly urban crowds, are seen as pushing for change.[23]

Gregorian narratives tend to downplay the monastic reform movement of the tenth century, or sometimes try to bolt it onto the beginnings of the Gregorian movement.[24] However there is a long-standing tradition of narratives of monastic restoration that has frequently highlighted new developments in the tenth century, resting in part on medieval narratives but developed by early modern monastic historiography.[25] Within this tradition, 'reform' began to appear frequently as a concept by the middle of the nineteenth century.[26] The dominant figures in these narratives were usually monks and abbots, not bishops (except in England, where historians have often treated tenth-century bishops as leading figures, but largely because they were also monks and monastic founders).[27] In France, by contrast, where bishops might be treated as enemies by monastic leaders (for example Abbo of Fleury's critique of the bishops of Orléans), or had to accept a negotiated involvement in monastic affairs (as was the case in Cluny), they tend not to get star billing in narratives.[28] Bishops in the German kingdom, who often established proprietary monasteries, come out of the process rather better.[29]

The origins of episcopal authority

Ultimately episcopal authority originated in the family circle, in childhood, as Michel Margue has demonstrated in his study on the Adalberos and the family of Ardenne.[30] Childhood is an aspect of tenth and eleventh century society that is badly in need of attention. We know about

[23] Moore, *The First European Revolution*, pp. 13-19; R. I. Moore, 'Postscript: the Peace of God and the Social Revolution', in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. by Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 308-26.
[24] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *Der Investiturstreit* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1982).
[25] The leading figure in this process was Dom Jean Mabillon: Jean Mabillon with Thierry Ruinart, *Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti occidentalium monachorum patriarchae*, 6 vols (Paris: Charles Robustel, 1703-39); *Dom Jean Mabillon, figure majeure de l'Europe des lettres: Actes des deux colloques du tricentenaire de la mort de Dom Mabillon*, ed. by Jean Leclant, André Vauchez and Daniel-Odon Hurel (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2010).
[26] E.g. François Cucherat, *Cluny au XI^e siècle, son influence religieuse, intellectuelle et politique* (Mâcon: Académie de Mâcon, 1851), pp. 3, 8, 12.
[27] *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. by Yorke; *St Dunstan*, ed. by Ramsay et al.; *St Oswald*, ed. by Brooks and Cubitt, and literature cited.
[28] Marco Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury: a Study of the Ideas about Society and Law of the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1987), pp. 36-9, 49-51, 57-9; Benjamin Pohl and Steven Vanderputten, 'Fécamp, Cluny and the invention of traditions in the later eleventh century', *Journal of medieval monastic studies*, 5 (2016) pp. 1-41.
[29] *Bischof Burchard*, ed. by Hartmann; John Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c.850-1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 70-86; Kupper, *Liège*.
[30] Michel Margue, 'Structures de parenté et processus d'identification dans la Lotharingie des X et XI^e siècles. Le cas du groupement familial dit "d'Ardenne"', in *Splendor Reginae: passions, genre et famille. Mélanges en l'honneur de Régine Le Jan*, ed. by Laurent Jégou and others (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), pp. 79-91; cf. the contributions of Margue, West, Wagner and Ruffini-Ronzani in this volume.

the decline of child oblation *c.* 1100,[31] but there is less understanding of the full implications of parental control over children and whether, as seems overwhelmingly likely, it was more extensive before 1100 than after (though it was certainly present long after 1100).[32] Parents made the key decisions about their children's futures: one of these was naming.[33] Associated with this was the need to choose appropriate godparents, who might on occasion be uncles.[34] Another key decision made by parents, at any rate those of some social status, was the type of education they wanted for each child.

Mothers may well have played as big a role in decision making as fathers, or nearly as big a role. We can assume this because, although some families, like the Adalberos, had a strongly agnatic uncle-nephew succession system, there are also numerous cases of maternal uncles helping nephews (Hincmar and Hincmar; Ulrich and Adalbero; Wulfstan the Homilist and Brihtheah; Meinwerk and Imad).[35] A mother's brother willing to take on a young nephew was an advantage: it meant that an extra stream of income could be brought in. Another pay-off from using both sides of the family was the widening of networks. Where parents originated in different dioceses this doubled the opportunities for obtaining places for clerical sons in churches. [36] So, for example, Archbishop Halinard of Lyon had a father from the diocese of Langres and a mother from the diocese of Autun. He was brought up by his godfather Bishop Walter of Autun (979-1018), and then, at the start of his adolescence (presumably when he was about 14 or 15), his father handed him over to Bishop Bruno of Langres (980-1015), who entered him into a collegiate church to pursue his studies. Bruno hoped to promote him to high office, but Halinard insisted on becoming a monk. His early clerical formation, however, probably made it easier for him to become an archbishop later on.[37]

The *nutritor*, often an uncle or a great-uncle (for example Bishop Salomo I of Constance bringing up his great-nephew Salomo III), was an important part of the young cleric's support network.[38] Michel Margue has also reminded us that bishops acting as *nutritores* could also take on *nutriti* destined for lay careers, such as Bishop Adalbero of Augsburg acting as *nutritor* to the young Louis the Child.[39] *Nutritores* might also be important sources of inheritance: after all, although boy clerics might hope to become bishops eventually they could not realistically

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[31] Joseph Lynch, *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: a Social, Economic and Legal Study* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1976).
[32] Though note Régine Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VIIe-Xe siècle): essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1995), pp. 298-305.
[33] Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c.800-c.1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 122-4; in general on naming see Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir*, pp. 180-223.
[34] Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 61, 124.
[35] Barrow, *The Clergy*, p. 129; Julia Barrow, 'The Bishop in the Latin West, 600-1100', in *Celibate and Childless Men in Power: Ruling Eunuchs and Bishops in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. by Almut Höfert, Matthew Mesley and Serena Tolino (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 43-64 at p. 50.
[36] As Jelle Lisson notes, local origins mattered for bishops: it made it easier for their merits to be assessed. But it was possible for a bishop to have family connections, and thus supporters, in more than one diocese. Lisson, *Ut pastorem commodum eligatis*, pp. 118-122 and Jelle Lisson, '"Per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus". A Normative Perspective on the Career of Bishops in the Church Province of Reims (888-1049)', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (forthcoming).
[37] Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 61-62.
[38] Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 123, 158-69.
[39] Margue, 'Structures de parenté', pp. 87-88.

expect that this would necessarily happen. Nor was promotion within the cathedral inevitable, save for members of the more powerful families (hence the various *primicerii* in the Adalbero family tree).[40] However, inheriting wealth or at least a position as canon from one's *nutritor* could be looked forward to. By the eleventh century and more clearly in the twelfth century this was being built into elaborate succession systems for the houses lived in by cathedral canons.[41] Overall, higher clergy and bishops in this period show a strong sense of entitlement, and this was probably inspired from early childhood (German *Lives* of bishops often stress breastfeeding and hint that weaning occurred late, suggestive of favoured treatment).[42] Boys from high-ranking families seem to have been given a Rolls-Royce upbringing and retained the strong sense of entitlement this gave them throughout their subsequent careers.[43]

The exercise of episcopal authority in secular matters

Episcopal authority, and indeed authority exercised over bishops themselves, is mostly treated from secular angles in this volume. This is not unusual in historical treatments of tenth and eleventh-century bishops, which tend to stress their relationship to rulers. Here we will see that royal authority over bishops could be regarded by the latter as desirable, where the rulers could provide protection and peace,[44] and that royal involvement in episcopal elections was often accepted willingly by the church hierarchy.[45] Bishops in areas with limited royal control, for example the bishops of Auxerre,[46] had to spend some effort building up political power, defending their tenants and maintaining church property, while by contrast powerful rulers might help bishops to build up their authority at a local level: as Nicolas Ruffini-Ronzani showed us, this was especially the case for the bishops of Cambrai down to the early eleventh century, as Ottonian rulers made grants of immunity and tolls to them that helped them to build up lordship and jurisdiction.[47] Nonetheless, bishops were relied on by rulers to supply forces for campaigns,[48] and to initiate and run Peace of God assemblies that might then help secular

[40] Similarly, the *Life* of Bishop Bruno of Toul (later Pope Leo IX) suggests that he held the dignity of *primicerius* at Toul before becoming bishop, by explaining that he was in charge of the canons' *prebenda* or food-distribution: *Die Touler Vita Leos IX.*, ed. by Hans-Georg Krause, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (henceforth MGH), Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, 70 (Hanover: Hahn, 2007), pp. 104-05; for an English translation, see *The Papal Reform of the Eleventh Century*, transl. by I. S. Robinson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 106.

[41] Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 134-5, 153.

[42] Barrow, 'The Bishop in the Latin West', p. 51, and see also p. 47. Note that one exception to the late weaning routine was Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, whose parents were warned to wean him early by a visitor who said that the baby was not thriving: this story was presumably included by Gerhard in his *Vita Uodalrici* to suggest Ulrich's early spiritual maturity (Gerhard von Augsburg, *Vita Sancti Uodalrici. Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Ulrich*, ed. and transl. by Walter Berschin and Angelika Häse (Heidelberg: Winter, 1993), pp. 86-90).

[43] West on Bishop Dado, this volume.

[44] Ruffini-Ronzani, this volume.

[45] McNair and Ruffini-Ronzani, this volume.

[46] On Auxerre see Constance Brittain Bouchard, 'The Bishop as Aristocrat: the Case of Hugh of Chalon', in *The Bishop*, ed. by Gilsdorf, pp. 37-49, and the ongoing research by Niall Ó Súilleabháin (Trinity College, Dublin).

[47] Ruffini-Ronzani, this volume.

[48] Cf. forthcoming doctoral dissertation by Pieter Byttebier on *The performative construction of episcopal authority in eleventh-century Lotharingia: towards an integrated analysis of speech act, ritual behaviour and spatial representation.* (Ghent University).

rulers, for example the counts of Flanders, increase their political control.[49] Both of these activities had local implications for bishops, too: they were expected to protect the lands of their see, often by building and defending castles, and Peace of God meetings might be held on diocesan borders. Both castles and borders had powerful symbolic meanings, which bishops were keen to stress as part of their spiritual as well as their political authority.[50]

The exercise of episcopal authority in spiritual matters

Disputed episcopal elections and translations, though they certainly involved secular authorities, mattered principally because they affected the bishop's spiritual authority.[51] Bishops would indeed not have been able to exercise secular influence without the authority invested in them in the form of spiritual sanctions. Within their own individual dioceses, indeed, bishops were for most purposes the unquestioned spiritual authorities. Bishops could and did appeal to popes, but they were not afraid to critique them, as Fulbert of Chartres did to John XVIII when he feared the latter would absolve a nobleman who had attacked some of his clerics.[52] Popes before Gregory VII had also been capable of setting trends for bishops, however. For example, in Anglo-Saxon England episcopal translation revived vigorously from the early tenth century after a period of about a century and a half, inspired by a series of popes who had been translated from other bishoprics: England was as yet uninfluenced by Pseudo-Isidore which provided many of the ideas for bishops in the Carolingian successor-states on these and other issues.[53] Similarly, archiepiscopal authority could be rather hazy. This sort of moral authority might also be exercised by a suffragan in a group of bishops, as John Ott demonstrated in the case of Lambert of Arras in the early twelfth century;[54] nonetheless, precedence mattered.[55] So too, and indeed rather more, did bishops acting together as a group, though council activity could be rather spasmodic in our period – very intense at the start of the tenth century, culminating in Trosly (909), and then much patchier across the tenth century, even in Eastern Francia, where councils were more active, before the significant Council of Saint-Basle in 991.[56] Councils are rather under-represented in this collection, save for a spirited

[49] Cf. forthcoming doctoral dissertation by Sam Janssens on *The Peace as an Instrument of Social Competition. Towards a non-homeostatic Interpretation of Political Relations in the Central Middle Ages (Western Europe, Late Tenth- Early Twelfth Centuries* (Ghent University).

[50] Ruffini-Ronzani in this volume. Note also the significance of the frontier fortress site of Mouzon to the archbishops of Rheims, stressed by the *Chronicle of Mouzon*: *Chronique, ou livre de fondation du monastère de Mouzon*, ed. and transl. by Michel Bur (Paris, 1989), pp. 133-40, Cf. Ortwin Huysmans, 'Pious Foundation or genious masterstroke? The *Chronicon Mosomense and the Reform of Mouzon by Archbishop Adalbero of Reims (969-989)*, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 110 (2015) 103-134.

[51] McNair and Roberts, this volume.

[52] Cf. Wannes Verstrepen, '"Suppressor of Plunderers and Robbers". The Actions and Views of Bishop Fulbert of Chartres concerning Church Property (1006-1028)', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 112 (2017), 619-63 (p. 629), citing *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres,* ed. and transl. by Frederick Behrends (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 14-17, no. 5.

[53] On recourse to Pseudo-Isidore in France and Lotharingia, see Roberts, this volume.

[54] Ott, *Bishops, Authority*, pp. 111-19, 134-45.

[55] For background, see Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, 800-1056* (Harlow: Longman, 1991), pp. 237-38.

[56] For Trosly see *Die Konzilien der karolingischen Teilreiche, 875-911*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann, Isolde Schröder and Gerhard Schmitz, MGH Concilia, 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), pp. 497-562; for Saint-Basle, see *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916-1001*, ed. by Ernst-Dieter Hehl, 2 vols, MGH Concilia, 6 (Hanover: Hahn, 1997-2007), II, pp. 380-448, no. 44.

account of the late ninth-century council of Metz by Charles West, and for comment on the council of Saint-Basle by Edward Roberts.[57] But more could be done: the councils of the late ninth and early tenth centuries form a coherent sequence and show the building up of a strong episcopal position condemning equally the invasions of pagans and the depredations of bad Christians.[58]

Within their dioceses, bishops nominally had authority over monasteries and over the local churches, which were responsible for pastoral care, and which by the end of our period would be termed parish churches. In practice, control of monasteries was only really easy for bishops where the monastery was an episcopal proprietary church. Much the same was true of local churches. Monastic communities could run minor churches on their own estates as they saw fit, and could also provide pastoral care within their own monastic churches if they wished (including baptism).[59] This state of affairs was by no means peculiar to north-eastern France and Lotharingia: monastic control over pastoral care is very noticeable in Normandy and the mixing of monastic and pastoral functions in monastic churches was common in England throughout the Middle Ages.[60] Even so, bishops would have had a few points of entry, for example the ordination of clergy and also visitation. With monasteries themselves, bishops also had to tread with care. *Correctio* of monastic houses had to be negotiated. However, bishops were aware of what was due to them.[61] The churches in the diocese over which the bishop had most control were his own cathedral and his own proprietary churches, including collegiate and monastic churches: cathedrals hover in the background for much of this volume but rarely make it into the foreground save for some important comments on books by Charles West and on relic cults by Anne Wagner.[62] Nonetheless, they deserve a full account somewhere: most of the bishops who feature here had been educated in cathedral schools and had been cathedral canons and very often also dignitaries before their elevation; moreover the period from the

[57] West, this volume; Roberts, this volume.
[58] Julia Barrow, 'Developing Definitions of Reform in the Church in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Italy and Medieval Europe: Papers for Chris Wickham on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. by Ross Balzaretti, Julia Barrow and Patricia Skinner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).
[59] Cf. Philippe Mignot and Frédéric Chantinne, 'Réflexions topologiques sur les églises antérieures à 1050 dans l'ancien diocèse de Tongres-Maastricht-Liège', in *Religion, Cults & Rituals in the Medieval Environment*, ed. by Christiane Bis-Worch and Claudia Theune, Ruralia, 11 (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017), pp. 129-140.
[60] On Normandy: Grégory Combalbert, 'Gouverner l'Église: Évêques et paroisses dans la province ecclésiastique de Rouen (v. 1050-v. 1280)', 2 vols (unpublished thèse de doctorat, Université de Caen, 2009); on Lotharingia: Wolfgang Petke, 'Von der klösterlichen Eigenkirche zur Inkorporation in Lothringen und Nordfrankreich im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 87 (1992), 34-72, 375-404. On monks and pastoral care in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Francesca Tinti, 'Benedictine Reform and Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 23 (2015), 229-51; for mixed-use monastic and parochial churches in later medieval England, see Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: the Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 99-106, and Martin Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 208-18, 301-4.
[61] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space. Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, pp. 32-36; Patzold, *Episcopus*, pp. 118-23; Sarah Hamilton, 'Bishops, Education and Discipline', pp. 531-43; Cf. Ortwin Huysmans, *Tutor ac Nutritor. Episcopal Agency, Lordship and the Administration of Religious Communities: Ecclesiastical Province of Rheims, c. 888-1073*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, KU Leuven, 2016), pp. 79-107.
[62] Cf. West and Wagner in this volume.

ninth century to the end of the eleventh is a formative one for cathedral communities as institutions, though overshadowed by the very much better-documented twelfth century.[63]

The expression of episcopal authority

Bishops could express their authority through prayer. Service books for bishops (pontificals) are a statement of this but sacramentaries (service books for priests to celebrate Mass with) can display a bishop's preoccupations, and, through stressing feasts of holy bishops and masses for dead bishops, can reinforce episcopal authority.[64] Equally, episcopal authority was underpinned by *Vitae*, by *Gesta episcoporum*, by the physical setting of bishops' tombs, and by cults of sainted bishops.[65] Buildings and their topography and indeed urban topography as a whole with churches in cross-shapes were a means for bishops to make statements about their authority in their see town.[66] Bishops themselves might write memoranda to list priorities of their own, requesting prayers for themselves and other bishops and stressing family connections.[67] *Vitae* and *Gesta episcoporum* both could (and did) praise bishops, but verse encomia did so even more strikingly in this period and could be combined with physical objects so that short verses or phrases might feature in inscriptions in churches, sacred vessels or book covers. Verses of this kind, like letters, could act as a display of friendship (*amicitia*).[68] Gregory VII and Hugh of Die's failure to reply to invitations to exchange verse shows that they were not willing to act as equals – their rejection of appropriate etiquette would have been a deliberate snub.[69]

The bishops in this volume lived in a world where they could claim authority as sacramental, moral and political figures within their dioceses, and they were happy to express this in their charters. This authority had to be negotiated, and in some quarters might be denied, but bishops enjoyed real strengths because of their family backgrounds and because of their often close connections with rulers. Contacts with other bishops, too, could enhance episcopal authority: even though relations between individual bishops might be strained, these occurrences were outweighed by the weight of persuasion that bishops could exercise in groups when they met at church councils. Papal authority, soon to become much more prominent, was still rather shadowy in our period. The bishops of the iron century were conscious of their status, their rights and their powers.

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[63] Barrow, *The Clergy*, pp. 185-7, 294-7, 302-5.
[64] Hamilton, this volume.
[65] Ruffini-Ronzani and Wagner, this volume.
[66] Wagner on Metz; West on Verdun, this volume. See also Frank G. Hirschmann, *Stadtplanung, Bauprojekte und Grossbaustellen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1998).
[67] West, this volume.
[68] For instance the epitaph of Archbishop Gervais of Rheims by the poet Fulcoius of Beauvais. Ott, *Bishops, Authority*, p. 162. His successor as archbishop, Manasses I (*c.* 1060-1080) commissioned Fulcoius to write a moralizing poem (*De nuptiis Christi et ecclesiae libri septem*) and deliver it in person to the papal court. John S. Ott, '"Reims and Rome are equals": Archbishop Manasses I (*c.* 1069-80), Pope Gregory VII, and the Fortunes of Historical Exceptionalism', in *Envisioning the Bishop: Images and the Episcopacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Sigrid Danielson and Evan A. Gatti (Turnhout: Brepols publishers, 2014), pp. 275-302 (282-84). For the use of physical objects to bolster episcopal authority, see the many examples drawn from architecture and visual arts in *Envisioning the Bishop*.
[69] Ott, '"Reims and Rome are equals"', pp. 275-202.