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CHARLES WEST

The Earliest Form and Function of the ‘Admonitio synodalis’*

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ABSTRACT: This article examines a text known as the ‘Admonitio synodalis’ as evidence for episcopal expectations of local priests in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The ‘Admonitio’ is generally considered a stable text that represented and fostered continuity within the Church, but this article highlights instead its early development. It begins by identifying a previously unedited version of the text found in some tenth-century manuscripts, arguing that this long recension is the closest to the original form. It then turns to how the text was adapted in the tenth century, notably by Bishop Rather of Verona. It finally examines the changes made to the text when it was incorporated into the liturgy of synodal ordines in the early eleventh century. A transcription of the tenth-century recension, based on a Brussels manuscript, is provided as an appendix.

When thinking about the Carolingian political and religious order, historians have tended to focus their attention on emperors, bishops and counts¹. However, recent work has shown how local priests in the countryside occupied a central role in the Carolingian ideological programme too². These priests were targeted by a new genre of text, the so-called episcopal capitularies which flourished in the ninth century, and which set out for the first time a tailored framework of expectations for priests living in rural communities³. And they were materially supported by a new kind of revenue, an obligatory

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¹ An excellent critical and wide-ranging overview is provided by FRANCOIS BOUGARD et al., *Les élites au Haut Moyen Age. Identités, stratégies, mobilité*, in: *Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales* 68, 2014, pp.1079–1112.

² See STEFFEN PATZOLD, *Presbyter. Moral, Mobilität und die Kirchenorganisation im Karolingerreich* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 68), Stuttgart 2020.

³ 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.

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and – crucially – territorialised tithes⁴. But what happened to these local priests after the fragmentation of the Carolingian order that had defined, regulated and supported them? How did the position and role of local priests change in the long tenth century? This article addresses this question by examining episcopal expectations of local priests, as expressed through an important text known as the ‘Admonitio Synodalis’.

The ‘Admonitio’ is an address or homily, suitable for delivery at a diocesan synod when a bishop gathered the priests of his diocese⁵. Its author is unknown, though some manuscripts (falsely) attribute it to a Pope Leo⁶. Over its ninety or so clauses (the precise number varies considerably from manuscript to manuscript, as we shall see), it concisely outlines the parameters for how priests should behave and how they should interact with their parishioners (*parochiani*). For Johannes Laudage, who in 1984 analysed its contents as part of his classic investigation of the *Priesterbild* or “image of the priest”, the ‘Admonitio’ was an attempt “to bring together the most important regulations about priestly life from a pastoral point of view.”⁷ It covers where priests should live, at what time they should get up in the morning, which vestments they should wear when celebrating Mass and how they should preach, alongside prohibitions on drinking and accepting bribes, and much else besides.

None of these instructions was particularly novel or unusual. To the contrary, the ‘Admonitio’ reads like a précis of Carolingian episcopal capitularies such as those issued by Frankish bishops such as Theodulf of Orléans and Hincmar of Reims, and subsequently summarised by the monk Regino of Prüm, to regulate the lives of the rural clergy living in their dioceses. What was unusual about the ‘Admonitio’ was the scale of its transmission. Wilfried Hartmann has talked of a “hugely wide dissemination”, Rudolf Pokorny described it as “one of the most ‘successful’ works of early medieval church law”, and Joseph Avril emphasised its “extraordinary diffusion.”⁸ At least

⁴ See PATZOLD, *Presbyter* (as note 2), pp. 241–304, as well as ID, *Tithes in the long 10th Century. The Example of the Dioceses of Freising and Mâcon*, in this volume of ‘Frühmittelalterliche Studien’.

⁵ On these ‘model sermons’ or ‘Musterpredigten’, see HERBERT SCHNEIDER, ‘Seelsorge’ in *Synodalordines und ihren Musteransprachen* (9.–12. Jahrhundert), in: *La pastorale della Chiesa in Occidente dall’età ottoniana al concilio lateranense IV*, Milan 2004, pp. 145–196, here pp. 159–167, noting (p. 159) that their history has not yet been written, and HERBERT SCHNEIDER, *Eine Freisinger Synodalpredigt aus der Zeit der Ungarneinfälle* (Clm 6245), in: HUBERT MORDEK (ed.), *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Tübingen 1991, pp. 95–115 for a study of a tenth-century *sermo synodalis*.

⁶ On this attribution (JE 2659), see KLAUS HERBERS, *Papst Leo IV. und das Papsttum in der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen päpstlicher Herrschaft in der späten Karolingerzeit* (Päpste und Papsttum 27), Stuttgart 1996, pp. 433–436.

⁷ JOHANNES LAUDAGE, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum im 11. Jahrhundert* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte. Beiheft 22), Cologne 1984, pp. 64–68, here p. 66: “[...] die wichtigsten Bestimmungen zum Priesteramt unter pastoralen Gesichtspunkten noch einmal zusammenzufassen”.

⁸ WILFRIED HARTMANN, *Kirche und Kirchenrecht um 900. Die Bedeutung der spätkarolingischen Zeit für Tradition und Innovation im kirchlichen Recht* (MGH Schriften 58), Hanover 2008, p. 299: “ungeheuer weiten Verbreitung”; RUDOLF POKORNY, *Nochmals zur Admonitio synodalis*, in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 71, 1985, pp. 20–51, here p. 20: “eines

139 manuscript witnesses survive, from countries across Western Europe including England, Italy, Spain, France and Germany⁹. Most of these manuscripts date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But although the ‘Admonitio’ was less often copied from the thirteenth century onwards – though a Polish bishop transcribed it as late as 1521 – its influence lived on indirectly¹⁰. Parts of the text were frequently integrated into later medieval episcopal statutes. For instance, its clause requiring priests to know the prayers for the Mass was copied verbatim in the 1290s in Mende, in 1298 in Novara, in 1310 in Bologna, in 1338 in Pavia and in 1382 in Buda¹¹. Even in the seventeenth century, it seemed current enough for Étienne Baluze to suggest tongue-in-cheek that it should be revived to educate the “most wretched priests” of his own day¹². Though it was not included in the twelfth-century Roman pontifical, an edited version was incorporated into a revised Roman pontifical published in 1485, and remained in this tradition until 1962¹³.

This scale of dissemination and influence has meant that the ‘Admonitio’ has often been seen as a vehicle through which expectations around rural priests developed in early Middle Ages were transmitted to later periods. For the most part this has been framed as a history of continuity. Indeed, for Robert Amiet, who edited the text in 1964, the most remarkable thing about the ‘Admonitio Synodalis’ was its stability and longevity, which meant that priests in the twentieth century were still being exhorted through much the same text as they had been over a millennium earlier in the eighth

der ‘erfolgreichsten’ Werke des frühmittelalterlichen Kirchenrechts”; JOSEPH AVRIL, *Permanence de la pastorale post-carolingienne au temps de Gerbert et aux siècles suivants*, in: Gerbert. Moine, évêque et pape. D’un millénaire à l’autre. Actes des journées d’étude, Aurillac, 9–10 avril 1999, Aurillac 2000, pp. 139–151, here p. 143: “une diffusion extraordinaire”.

⁹ This is fourteen more than were known to Peter Brommer, who counted 125 ‘Admonitio’ manuscripts. PETER BROMMER, *Capitula episcoporum. Bemerkungen zu den bischöflichen Kapitularien*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 91, 1980, pp. 207–236, here p. 219, note 70. For an updated list of manuscripts: https://figshare.shef.ac.uk/articles/dataset/List_of_Admonitio_Synodalis_manuscripts/20474019/1 (last access 29/11/2022).

¹⁰ For the Polish transcription, see JOSEPH AVRIL, *Response to Antonio García y García*, in: *Jurist. Studies in Church Law and Ministry* 57, 1997, pp. 169–179, here p. 173, n. 19.

¹¹ A search based on clause 82 (see Appendix 2 below) in the online ‘Corpus Synodaliū’ database compiled by Rowan Dorin (<https://corpus-synodaliū.com/> [last access 29/11/2022]). For more on these later medieval episcopal statutes, with an emphasis on the bishops as sources of law, see ROWAN DORIN, *The Bishop as Lawmaker in Late Medieval Europe*, in: *Past and Present* 253, 2021, pp. 45–82. On the influence therein of the ‘Admonitio’, see JOSEPH AVRIL, *Les instructions et constitutions de Guillaume Durand, évêque de Mende*, in: PIERRE-MARIE GY (ed.), *Guillaume Durand, évêque de Mende (v. 1230–1296). Canoniste, liturgiste et homme politique*, Paris 1992, pp. 73–94, here p. 81.

¹² *Reginonis Abbatis Prumiensis Libri Duo De Ecclesiasticis Disciplinis*, ed. ÉTIENNE BALUZE, Paris 1671, p. 534: *revocaretur in usus a sanctissimis seculi nostri episcopis, for the miserimi rusticorum ecclesiarum presbiteri*.

¹³ ROBERT AMIET, *Une ‘Admonitio Synodalis’ de l’époque carolingienne. Etude critique et édition*, in: *Mediaeval Studies* 26, 1964, pp. 12–82, here pp. 80–82. For instance, *Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII primum nunc denuo Urbani PP VIII auctoritate recognitum*, Antwerp 1707, where a recognisable version of the ‘Admonitio’ can be found at pp. 412–417 as part of a synodal *ordo*.

century, when Amiet thought the ‘Admonitio’ had first been compiled. Through the ‘Admonitio’, Amiet wrote, “one sees appear the eternal face of the holy Church.”¹⁴ Joseph Avril took a similar view, seeing the ‘Admonitio’ as representing a fundamental continuity into and through the tenth century: “[...] the impulse given by the Carolingian reformers was maintained as far as the clergy entrusted with churches were concerned.”¹⁵

In this article, however, I offer a different perspective. Rather than emphasising the stability and longevity of the ‘Admonitio Synodalis’, I seek to explore its dynamics and its evolution. By tracking the changes that were made to this text in the tenth and eleventh centuries, we can detect subtle shifts in emphasis in the standards by which local priests were measured between the Carolingians and the so-called Gregorian Reform. First of all, though, we need to consider Amiet’s edition in more detail, since, as will become clear, this edition has done a great deal to shape subsequent discussion of the text.

1. AMIET’S EDITION OF THE ‘ADMONITIO’

When Robert Amiet published his edition in 1964, he was confident it would never be superseded, declaring that “I dare to assert that new discoveries will not in any case change my conclusions.”¹⁶ There is no doubt that his edition was a major work of scholarship. Yet it is now apparent how far it was shaped by two questionable assumptions. In the first place, as already noted, Amiet thought the ‘Admonitio’ had been compiled around the year 800 or so. That meant that obvious overlaps with the collection of canon law material compiled by Regino of Prüm, the ‘*Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*’, had to reflect Regino’s borrowing from the text¹⁷. Secondly, Amiet thought that the earliest form of the ‘Admonitio’ was preserved in a set of liturgical books for bishops known as the ‘Pontifical Romano-Germanique’, or

¹⁴ AMIET, *Une ‘Admonitio Synodalis’* (as note 13), p. 82: “A travers ces prescriptions [...] on voit apparaître le visage éternel de la sainte Église [...]”

¹⁵ AVRIL, *Permanence* (as note 8), pp. 139–140, “[...] l’impulsion donnée par les réformateurs carolingiens fut maintenue pour ce qui concerne le clergé chargé des églises.”

¹⁶ AMIET, *Une ‘Admonitio Synodalis’* (as note 13), p. 13, “J’ose affirmer que de nouvelles découvertes ne sauraient en aucun cas modifier mes conclusions.”

¹⁷ In particular from Regino’s first list of ‘inquisitions’: Regino of Prüm, *Libri Duo de Synodalibus Causis*, ed. FRIEDRICH G. A. WASSERSCHLEBEN, Leipzig 1840, pp. 19–26, tr. GIULIO SILANO, *Two Books on Synodal Causes and Ecclesiastical Disciplines*, Toronto 2021, pp. 51–56, and *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm*, ed. WILFRIED HARTMANN (*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters. Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe* 42), Darmstadt 2004, pp. 24–38. The parallels between Regino and the ‘Admonitio’ were investigated systematically by: FRIEDRICH LOTTER, *Ein kanonistisches Handbuch über die Amtspflichten des Pfarrklerus als gemeinsame Vorlage für den Sermo synodalis ‘Fratres presbyteri’ und Reginos Werk ‘De synodalibus causis’*, in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 62, 1976, pp. 1–57, in his detailed Anhang I, pp. 31–51. See the edition in Appendix 2 below for more details.

PRG. Amiet accepted the theory of Michel Andrieu in the 1930s that the PRG had been produced in Mainz around 950¹⁸. For Amiet, this meant that the version of the 'Admonitio' in the PRG was "both the oldest and the shortest of all, and is thus the one closest to the original"¹⁹, and so he built his edition around it.

These two assumptions determined how Amiet presented the text, in two connected ways. Firstly, they meant that Amiet did not prioritise the evidence of the earliest surviving manuscripts. He knew of no manuscript that was older than c. 950, when he thought the PRG was composed, so there was no reason to give the version of the 'Admonitio' in early surviving manuscripts special weight. Indeed, it is clear that Amiet did not attempt an exhaustive search for early manuscripts, as we shall see. Secondly, these assumptions justified his division of the 'Admonitio' into an original short form, as preserved in the PRG, and a separate appendix, which he thought was an entirely independent text added later in some manuscripts. The fact that both the 'appendix' and the 'original' were linked to Regino of Prüm's canon law collection simply demonstrated in Amiet's view that Regino had access to a later version of the 'Admonitio' that included its appendix²⁰.

Today, neither of these assumptions is generally accepted. To begin with, in 1985 Rudolf Pokorny showed in a brilliantly-argued article that the 'Admonitio' is related to an amended version of Regino of Prüm's canon law collection, rather than to the collection's earliest form²¹. At the heart of Pokorny's demonstration was a single clause of the 'Admonitio' (clause 62 in the edition of Amiet), present in all versions of the text. This clause is based on questions 56–58 in Regino's first 'Inquisitio' in his canon law collection. Of these questions, the format of 56 and 57 gives the impression that they are later insertions. These two questions are absent from two manuscripts of Regino's work, Trier SB 927 and Luxembourg Bibliothèque Nationale 29, which Pokorny argued represents the original form of the so-called 'genuine' version. They are present in two other manuscripts of the 'genuine' version of Regino's work (Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, Memb. II 131, fol. 4r and Arras, Mediathèque Municipale, MS 723 [675] at fol. 4v), but are marked out graphically in the Arras manuscript through capitalisation with green highlighting. Pokorny deduced that these questions were later additions to Regino's work. Their appearance in the 'Admonitio' clause 62

¹⁸ On Andrieu's dating of the text in 1931, see *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du 10^e siècle* (Studi e testi 226, 227, 269), ed. CYRILLE VOGEL – REINHARD ELZE, Vatican City 1963, vol. 3, p. 4, n. 1 and p. 14, n. 18. The 'Admonitio' may be found edited there at vol. 2, ch. 80, pp. 286–289.

¹⁹ AMIET, *Une 'Admonitio Synodalis'* (as note 13), p. 25.

²⁰ AMIET, *Une 'Admonitio Synodalis'* (as note 13), p. 75.

²¹ POKORNY, *Nochmals* (as note 8), pp. 20–51; Cf. *Capitula Episcoporum*, ed. PETER BROMMER et al. (MGH *Capitula Episcoporum*), Hannover 1984–2005, vol. 2, p. 21. A new edition of Regino is under preparation by Wilfried Hartmann. This may have implications for the 'Admonitio', but his preliminary edition and German translation suggests that Pokorny's distinction between two different recensions of the genuine version holds up. See *Sendhandbuch*, ed. HARTMANN (as note 17), p. 24, note 7.

therefore proves that the ‘Admonitio’ relied on a revised version of Regino’s work, and thus must have been compiled after Regino finished the first version.

As for the PRG, Henry Parkes has convincingly argued that the PRG tradition, instead of dating to the mid tenth century as Michel Andrieu conjectured, is in reality an early eleventh-century compilation, probably linked to the court of Emperor Henry II in the 1010s²². That is when the PRG’s earliest manuscripts were produced, notably Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Lit.53, which is “the earliest securely datable witness to the PRG tradition” once “over-optimistic” early datings of other manuscripts are dismissed²³. The version of the ‘Admonitio’ in the PRG therefore does not represent a version of the text from c. 950, but one from c. 1010.

The redating of the PRG tradition, and the re-evaluation of the relationship between Regino and the ‘Admonitio’, together have major implications for the value of Amiet’s edition, and for how we think about the ‘Admonitio Synodalis’ – and, by extension, for the normative framework for local priests in the post-Carolingian period²⁴. To explore these, let us now turn to the earliest surviving manuscripts of the ‘Admonitio’.

2. THE EARLIEST MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ‘ADMONITIO’

Amiet’s edition drew on three tenth-century manuscripts, all of which he rightly associated with Bishop Rather of Verona, whose adaptation of the ‘Admonitio’ will be discussed below²⁵. However, there survive no fewer than six other manuscript witnesses to the ‘Admonitio’, dating to c. 1000 or earlier, which Amiet did not take into account²⁶. Four of these manuscripts present a version of the text that has not been edited before²⁷. Let us examine each of these four in turn.

²² HENRY PARKES, *The Making of Liturgy in the Ottonian Church. Books, Music and Ritual in Mainz, 950–1050* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 100), Cambridge 2015; and *Id.*, *Henry II. Liturgical Patronage and the Birth of the ‘Romano-German Pontifical’*, in: *Early Medieval Europe* 28, 2020, pp. 104–141. Parkes has made available online a concordance of PRG mss. The ‘Admonitio Synodalis’ text is part of chapter 80, which the concordance shows is in most though by no means all the PRG mss: <http://prg.henrybradshawsociety.org/> (last access 29/11/2022).

²³ PARKES, *Henry II* (as note 22), esp. pp. 125–126 on Lucca Cod. 607.

²⁴ PARKES, *Henry II* (as note 22), p. 118: “[...] the notion that the PRG tradition was invented and promulgated in the years around 960 has long been used as a yardstick for interpreting all other kinds of liturgical evidence.”

²⁵ Laon, MM, MS 274, Munich, BSB, Clm 6340 and Munich, BSB, Clm 6241. See note 39 below.

²⁶ A list of all the tenth-century manuscripts with copies of the ‘Admonitio’ is provided in Appendix 1. Three of these manuscripts were known to Paul Finsterwalder, who noted in 1938 that they contained an unpublished version of the ‘Admonitio’; PAUL FINSTERWALDER, *Die sogenannte Homilia Leonis IV., ihre Bedeutung für Hinkmars Capitula und Reginos Inquisitio*, in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 27, 1938, pp. 639–664, here p. 650, for the Brussels, Troyes and Milan manuscripts discussed below. Amiet does not seem to have read Finsterwalder’s article.

²⁷ For the other two manuscripts, now in Berlin (a Rather manuscript unknown to Amiet) and Wolfenbüttel (whose copy of the ‘Admonitio’ lacks the ‘appendix’), see note 52 and note 74 below.

To begin with, there is a version of the ‘Admonitio’ on fols. 1v–3v of a manuscript of the revised (or ‘interpolated’) version of Regino’s ‘Libri duo’, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 694, which Hartmut Hoffman dated to c. 1000 and localised to Mainz²⁸. The same hand in Hoffmann’s estimation also copied out a letter in the manuscript dating to 997, giving a *terminus a quo*. Around the same time, the ‘Admonitio’ was also included in Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques-Chirac, MS 1979, on fols. 160–162v. This manuscript is again late tenth-century (or possibly early eleventh-century) from eastern France or western Germany, and contains mostly legal materials linked to the exercise of episcopal duties. The ‘Admonitio’ was included in the manuscript’s original design, as part of a collection of material known as the ‘Collectio 234 capitulorum’²⁹.

Two further manuscripts with the ‘Admonitio’ seem to be a little older. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 46 inf. is a late ninth-century manuscript from Reims which mostly contains Carolingian capitularies, and which was taken to Italy at some point before the twelfth century³⁰. The final quire of this manuscript (fols. 152r–159v) begins with some Roman law extracts in a ninth-century hand, which seem to have been part of the original manuscript since they are indexed at the beginning. Into the blank pages of this final quire was copied the ‘Admonitio’ on fols. 158v–159v (at the end of the codex), written in an unpractised hand which Bischoff estimated to be mid tenth-century (figure 1)³¹. Unfortunately, the Milan manuscript only has an incomplete text, due to the loss of a final folio.

Finally, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 495–505 (Gheyn 2494) is a copy of the Dionysio-Hadriana canon law collection, made in northern Francia in the late ninth century³². Subsequently extra quires were added to it, both at the front

²⁸ On the manuscript: HARTMUT HOFFMANN, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich* (MGH Schriften 30), Stuttgart 1986, here p. 263: “ungefähr auf die Jahrtausendwende”. Bishop Burchard of Worms read Regino through a manuscript similar to this one: see GRETA AUSTIN, *Vengeance and Law in Eleventh-Century Worms. Burchard and the Canon Law of Feuds?*, in: WOLFGANG MÜLLER – MARY SOMMAR (eds.), *Medieval Church Law and the Origins of the Western Legal Tradition. A Tribute to Kenneth Pennington*, Washington (DC) 2006, pp. 66–76, at p. 71, n. 22 (based on unpublished work by Pokorny).

²⁹ For further discussion, see BASTIAAN WAAGMEESTER, *Bishops, Priests and Ecclesiastical Discipline in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Lotharingia*, in this volume of ‘Frühmittelalterliche Studien’.

³⁰ Thanks to Dominik Trump for advice about this manuscript, which can be consulted online <http://213.21.172.25/0b02da8280148f59> (last access 29/11/2022). A description is available in HUBERT MORDEK, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscripta. Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse* (MGH Hilfsmittel 15), Munich 1995, here pp. 233–240. A summary of recent discussion is available at <http://www.leges.uni-koeln.de/en/mss/codices/mailand-ba-a-46/> (last access 29/11/2022).

³¹ BERNHARD BISCHOFF, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1998–2004, here vol. II, n. 2595, “Synodalpredigt ca. s. X med”. I am grateful to David Ganz for confirming an approximately tenth-century dating of the script, which is not easy to evaluate.

³² For an analysis of the whole manuscript, see GÉRARD FRANSEN, *Les manuscrits canoniques de l’abbaye d’Orval*, in: *Aureavallis. Mélanges historiques réunis à l’occasion du neuvième centenaire de l’abbaye*

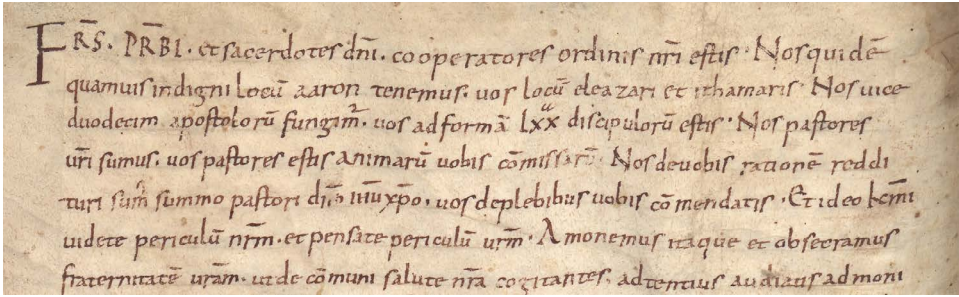


Figure 1: Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, A 46 inf., fol. 158v

and the back. At the very front is what seems to be a bifolium quire (fols. A–3v), made up of an extract of the first twenty chapters of the second episcopal capitulary issued by Archbishop Hincmar of Reims in 852 (though without attribution here), followed immediately by the ‘Admonitio’ (figure 2). The two texts are on the same theme, and were copied by the same hand. Pokorný, relying on Bischoff, thought the script of the Hincmar entry, and thus of the ‘Admonitio’, was from the first half of the tenth century, in “Belgian style”³³.

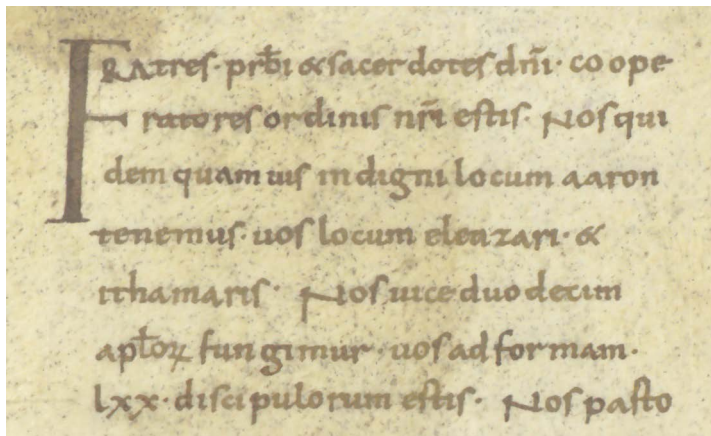


Figure 2: Brussels, KBR, MS 495–505, fol. A

d’Orval, Liège 1975, pp. 111–132 (with a detailed analysis of the contents at pp. 115–119, though on the significant misapprehension that the manuscript was written in Italy).

³³ *Capitula Episcoporum*, ed. BROMMER et al. (as note 21), vol. 2, pp. 26–27 (“belgische Stil”); Cf. BISCHOFF, *Katalog* (as note 31), vol. 1, n. 698. Bischoff’s notes there again imply that he dated the insertion to the tenth century: “in der ganzen Hs. 221 BL., davon 1–16, 213–221 s. X, X/XI u. XI/XII zugefügt”. The manuscript can be consulted online <https://uurl.kbr.be/1884758> (last access 29/11/2022).

All four of these manuscripts present a version of the ‘Admonitio’ which includes what Amiet thought was its ‘appendix’ (the Milanese manuscript has lost the end of the text, but enough survives to be certain of this point). The Vienna manuscript, from c. 1000, separates out this part of the text from the rest by rubrication and a short concluding clause, but the three other manuscripts do not; in these the ‘Admonitio’ is simply presented as a single long text. All four manuscripts also contain two other clauses which Amiet thought were later additions to the text, Amiet’s clause 30b about not singing Mass alone and clause 66b about not travelling without a stole.

What is more, the text in these manuscripts also differs slightly from that edited by Amiet in two respects. In the first place, their version of the ‘appendix’ has some small variants unknown to Amiet³⁴. Secondly, and more significantly, all four of these manuscripts also include at the end of the ‘Admonitio’ two clauses which until now have been attributed to Bishop Rather of Verona (though the Milan manuscript regrettably breaks off half way through the first extra clause):

- (1) *De ordinandis pro certo scitote* [...] – that no one will be promoted unless they have a basic level of education (*aliquantum eruditi*). The text can be linked, like the rest of the ‘appendix’, to Regino of Prüm’s canon law collection.
- (2) *Videte si absque* [...] – that without knowledge (*scientia*) of the issues discussed earlier, the cleric will not be able to bring his parishioners to salvation.

When in 1949 Fritz Weigle edited Rather’s ‘Synodica’, which quoted the ‘Admonitio’ extensively (as discussed below), he relied on previous editions of the ‘Admonitio’ to decide where this text ended, and where Rather’s own text began. No previous edition had included these clauses, so Weigle reasonably assumed they were written by Rather³⁵. However, the presence of these clauses in the four tenth-century manuscripts just discussed suggests that Rather was quoting more than Weigle realised. The converse possibility that these manuscripts were all directly quoting Rather’s ‘Synodica’ can be quickly eliminated, since their version of the text cannot have been copied from his (Rather’s version is discussed in more detail below).

Of course, it could be that these manuscripts, though two of them are earlier than any others that survive and presumably quite close to the text’s date of origin, might nevertheless preserve a later version of the ‘Admonitio’. In other words, it is possible in principle that the short version of the ‘Admonitio’ present in later manuscripts is closer to the archetype – as the saying has it, *recentiores non deteriores*. Yet given the reliance

³⁴ See notes 59 and 60 below. One manuscript also has an interesting variant to Amiet’s clause 6: see Appendix 2 below.

³⁵ Weigle relied on previous editions of the ‘Admonitio’ by Baluze, Martène, Labbe, Mansi and Wattenbach: *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather von Verona*, ed. FRITZ WEIGLE (MGH Epistolae. Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 1), Weimar 1949, p. 130, n. 1. The clauses are edited by Weigle at p. 135 and p. 137.

of the so-called appendix on Regino of Prüm's canon law collection, this would have required some tenth-century editor to have identified Regino as the sole source for the 'Admonitio', and to have gone back to Regino to create the appendix; and, in the case of the so-called addition of Amiet's clause 66b, to have added this material in the right place in Regino's sequence³⁶. This is a far-fetched scenario. Much more likely is that the 'Admonitio' began as a long text which was subsequently shortened, and that the tenth-century manuscripts represent a version close to this original long-form text³⁷.

This has significant implications for the original text. In the first place, it is revealed to have been closer to Regino of Prüm's collection of canon law than has been realised. True, not every aspect of Regino's original compilation of questions to ask the local priest was taken forward. The 'Admonitio' dropped Regino's requirements for the priest's local endowment, for his possession of incense, for the priest's physical integrity, and for his possession of Gregory the Great's homilies. Conversely, it emphasised priestly vestments, treatment of excommunicates and the security of the holy chrism: all items present in Regino's canon law collection, but not highlighted in his initial 'inquisition'³⁸. Nevertheless, the 'Admonitio' preserves a reasonably broad summary of Regino's themes, themselves based on Carolingian-period material.

However, the version of the text found in these early manuscripts also has significant implications for the use and adaptation of the 'Admonitio', which we shall now go on to explore.

3. RATHER OF VERONA'S USE OF THE 'ADMONITIO'

The earliest known adaptation of the 'Admonitio' was by Rather of Lobbes, who served intermittently as bishop of Verona (931–934, 946–948 and again 961–968)³⁹. In 966, Bishop Rather embedded a large section of the 'Admonitio' into his 'Synodica', a

³⁶ As already noted by POKORNY, *Nochmals* (as note 8), at note 84. Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Gud. 83.21 also has Amiet's clause 66b, as LOTTER, *Ein kanonistisches Handbuch* (as note 17) points out.

³⁷ In 1671, Étienne Baluze edited a version of the 'Admonitio' which may be even closer to the original, with an expanded clause 97 drawing on Regino: see *Reginonis Abbatis Prumiensis*, ed. BALUZE (as note 12), pp. 602–606. Baluze did not, however, identify which manuscripts he used for the edition, and it cannot be ruled out he made this expansion himself on the basis of his knowledge of Regino.

³⁸ For these details, see Appendix 2 to this article.

³⁹ On Rather of Verona, see DARIO CERVATO, *Raterio di Verona e di Liegi. Il terzo periodo del suo episcopato veronese (961–968)*. *Scritti e attività*, Verona 1993; EMILIE KURDZIEL, *La vie est un sport de combat. L'Agon dans l'oeuvre de Rathier de Vérone (v. 889–974)*, in: FRANCOIS BOUGARD et al. (eds.), *Agôn. La compétition, V^e–XII^e siècle (Collection Haut Moyen Age 17)*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 311–332. For wider context, see MAUREEN MILLER, *The Formation of a Medieval Church. Ecclesiastical Change in Verona, 950–1150*, Ithaca (NY) 1993. For a comparable attempt to use Rather to study the application of norms (in this case those of Pseudo-Isidore), see EDWARD ROBERTS, *Bishops on the Move. Rather of Verona, Pseudo-Isidore, and Episcopal Translation*, in: BRIGITTE MEIJNS – STEVEN VANDERPUTTEN (eds.), *Bishops in the Long Tenth Century. Episcopal Authorities in France and Lotharingia, c. 900–c. 1050 (The Medieval Low Countries 6)*, Turnhout 2019, pp. 117–138.

letter of admonishment to the clerics of Verona⁴⁰. He wrote this letter in the wake of a rather stormy diocesan synod, where he had discovered to his dismay that most of the clerics of his diocese did not even know the Apostle's Creed. So he circulated the 'Synodica' and asked them to copy it and to learn its instructions by heart, to which all the urban clergy and all the rural clerics (but not the cathedral canons) eventually agreed⁴¹. In his insertion of the 'Admonitio', we see the text working as a benchmark for priestly knowledge and competence, just as we may imagine it was originally intended to do.

The 'Synodica' begins and ends with Rather's own material. At the beginning, he emphasises to his audience of Verona clerics the need to know three Creeds, the importance of Sundays, and the importance of sexual purity. He then copied a version of the 'Admonitio', stating that this is a quotation, and in the manuscripts capitalising the start of the citation. After the 'Admonitio', Rather continued the 'Synodica' to emphasise a number of further themes: the fair distribution of church revenues, times of fasting and abstinence, the reservation of public sins for episcopal judgement, some required characteristics for ordination, including that the priest should not stutter, and the insistence that saints' days be celebrated through fasting rather than feasting. These instructions seem to be specific to Rather's audience, and perhaps to Rather's own personal priorities. In a way, we can see the entire 'Synodica' as an adaption of the 'Admonitio Synodalis', to which Rather added material which he considered was lacking but essential⁴².

But the version of the 'Admonitio' copied in the 'Synodica' also has some significant variants compared to the tenth-century recension discussed in the previous section. For example, the 'Admonitio's' instruction (Amiet clause 8) in the Vienna, Milan and Brussels manuscripts that the priest should have his cell next to the church, and not allow women in his house, perhaps implied that he could have both a cell and a house; in the 'Synodica', the 'Admonitio' text is adapted to make clear that the cell was also the priest's residence. The three annual Masses which the 'Admonitio' instructed

⁴⁰ Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather, ed. WEIGLE (as note 35), pp. 124–137; tr. PETER REID, *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, Binghamton (NY) 1991, pp. 444–452. On Rather's citation from the 'Admonitio', see SARAH HAMILTON, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Royal Historical Society Studies in History), London 2001, pp. 65–66, and EAD., *Inquiring into Adultery and Other Wicked Deeds. Episcopal Justice in Tenth and Early Eleventh-Century Italy*, in: *Viator* 41:2, 2010, pp. 21–44, here p. 38. See further CERVATO, *Raterio* (as note 39), pp. 225–228.

⁴¹ On this synod, see ERNST SCHNECK, *Rather von Verona (ca. 890–974) und seine pastoralen Reformbemühungen auf der Veroneser Diözesansynode von 966*, in: FRANZ RONIG et al. (eds.), *Egbert Erzbischof von Trier 977–993. Gedenkschrift der Diözese Trier zum 1000. Todestag* (Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete 18), Trier 1993, pp. 169–186. Rather discusses it, and his 'Synodica', in his 'Itinerarium', cf. *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather*, ed. WEIGLE (as note 35), pp. 143–146, tr. REID, *Complete Works* (as note 40), pp. 472–474.

⁴² As noted by HAMILTON, *Practice of Penance* (as note 40), p. 65: "[...] they represent Rather's own aspirations."

laymen to attend (Amiet cl. 64: Christmas, Easter and Pentecost) were changed to four by adding Maundy Thursday, which was somewhat unusual⁴³.

The 'Synodica's version of the 'Admonitio' also misses out some material present in the earliest manuscripts, beyond the prefatory material:

- Amiet Clause 19: This clause forbids the use of a glass or wooden chalice in the Mass, insisting on metal.
- Amiet Clauses 28 and 29: These two clauses require the church to be roofed and fenced.
- Amiet Clause 31: This clause requires priests to have a junior clerical assistant, who can assist with the Mass and other liturgical duties.
- Amiet Clause 40 and Clause 41: These two clauses required the priest to preach on Sundays and feastdays, and to base his preaching on the Bible.
- Amiet Clauses 53, 54 and 55: The first of these clauses forbade a priest to hold multiple churches unassisted; the second forbade churches to be divided up; and the third forbade giving Mass to parishioners from elsewhere unless they were travelling.

In principle, it cannot be ruled out that some of these differences existed already in Rather's exemplar, in whatever copy of the 'Admonitio' he had at his disposal. For instance, a lost manuscript from Neresheim, which may have dated from the early eleventh century, similarly adds Maundy Thursday to the list of times when Mass should be taken⁴⁴. Was this text dependant on Rather's version, or was Rather copying from it or some related manuscript? Ultimately such questions are hard to resolve, given the wide diffusion of the 'Admonitio' and the practice of 'lateral contamination', that is of scribes borrowing readings from different traditions⁴⁵. However, there is good reason to suppose that Rather had direct access to the long version, since his distinctive hand made some additions to the liturgical formula for excommunication on folio

⁴³ On interest in Maundy Thursday in the late tenth century, cf. PARKES, *Making of Liturgy* (as note 22), pp. 168–174.

⁴⁴ The text of the 'Admonitio' in this lost Neresheim manuscript (Amiet MS J) is preserved in *Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. PHILIP LABBE, vol. IX, Paris 1671, cols. 803–806. Labbe dated the manuscript to 1009 because of a clause it contained, *in septimum annum Henrici imperatoris, secundum Hebraicam veritatem 4965, secundum vero interpretes 6708*. But the clause as Labbe quotes it simply puts Henry's seventh year in a world history context, and does not connect it to the writing of the manuscript. Moreover, the reference to Henry as emperor suggests the clause must have been written after his imperial coronation in 1014, before which point he was not called emperor. Some of Rather's readings are also found in the lost Baluze manuscript discussed above at note 37 (Amiet's manuscript G). There are also points of contact with the mid twelfth-century Bordeaux, BM, MS 11, fols. 76v–77r (Amiet's manuscript V), as well as the late tenth-century Munich, BSB Clm 6241 (Amiet's manuscript N), discussed below.

⁴⁵ As AMIET, *Une 'Admonitio Synodalis'* (as note 13) discussed on several occasions in the course of his edition, e.g. p. 31.

204v of Brussels, KBR, MS 495–505⁴⁶. Whether the 'Admonitio' was already copied into this manuscript when Rather saw it is impossible to say for sure, but it is at least possible that Rather used the version of the 'Admonitio' in this manuscript, or a copy made of it, in drafting his 'Synodica'.

In this light, Rather may have been adapting the 'Admonitio' to suit northern Italian circumstances, where he was serving as bishop. It is generally supposed that the organisation of rural pastoral care differed slightly from that north of the Alps in much of the Middle Ages⁴⁷. There were fewer churches with full baptismal rights, which were known as *pievi*; they tended therefore to be better endowed, and often controlled various dependent chapels. Moreover, there were more junior clerics in Italy than in Francia⁴⁸; as a result, most churches had groups of clergy serving them, with fewer isolated priests than in the north.

As it happens, we know a great deal about one of the fifty or so tenth-century *pievi* in Verona's diocese, San Pietro of Tillida, whose priests Bishop Rather would have met during his incumbency in Verona. They would have been invited to attend Rather's 966 diocesan synod, and Rather may have had them in mind when drafting his 'Synodica'⁴⁹. San Pietro was located about 40 kilometres south-east of Verona. Its extensive holdings, revenues and indeed books are listed in a remarkable mid tenth-century

⁴⁶ For the scribal intervention, BERNHARD BISCHOFF, *Anecdota novissima. Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters), Stuttgart 1984 (mistakenly identified as fol. 204r rather than 205r); cf. CERVATO, Raterio (as note 39), p. 389, note 1. For discussion of Rather's edits, see CHRISTIAN JASER, *Ecclesia maledicens. Rituelle und zeremonielle Exkommunikationsformen im Mittelalter*, Tübingen 2013, though note that Jaser mis-identifies the manuscript as Italian (following Fransen's lead). Rather may have drawn upon this manuscript in composing other texts too in the 950s: see CLAUDIO LEONARDI, *Von Pacificus zu Rather. Zur Veroneser Kulturgeschichte im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, in: *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 41, 1985, pp. 390–417, here p. 406. On the excommunication text in the manuscript, see SARAH HAMILTON, *Medieval Curses and their Users*, in: *The Haskins Society Journal* 30, 2018, pp. 21–52, here p. 33, noting its similarity to a version in a Reims manuscript.

⁴⁷ For a classic account of Italian rural church organisation, see CATHERINE BOYD, *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy. The Historical Roots of a modern Problem*, Ithaca (NY) 1952. For a more recent discussion see MARCO STOFFELLA, *Local Priests in Early Medieval Rural Tuscany*, in: STEFFEN PATZOLD – CARINE VAN RHIJN (eds.), *Men in the Middle. Local Priests in Early Medieval Europe* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde 93), Berlin 2016, pp. 98–124. For the contrast between (French) parishes and (Italian) *pievi*, see MAURO RONZANI, *L'organizzazione spaziale della cura d'anime e la rete delle chiese (secoli V–IX)*, in: *Chiese locali e chiese regionali nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 61), Spoleto 2014, pp. 537–562, building on classic studies by Cinzio Violante. Some of the supposed structural differences between conditions north and south of the Alps may need to be reconsidered in the light of Patzold's ongoing work on tithes in Francia.

⁴⁸ RACHEL STONE, *Exploring Minor Clerics in Early Medieval Tuscany*, in: *Reti medievali* 18:1, 2017, pp. 67–97.

⁴⁹ For a map of the *pievi* of Verona c. 1000, see MILLER, *Formation* (as note 39), at p. 25 (Tillida marked as n. 34 on the map).

inventory that survives on four sheets of parchment⁵⁰. This inventory tells us that San Pietro had twelve vineyards, sixty fields and thirty meadows in direct use. It also owned lands in eleven settlements (*vici*), whose yields were carefully broken down, counting the chickens and the eggs as well as the cash owed, which amounted to an income of hundreds of *solidi* each year. In addition to these properties, the church benefited from a significant tithe income from twelve villages, totalling ‘in a medium year’ 750 *modii* of grain, 80 amphoras of wine, 350 lambs and piglets, and 300 measures of linen. San Pietro also owned two dependent chapels. Within the church itself were to be found a missal, two antiphonaries, a lectionary, and two collections of homilies, as well as three chalices and plenty of liturgical fabrics of silk and linen. San Pietro was, it is clear, a prospering local church.

These features may go some way to explain Rather’s adaption of the ‘Admonitio Synodalis’. The clauses about Sunday preaching were probably cut simply because Rather had addressed Sundays extensively in the first part of his letter, positioning them as miniature Easters. But the other changes seem more significant. To judge from San Pietro, the baptismal churches around Verona may well have been generally better equipped than many of those targeted in the ‘Admonitio’, so perhaps they all had expensive metal chalices; since they were better endowed, these churches may well also have been in better condition, hence no need to emphasise roof and fence repair; there was no need to insist on a clerical assistant if this was normal practice. The clause about holding multiple churches was not relevant in Verona; conversely, dividing up rural churches was very common in Italy, and perhaps not worth fighting over.

In short, it seems that Rather may have adapted the ‘Admonitio’ to fit the circumstances of his audience, in so doing illustrating the differences he recognised between local churches in northern Italy and the Lotharingia where he had trained. Rather is often considered as a man of letters rather than a practical administrator, but his adaptation of the text shows that the two activities were not always opposed. Still, while the organisation of rural pastoral care differed in northern Italy compared to elsewhere, the differences were not so great as to make the ‘Admonitio’ entirely redundant.

Differences within Rather’s version of the ‘Admonitio’

It is possible to go a step further in examining Rather’s edits, by looking more closely at the surviving manuscripts. Amiet incorporated the version of the ‘Admonitio’ in Rather’s ‘Synodica’ in his edition, but on the basis of only two manuscripts, Laon, Médiathèque Municipale, MS 274 (S1 in Amiet’s edition) and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 6340 (S2 in Amiet’s edition). Amiet seems not to have known

⁵⁰ Studied and edited by ANDREA CASTAGNETTI, *La pieve rurale nell’Italia padana. Territorio, organizzazione patrimoniale e vicende della pieve veronese di San Pietro di ‘Tillida’ dall’alto medioevo al secolo XIII* (Italia Sacra. Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica 23), Rome 1976, with a second edition in 2019.

about a third manuscript with the ‘Synodica’, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS Phill. 1676 (the so-called Egino Codex). All three of these manuscripts are tenth-century in date, and all three seem to have been made in Verona; Rather himself wrote in the Berlin and Munich manuscripts⁵¹. The Berlin text is unfortunately fragmentary because the first folio is missing, and its text thus begins halfway through clause 23 (and the first few folios are currently only available via a poor-quality black and white microfilm); but there is good reason to suppose that Berlin was the oldest of the ‘Synodica’ manuscripts, as Benedetta Valtorta has already suggested, and where Rather began to work out his ideas⁵².

For instance, in a part of the ‘Synodica’ not borrowed from the ‘Admonitio’, Rather talks about the importance of Easter. In the margins of the Berlin manuscript, the scribe added a line about penitents (*De oculis peccatis*), and to this Rather of Verona, in his own hand, added another clause. In both the Laon and Munich manuscripts, this two-part marginal note is integrated into the main text. Subsequently, Rather decided to add another comment about feasting. This he added, again in his own hand, as a marginal note in Berlin immediately underneath the first annotation, though in a different ink (figure 3). This note was added to the Munich manuscript in the margin; in the Laon manuscript, it is fully integrated into the main text. As Valtorta has argued, this suggests that the Berlin manuscript was Rather’s working copy, and the Munich manuscript was also kept to hand, while the Laon manuscript was copied from one or both⁵³.

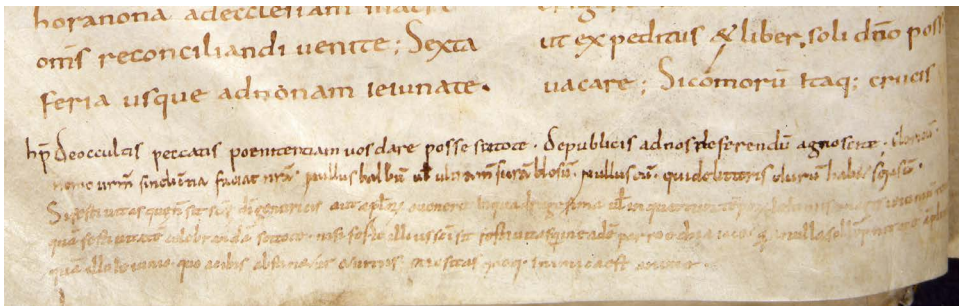


Figure 3: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Handschriften und Historische Drucke, Ms. Phill. 1676, fol. 8v

⁵¹ On these manuscripts, see *Ratherii Veronensis opera minora*, ed. PETER REID (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 46:1), Turnhout 1976, p. viii (Munich), pp. viii–ix (Berlin) and pp. ix–x (Laon) with a table at p. xxix.

⁵² BENEDETTA VALTORTA, *Ratherius Veronensis*, in: LUCIA CASTALDI – VALERIA MATTALONI (eds.), *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo. Mediaeval Latin Texts and their Transmission (Te.Tra)*, vol. 6 (Millennio medievale 117), Florence 2019, pp. 570–613, with a detailed discussion of the ‘Synodica’ text at pp. 608–611, including a stemma positioning Berlin as the archetype. Valtorta notes that the material by Rather in this manuscript has “un evidente carattere di bozza”, p. 574.

⁵³ VALTORTA, *Ratherius* (as note 52), pp. 609–10.

This makes some differences in the ‘Admonitio’ text in these three ‘Synodica’ manuscripts worth studying. Not all these differences are necessarily significant. Apart from trivial orthographical differences (e.g. *pollice/police*), there are a couple of omissions. Laon MS 274 omits a clause about women not singing in the churchyard (Amiet clause 70). Munich Clm 6340 omits a clause about not acquiring a church through secular power (Amiet clause 50: present in Berlin and Laon; surprisingly Amiet indicated it was absent from the Rather tradition; evidently he relied on the Munich, not the Laon manuscript). Munich also omits the clause about not going on a journey without the liturgical item known as a stole (Amiet clause 66bis). These omissions could have been accidental, perhaps eye-skip in a sequence of clauses with similar beginnings.

However, other differences are more likely to be deliberate revisions, reflecting changes in thinking, whether based on experience or, perhaps, access to other written sources. In the Munich manuscript, a clause about not singing Mass whilst wearing spurs and daggers, not present in the Brussels or related manuscripts, is added into the margin (Amiet clause 31bis)⁵⁴: *Nullus cum calcariis, quos sporones rustice dicimus, et cultellis extrinsecus dependentibus missam cantet, quia indecens et contra regulam ecclesiasticam est.*

The Berlin manuscript’s incomplete state means we can say nothing about the presence or absence of this clause there. But in the Laon manuscript, it was copied in slightly abbreviated form in the main text, in a different place (after Amiet’s clause 16)⁵⁵: *Nullus cum cultellis foris pendentibus, nullus cum calcaribus [...].*

Rather also included new instructions on the gesture for blessing (Amiet clause 31ter, ‘Calicem et oblatam [...]’), again missing from the Brussels and related manuscripts of the ‘Admonitio’⁵⁶. This forms a marginal addition in the Berlin manuscript, possibly in Rather’s own hand, but was included in the main text in Laon and Munich, which latter even includes a little illustration (figure 4).

And Rather seems to have changed his mind about the nature of rural priests’ education. The Berlin copy of Rather’s ‘Synodica’ follows exactly the ‘Admonitio’’s clauses about possession of written copies of the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, understanding them and preaching them to the people, and knowing the prayers and the canon of the Mass by heart (Amiet clauses 85 and 87). But in the Laon and Munich manuscripts, some edits have been made⁵⁷. Priests should have written copies of the Creed and Lord’s Prayer but only ‘if possible’; and if they do not understand them, they should at least keep and believe them⁵⁸. And priests should understand the prayers and canon

⁵⁴ Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather, ed. WEIGLE (as note 35), p. 131, lines 15–18; Munich Clm. 6340, fol. 36v.

⁵⁵ Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather, ed. WEIGLE (as note 35), p. 131, lines 2–3.

⁵⁶ Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather, ed. WEIGLE (as note 35), p. 131, lines 18–22.

⁵⁷ Cf. VALTORTA, RATHERIUS (as note 52), suggesting that they are “evidentemente frutto di una rilettura da parte dell’autore”, p. 610.

⁵⁸ Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather, ed. WEIGLE (as note 35), p. 134, *si fieri potest [...]* *si non, saltem teneat vel credat.* Note that these variations were presented as the standard text in Amiet’s edition of the ‘appendix’, reflecting his ignorance of Rather’s Berlin manuscript as well as of the other tenth-century manuscripts of the ‘Admonitio’.

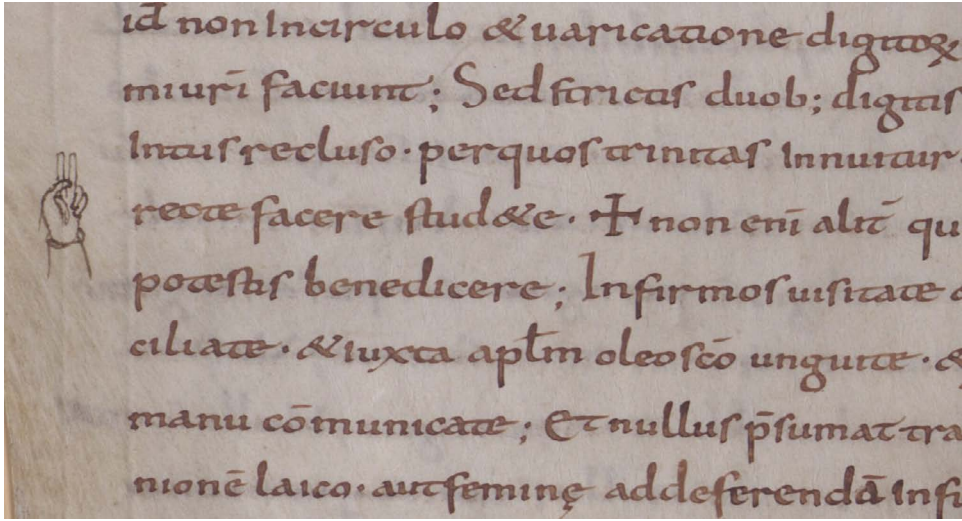


Figure 4: Munich, BSB, Clm 6340, fol. 36v (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

of the Mass; but if not, they should at least know them by heart⁵⁹. The implication is that Rather had decided, perhaps based on his interactions with priests at places such as San Pietro of Tillida, to soften the expectations of priestly competence.

Finally, these two manuscripts also add a line about teaching to the *De ordinandis* clause of the 'Admonitio'. In the Berlin manuscript, the text says that priests need to have spent time either in the city or in a monastery for their education; in the Laon and Munich manuscripts, there is the further possibility of education from "a learned man" (one thinks here of Rather's own famous erudition)⁶⁰.

At one level these variations are just another indication of the basic instability of manuscript text. But this goes further than simply scribal error. Rather and his scribes treated the text with a degree of plasticity: for them the 'Admonitio' was still a working text, a resource, rather than a monument. It would be good to know which version of his text Rather circulated amongst the rural clergy of Verona, and how many copies he made, but there is sadly no way of finding out.

The 'Admonitio' in Bavaria

Rather was a well-travelled man. Born in Lotharingia and a bishop in northern Italy, we know he also spent time in Mainz and, it seems, Bavaria⁶¹. As it happens, Rather's work was also known in Bavaria from an early date. Natalia Daniel suggests that

⁵⁹ *Et si non, saltem memoriter ac distincte proferre valeat.*

⁶⁰ Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather, ed. WEIGLE (as note 35), p. 135, line 12, *vel apud quemlibet sapientem*, Munich, Clm 6340, fol. 38v.

⁶¹ See CERVATO, Raterio (as note 39), p. 76, n. 83.

Bishop Abraham of Freising (d. 993/994) was interested in Rather's writings and was responsible for acquiring Munich Clm 6340, one of the three tenth-century manuscripts of Rather's 'Synodica' discussed above⁶². Bishop Abraham, who was a great book collector, seems to have had an interest in Ottonian literary scholars, since he also collected works by Liudprand of Cremona⁶³.

We can perhaps see Rather's textual influence in Freising through the manuscript Munich Clm 6241, a canonical collection from late tenth-century Freising. This manuscript contains a copy of a Carolingian episcopal capitulary (the 'Capitula Frisingensia tertia')⁶⁴. It also contains various extracts from another Munich manuscript, Clm 6245, which have been rearranged. However, amongst this rearranged material are inserted some extra texts. As well as the famous 'althochdeutsche Klerikereid', an oath taken by clerics swearing allegiance to their bishop, we find there a version of the 'Admonitio', copied on folios 97–100. As was noted by Amiet and more recently by Günther Glauche, the version of the 'Admonitio' in this manuscript, Clm 6241, is closely linked to the version in Munich Clm 6340, which has Rather's 'Synodica'⁶⁵. Mirroring the 'Synodica', it omits the 'Admonitio's otherwise standard opening (*Fratres* [...]), as well as all the other clauses that Rather omitted, and it includes the so-called 'appendix', as Rather did too.

It is intriguing, and a little puzzling, that the Freising scribe of Munich Clm 6241 was apparently able to extract the text so neatly from the rest of Rather's 'Synodica'. Perhaps the scribe was able to identify the 'Admonitio' as a quotation simply from the 'Synodica's content. After all, Rather introduced the text with an "as is written elsewhere" and a capitalisation, and the Freising scribe seems to have taken the "et cetera" to mark the end of the text. But perhaps the information that the middle of the 'Synodica' formed a separate text was passed on orally; it is also possible that the abbreviated version of the 'Admonitio' created by Rather was in independent circulation.

In any case, the copying of the 'Admonitio' in Munich Clm 6241 shows that the text was deemed valuable in late tenth-century Bavaria. In their study of the Old High German clerical oath, Stefan Esders and Heike Johanna Mierau argued that this

⁶² NATALIA DANIEL, *Handschriften des zehnten Jahrhunderts aus der Freisinger Dombibliothek. Studien über Schriftcharakter und Herkunft der nachkarolingischen und ottonischen Handschriften einer bayrischen Bibliothek (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 11)*, Munich 1973, pp. 101–105.

⁶³ As copied in the manuscript Munich, Clm 6426, which contains Abraham's own writing as well as other works by Rather. On this manuscript, see BENEDETTA VALTORTA, *Uno speculum episcopi nel manoscritto Clm 6426*, in: *Studi medievali* 54, 2013, pp. 305–328; as well as *Ratherii Veronensis opera minora*, ed. REID (as note 51), p. x.

⁶⁴ *Capitula episcoporum*, ed. BROMMER et al. (as note 21), vol. 3, p. 221. The dating of the capitulary is put there as the 840s, but both the manuscripts are contemporary with Bishop Abraham of Freising.

⁶⁵ GÜNTER GLAUCHE, *Die Pergamenthandschriften aus der Bibliothek des Domkapitels Freising (Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München)*, Wiesbaden 2000, p. 64; cf. AMIET, *Une 'Admonitio Synodalis'* (as note 13), n. 7.

Munich manuscript was put together as an episcopal handbook⁶⁶. If this is right, then an edited version of the 'Admonitio' was considered as useful for a bishop in Bavaria as it had been for a bishop in the Po valley.

4. THE 'ADMONITIO' AND THE LITURGICAL TRADITION

Around the year 1000, a new phase of the 'Admonitio's history began, as it was integrated into new liturgical *ordines* for diocesan synods⁶⁷. The most commonly copied of these ordines was 'Ordo 14'. According to this *ordo*, the diocesan synod stretched over four days. On the first day of the synod the diocese's priests were welcomed into the cathedral, and were asked whether they had any quarrels amongst themselves. The second and third days were mostly taken up with prayers and liturgies. On the fourth and final day, the bishop himself finally appeared in full vestments, and addressed the priests in person. The 'Admonitio' was copied at this point as a model for the address.

It was the insertion of the 'Admonitio' in synodal *ordines* which led to its wide dissemination in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These *ordines* were a standard component in pontificals, manuscripts designed for bishops' use⁶⁸. The *ordines* were also sometimes copied into legal manuscripts, especially those of the canon law collection of Bishop Burchard of Worms, as has long been noticed⁶⁹. Indeed the 'Admonitio' can be found in a liturgical context in one of the very earliest Burchard manuscripts, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 585, produced in Worms before 1023. The text appears in a liturgy for a diocesan synod known as 'Ordo 17', included at the beginning of the manuscript (fols. 6r–9v)⁷⁰. In some Burchard manuscripts, the

⁶⁶ STEFAN ESDERS – HEIKE JOHANNA MIERAU, *Der althochdeutsche Klerikereid. Bischöfliche Diözesangewalt, kirchliches Benefizialwesen und volkssprachliche Rechtspraxis im frühmittelalterlichen Baiern* (MGH Studien und Texte 28), Hannover 2000, pp. 259–269, esp. p. 267.

⁶⁷ For the edition of these ordines, see *Die Konzilsordines des Früh- und Hochmittelalters*, ed. HERBERT SCHNEIDER (MGH Leges), Hannover 1996. The 'Admonitio' is present in Schneider's Ordo 14, Ordo 15, Ordo 16, Ordo 17, Ordo 18, Ordo 24, and in some manuscripts of Ordo 22. Schneider dated Ordo 14 to the tenth century because of its use in the PRG tradition, but this is no longer a secure dating (see note 22), and its relationship to Ordo 17 may be worth revisiting. The 'Admonitio' was not integrated into the diocesan Ordo 5, which included a different homily, but many of its manuscripts (often based on Burchard's canon law collection) also included the 'Admonitio' as a standalone item: SCHNEIDER, 'Seelsorge' (as note 5), *Konzilsordines*, ed. SCHNEIDER (this note above), p. 231, note 3.

⁶⁸ *Konzilsordines*, ed. SCHNEIDER (as note 67) provides full manuscript details.

⁶⁹ HERBERT SCHNEIDER, *Vorgratianische Kanonensammlungen und ihre Synodalordines*, in: PETER LANDAU – JÖRG MÜLLER (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law Munich, 13–18 July 1992, Vatican City 1997*, pp. 41–61, here p. 56; LOTTE KÉRY, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages, ca. 400–1140. A Biographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature*, Washington (DC) 1994, lists those manuscripts which contain the 'Admonitio' at pp. 134–148 (note that this includes some instances where the 'Admonitio' is copied as a standalone item).

⁷⁰ Ordo 17 in *Konzilsordines*, ed. SCHNEIDER (as note 67), pp. 469–488. On this important manuscript, see HARTMUT HOFFMANN – RUDOLF POKORNY, *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms. Textstufen – frühe Verbreitung – Vorlagen* (MGH Hilfsmittel 12), Munich 1991, pp. 29–37, though without

'Admonitio' is copied as a standalone text, but in these cases too the text seems to be based on the version in the *ordines*⁷¹.

It is sometimes assumed that liturgical development tends towards textual elaboration and extension. But when the 'Admonitio' was included into the liturgical tradition, it did so in a significantly shorter version than that of the tenth-century manuscripts discussed above. Almost all the surviving *ordines* that include the 'Admonitio' feature this shortened version, which in particular omits a set of final clauses; it was this omission which led Amiet to classify these clauses as an appendix⁷². The 'long' version of the 'Admonitio' present in the earliest manuscripts, and adapted by Rather of Verona, was by contrast only seldom copied after the tenth century⁷³. It is tempting to see two Mainz manuscripts, Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 694 and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 83.21 Aug 2, as representing stages in the truncation. As we have seen, the Vienna manuscript includes the 'Admonitio's' 'appendix', but it marks it out as a separate part of the text through rubrication and the insertion of a concluding clause (figure 5). The Wolfenbüttel manuscript was also copied in Mainz around the year 1000, and, like the Vienna manuscript, is another copy of the revised version of Regino's canon law collection. The 'Admonitio' is copied on fols. 2r–2v (unfortunately the first leaf is missing)⁷⁴. But in this manuscript, unlike the Vienna codex, the so-called appendix is omitted. Perhaps this manuscript, or one like it, was the source for the liturgist composing the *ordo*.

reference to the *ordo*; GRETA AUSTIN, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000. The Decretum of Burchard of Worms*, Aldershot 2009, pp. 20–25. Burchard may have seen the 'Admonitio' in a form similar to that in Munich BSB Clm 6241; see *ibid.*, p. 49; HOFFMANN – POKORNY, *Dekret* (this note above), pp. 76–81 (though without reference to the 'Admonitio').

⁷¹ The ongoing new edition of Burchard's canon law collection will doubtless shed more light on the presence of the 'Admonitio' in the Burchard tradition. For details on this edition, see the website for the project Burchards Dekret Digital, <https://www.adwmainz.de/en/projects/burchards-dekret-digital/information.html> (last access 05/12/2022); the *Geschichtsquellen* website has an up-to-date guide to the large historiography around Burchard's work: <https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/werk/744> (last access 05/12/2022).

⁷² Exceptions: Baluze's lost pontifical (Amiet's manuscript G) and Paris BnF ms lat. 17333, the pontifical of Bishop Hugh of Nevers from the mid-eleventh century; this manuscript deserves further attention in this context. In Vatican Otto. Lat 256 (Amiet's manuscript E), the text is part of an addition to the pontifical rather than integrated into it: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.lat.256 (last access 05/12/2022), photos 87–91.

⁷³ In addition to the manuscripts mentioned in note 72, see Trier, Bistumsarchiv, Abt. 95 Nr. 133c (s. XI–XII), fols. 99r–101v, and Colmar BM 128, fols. 46r–48v (s. XII), both of which present the text in the same version as the tenth-century manuscripts discussed above (including the clauses previously attributed to Rather of Verona). I am grateful to Bastiaan Waagmeester for drawing these manuscripts to my attention. The longer form also appears in a couple of liturgical manuscripts: see SCHNEIDER, 'Seelsorge' (as note 5), p. 166, n. 67.

⁷⁴ On the manuscript, see LOTTER, *Ein kanonistisches Handbuch* (as note 17), who provides a list of variants against Amiet's edition. Lotter dates it to the later tenth century. The manuscript can be consulted online <http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&cid=83-21-aug-2f> (last access 05/12/2022).

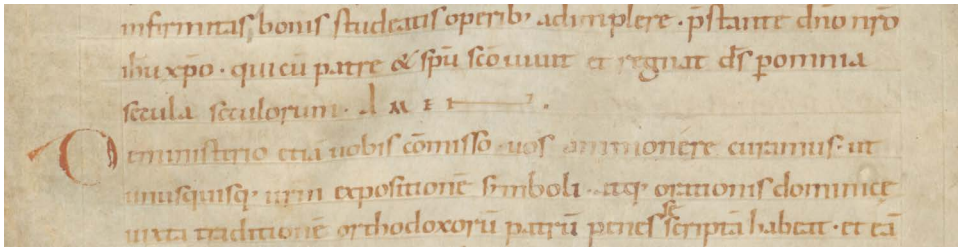


Figure 5: Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 694, fol. 3r

What does this compression of the ‘Admonitio’ in the *ordines* tell us about expectations of local priests? At first sight, it might seem to show a deliberate lowering of standards, as well as cutting clauses about the priest’s personal legal position (Amiet clauses 83 and 84), the excisions removed various requirements. Priests were no longer explicitly requested to have access to, and to understand, various basic texts (the Creed, the prayers of the Mass, the psalms: Amiet clauses 85–90), nor to know various specific liturgies (Amiet clauses 91–95), nor be able to carry out basic computus (Amiet clause 96), nor to own a martyrology and a penitential (Amiet clause 97).

However, we should be cautious before reading these changes as straightforwardly indicating a decline in the educational expectations of local priests. It might be better to think of them as reflecting the altered function of the diocesan synod. More research on the early history of diocesan synods is needed, but it is clear that the diocesan synodal *ordines* in which the ‘Admonitio’ features differ quite substantially from the earlier diocesan synodal *ordines* that had circulated in Carolingian Francia. These older diocesan *ordines* had placed significant emphasis on testing and examining priests⁷⁵. The newer *ordines*, which appear in manuscripts from around the year 1000 onwards, were more closely modelled on the arrangements for provincial synods, where bishops came together⁷⁶. In these new *ordines*, the focus was less on ‘quality control’, and more on fostering consensus and on general moral exhortation (a shift which might also

⁷⁵ For diocesan synods in the Carolingian period, see HARTMANN, Kirche (as note 8), pp. 136–138, and PATZOLD, Presbyter (as note 2), pp. 322–323. Early diocesan synodal *ordines*, all involving the testing of priests’ knowledge, are edited in: HERBERT SCHNEIDER, Priester bei der Prüfung. Ein westgotischer Ordo in susceptione presbiterorum in süditalienischer Überlieferung, in: KATHLEEN CUSHING (ed.), Ritual, Text and Law. Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds (Church, Faith, and Culture in the Medieval West), Aldershot 2004, pp. 23–39; Konzilsordines, ed. SCHNEIDER (as note 67), Ordo 30, pp. 591–594; CHARLES DE CLERCQ, La législation religieuse franque. Étude sur les actes de conciles et les capitulaires, les statuts diocésains et les règles monastiques, vol. 2: De Louis le Pieux à la fin du IX^e siècle (814–900), Antwerp 1958, pp. 407–411 (excluded from Konzilsordines, ed. SCHNEIDER, apparently on the grounds that it is too close to a visitation: p. 11, note 39); HEINZ WOLTER, Die Synoden im Reichsgebiet und Reichsitalien von 916 bis 1056, Paderborn, 1988, excludes diocesan synods from his analysis (p. 1 and p. 432, “als nichtkollegiale Gremien”).

⁷⁶ For an account of changes in synodal practice in the tenth century (though with little discussion of diocesan synods), see ERNST-DIETER HEHL, Die Synoden des ostfränkisch-deutschen und des west-

help explain why fewer episcopal statutes were issued in this period). For instance, in ‘Ordo 14’, God was asked to inspire the priests to lead their flock to eternal life, a reminder was issued about not living with women, and clerics were invited to raise any disputes they might have⁷⁷. There was no explicit reference to assessing or monitoring priests’ levels of knowledge. It was in this liturgical context that the ‘Admonitio’ text was shortened to focus on sacramental competence, which, as Laudage pointed out, it now represented as the “chief duty of the priest.”⁷⁸

Given this changing context, we cannot necessarily conclude from the abbreviation of the ‘Admonitio’ that priests’ knowledge no longer mattered, nor that the priests themselves were less well-educated. After all, education was one of the stated purposes for which Bishop Burchard had compiled his ‘Decretum’ in the early eleventh century, the testing of priests’ knowledge could have been reserved for local visitation, and anyway *ordines* are not a complete guide to what happened during synods⁷⁹. Perhaps more centralised structures for the provision of clerical education within the diocese, as opposed to the somewhat *ad hoc* Carolingian arrangements which often relied on local monasteries, ensured that a basic standard of priestly education could now be assumed, making checking less urgent⁸⁰. Nevertheless, it remains striking that when the ‘Admonitio’ was condensed in the early eleventh century for use in the diocesan synod, what now mattered was the correct performance of the Mass and the guarding of the priest’s local reputation. Priests might have been encouraged to go further, but they were considered to be fulfilling their role adequately if they mastered these core competencies, and this marks a noticeable shift in emphasis from Carolingian priorities⁸¹.

Absorption into diocesan *ordines* also conferred greater rigidity upon the text. This was of course not an absolute rule. An early pontifical in the PRG tradition,

fränkischen Reichs im 10. Jahrhundert. Karolingische Traditionen und Neuansätze, in: ANNETTE GRABOWSKY – WILFRIED HARTMANN (eds), *Recht und Gericht in Kirche und Welt um 900*, Munich 2007, pp. 125–150.

⁷⁷ Konzilsordines, ed. SCHNEIDER (as note 67), p. 422 and p. 424.

⁷⁸ LAUDAGE, *Priesterbild* (as note 7), p. 67: “Der Dienst an den Sakramenten wird augenscheinlich als Hauptaufgabe des Priesteramtes angesehen, und scheint das alles beherrschende Thema des Synodalschreibens zu bilden.” Laudage used the Amiet edition and Burchard manuscripts, and thus did not take the ‘appendix’ into account, but his comments on the text remain relevant for the ‘Admonitio’ as preserved in most eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts.

⁷⁹ AUSTIN, *Shaping* (as note 70), p. 3, p. 30 and p. 81, who describes Burchard’s work as “[a] reference work for clergy in the parish”, though as far as I know there are no surviving Burchard manuscripts which have been identified as having belonged to local priests.

⁸⁰ For an overview, see SARAH HAMILTON, *Educating the Local Clergy*, c. 900– c.1150, in: *Studies in Church History* 55, 2019, pp. 83–113. For Rather of Verona’s efforts to improve educational provision in the city of Verona, see MILLER, *Formation* (as note 39), at pp. 42–50.

⁸¹ For the Carolingian priorities, see now CARINE VAN RHIJN, *Leading the Way to Heaven. Pastoral Care and Salvation in the Carolingian Period*, London 2022. It might be noted that in the later medieval church, a focus on educational standards returned but in the new context of the mendicant orders, a development that could be connected with the processes discussed here. My thanks to the anonymous reviewer for this suggestion. I hope to consider the change in the function of diocesan synods in future work.

Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana, D 5, possibly based on a copy made on the occasion of Emperor Henry II’s visit to Monte Cassino in 1022, contains a version of the ‘Admonitio’ which has been carefully annotated and emended, probably still in the eleventh century, in a Beneventan hand⁸². Some of the edits in the Vallicelliana manuscript suggest that they were comparing the text with a version in another manuscript. For instance, when priests are enjoined to exhort married men “to abstain from their wives at certain times” (fol. 64v, Amiet clause 65), the correcting scribe elaborated on when this was: at Christmas, Lent, all feast days, Ember Day fasts, and Sunday nights. This is similar to an elaboration found in some other manuscripts of the ‘Admonitio Synodalis’, so here (and perhaps at a couple of other places) the scribe may have had one of these manuscripts on their desk.

But at other points in the text, the correcting scribe seems to have made emendations off their own bat. They specified that the sick should be offered the rite of reconciliation when “in fear of death” (fol. 64r, Amiet clause 32). They allowed priests to sell property if they consulted the bishop first (fol. 64v, Amiet clause 68). They emphasised that the bishops had been chosen or elected (*electi*) (fol. 63v, Amiet clause 3). They emphasised that the Mass or eucharist should be taken with “great” fear (Amiet clause 12). They crossed out a passage saying that churches should not be divided between many people (Amiet clause 54). When the ‘Admonitio’ noted that some “unfaithful people” might steal the chrism, they noted curtly: “women” (fol. 64v, Amiet clause 80), though the original scribe had already laid the way for this by writing the feminine *quasdam* instead of the male/indeterminate *quosdam*, deliberately or not⁸³. And the annotator also noted that it was permitted for priests to drink in taverns if they were travelling (fol. 64r, Amiet clause 39), as indeed some traditional canons permitted.

Eye-catching though these edits in the Vallicelliana manuscript are, they are mostly clarifications, rather than Rather’s more deliberate emendations. And the Vallicelliana edits were relatively unusual compared with the broader liturgical transmission. Naturally there were textual variations within the liturgical tradition, as one would expect in a text extensively copied over several centuries. But most of those variations conscientiously noted in Amiet’s edition are relatively trivial, and could well have sprung from copying errors: for instance the difference between *videte* and *videamus*, or *vasa sacra* and *sacra vasa*. These are potentially valuable clues from the point of view of a critical edition, but they are less important from the point of reception history, since they make little difference to the meaning. The liturgical tradition had a monumental quality to it⁸⁴. Once the ‘Admonitio’ was integrated into this tradition, it froze, and ceased to be a living text.

⁸² PARKES, Henry II (as note 22), p. 137, with n. 119.

⁸³ Thanks to Mark Thakkar for pointing this out.

⁸⁴ Cf. HENRY PARKES, Towards a definition of the Romano-German Pontifical and back, in: ANDREW IRVING – REINHARD MESSNER (eds.), Zur Typologie liturgischer Bücher des westlichen Mittelalters, forthcoming, on the monumentality of the PRG tradition.

5. CONCLUSION

As noted earlier, Amiet suggested that in the 'Admonitio', "one sees appear the eternal face of the holy Church." This article has argued that the apparently unchanging nature of the text highlighted by Amiet was in part an illusion produced by Amiet's own assumptions. In reality the text was changed and adapted in ways that have much to tell us about how local priests were perceived. The history of the 'Admonitio' has not yet given up all its secrets, but some preliminary conclusions are nevertheless possible.

The very earliest manuscripts of the 'Admonitio Synodalis', which are all legal compilations of one kind or another, suggest the text was initially read within a legal-pastoral context, much like the closely associated collection of canonical traditions selected from the mass of Carolingian material by Regino of Prüm in the early tenth century. Indeed the 'Admonitio' could be read as a condensed version of Regino's work, summarised into a form for exhortation. For the most part the 'Admonitio' simply changes Regino's questions into commands; at other times, the 'Admonitio' echoes some of Regino's proof texts. The author seems to have been intimately familiar with Regino's work. No wonder that in 1914 Robert Lawson wondered whether the author might not have been Regino himself, a suggestion which might be worth revisiting in the light of the manuscripts discussed above⁸⁵.

As we have seen, the 'Admonitio' proved valuable for Bishop Rather of Verona in the later tenth century. However, the prominence of the 'Admonitio' is really owed to its inclusion around the year 1000 in new liturgical *ordines*, transmitted in pontificals and in the collection of Burchard of Worms, which led to it eclipsing other comparable synodal admonitions. As part of that process of inclusion, the original 'Admonitio' was heavily edited down, cutting back on questions of technical knowledge to focus on morality and sacramental capacity. Only from this point did the 'Admonitio' become a fossilised text, which was seldom further tampered with. It had become part of the liturgy, something to be prized as part of a church's heritage. It was this version that Amiet canonised in his edition as 'the' 'Admonitio'.

What does this development tell us about the wider questions around expectations of priests in the long tenth century and beyond? Firstly we can see that these expectations were indeed indebted to Carolingian precedents, filtered through Regino of Prüm, making the 'Admonitio' a compilation from a compilation, as Lawson put it⁸⁶. These expectations remained a useful summary in the tenth century, as is shown by Rather of Verona's decision in 966 to circulate the 'Admonitio' in revised written form around the clergy of his diocese, rural as well as urban. However, Rather did not shrink from editing (and re-editing) the text to meet his needs and priorities. The Carolingian legacy was still live, so to speak.

⁸⁵ ROBERT LAWSON, L'homélie dite de Léon IV, in: *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 5, 1914, pp. 117–137.

⁸⁶ LAWSON, L'homilie (as note 85), at p. 137.

But from the eleventh century, the text was truncated, and its evolution stopped. This truncation reflects the integration of the 'Admonitio' into the liturgy for a diocesan synod whose focus seems to have changed. This may not tell us all that much about the actual level of local priests' competence. But it does at least imply a change in episcopal priorities. Ninth-century bishops had cared a great deal about the wider expertise of their local priests, and used diocesan synods to evaluate it. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, what mattered at the increasingly standardised diocesan synod was the performance of episcopal authority and the establishment of consensus, as the basis for establishing a diocesan community. Now, it was moral comportment and the Mass that was uppermost when bishops harangued their assembled rural clergy. In this revised liturgical setting, the 'Admonitio' did preserve certain Carolingian traditions about the role of the rural priest, but in a compressed, and ossified, form.

APPENDIX 1: TENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS OF THE 'ADMONITIO'

Brussels, KBR, MS 495–505, fols. 1v–3v

Berlin, SB, Phill. 1676 (Rather's 'Synodica'), fols. 7r–8v

Laon, BM, MS 274 (Rather's 'Synodica'), fols. 58v–64v

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 46 inf., fols. 158v–159v

Munich, BSB, Clm 6340 (Rather's 'Synodica'), fols. 32v–39v

Munich, BSB, Clm 6241 (linked to Rather's 'Synodica'), fols. 96r–99r

Troyes, Médiathèque Jacques-Chirac, MS 1979, fols. 160r–162v

Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Guelf 83.21 Aug 2, fols. 2r–2v

Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 694, fols. 1v–3v

APPENDIX 2: EDITION OF THE 'ADMONITIO' IN BRUSSELS KBR 495–505

In the light of the problems identified with Amiet's edition, and the evidence of the tenth-century manuscripts presented above, a new critical edition of the 'Admonitio' is needed. To provide one exceeds the scope of this article. However, as a contribution towards such a critical edition, this appendix presents an edition of the 'Admonitio' text in the Brussels KBR 495–505 manuscript, which has never been edited before. Significant variations vis-à-vis the related manuscripts Vienna ÖNB cod. 694 (V), Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana A 46 inf. (M), Troyes Médiathèque Jacques-Chirac MS 1979 (T) and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. 83.21 Aug 2° (W) are indicated in the apparatus⁸⁷. It may be noted that M and T, and V and W, share certain readings.

I have renumbered the clauses, while also providing Amiet's original numeration in an extra column on the right since this is standard in the scholarship. In this column I have also provided an indication of the likely source for each clause in Regino's 'Libri Duo', drawing on Lotter's identifications; references to 'Inq I' are to the first set of Regino's inquisition questions, 'Inq II' to the second, and references in Roman numerals alone are to Regino's proof canons⁸⁸. To aid the reader, I have expanded abbreviations (including the e-caudata), modernised punctuation, capitalised names, and normalised u/v spellings.

⁸⁷ I have not collated the text against the later Colmar and Trier manuscripts. For these manuscripts, see note 73 above.

⁸⁸ LOTTER, *Ein kanonistisches Handbuch* (as note 17), Anhang 1a and 1b, pp. 31–51.

	1. Fratres presbiteri et sacerdotes Domini, cooperatores ordinis nostri estis.	1
	2. Nos quidem quamvis indigni locum Aaron tenemus, vos locum Eleazari et Ithamaris ¹ .	2
5	3. Nos vice duodecim apostolorum fungimur, vos ad formam LXX discipulorum estis. ²	3
	4. Nos pastores vestri sumus, vos pastores estis animarum vobis commissarum.	4
10	5. Nos de vobis rationem reddituri sumus summo pastori domino Iesu Christo, vos de plebibus vobis commendatis.	5
	6. Et ideo, karissimi, videte periculum vestrum.	6
	7. Ammonemus itaque et obsecramus fraternitatem vestram, ut quae vobis suggerimus, memoriae commendetis, et opere exercere studeatis.	7
15	8. In primis ammonemus ut vita et conversatio vestra irraeprehensibilis sit, scilicet ut cella vestra sit iuxta ecclesiam, et in domo vestra feminas non habeatis.	8 – Inq I 17-18
	9. Omni nocte ad nocturnas surgite.	9 – Inq I 28
	10. Cursum vestrum certis horis decantate.	10 – Inq I 29
20	11. Missarum caelebrationes religiosae peragite.	11 – Inq I 30
	12. Corpus et sanguinem Domini cum timore et reverentia sumite.	12 – Inq I 67
	13. Vasa sacra manibus propriis abluite et extergite.	13 – Inq 67
	14. Nullus cantet missam, nisi ieiunus.	14 – Inq I 31
25	15. Nullus cantet, qui non communicet.	15 – Inq I 43
	16. Nullus cantet, sine amictu, alba, stola, fanone, et casula.	16 – I 81
	17. Et haec vestimenta nitida sint, et ad nullos usus alios sint.	17 – ?Inq I 12

7 estis] *om.* V 11 vestrum] nostrum et pensate periculum vestrum M 13 ut] de communi salute nostra cogitantes adtentius audiatis admonitionem nostram et *add.* M, et T 27 et...28 sint] *om.* M

¹ Cf. *Liber de diviniis officiis*, ed. MIGNE, PL 101, col. 1173–1286 at col. 1233 (as noted by SCHNEIDER, *Seelsorge*, p. 164): illos scilicet, qui de Eleazar, et qui de Ithamar stirpe descenderant, divisit eos in partes viginti quatuor.

² Cf. *Hincmar, Capitula I, MGH Capit. ep. II*, p. 38.

	18. Nullus cum alba, qua in suos usus utitur, praesumat missam cantare.	18 – Inq I 68
	19. Nullus in ligneo aut in vitreo calice audeat missam cantare.	19 – ?Inq I 5/I 168
5	20. Nulla femina ad altare accedat, nec calicem Domini tangat.	20 – Inq I 44
	21. Corporale mundissimum sit.	21 – Inq I 7
	22. Altare sit coopertum de mundis linteis.	22 – Inq I 4
10	23. Super altare nihil ponatur, nisi capsae et reliquiae, aut forte quattuor evangelia, et pixis cum corpore Domini ad viaticum infirmis.	23 – I 60
	24. Cetera in nitido loco recondantur.	24 – I 60
	25. Missalem plenarium, lectionarium et antiphonarium unusquisque habeat.	25 – Inq I 10
15	26. Locus in secretario aut iuxta altare sit praeparatus, ubi aqua effundi possit quando sacra vasa abluuntur,	26 – Inq I 8
	27. et ibi vas nitidum cum aqua dependeat, et ibi sacerdos manus lavet post communionem.	27 – Inq I 8
	28. Ecclesiae vero sint bene coopertae et cameratae	28 – Inq I 1
20	29. et atrium ecclesiae sit sepe munitum.	29 – Inq I 16
	30. Nullus extra ecclesiam per domos nec in locis non consecratis missam cantet.	30 – Inq I 22
	31. Nullus solus missam cantet.	30b – I 193
25	32. Omnis presbiter clericum habeat vel scolarem, qui epistolam vel lectionem legat, et ad missam respondeat, et cum quo psalmos cantet.	31 – Inq I 27
	33. Infirmos visitate, et eos reconciliamini, et iuxta apostolum oleo sancto inungite, et propria manu communicate.	32 – Inq I 19
30	34. Et nullus presumat tradere communionem laico aut feminae ad deferendum infirmo.	33 – Inq I 19

1 suos usus] suo uso *M*, suo usus *T* 5 altare] Domini *add. V* 10 et] aut *V* | pixis] pixida *M T* 16 effundi] effudi *B* 19 vero] vestrae *M T* | sint] *om. V* | bene coopertae] cooperte bene *V* 31 deferendum] deferendo *T*

	35. Nullus vestrum pro baptizandis infantibus, aut infirmis reconciliandis, aut mortuis sepeliendis, praemium vel munus exigat.	34 – Inq I 20
5	36. Videte, ut per negligentiam vestram nullus infans sine baptismo moriatur.	35 – Inq I 21
	37. Nullus vestrum sit ebriosus et litigiosus, quia servum Domini non oportet litigare.	36 – Inq I 23
	38. Nullus arma ferat in seditione, quia arma nostra spiritualia debent esse.	37 – Inq I 24
10	39. Nullus canum aut avium iocis inserviat.	38 – Inq I 25
	40. Nolite in tabernis bibere.	39 – Inq I 26
	41. Unusquisque vestrum, quantum sapit, plebi suae de evangelio vel apostolo, die dominico vel festis diebus annuntiet.	40
15	42. Verbum enim domini debetis praedicare.	41 – Inq I 33
	43. Curam pauperum peregrinorum et orfanorum habete, et eos ad prandium vestrum invitate.	42 – Inq I 35
	44. Estote hospitales, ut a vobis alii exemplum bonum capiant.	43 – II 428
20	45. Omni die dominico ante missam aquam benedictam facite, unde populus aspergatur, et ad hoc solum vas habete.	44 – Inq I 36
	46. Sacra vasa et vestimenta sacerdotalia nolite in vadium dare negotiatori aut tabernario.	45 – Inq I 37
25	47. Nullus vestrum minus digne poenitentem cuiuscumque rei gratia ad reconciliationem adducat, et ei testimonium reconciliationis ferat.	46 – Inq I 39
	48. Nullus vestrum usuras exigat, et conductor sui senioris existat.	47 – Inq I 42
30	49. Res et facultates, quas post diem ordinationis vestrae acquiritis, sciatis ad ecclesiam pertinere.	49 – Inq I 41
	50. Nullus sine scientia et consensu vestro ecclesiam acquirat.	49 – ?I 243
	51. Nullus per potestatem saecularium ecclesiam obtineat.	50 – I 243

4 ut] nec *add. M T* 10 canum] canem *B* 15 enim] *add. sup. lin. B, om. V* 19 capiant] sumant *V* 26 ferat] feratur *M* 31 vestro] nostro *T*

52. Nullus per pecuniam alterius ecclesiam subplantet. 51 – ?Inq I 45
53. Nullus ecclesiam, ad quam titulatus est, dimittat, et ad
aliam questus causa migret. 52 – Inq I 46
54. Nullus plures teneat ecclesias sine aliorum presbiterorum
adiutorio. 53 – Inq I 47
55. Nullatenus una ecclesia inter plures dividatur. 54 – I 247
56. Nullus alterius paroechianum, nisi³ in itinere aut ad
placitum fuerit, ad missam recipiat. 55 – Inq I 48
57. Nullus in alterius parroechiam missam cantet absque
conpresbiteri voluntate et rogatu. 56 – Inq I 49
58. Nullus decimam ad alium pertinentem recipiat. 57 – Inq I 50
59. Nullus poenitentem invitet carnem manducare et bibere
vinum, nisi pro eo ad praesens elemosinam fecerit. 58 – Inq I 51
60. Nullus praesumat baptizare, nisi in vigilia Paschae et
Pentecosten, nisi pro periculo mortis. 59 – Inq I 53
61. Unusquisque fontes habeat, et si non potest habere
lapideos, habeat aliud ad hoc praeparatum, in quo nichil
aliud fiat. 60 – Inq I 54
62. Videte ut omnibus parroechianis vestris symbolum et
orationem dominicam insinuetis. 61 – Inq I 55
63. Ieiunium quattuor temporum, et rogationum, et laetani
maioris, plebibus vestris omnimodis observandum insinuate. 62 – Inq I 56-58
64. Feria quarta ante quadragesimam plebem ad
confessionem invitate, et ei, iuxta qualitatem delicti,
poenitentiam iniungite, non ex corde vestro, sed sicut in
penitentiali scriptum est. 63 – Inq I 59
65. Tribus temporibus in anno, id est Natale Domini,
Pascha, et Pentecosten, omnes fideles ad communionem
corporis et sanguinis Domini accedere admonete. 64 – Inq I 60
66. Certis temporibus coniugatos ab uxoribus abstinere
exhortamini. 65 – Inq I 61
67. Eulogias post missam in diebus festis plebi tribuite. 66 – Inq I 63

1 alterius] *om. M* 7 ad] *om. W* 10 conpresbiteri] cum presbiteri *M*, presbiteri *V W* 17 aliud] vas *M T*
19 parroechianis] parroechiariis *W*

³ *W* begins here (its first page is missing).

	68. Nullus sine stola in itinere incedat.	66b – Inq I 64
	69. Nullus induatur vestimentis laicalibus.	67 – Inq I 65
	70. Nullus rem aut possessionem aut mancipium ecclesiae vendere aut commutare aut quocunque ingenio alienare praesumat.	68 – Inq I 70
5	71. Diem dominicum et alias festiuitates absque opere seruili a uespere in uesperam celebrare docete.	69 – Inq I 71
	72. Cantus et choros mulierum in atrio ecclesiae prohibete.	70 – Inq I 72
	73. Carmina diabolica quae super mortuos nocturnis horis vulgus cantare solet, et cachinnos quos exercent, sub contestatione Dei omnipotentis uetate.	71 – Inq I 73
10	74. Cum excommunicatis nolite communicare.	72 – Inq II 58
	75. Nullus illis praesumat missam cantare,	73
	76. sed et plebibus uobis commissis hoc annuntiate.	74
15	77. Ad nuptias nullus uestrum eat.	75 – Inq I 62
	78. Omnibus denuntiate ut nullus uxorem accipiat, nisi publice caelebratis nuptiis.	76 – ?II 181
	79. Raptum omnimodis prohibete, et ut nullus ad proximam sanguinis sui accedat, et ut alterius sponsam nullus ducat.	77 – Inq II 28/34
20	80. Porcarios et alios pastores uel dominica die ad missam uenire facite.	78 – Inq II 64
	81. Patrini filioliis suis symbolum et orationem dominicam insinuent, aut insinuari faciant.	79 – Inq II 74
25	82. Chrisma semper sub sera sit aut sub sigillo propter quosdam infideles ⁴ .	I 73

2 uestimentis] uestibus *V W* 7 docete] docere *B* 10 cantare] facere *V* 25 infideles] Volumus autem fratres karissimi, quatinus quae nostra percepistis traditione, quantum humana patitur infirmitas, bonis studeatis operibus adimplere, praestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uivit [et regnat *add. W*] Deus, per omnia [benedictus in *add. W*] secula [seculorum *om. W*]. Amen *add. V W*

⁴ *V W* continue here in a particular way. *W* ends after this addition. Immediately after the text, the manuscript continues with an extract from a letter of Pope Nicholas I to Emperor Michael of Constantinople. *V* omits Amiet's 83 and 84, continuing with the 'appendix' starting with Amiet clause 85, marking the beginning 'De ministerio' with a capital and rubricated initial letter *D*.

83. Volumus⁵ autem scire, de quolibet presbitero si ex ingenuis sit parentibus natus aut ex servili conditione. Si de nostra parroechia est natus vel ad quem locum praetitulatus. 83 – Inq I 76-77
- 5 84. Si servus est, ostendat kartam libertatis. Si de alia parroechia ostendat litteras commendaticias, quas formatam vocant. 84 – Inq I 79-80
- 10 85. De ministerio etiam vobis commisso vos ammonere curamus, ut unusquisque vestrum expositionem symboli et orationis dominicae, iuxta traditionem orthodoxorum patrum penes se scriptam habeat, et eam pleniter intelligat, et inde praedicando populum sibi commissum sedulo instruat. 85 – Inq I 82
- 15 86. Orationes missarum praefationem quoque canonis et eundem canonem bene intelligat et memoriter ac distincte proferre valeat. 86 – Inq I 83
- 20 87. Epistolam et evangelium bene legere possit, atque saltem ad litteram eius sensum manifestare. 87 – Inq I 84
- 25 88. Psalmorum verba et distinctiones regulariter ex corde cum canticis consuetudinariis pronuntiare sciat. 88 – Inq I 85
- 30 89. Sermonem Athanasii episcopi de fide sanctae trinitatis, cuius initium est: *Quicumque vult salvus esse*, memoriter teneat, et sensum illius intelligat et verbis communibus enuntiare sciat. 90 – Inq I 86
90. Exorcismos et orationes ad caticuminum faciendum, ad fontem quoque consecrandum, et reliquas praeces super masculum et feminam, pluraliter ac singulariter distincte proferre valeat. 91 – Inq I 87
- 30 91. Similiter ordinem baptizandi, ad succurrendum infirmis, ordinem quoque reconciliandi, iuxta modum sibi canonicae reservatum, atque ungenti infirmos, orationes quoque eidem necessitati competentes bene sciat legere. 92 – Inq I 88-89
92. Similiter ordinem et praeces in exequiis atque agendis defunctorum. 93 – Inq I 90

1 83...6 vocant] om. V 2 sit parentibus] parentibus sit MT 5 formatam] formatas T, the reading in M is unclear 8 et] atque B 32 atque] de V

⁵ This is the first line of the 'appendix' according to Amiel's edition, but B M T do not mark any separation between this and the preceding text.

93. Similiter exorcismos et benedictiones salis et aquae memoriter teneat. 94 – Inq I 91
94. Cantum nocturnum atque diurnum noverit. 95 – Inq I 92
- 5 95. Computum minorem, id est epactas, concurrentes regulares, terminos paschales, et reliquos sapiat. 96 – Inq I 93
96. Martyrologium et poenitentialem habeat, et cetera. 97 – Inq I 94/96
97. De ordinandis pro certo scitote⁶, quia nullo modo a nobis promovebuntur, nisi aut in civitate nostra, aut in aliquo monasterio ad tempus conversati fuerint, et litteris eruditi, et idonei videantur ecclesiasticae dignitati. not in Amiet – I 401
- 10 98. Videte si absque horum quae praemisimus scientia ministerium vestrum facere potestis, et plebes vobis commissas ad vitam ducere, et Christo representare. not in Amiet

1 Similiter] Et T 6 poenitentialem] poenitentiale (?) T | et cetera] om. M 7 pro certo] profecto M 12 et] et et B

⁶ M breaks off at this point.