THE NEW
CAMBRIDGE
MEDIEVAL
HISTORY

IV

*c.*1024–*c.*1198 *Part I*

EDITED BY

DAVID LUSCOMBE AND
JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH

The New Cambridge Medieval History

The fourth volume of the *New Cambridge Medieval History* covers the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which comprised perhaps the most dynamic period in the European middle ages. This is a history of Europe, but the continent is interpreted widely to include the Near East and North Africa as well. The volume is divided into two parts of which this, the first, deals with themes, ecclesiastical and secular, and major developments in an age marked by the expansion of population, agriculture, trade, towns and the frontiers of western society; by a radical reform of the structure and institutions of the western church, and by fundamental changes in relationships with the eastern churches, Byzantium, Islam and the Jews; by the appearance of new kingdoms and states, and by the development of crusades, knighthood and law, Latin and vernacular literature, Romanesque and Gothic art and architecture, heresies and the scholastic movement.

The New Cambridge Medieval History

Volume IV *c.* 1024–*c.* 1198

Part 1

THE NEW
CAMBRIDGE
MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Volume IV c. 1024–c. 1198
Part 1

EDITED BY

DAVID LUSCOMBE

Professor of Medieval History
University of Sheffield

AND

JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH

Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History,
University of Cambridge

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CONTENTS

PLATES

Frontispiece

Episcopal throne in the apse of S. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, founded in the sixth century and restored in 1120. Photo: Scala, Florence.

between pages 170 and 171

1 Kirby Bellars, Leicestershire: windmill mounds amidst ridge-and-furrow. © Cambridge University Collection of Air Photographs.
2 New Buckenham, Norfolk: motte and bailey castle mound, 1150s, and the twelfth-century new town. © Crown copyright, Cambridge University Collection.
3 Old Sarum, Salisbury, Wiltshire. © Crown copyright, National Monuments Record.
4 Hedingham Castle, Essex. © English Heritage, National Monuments Record.
5 Orford Castle, Suffolk. © English Heritage, National Monuments Record.
6 Château Gaillard, Les Andelys, Eure, France, late twelfth century. Photo Alain Longchampt © Centre des monuments nationaux, Paris.
7 The east end of Speyer cathedral, late eleventh century. Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.
8 Almohad city wall and the Lion Gate, Seville. Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico, Fondo Gráfico, Seville.
9 Fortified walls of the Alcázar, Jérez de la Frontera. Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico, Fondo Gráfico, Seville.
10 The Giralda Tower, Seville. Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico, Fondo Gráfico, Seville.

ix

MAPS

CONTRIBUTORS

ROBERT CHAZAN: Scheuer Professor of Jewish History, Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies, New York University

GILES CONSTABLE: Emeritus Professor in the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, and Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy

H. E. J. COWDREY: Emeritus Fellow of St Edmund Hall, Oxford, and Fellow of the British Academy

JEAN FLORI: Director of Research in the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and in the Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, Poitiers

ROBERT FOSSIER: Professor in the Centre de Recherche sur l'Histoire de l'Occident Médiéval in the University of Paris I, Pantheon-Sorbonne

BERNARD HAMILTON: Emeritus Professor of Crusading History, University of Nottingham

ERNST-DIETER HEHL: Professor in the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz

DEREK KEENE: Leverhulme Professor of Comparative Metropolitan History, Centre for Metropolitan History, Institute of Historical Research, University of London

HUGH KENNEDY: Professor of Middle Eastern History, University of St Andrews

PETER KIDSON: Emeritus Professor, The Courtauld Institute, University of London

PETER LANDAU: Professor in the Leopold-Wenger-Institut für Rechtsgeschichte in the University of Munich and Member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences

xiv

DAVID LUSCOMBE: Professor of Medieval History, University of Sheffield, and Fellow of the British Academy

SUSAN REYNOLDS: Senior Fellow of the Institute of Historical Research, London, Emeritus Fellow of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, and Fellow of the British Academy

JEAN RICHARD: Emeritus Professor, University of Dijon and Membre de l'Institut de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris

JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH: Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Fellow of Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge

I. S. ROBINSON: Associate Professor of Medieval History, Trinity College, Dublin

JAN ZIOLKOWSKI: Arthur Kingsley Porter Professor of Medieval Latin, Harvard University

PREFACE

To all the contributors to both parts of this volume the editors extend their warmest thanks for their co-operation, patience and considerable efforts. No collaborative venture is free of collective risk, and volume IV of *The New Cambridge Medieval History* – the largest volume in the series – has been no exception: more than ten years have passed in its compilation.

In Part 1, of those scholars originally planning to contribute, five were unable to deliver. We are exceptionally grateful to the distinguished historians who stepped forward and wrote chapters for us in their place.

In Part 2 the fluctuations and the obstacles which we encountered were more problematic. Of those scholars originally planning to contribute three died before beginning to write, and five others were unable to deliver. We are similarly and exceptionally grateful to the distinguished historians who also stepped forward and wrote chapters for us in their place and at short notice. We have also to express our regrets at the more recent deaths of Giovanni Tabacco and of Tom Keefe who wrote his contribution while terminally ill.

D.E.L.
J.R.-S.

xvii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We have many debts to acknowledge with gratitude in the course of the preparation of this volume. Expertise has been generously provided by copy-editors, translators, secretaries, cartographers, illustrationists, typesetters and others. Our copy-editors – Frances Brown and Linda Randall – have given invaluable help as have our indexer – Auriol Griffith-Jones – and our team of translators which has included Jean Birrell, Monika Coghlan, Caroline Stone and Martin Thom among others. Pat Holland in the University of Sheffield has given unstinting secretarial assistance. To William Davies of Cambridge University Press we express our very special gratitude for support at every stage. The editors have reason too to thank each other for a most fruitful and agreeable partnership. But our greatest thanks by far go to all who have written in this volume.

<div align="right">

D.E.L.

J.R.-S.

</div>

xviii

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS   Acta Sanctorum, ed. J. Bollandus, G. Henschenius *et al.*, i–, Antwerp, etc. (1643–)

AB   *Analecta Bollandiana*

ad a.   *ad annum*

Annales ESC   *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* i– (Paris, 1946–)

BISI   *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* i– (1886–)

Bouquet   *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet *et al.*, 24 vols. (Paris, 1738–1904)

c.   *capitulum*, canon

CCCM   Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis, i– (Turnhout, 1966–)

CCM   Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum, ed. K. Hallinger i– (Siegburg, 1963–)

CCSL   Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, i– (Turnhout, 1952–)

COD   *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, J. A. Dossetti *et al.*, 3rd edn (Bologna, 1973)

col.   column

CSCO   Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Rome

CSEL   Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1866–)

Councils and Synods   *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. i, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981); vol. ii, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964)

DA	*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, ɪ–(1937–)
Dig.	*Digesta*
EconHR	*Economic History Review*
EHR	*English Historical Review*, ɪ– (1886–)
ep./epp.	*epistola/epistolae*
GC	Gallia Christiana, ɪ– (1716–); Gallia Christiana Novissima, ɪ– (1899–)
HJ	*Historisches Jahrbuch* ɪ– (1880–)
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, ɪ– (1950–)
JL	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, ed. P. Jaffé, 2nd edn rev. W. Wattenbach, 2 vols., contributors: P. Ewald, F. Kaltenbrunner and S. Loewenfeld, (Leipzig, 1885–8)
Mansi	G. D. Mansi etc., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 55 vols. (Florence, Venice, Paris, Arnhem and Leipzig, 1759–1962)
MCSM	*Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali*
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
Briefe	See *Epistolae*
Concilia	ɪ– (1893–)
Constitutiones	*Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum* ɪ–(1893–)
DDHIII	*Heinrici III. Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau and P. Kehr in *MGH Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae* v (1926–31)
DDHIV	*Heinrici IV. Diplomata*, ed. D. von Gladiss and A. Gawlik, 3 parts (1941–78)
Diplomata	*Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae* ɪ–(1879–)
Epistolae	*Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit* ɪ– (1949–)
Epp.	*Epistolae* (in quarto), 8 vols. (1887–1939)
Epp. sel.	*Epistolae selectae* ɪ– (1916–)
Libelli	*Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI. et XII. conscripti* ɪ– (1891–)
SS	*Scriptores* ɪ– (1826–)
SRG	*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi* ɪ– (1871–)
SRG NS	*Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Nova series* ɪ– (1922–)

MIÖG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, I– (1880–)
Muratori	L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, 25 vols. (Milan, 1723–51); new edn, G. Carducci *et al.* (Città di Castello and Bologna, 1900–)
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*, I– (1903–)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
Potthast	A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV* I (Berlin, 1874)
PU	*Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, 3 vols., Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse (Berlin and Göttingen), I = neue Folge xxv (1930–1); II = 3. Folge xiv–xv (1935–6); III = 3. Folge xxxiii (1952)
QFIAB	*Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* I– (1897–)
RB	*Revue Bénédictine*
RCHME	Royal Commission for Historical Monuments in England
Reg.	*Registrum*
RHC Occ.	*Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1844–95)
RS	Rolls Series (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores)
SG	*Studi Gregoriani*
SBo	*Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. J. Leclercq with C. H. Talbot and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols., Rome (1957–77)
s.v.	*sub voce*
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
ZSSRG, GA	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung*
ZSSRG, KA	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*

INTRODUCTION

David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith

TAKEN together, the eleventh and twelfth centuries are a unique fulcrum in the development of the medieval world. The relations between Latin Christendom, the Scandinavian world, the Byzantine empire and the world of Islam underwent immense and sometimes conclusive changes in this period, and the development of Europe, let alone of western Europe, cannot be studied in isolation from that of her neighbours with whom there was increasing interaction. Throughout this volume we have tried to take a broad view of what mattered in the relationships not only between western and eastern Europe, but also between Europe, North Africa and the Middle East.

In order to attempt to account for the comprehensive changes and growth that took place over this long period, differing kinds of discussions and numerous chapters are required. This fourth volume of the the the *New Cambridge Medieval History* has two parts which are each of a length comparable with the other volumes in this series. They are complementary to each other rather than sequential: Part 1 focuses mainly on themes – themes in economic, social, governmental, ecclesiastical and cultural history – while Part 2 gives more attention to government on a territorial or institutional basis.

In 1025, the year of the death of the emperor Basil II, Byzantium was at the height of its power and had achieved its greatest territorial extent. Its empire stretched from the Adriatic to the Caucasus, from the south of the Peloponnese to the Gulf of Finland. Eastern Europe was linked to northern Europe by a network of links in which the Vikings played a great part. The career of Harald Hardrada of Norway illustrates the situation vividly: he and his warriors fought for St Olaf, king of Norway, fought in the army of Jaroslav, ruler of Kiev, served three Byzantine emperors in the Varangian guard and campaigned in Asia Minor and Sicily. Harald married Jaroslav's daughter, became king of Norway, and died in the battle of Stamford Bridge near York in 1066, having attempted to conquer England. But before the end of the century Byzantium was faced by immense dangers, including disasters in the Balkans, defeats at the hands

1

of the Turks in Asia Minor and the loss of lands in the south of Italy; and in the north of Europe Scandinavia's ascendancy over her neighbours in war and trade had come to an end.

Most of western Europe in the earlier part of this period was distinctly backward in comparison with parts of North Africa and the Middle East. There was far less commercial activity and far less urban life in the west, whereas there was vigorous trade in the eleventh century between the Arabs who lived in Spain, Tunisia, Sicily and Egypt. Cairo and Constantinople had far larger populations than any city in the west. In eleventh-century Italy there was repeated and widespread disintegration and dissolution of dynastic powers, of counties and marches. In their place local protection was provided by the military forces of bishops, monasteries, communities of canons or owners of lands. But in many ways this was to cease to be the position by the twelfth century. The growth of towns and city-states was conspicuous in northern Italy. In Flanders and the Rhineland also, urban growth was strong. It was stimulated by a dramatic growth of population, increased agricultural productivity, the cultivation of new land, the formation of new villages, the development of manufacture, and the growth of trade both within and beyond Europe. Of course, the pace and scale of these developments varied considerably in time and place, and peripheral regions such as Scotland and Ireland, Hungary and Lithuania, were not urbanised so much. To explain the different speeds of economic advance is an elusive task since it touches upon the shared but hidden aspirations of families and the workings of slow climatic amelioration as well as upon the fixed facts of geography. The consequences of economic growth, however, extended beyond western Europe and had an immeasurable impact upon relationships with neighbouring civilisations.

In the Baltic area, Scandinavian trade with Russia came to be eclipsed by the rise of trade organised from Germany and Flanders. With the Norman conquest of England came the perception of a new military and commercial superiority enjoyed in a new and highly entrepreneurial Anglo-Norman 'empire' which gained domination in Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Such an aggressive and developmental mentality was commonly to be found in north-west Europe, where lands were reclaimed from the sea or from forests, settlers were invited to work on them, and new towns were founded, castles built and trade promoted. Similarly, in the Mediterranean world Italian coastal cities such as Pisa, Genoa and Venice fought for commercial markets both in Byzantium and in Muslim countries. Muslim rulers were forced out of Sardinia and the Balearic islands and suffered setbacks in North Africa. Normans were prominent in ending Muslim and Greek rule in Sicily and south Italy. The great expansion of León-Castile after the fall of Toledo in 1085 facilitated further military conquests in Muslim Spain as well as migration, colonisation and settlement. Italian traders

benefited greatly from the achievements of the crusaders in gaining control of the coastal towns in the Holy Land from the end of the eleventh century. Trade between the north and the south of Europe also developed on a considerable scale, especially in the exchange of woollen and linen goods. Maritime traffic in the Bay of Biscay also developed. Fairs grew up at which long-distance merchants gathered. Within towns, traders came to dominate government; communes and guilds were formed.

Governmentally, the period is broadly one of progress within western Europe in the sense that many lordships and kingdoms, despite setbacks and shifts, grew together in solidarity and developed a stronger sense of community. There is abundant evidence of conflicts and of abuses of power by despotic lords, but even strife and despotism were set within a framework in which there was also understanding of customs, linguistic identities and liberties. In rural societies peasants and serfs, although subordinate, did not lack rights. Castles ensured military domination by lords but also provided civil administration. Urban communes also promoted such solidarity with the creation of guilds and fraternities. Royal government in France and England was immeasurably stronger at the end of the period than it had been at the beginning of the eleventh century, but in Germany the position of the monarchy was more ambiguous and complex.

Legal developments mirror the changes that took place in every sphere of government. Historians have traced these developments in the light of a growing trend to supplement oral traditions and unwritten customs with written, and with new, legislation. An example is the phasing out in northern Europe, slowly and only by the end of the period, of trials by ordeal in favour of rational procedures for evaluating evidence. Written laws were no novelty, but the making, the imposition and the interpretation of new, written laws – in the form of statutes, assizes and constitutions – increasingly required trained officials. Stimulating these changes were many factors ranging from the development of trade, which required regulatory procedures, to the growth of national monarchies and to the success of schools in inculcating professional attitudes in administration and government. Legal thinking and procedures were increasingly applied to thought and debate about basic human activities such as marriage, contracts and the holding of property. Law schools, particularly in southern Europe, developed the systematic teaching of both Roman law and canon law. In the modern English-speaking world, the 'common law', which is such a pronounced feature of modern English law, descends from the law which applied throughout the kingdom of England from the time of King Henry II (1154–89) and which was the king's law. In Italian cities the courts of law also promoted common law through the sharing of practice on the basis of the written *libri feudorum*. The development of law contributed to social

cohesion and to community life within cities and kingdoms; the growth of the canon law contributed to the unification of the Latin church and to those parts of Europe where it was dominant.

Consolidation and expansion require war as well as peace. At the beginning of the eleventh century, Adalbero, bishop of Laon in northern France, expressed his vision of the three orders in the house of God on earth: those who work, those who fight and those who pray. The second of these orders included lords and kings, soldiers and knights. The latter in particular were coming to form an order, the military order within which a specific status and specific ways of fighting were associated with knighthood and chivalry. The development of the use of heavy cavalry in military operations promoted the formation of an elite of well-armed and aristocratic knights; in turn this elite was promoted by its possession of castles and of local power. We generalise – but to reinforce a point: the growth of knightly power spread violence and horrifying brutality, but also provoked measures to disperse and to control it. In place of the experience of invasions and raids from Magyars, Vikings and Muslims, knightly violence was increasingly exported into Spain, Sicily, north-east Europe and the Holy Land, and from France into England in 1066. Moreover, the church sought to direct its use.

For centuries warfare had played a role in the maintenance of Christian peace. It was the duty of kings to preserve justice and to protect the church as well as others from a sinful world. However, in the eleventh century, churchmen developed ideas about ways in which the church itself could fulfil these tasks. Fighting Muslims in Spain and in south Italy in the eleventh century was set into a context which included a sense of reform and of legitimate defence of Christian peoples and places, especially in the Holy Land. The papacy in the eleventh century recruited 'knights of St Peter' and associated them in the protection of pilgrimages and of Christian communities. Already in 1074 Pope Gregory VII prepared for an expedition to help to relieve Christians in the east from Muslim rule. The justification of fighting non-Christians in defence of Christian belief and believers came to incorporate the conviction that such activity was a means to salvation for the warrior, indeed a duty that fell upon the church because of the harm being caused to Christ himself. In this way just Christian warfare was seen as a part of the religious life, not a duty that fell upon all who were professed in religion, but a duty which came to be attached to those who took the cross and who formed the new militarised religious orders.

Between the early eleventh century and the late twelfth, the shape and strength of the Latin church was fundamentally transformed. The functions of kings and bishops were and always remained complementary and interpenetrating, but the limits to what kings might do in ecclesiastical matters were vigorously asserted by ecclesiastical reformers who sought a clear-cut separation

of spiritual authority from lay power. A decline in the power of the German emperors and a remarkable growth of papal government occurred between 1024, when Conrad II became the first Salian king of Germany, and 1099, when Pope Urban II died. Moreover, the federation of bishoprics and provinces was restructured and more sharply defined as an integrated network developed of jurisdictions descending from the Roman papacy through archbishops and bishops down to territorial parishes. Towards the end of the period this jurisdiction was beginning to be exercised through church courts; the canon law had developed hugely.

Reform of the church is one of the central facts of the history of the eleventh century because of its many wide and deep ramifications. It should not be seen only, or even primarily, in the light of conflict between papacy and empire or of an investiture contest. This is not to deny that the distinction between spiritual authority and lay power mattered enormously and that what this distinction meant to different people lay at the heart of many polemics and quarrels and of much thought and scholarship. Royal investiture of a prelate with his staff and ring as well as the performance of homage by the prelate to the king were firmly established practices that displayed the king's pious care for the church and the prelate's considerable responsibilities for the welfare of the kingdom. The reformers were right to question the grip that lay rulers had on the church and its property and to seek liberty. They were right to level the charge of simony against many who had been consecrated. Lay rulers, on the other hand, sought and needed the cooperation of prelates and clergy rather than an upheaval into which were injected the claims of Rome to a primacy which was supported by the activities of papal legates and their holding of councils.

In reality, the contest between papacy and empire – a contest which is reflected and extended in other more localised disputes such as those between the English crown and the archbishops Anselm and Thomas Becket of Canterbury – is a symptom and a manifestation of deeper urges and anxieties about decline and reform. It is not the root cause of reform or of opposition to it. There was, for example, a deepening divergence of outlook towards the past, in particular towards the Christian empire in antiquity. To supporters of Pope Gregory VII the Emperor Constantine I was a figure who exemplified the surrender of imperial sway over the clergy and of control over the endowments of the church; as the Donation which bears his name claims, Constantine endowed the church generously with lands in central and southern Italy, and it flourished. Rome, in particular, was adorned with splendid church buildings. For reformers in the eleventh century, inspired by this idealised version of Constantine's patronage as well as by surviving examples of early Christian buildings, the spectacle of Henry III deposing three popes in a row, of southern and central Italy now torn apart by German, Norman and Muslim

militias, of the limited jurisdiction able to be exercised in the lands of St Peter, all this roused a strong ambition to halt a decline and to restore a golden age. Reform was renewal, and this included economic revival and a spate of building and repair. To contemporary imperialists, on the other hand, the history of Christian empire looked quite different: the Franks had saved the papacy from the Lombards, Charlemagne had revived the empire in the west, and his successors had created, endowed and – crucially – protected churches which would not have survived but for them. The German emperor was the *patricius Romanorum*, the Romans' protector.

The quest into history involved the scrutiny of the texts bequeathed by the authorities, these being the Bible, the Church Fathers, the decisions of popes, emperors and councils. These were collected and arranged by many but from differing starting points, with differing aims and with differing interpretations. Establishing – or destroying – the authenticity of texts or their relative importance or their permanent value or the universality of their relevance proved to be a challenge and certainly provided work for many scholars. Since the western church had in past centuries been more loosely united and governed than it was to be in the centuries to come, there were many local varieties of discipline and practice which competed for recognition now as a universal and durable norm.

The desire for religious reform and the renewal of ecclesiastical structures and practice welled up from many different springs, so widely spread throughout the west that it is an impossible task for any historian at present to provide an overall explanation of how it occurred or why. Organised communities of monks, nuns and canons fulfilled many functions. They existed for prayer and catered for others – for guests, for pilgrims, for pupils in schools and for the aged. No one in the year 1000, even in the year 1100, would have expected the changes and upheavals that were to come within the monastic world. Important and secure institutions survived; others were newly created. But none was untouched by competition. There was a phenomenal growth in their number, in the numbers of men and women living the religious life, and in the diversity of ways in which they did so. Religious communities dedicated to works of active charity gained more prominence alongside contemplatives. As with so many of the changes in differing walks of life during the eleventh century, the upshot was a growing range of choice for those with the freedom to choose. There was some argument about which changes were for the good and which for the worse, but flexibility was shown in the face of diversity. Religious communities, however humble and however isolated, need some patronage, and patrons themselves are one of the factors which explain variations and developments. Monastic expansion was also a key feature in the general expansion of western church and society into and beyond the peripheral parts of Europe.

From Lund to Palermo and from Iona to Kiev, Europe was unquestionably Christianised in the sense that very many human lives were touched by Christian practices, although there were also many communities of Muslims and Jews as well as significant pagan communities (e.g. in the Baltic region and Hungary). The history of popular Christianity in the period is both richly documented and tantalisingly obscure. The building and rebuilding of churches took place with a frequency and on a scale that proves the need to provide for widespread use. On the other hand, the general level of understanding of basic Christian doctrine by the laity as well as the clergy is virtually impossible to assess. It may be assumed, however, that the main elements of Christian faith, such as the life and death of Christ, the notion of sin and penance, and the prospect of heaven or hell were widely familiar among the former and that liturgical and sacramental actions were also familiar to the latter.

There were, however, to be new stresses and excesses. One was the straining of relationships in the Mediterranean world between Latin and Greek Christians that was seen to have grown into a schism by the third quarter of the twelfth century and that was then compounded by the establishment of Latin bishops, churches and monasteries in the Byzantine empire following the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204. Another was the hostility between Christians and their Jewish neighbours which became evident in the Rhineland during the early crusades. A third was the mounting recurrence of challenges to one or other aspect of the authorised teaching and practices of Catholic Christianity. Such challenges were directed against important particulars, but they led to the formation of groups such as the Waldensians, who still exist today as a church, and the Albigensian Cathars who turned back to the Manichean heresy.

The preaching of the First Crusade at Clermont by Pope Urban II on 27 November 1095 and the capture of Jerusalem by Latin forces on 15 July 1099 are among the clearest indications that both a strengthened papacy and an expansionist Christendom were eager and able to tilt the scales against Islam in a new theatre of war, the Holy Land itself. The resurgence of western European influence in the Mediterranean world towards the end of the eleventh century took many forms besides that of crusade, and included commercial, military, colonial and monastic activity. These all form the background to the age of the crusades which was now to begin. The liberation of the Christians living in the holy places under Muslim domination in formerly Byzantine lands was an extension of the ambition to subjugate the Muslim enemies of the church who had ruled over Christians living in Spain and Sicily and elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. With the ushering in of crusades to the Holy Land there was a considerable increase in the efforts made in every western country to raise money and to encourage the recruitment of men who would take the cross as well as to realise the potential for colonisation and commerce. Early losses in

the east – Edessa in 1144, Jerusalem in 1187 – meant that such efforts became permanent. The crusades also opened a new chapter in the history of the relationships between Byzantium and the west. On the one hand, Byzantium looked for help from the west against Turkish advances in Asia Minor that were facilitated by the capture of Manzikert in 1071 and that culminated in the taking of Nicaea in 1078. On the other hand, the Latin capture and sack of Constantinople in 1204, and the attendant creation of a Latin empire of Constantinople – the ground for both events had been long prepared – has been described as the last of the barbarian invasions of the Roman empire.

This period is a turning point in the relationships between Islam, Byzantium and the Latin west. We have in this volume laid emphasis on the fact that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries Christendom and Europe are not coterminous; nor is Latin Catholicism coterminous with western Europe, nor Islam with North Africa and the Middle East. There were large numbers of Christians who lived under Muslim rule in Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Iran, Egypt and Africa. Normally they were not persecuted. For many of them the crusades from the west – unlike the Turkish advances – were not a turning point. Those who lived in the Holy Land came under crusader rule during the twelfth century, but for Christians living both beyond the rule of Byzantium and beyond the reach of the crusades – among them the members of the Armenian and the Nestorian churches – their relationships with Islam and with Byzantium pursued different lines of development from those found in Europe and the Holy Land.

Many Muslims lived in Europe then as today. Large parts of Spain and Portugal, the Balearics, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and the south of Italy had Muslim populations. As Professor Kennedy writes (below, p. 599): 'In the year 1000 the caliphate of Córdoba was almost certainly the richest and most powerful polity in western Europe . . . Only in Constantinople could a comparable state be found.' The eleventh century witnessed radical changes, not only through the advances made by Christian states in the north of Spain and through the fall of Toledo to Christians in 1085, but also through the disintegration of the Umayyad caliphate in Córdoba in the first quarter of the century. Yet Andalusia remained under Muslim control. That it did so serves as a reminder of the influence of developments in North Africa upon the history of southern Europe, and of limits to the steady growth of Latin domination of the Mediterranean world. The rise of the Almoravids in Morocco – they founded the city of Marrakesh in 1070 – enabled them to control the whole of Andalusia by 1104. The Muslims in al-Andalus remained dependent upon the Almoravids and then upon their successors in North Africa, the Almohads. Ibn Rushd or Averroes (1126–98), one of the very greatest scholars of the twelfth century, lived in Córdoba. His commentaries on Aristotle were soon to be widely known in the Latin universities. Only in 1182, in his later years, did he leave Spain for

Marrakesh. The Straits of Gibraltar, like the English Channel at this time, were not a frontier but a connecting sea-way within an 'empire'. Sicily and south Italy, on the other hand, came under Norman domination and became an intersection for Arab, Greek, Latin and Frankish cultures. Even in the late twelfth century many Muslims and ex-Muslims supported the Norman administration in Sicily by providing it with the sophisticated skills that Norman barons lacked. There were common links and traditions that united Jews and Muslims, whether they lived in Europe or elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. We have therefore included accounts of Muslims and Jews both in western Europe and in western Islam.

The Jews in Europe, like the Muslims, are a key element in the civilisation of medieval Europe. In the Muslim world Jews spoke and wrote Arabic, although Hebrew was the language of the Bible and of their liturgy; in Christian Europe Jews did not adopt the languages of their non-Jewish neighbours to the same extent. That they formed a distinct element, and lived within semi-autonomous enclaves, does not diminish their importance. Jews suffered persecution in the twelfth century at the hands of Christians as well as – although to a lesser extent – of Almohads. Polemical writing by both Christians and Jews appears from the late eleventh century and no doubt signifies a background of running disputes. However, in southern France and in Italy Jewish communities were long established and their security was rarely threatened by tensions with non-Jews. In the Iberian peninsula, Jewish communities survived the transition from Muslim to Christian rule wherever this occurred. Very rarely did any Jew possess political power in Europe or present any political challenge. Throughout Europe, and especially in southern Europe, Jews were able to achieve prominence in commerce, banking and medicine. Indeed, it is probable that Christian restrictions on money lending gave Jewish financiers an advantage that was not usually outweighed by the financial burdens that they were at times made to bear. This period is particularly significant in the history of Jewry in western Europe for two reasons. First, Jewry became established in north-west Europe, although more weakly than in the south. Second, the decline of the 'Abbasid caliphate in the eleventh century, which led to a loosening of ties between western and eastern Islam, had a similar effect upon Jewish communities. Nevertheless, there was an efflorescence of Jewish cultural activity in western Europe and it was not concentrated only in the south. The greatest of the medieval Jewish expositors of the Bible was Rashi of Troyes (1040–1105). Rashi's esteem for the literal sense of Scripture was influential among contemporary and later Christian exegetes such as Andrew, a canon of the abbey of St Victor at Paris (d. 1175), who consulted Jewish rabbis and used Rashi's commentaries. Arab scholarly works also came to be consulted and translated into Latin on a growing scale. Western translators in the eleventh

and twelfth centuries tended to take from Islamic and Jewish culture elements that were related to their own. What prompted them to do so may be parallel tendencies appearing at roughly similar moments in their cognate cultures as well as a common classical and biblical heritage.

In language and literature, outside of Muslim and Jewish circles, there is, apparently, a paradox. On the one hand, local dialects and vernaculars were becoming strong enough to support creative writing. On the other hand, the Latin language enjoyed a golden age. Underlying this is the great use of both Latin and the vernacular for many practical as well as imaginative purposes. Latin, the common language of educated clergy, reinforced the cultural and ecclesiastical unity of Europe. But, as in so many fields of life during the period, the opportunity to make a choice was arriving, and literate people could also opt to write in the vernacular. It is from the twelfth century that we have the French romances written by Chrétien de Troyes and from the early thirteenth-century *Parzival* written by Wolfram von Eschenbach. The writing of romances and the cult of chivalry develop together; earlier sagas and epics or *chansons de geste* – such as the *Chanson de Roland* – were also written down but came to typify a world that was being lost.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries are the time when Romanesque art and architecture reached their zenith in all parts of western Europe; the twelfth is the century when the Gothic style began to flourish in the north. In the Mediterranean world the traditions which flourished in Byzantium were powerful also in Spain and especially in Sicily and Venice. To some extent the Romanesque style is the artistic counterpart of the renaissance in other fields of the legacy of classical antiquity. The transition from rounded to pointed forms is the most noticeable feature of the turn from Romanesque to Gothic; the change is noticeable in calligraphy as well as in arcades and vaults. What determined this change – aesthetic considerations were certainly important – is debatable. The planning of castles also evolved dramatically. Buildings and their decoration provide some of the most powerful statements of principle made in the period. All castles and all churches proclaim respectively lordship and faith, but often a particular interpretation was put on the basic message. The stark unadorned simplicity of early Cistercian monastic buildings was in keeping with the reforming strictness of the new movement; the sumptuous mosaics found in Sicily proclaim the ambitions of the Norman rulers to emulate the empire of Byzantium.

THE RURAL ECONOMY AND DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH

Robert Fossier

THE long period extending from 1050–80 to the dawn of the thirteenth century is often described as an 'age of great progress', and those who favour economic terminology locate the take-off of European history within it.

Indeed, a survey of the various domains of human activity reveals all the signs of a taking wing, which would not be checked for a long time to come. The soldiers, priests, farmers and merchants of the west, who had previously been confined within the Carolingian empire or on its margins, penetrated as far as northern Scandinavia, to the heart of the Slav lands, to the south of Spain and to Sicily. They were to be found even in the Near East or in the Maghreb; the Mediterranean basin seemed once again to be Christian, as were the areas on the Baltic and the North Sea. Congregations were brought under the control of the Roman Catholic church, and of the monasteries; instruction was to be had at the universities, and was increasingly open to Jewish and Islamic culture; Romanesque and, later, Gothic edifices had an impact upon every parish. As for the social context, once the threshold of the year 1000 was crossed, the *seigneurie* in all its myriad forms seemed well adjusted to ruling or ordering populations, whether rural or not.

The most obvious effect of this newly flourishing condition was the triumph in the west of a common frame of mind, from which fear and doubt had all but faded. There was less anxiety over spiritual matters, a greater intellectual dynamism and, gradually, a sense of a more harmonious social existence. Faith was no longer simply submission to a terrible God, nor was charity a guarantee of salvation or hope an anguished appeal to the unknown. Worship was now directed at a divinity who was at work, a *Deus artifex*, and believers placed their trust in reciprocal acts of generosity, and their hopes in contacts between equals. In short, the cardinal virtues had become the motors of human action, the bases of a society in which the dominant hierarchy had to provide room for conviviality, and for matters of common concern. It would be an error, however, to imagine a golden age, for this was still a society bounded on all

11

sides by the violence of the strongest, by the quest for profit, by blackmail of the weak, and even by moral depravity or stupidity. Yet historians are unanimous in their judgement regarding the progress achieved after 900, or even 1000.

To enquire more deeply into the underlying causes of the manifest acceleration of a process already discernible in the tenth century would involve us in debates which are of doubtful relevance to the topic in hand, and which have anyway been touched upon in vol. III of this series. None the less, two crucial elements underlie all of the phenomena referred to above, and, even if they were not themselves the cause of economic take-off in Europe, were at any rate its indispensable preconditions. It is therefore with the study of, first, the dramatic increase in population and, second, the unprecedented surge in agricultural production that this volume ought logically to begin.

THE HUMAN FLOOD

Even allowing for the obvious difference between, for example, rich, muddy plains and 'desertlike' mountains or forests, there was a general increase in population, reflected as much in the rebuilding of city walls as in the proliferation of new villages or in the colonisation of previously uncultivated areas. These processes are in evidence among the Celts, the Germans, the Iberians, the Scandinavians, the Italians and the Slavs, and no similar burst of energy would occur in Europe until the end of the eighteenth century.

Testimonies

Historians used to have great difficulty in counting men, even in the 'Carolingian clearing', but there is now firm evidence upon which to rely. Admittedly, only one source would seem fully to satisfy a demographer's curiosity, namely, the remarkable inquest undertaken in each and every village by William the Conqueror, in 1086, in those parts of the British Isles over which he held sway. Nothing in Europe prior to the fourteenth century can compare with Domesday Book, which even permits study of the evidence across a twenty-year timespan. It matters little whether the Conqueror's motives were primarily military, economic or fiscal, for the fact remains that this unique document has spawned a vast bibliography. From the 276,000 informants we learn much about the million and a half (or more) subjects of William the Conqueror, their families, their equipment, their goods, their status and, more generally, the condition of eleventh-century England. There is less to go on in other parts of Europe, but archives are full of account rolls, usually of ecclesiastical origin, which list tenants and taxpayers, sometimes over a period of time. These may be found almost everywhere: in England (Evesham, Bath, Bury St Edmunds), in

Germany (Fulda, Freising, Tegernsee), in Lorraine (Metz, Verdun, Gorze), in the Kingdom of France (Gand, Noyers), in Spain (Braga, Urgel) and in Italy (Farfa, Subiaco).

In addition, the number of deeds recording land transactions, whether sales, gifts or leases, everywhere increased, and especially between 1120 and 1150. They featured thousands of lists of donors or of witnesses, along with fragmentary references to family structure, for a *laudatio parentum* was used throughout this period. It was then that the high and mighty, concerned to place their authority on a sound footing, had their genealogies recorded, in Italy, in northern France and in the Loire valley, as if they were conscious of the general increase in population. Archaeology does not want for proof of this either. For, in spite of the increasingly common practice of burial in wooden coffins, which is especially detrimental to the preservation of bones, excavations of cemeteries in Scandinavia, Ireland, Hungary and Poland – in other words, in those areas where the displacement of the cemetery occurred only belatedly – testify to the increasing number of human remains in this period. Furthermore, the evidence from literature, which by its very nature is not concerned with figures, sheds light, if only in passing, on the crowds which thronged around the gates of a town or which followed on the heels of a prince. One thus gains a vivid impression of teeming masses.

None the less, we are concerned here with a 'pre-statistical' age and, with the sole exception of England, absolute figures are lacking. American, German and Italian researchers have speculated as to the total population of western Europe between 1050 and 1200, their estimates varying dramatically and ranging from 40 or 55 million to 60 or 65 million over a century and a half, with a subsequent acceleration. Considered separately, the populations of the larger territorial units are presumed to have grown, in the case of the British Isles from 1.5 million to over 2 million, in the case of France from 6 to 9 million, and in the case of Germany and Italy from 5 to 7 million. As the reader may have gathered, this amounts to a rise of 50 per cent, reaching 100 or 150 per cent in the thirteenth century.

We can, however, be more precise when, in regions with more reliable documentary sources, the rhythm of growth is perceptible from one 'generation' to another, at any rate where boys (who alone receive regular mention in the texts) are concerned. Here estimates are more exact, with a non-cumulative annual rhythm of 0.2 to 0.5 being posited for twelfth-century England, and 0.4 to 0.6 for France and Germany during the same period. It is worth noting that these figures give a rate of growth higher than the overall estimate quoted above. This is all the more the case when you consider that English, Belgian and French scholars have reckoned an average number of children for a fertile couple to be, between 1050 and 1100, around five or five and a half boys, rising

to from five to seven in the course of the following century. On the basis of
these figures, I would deduce two crucial facts: first, that infant mortality was
devastatingly high, as the cemeteries bear witness, running at 25 to 30 per cent
for children under two years old, and that this acted as a powerful brake on
growth; and, second, that the proportion of sterile or celibate couples was
large, undoubtedly amounting to a third of the population. It is not hard to
grasp what the psychological or, indeed, the juridical consequences of these
phenomena must have been.

We should none the less not lose sight of the central fact that between
1000 and 1300 the population of western Europe more than doubled, and
here and there even quadrupled. Still more impressive, since it has not been
repeated subsequently in European history, is the duration of this growth. If
one were obliged to identify a narrowly human cause, it would no doubt lie in
the thoroughly 'natalist' model of marriage current during this period, a topic
evidently requiring more extended discussion.

Differences in rates of growth may be due to temporal discrepancies, for
which a historian can unfortunately offer no explanation, save perhaps by
invoking the uneven survival of source materials. Thus, as was noted in vol. III
chapter 2, the spurt evident from 950, or before, would seem to have had no real
impact until after 1040–60 in central France or in northern Spain, and until
after 1060–80 in northern and eastern France. Economic take-off in England
or in the Rhineland had to wait until 1110–20, with Brittany and most areas of
Germany being unaffected until the middle of the twelfth century. From this
moment on, however, no important zone could fail to be influenced by this
formidable new impetus.

The evidence regarding everyday life

Cemeteries are not markedly more informative for this period than they were
for the previous centuries. People were shorter than we are, with a sturdier
bone structure, especially evident in women's legs and pelvis. Improvements in
osseous tissue may, however, reflect the advent of a more balanced diet after the
year 1000. Narrative and iconographic sources from the Romanesque period
are relatively plentiful, but they do not tell us much that we did not already
know. With painted or sculpted figures, and the depiction of characteristic
features, there is a greater concern with representing the function or social role
of a person than with visual realism. Where verbal description was concerned,
among poets in the Iberian peninsula or in the zone where the langue d'oc was
spoken, and among the troubadours of north-west Europe or of Germany, we
find only caricatures, which invariably flatter lady and knight, while denigrating
the peasant.

Some aspects of everyday life are none the less discernible through the mist, and indicate a degree of progress. Longevity, for example, increased, but it makes little sense, given the very high rates of infant mortality, to define it in terms of some general notion of life expectancy. We should concentrate, in fact, upon the average age at death for men, since we know less about this in the case of women, who gave birth so often and in such unhygienic conditions that they were still more prone to disease. Fifty or fifty-five years was a lifespan readily attained by the great and the powerful, who did not always take the best care of themselves. This would be true of kings or prelates, who were constantly on the move, and of fighting men active on the field of battle or in tournaments. Emperors lived, on average, fifty-two years, English kings fifty-three, and the Capetian monarchs fifty-six. Clerics, who were not by any means sedentary, beat all the records, with the abbots of Cluny living well past eighty. More telling still is the fact that, in 1194, an appraisal of the men at arms in the service of the king of France shows that 10 per cent of the sergeants were under twenty, 56 per cent were between twenty-one and thirty-nine, a further 20 per cent were in their forties, while 14 per cent were over fifty, each and every one of them still bearing arms.

There is perhaps some link between this lengthening of active lifespan and the demonstrable improvement in diet. Admittedly, bread still predominated. The Cistercians were entitled to 300 grams a day, and during a famine in or around 1125, the good Count Charles of Flanders arranged for a kilo to be given to each poor person. However, some historians have posited an increase in the proportion of animal protein in the diet, until it accounted for 1600 calories out of a total of 4000. Excavations of refuse dumps from this period in northern Germany (Potsdam, Lübeck) reveal a rise in the consumption of beef (between 51 and 69 per cent), believed to be a better source of energy, a standstill in that of pork (27–36 per cent, depending upon the site), which was heavy and oxidising, and the virtual disappearance of mutton and venison (4–12 per cent). If the tenth century was, in Lynn White's words, 'stuffed full of peas', then the twelfth was weighed down by sides of beef. A word of caution is, however, in order here. The famine of 1033–5, which saw the eating of human flesh, may well have been the last general dearth to have occurred on a large scale in the west, but Flemish, Angevin and Toulousain chroniclers describe both the famines of 1095, 1125, 1144, 1160 and 1172, which were doubtless local, and that of 1195–7, which was general. These calamities arose, it may be allowed, because supplies were inadequate, and because it was impossible to rectify shortages on a regional basis, but it was also the case that population grew at such a rate as to outstrip the overly sluggish growth in the production of foodstuffs. Renart, in the very middle of the twelfth century, was after all forever worrying about his next meal.

Whether sated or still ravenous, men certainly enjoyed better health during this period, and the decalcified skeletons characteristic of the Carolingian 'renaissance' were now less often to be found in burial grounds. Yet the study of miracles of feeding or healing, and the fragmentary information we have regarding the death of notables, shows that the threshold of vulnerability had merely been shifted a little. People succumbed to digestive disorders, dysentry, cirrhosis and diarrhoea among them, rather than to dearth as such. Fractures of fragile bones decreased, while nervous disorders, shingles, epilepsy and madness proliferated. Where Sigebert of Gembloux refers to 'pestilence', in Lotharingia in 1090, we have no hesitation in identifying an outbreak of cholera, latching on to an already debilitated intestinal system. Likewise, 'Saint Anthony's Fire', which was precipitated by ergot-infested barley and which wreaked havoc in the Rhine and Rhône valleys between 1090 and 1110, took its name from the fevers and hallucinations unleashed by the disordering of the central nervous system occasioned by this parasitical fungus.

However, these diseases, whether spread by real or by imagined contagion, would seem not to have disturbed men as much as did leprosy. This condition, known in the west since antiquity, flared up again after 1090–1100, perhaps on account of the crusaders' contacts with the east, where the problem was endemic. The leper – known through a corruption of Lazarus as a *ladre* or a *lazar* – suffered striking disfigurement or mutilation, and the illness was so contagious that it could even be transmitted by objects that had been touched. Isolated or confined in lazar-houses or *maladreries* (of which by around 1200 there were almost a hundred on the Ile de France), lepers were in effect regarded as the living dead, and received no care at all. It has been estimated that up to 2 per cent of the population may have been affected. However, a gathering of leprous witnesses, summoned by King Mark in order to surrender Isolde to them, or again a king of Jerusalem, raises the possibility that the condition was sometimes confused with spectacular but non-infectious skin conditions.

The family framework

Descriptions have already been given (vol. III, chapter 2) for the period prior to the year 1000, both of the protective role played by the family, and of its constraining influence upon the individual. Here, then, I would simply add that the marginalisation of the family clan continued, and was in practice completed. The decline in the kin group's authority over the couple, especially in the context – relatively easy to discern in the sources – of transfers of landed property, was, however, realised only gradually, and with occasional regressions to an earlier stage. When groups were taken in hand by especially powerful individuals, as was the case in the Mediterranean zone, or when

collective attempts at land reclamation occurred, as in Germanic territories, in mountains or in areas recovered from the sea, there may well have been a revival, albeit temporary, of *fraternae*, *consorzii*, joint-families and kin groups of every sort. Yet 1130–50 was almost everywhere a turning point, for from then on the proportion of *acta* or deeds requiring the involvement of a family group dropped definitively from a half to a quarter, whether in Latium, in Picardy, in Catalonia, in the Mâconnais or in Bavaria. In the thirteenth century, the proportion would fall still further, to no more than a few per cent.

The triumph of the individual or conjugal deed was in part brought about by the church, especially in the Gregorian period (1070–1130), then again at the end of the twelfth century and up to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Yet actual developments in economic structure were of equal importance. The gathering together, whether spontaneously or under coercion, of peasants in grouped villages was based upon the 'coagulation' of young couples escaping from parental control, and the rural immigrants who began to settle in the towns were likewise the emancipated fragments of a clan. The resulting changes in the social fabric of village or urban quarter, indeed in the organisation of labour, which was no longer 'demesnial' but domestic, precipitated a shift in production and distribution.

One should, however, note that the desperate attempts made in the twelfth century by aristocratic families to reconstitute or even to invent genealogies and alliances, the prosecution in a number of 'lineages' of a 'matrimonial strategy' designed to reinforce the vigour and homogeneity of the blood group, disdaining canonical prescriptions or even incest within the seventh degree, show that the dominant elements in society fiercely resisted this development. Nothing less than the cohesion of the inheritance, and therefore of economic or political power, was at stake. It is true that, at the other end of the social scale, the juridical or financial obstacles to the free marriage of unfree men were virtually insuperable, and in isolated zones such as mountain valleys endogamous marriage was almost inevitable. Save where accessible through manorial rolls in England, intrafamilial conflicts have not been much studied. Such conflicts, generally turning upon material interests rather than upon marital disputes, do however shed much light upon these structures. In the countryside, three-quarters of the insults, brawls and murders which came before the judges concerned feuds between kin groups, which sometimes formed coalitions and perpetrated assassinations one against the other. In the towns, the proportion fell to around a half. Such implacable rivalries may, however, have encouraged the courts to show mercy. For every hundred murderers acting on their own or in a group, only 7 per cent were executed, while over 40 per cent were exiled. The remainder got off with a few years of harsh imprisonment or a cash payment.

Just as the extended family had not yet lost its social and, more particularly, its economic function, so too marriage uniting two future spouses consenting through *dilectio* was not as yet, whatever the church maintained, a sworn *societas* of *consortes*, a sacrament free from all outside interference. To begin with, girls were often married, as we shall see below, at a tender age, and were consequently less able to make a personal choice of their own. They were still in this regard *sub jugo patris*, or under the guardianship of their fathers. In addition, marriage breakdowns, for whatever reason, may well have been likened, as at the council of London in 1096, to a breach of oath, and in 1215 at the Lateran the church had to stipulate a delay before marriage, in the course of which – these were the 'bans' – kinsmen could state their objections. In addition, in a number of places, poverty or pressure from kin led the young couple to reside with one or other set of parents, generally that of the man, and this greatly restricted their freedom of action, not to mention, obviously, traditional conflicts between mother and mother-in-law. Finally, local custom, the *mos contrahendi*, though it required witnesses, one of whom had often to be a priest, and a degree of publicity, might involve, as in Mediterranean areas, the exchange of gifts between the two families. We are still a long way from a genuinely free union.

The above observations lead on naturally to a discussion of the situation of women, to which changes in *mores*, during the period surveyed here, were, on balance, favourable. The qualification is necessary for, while long-established guarantees in law such as dowries and dowers had not altered, too much ought not to be made of various superficially more spectacular advances in the condition of women. For example, the service of the lady so prominent in the songs of the pays d'oc, or the courtly romances of the late twelfth century, were in the end designed to celebrate masculine conquest of 'women-as-objects'. One may, in addition, take the cult of the Virgin, prosecuted with great vigour by the Cistercians after 1130 or 1140, as an endorsement of the role of mother, and therefore of the womb, but not everyone can be Mary. Many of the devout were likewise drawn to Mary Magdalene, but there was always something a little ambiguous about her cult. Finally, one should bear in mind that the 'matrimonial model' of the twelfth century, which might join a fifteen-year-old maid to a young ploughboy, or to an apprentice weaver, or even to a future knight, any of whom would probably be over twenty-five years old, placed young women in a situation of affective and economic dependence. Where sexual relations were concerned, an innocent was tied to a man who would generally have had the opportunity, and likewise the inclination, to frequent prostitutes, with the blessing in fact of the church, since it preferred prostitution to rape or to adultery.

None the less, women's circumstances had improved, in part because, being then less numerous than men, they were more in demand and rarely remained unmarried, and in part also because the new arrangements inside the house, where they had exclusive control over hearth, larder and children, gave them an authority which is not explicitly mentioned in any extant text, but which men had certainly to acknowledge. Furthermore, lists of landholders attest that women, whether daughters or widows, would, in certain circumstances, own land (their share of the soil increasing in this period from 7 to 15 per cent), and they also held undisputed sway over whole sectors of the economy (for example, haymaking, spinning and basket-making). We will also never know the degree to which, within a couple, the woman exerted sexual control. Once the eleventh-century fashion against marriage, and then the Cathar crisis, had passed, the church was tireless in promoting regular, socially responsible procreation. Given the astonishing number of royal children (fourteen, for example, in the case of Blanche of Castile), no sooner had women attained puberty than they must have feared an uninterrupted succession of sometimes dangerous pregnancies. Yet the vogue for manuals or devices for contraception, the extraordinarily lengthy periods of suckling, the church's outcries and threats of punishment provide ample evidence for a freedom from sexual control which seemed to make light of the supposed wishes of the Creator.

The legal framework

It is something of a relief for the historian to turn from the domain of private life, which neither Grace nor the eye may readily penetrate, to that of law, and especially where it is concerned with the management of property. In this regard, the most pressing problem of the period was not that of the administration of the conjugal patrimony. There is general agreement between a wide range of texts and customary usages, perceptible as much in the *Novellae* of Justinian as in subsequent versions, in the canon law compilations of Gratian in northern Italy around 1140, or in the customs of northern Europe, initially drafted by Glanvill in Normandy in 1180, or earlier still, in English common law. The wife brought a dowry, which the husband would administer, even to the point of squandering it; as a widow, she would have a dower which custom fixed at one third or more of the goods of the husband. The church saw to the observance of this custom. Admittedly, there was no lack of examples of dowries that were not paid, of dowers reduced by the husband or contested by heirs. Conversely, the practice of dispossessing a dowried girl of any inheritance from her kin extended from the Channel to Sicily between 1080 and 1160. However, when all was said and done, if the 'baron' managed both separate

and joint property honestly, a couple would thrive. Besides, it goes without saying that both these practices and these guarantees only affected those with property; the others, who were in fact the majority, must by definition have been free from surprise.

Matters became more complicated once death occurred. Should one share out property, if possible on an equal basis between the children, while leaving the widow a third in 'customary portion', or should one rather express one's own preferences, opting indeed for partial or total dispossession? Should one follow the egalitarian customs of warrior peoples, the Celts or Germans, or should one choose between legally recorded wills in the Roman fashion and the (admittedly) unequal divisions envisaged by the Justinian code? Restraint upon choice, through, for example, indivision, *frérage* or *parage*, may well suit a feudal world, preoccupied with continuity of service, or at a pinch with a large fixed payment or farm. Yet conflicts, which might be contained in the short term, would wreak havoc in the second generation. Choice became obligatory, and solutions adopted even within a single region were so various as to defy listing.

We are obviously better informed about the situation of those who owned a substantial amount of property, and it is to this that the following remarks are addressed. For the others, it was simply a question of prevailing usage, pressure from kin or group interest, and here, more than in any other context, law was a shell whose precise content is perforce obscure to us. Among the high and mighty, especially if they held fiefs and offices, the rule giving the advantage to the elder (or, to begin with, perhaps to one of the males without further discrimination) was introduced, for obvious military and political reasons. Male primogeniture was well established even before 1030, from Scotland to the Loire, and, within a hundred years, would prevail among the whole aristocracy. What, then, of the younger brothers? They would be left either the joint property, or else the separate property brought by their mother; or else they would be cast out, to swell the ranks of the 'noble' proletariat travelling in search of land and wife on the highways or in the crusades. The shortcomings of such practices are only too evident. What if a will was disregarded? What if the elder son died? What if there were daughters without dowries? What if the dowager were to remarry? What if there were children from several different beds? I could extend this list still further. Indeed, a large part of what we call feudal anarchy, that is to say, private wars, owed its origin almost entirely to such complications. Acts of revenge, known as *faida*, *vendetta* or *werra*, could of course have some other cause than family matters, but they were forever being precipitated by the reorganisation of inheritances.

To ensure that all such usages were respected, something more than the written law was of course required and, in countries where there was an oral

tradition, one custom could always be played off against another. This is why the most effective means to cement these groupings of family or friends was a public oath accompanied by ritual gestures. The oath owed its prestige to the fact that it was the obligatory path to salvation, and the breach of it removed one from the community of Christian believers. Gestures derived their power from the fact that holding, touching, giving and taking, whether hands, lips, shoulders or a symbolic object were involved, represented a commitment through the flesh which retraced in some way that of the soul. Christ himself laid hands upon the sick man just as a king might place his upon a document that he could not read.

The house

As the primary cell of family life, once the population had assumed a sedentary mode of existence, the rural house begins in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to reveal to us some of its structures, which would seem accurately to reflect the evolution of the family. Archaeologists have excavated sites which were sometimes first inhabited in the early middle ages, as in England (Chalton), Germany (Warendorf) and France (Modeville), but the majority of villages founded then were abandoned from the tenth century, and sometimes indeed from as early as the eighth century. The huts which appeared alongside the great Germanic or Anglo-Saxon halls, the remains of stone dwellings in the Mediterranean *villae*, have generally disappeared. The villages arising out of nucleation, that great phase of reordering of the habitat discussed in vol. III, have often survived up until the present day. Yet many, having been deserted at some point between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries, have left sufficient traces to allow us to reconstitute the twelfth-century house. Thus, at Wharram Percy (Yorkshire), Gomeldon (Wiltshire), Pen er Malo (Morbihan), Rougiers (Var), Hohenrode (Saxony), Husterknupp (the Rhineland), Brucato (Sicily), and in a hundred other places, simple houses overwhelmingly predominate.

In spite of the obvious fascination of the topic, it would be a digression to linger over building materials, roofing, the construction of walls or of storage pits, for that would be to stray into pure archaeology. Three features with obvious social consequences do, however, require emphasis. To begin with, surface areas fell by more than a half, so that where the halls of West Stow measured from 150 to 200 square metres, the houses at Rougiers were 50 square metres. The latter were designed to hold a conjugal family, the former a group of several dozen persons. From this time on, livestock was located in another place, removed from direct contact with men and placed in a stable or a sheepfold, thus perhaps anticipating an agricultural complex. By the same token, fire was brought inside the house. This was a momentous event, leading

to hearths that were open or attached to the wall, with or without hoods, and passing through a series of stages running on well past the period surveyed here. From now on, however, the hearth stood at the very heart of the house, being used for cooking, for getting warm, for the care of infants and the sick, and for sitting around at night and refining the folklore of the village. For all such activities the women bore the overwhelming responsibility. Henceforth, 'fire' was a word for a house, and although there is no text extant before the thirteenth century which allows us to estimate how many such a rural building might have held, the conjugal group with its still dependent offspring, say, some six to eight children, could be taken as a plausible average.

The third feature may well have been, to begin with, less general and less apparent, involving as it did the internal partitioning of what had up until then been a single hall. At first, this undoubtedly consisted of hangings on poles, but it later became a panel made of planks closing off a chamber and thus constituting a space to which a couple might retire, and so enjoy some privacy. Once again, it was almost certainly the women who benefited most from such a 'camera'.

The above were peasant houses, built for those who worked in the fields. We know, however, from the dig at Charavines (Isère), a site which was inhabited for no more than three decades, from 1020 to 1050, that only a few refinements in construction and a larger surface area distinguished those houses in which, to judge by the furnishings, fighting men and the rich resided. It was therefore somewhat later that a more striking contrast was perceptible between towers rising above moats and the residences of the lowly. The famous account of the château d'Ardres (Pas de Calais), around 1120, mentions a tower so ordered inside as to give a prominent place to bedrooms and kitchens, and nothing at all to the garrison, which barely warrants a mention.[1]

The village

It is still harder to reconstruct the stages through which the village itself passed. Nucleation, which first arose in the tenth century in southern Europe, and which would only cross the Rhine in the twelfth century, has been subject to so many variants or exceptions that archaeologists and historians are very far from having arrived at a consensus. There are a number of unresolved questions touching upon various different aspects. One of the most troubling concerns the stages through which this agglomerated form may be presumed to have passed, with scholarly opinion being divided as to whether the many dispersed *casaux* in the Mediterranean countryside constitute the residues of

[1] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, c. 127.

formerly inhabited sites or abortive regroupings. Were the three or four houses at Charavines, prior to their abandonment, a 'proto-village' which had not yet developed, or an isolated outpost? Were the three sites at Wharram Percy the residues of earlier shifts, or were they contemporary nuclei which had as yet not fused? At what point, in the *castelnaux* of Gascony, were the fortified centre, the ecclesiastical centre and the residences lying in between enclosed within the same precinct? We also lack certain knowledge as to whether the church linked the houses before or after they were first built; as to when precisely burial began to serve psychologically to unite the living and the dead; and as to whether the lord's castle attracted artisans and agricultural labourers or, at a later stage, prevailed upon them.

In spite of the hundreds of sites that have already been excavated (over 300 in England, over 200 in Germany), it would be premature to attempt a classification. On the other hand, some features were to be found almost everywhere by 1200, and it is worth listing them here. The internal structure of the village, whether it was perched on a hill in Italy or disposed in a line in a German forest, had certain elements in common. If we hesitate before applying the term 'village' to earlier forms of settlement, it is precisely because they lacked such elements. There was, to begin with, the meeting place, called in different regions the *area*, the *foro*, the *couderc* or the green. The elders would gather there, around the elm or the lime tree, and compile the history of the village. There too the lord would decide upon the date of the harvest; there would be held the small local markets, to which everyone, especially the seigneur himself, would take their surplus; the common herd would also be rounded up there. Almost everywhere we find other forms of fixity or of anchorage, which testify to the existence of a communal life, among them smithies, wells, wash-houses and cess-pits, although mills were generally separate. Both from texts, which proliferated in the thirteenth century, and from archaeological evidence, we know that villages had begun to mark out their territory with crosses, town towers, and sometimes palisades (as at Etter) separating them from the fields. As one retraces the slow and laborious development of customs and freedoms agreed between the lord of the place and his men, one notes that the peasantry was at pains from an early stage to safeguard its own 'peace' through the defence of its own territory. It is probably justified to treat the *amicitiae* of northern France, the *consorzii* and *hermandades* of the Mediterranean areas, and the German *Landfrieden*, all of which flourished between 1100 and 1200, as being primarily concerned with the defence of the community.

It would seem to be beyond dispute that the bonds thus forged in the village lent it an unprecedented degree of cohesion, which in fact assumed a highly concrete form. One expression of this would be the village banquet held on the feast day of its patron saint, the *libatio*, *potacio* or *drykkia*, which was known in

northern and north-west Europe from the tenth century, and which spread to
the whole continent in the course of the twelfth century. These events would
seem to have served as the central focus for the village confraternities, which
are obscure to us because they were so frowned upon by the church, and which
levied money, either to keep the peace (the *paziers* of the Forez and of the
Languedoc regions) or to acquire 'communal' property (from 1120 or 1130 in
Dorset or in the Mâconnais) or to come to the aid of villages afflicted by illness
in the family or at work (as in the Low Countries or in Franconia, from around
1070 or 1090). These common fields, or Germanic *Allmende*, very probably
did not answer all the community's requirements, for it needed more space to
graze its herds, forage for wood or even gather and uproot, for reclamation of
rights of use with regard to waste land was the quintessential symbol of village
unity. Its earliest manifestations served as a sort of birth certificate, dated to
something like 1040 or 1070 along the Saône and the Po, in Germany, and in
northern Spain.

The above considerations together suggest one crucial conclusion regarding
the history of the rural areas in the west, namely, that the village was well on
the way to acquiring a juridical personality of its own. For peasants leading
a settled existence, the *manentes* and the *villani*, now periodically assembled
at churches, cemeteries and fountains, in squares or before the perron from
which the lord gave judgement; they would together take refuge in the woods,
in order to evade some incursion, whether military or fiscal; they had their
own representatives, their priest, their smith, their notary and the masters of
their confraternity, all of whom might be prepared to speak up for them. It
lies outside my topic to discuss the problem of village communities, be it the
Iberian *fueros*, the Italian *statuti*, the laws of northern France or the German
Weistümer from the year 1000 to 1250, but these texts plainly represent the
natural culmination of the slow process by which the villages took root in the
countryside. It would be a historical travesty to regard this development as a
pale imitation of the urban 'communes'. The lord could have been in conflict
with his men, with a mind only to selling them what they asked, and at a high
price, while keeping both game and armed force for himself, but such instances
were very rare. Most often, agreements were made in the common interest.
Once the disturbances of the eleventh century had passed, there is no evidence
anywhere of a challenge to the actual principle of the seigneurial system.

THE CONQUEST OF THE SOIL

If one of the crucial legacies bequeathed to Europe by the middle ages has been
the conquest of the rural areas, its main phase ought to be dated to some point
between the middle of the eleventh century and the middle of the fourteenth

century. Intrinsically linked to the great surge in population, the encroachment of 'plain' upon 'bosc', or that of the *ager* upon the *saltus*, and the consequent increase in arable land, were made at the expense of zones of heath, of natural meadows, of marsh, of scrubby waste land and of more or less dense forests. So disparate and clandestine has the struggle between man and the uncultivated soil been that the study of it by historians has tended in the end to be somewhat imprecise.

The evidence

The medieval assault upon trees has long been symbolised by the figure of the 'settler-monk', generally presumed to be a Cistercian, but this is an ill-founded conception, which altogether fails to do justice to the facts. Conversely, there is no shortage of traces of human endeavour in many domains to which scientific research now gives us access. I would, for example, refer the reader to the pedological study of soils podzolised by overintensive exploitation; to the search in arable land for *mardelles*, that is to say, blobs of ash left in forests by charcoal-burners; to the study of ploughing ridges (*ackerberg*), which bear witness to the ancient extension of cultivation; to research into surviving hedgerows, whose species may be classified and dated (as in England); or, finally, to the study of vegetation that had rotted down as a result of ancient coppicing. However, it is obviously to palynological studies that we owe the most precise measurements, relative though these admittedly still are. Formerly restricted to the peat-bogs of Germany, of Hesse and Hanover, or of the Belgian Eifel, Gaume, Campine, and Condroz, of Somerset, Kent and Oxfordshire, of Jutland and the Limburg, pollen-counts have now reached the Valais, the Auvergne, Languedoc and Brittany, and it is to be hoped that they will in time be employed still further to the south. Arboreal and herbaceous residues unroll before our eyes the carpet of ancient vegetation.

Since reclaimed territory often becomes built upon, historians have for obvious reasons long been drawn to toponomastics, a science which unfortunately presents many pitfalls. As many instances even in our own century serve to show, a name may be shifted from one place to another. Suffixes, or indeed whole toponyms, cannot be dated with any certainty to 1120, say, rather than to 1300. The Germanic *rod*, *ried* or *schlag*, the Saxon *leys*, *dens* or *hurst*, the langue d'oïl *rupt*, the langue d'oc *rouchi* or *artiga*, not to speak of the uses of *dorf*, *hof*, *bach* and *ville*, which mean anything and everything, are evidence at best for an assault on waste areas, but nothing more can be inferred from them. Wholly divergent interpretations have been offered of the precise forms of division. Thus, strip-fields or, conversely, square areas in forest clearings have been held by scholars to owe their origin to the selfsame process of settlement.

So it is that here, almost uniquely in the domain of archaeogeography, the texts are king or, at any rate, those which describe the conquest of the soil, and refer, variously, to lawsuits over the *novales* tithes payable for reclaimed land, to contracts regarding the ploughing of a strip of woodland, to an agreement over new pastures, to the levying of specific taxes, often in the form of fruits offered at harvest (*hébergement* or *albergue* in France), or to specific *livello* contracts in Italy. Yet these texts, often owing their preservation to the agency of the church alone, generally concern the rich. For this reason it seems reasonable to argue that the crucial thing about *gagnage*, to employ the term from eastern France, is that it was brought about by the peasant himself, by his family, and indeed by the village group, and very probably by more or less clandestine devices, through the theft of a furrow here or there on virgin soil, in the hope that the lord's sergeant would not notice.

At the end of a few years, this process would produce a full hectare, and one might establish a *cabanneria*, or a *borderie*, upon it. Conversely, there are many references in the texts to groups of men called upon, sometimes in fact from very near at hand, to carry out the work, who were known as *hospites* or 'guests'. They would travel from Brittany to Le Perche, from London to the Weald, from Lauragais to the Toulousain, and from Würtemberg to the Jura, and they were often free men (*Königsfreien*) or men liberated upon that occasion. As for the masters of the soil, who supervised such operations once they were conducted on any scale, one should not, as I remarked above, exaggerate the part played by the church. Ecclesiastical involvement is evident in the areas around Ely, Ramsey, Faversham and Rochester in England, and in the areas around Niederaltaich, Tegernsee, Passau and Salzburg in Germany, to cite examples from north-western Europe, yet hundreds of other cases might be discussed for Catalonia, Lombardy, the Loire valley and Picardy. It is worth noting in passing that, where monks are concerned, the Cistercians were outstripped by the Benedictines or canons regular. Unfortunately, the great lay lords almost never left any record of their personal initiatives, so that mention may be made of the Clares and of the Babenbergs, but of very few others. However, those who wielded the axe were obviously their men, even if it was in a wood surrendered by the church in return for hefty *novales*. The more ambitious the venture, the more complex the division of labour would be. *Sarteurs*, or *locatores*, recruited the labour force, which often took the form of teams (*comparticipes*). The division of labour, known to us only in its upper echelons, was evident in northern France or in central Germany from 1160, and perhaps still earlier on the public lands (*gualdi publici*) of central Italy. The sharing out of the profits would generally seem to have involved allocating the tithe to the church, hunting and leasing rights (*champart, agrière*) to the new master, the harvest, the rights of user, the seed and the respites to the woodman-turned-farmer.

If I have so far made no reference to the various forms of uncultivated land, it was in order not to clutter my exposition unduly. One ought not to confuse clearance in the strict sense of the term, which was undertaken in the more or less dense *maquis* or *mescla* of the southern countries, and which involved the destruction of scrub and thorn, with the felling of oaks and beeches in northern Europe. Even in the latter, indeed, one ought to differentiate between the dense copses of German or Picard oaks, or more rarely of conifers, growing on heavy soils with a sandstone or clay bedrock, the more scattered birch-woods on the silica soils of central Europe, and the beech and chestnut groves of central and western France. One ought also to bear in mind that the forest was a nutritive zone, a terrain amenable to every sort of hunting, a space in which pigs could roam and, of course, a source for wood, the chief raw material of the middle ages. It was not only hermits, exiles and robbers who were to be found there, but also charcoal-burners, smiths and shepherds. It was as if, in attacking the forest, they were entering into a wager that they might recover by other means what it anyway offered in its virgin state. Changes in vocabulary during this period also reflected the evolution in attitudes towards those spaces that were still untamed. Thus, after 1100, the old words such as *saltus*, *lucus* and *foresta*, used since antiquity to invoke something sacred, were gradually supplanted by *silva, boscum* and *nemus*, all terms having in the Latin of the day a more mundane connotation.

The results

In order to appraise the results, one would obviously have to be in a position to assess the extent of virgin soil, for example, around the year 1000, and here the suspicion is that we lack sufficient evidence. Domesday Book records 4 million hectares, the sole reliable datum prior to the valuations of the fourteenth century, and this figure implies that the British Isles were none too heavily forested. France can hardly have been much more densely covered. Germany was the exception here, with as much as 40 per cent of its territory being wooded, but it is not wholly clear whether, in this context as in others, that figure is supposed to include the heaths, the fern-brakes, the *broeken* and *meersen* of reeds by the North Sea, the *brosses* and *gastes* of the Atlantic zones and, of course, the Alpine forest, which altogether eludes us.

We have only a crude and approximate conception of the actual labour, although clearly it involved attacking the forests with axes, burn-beating before or afterwards, and destumping with harnessed teams two or three years later. There would no doubt be grazing to begin with, although sowing would follow after four to five years. It is therefore hard to gauge the pace at which the land was cleared, although one might reasonably posit an average of one *journal*

or one *arpent* (from 30 to 50 *ares*, that is, from 3000 to 5000 square metres) brought into use by one man in a year. The total area cleared eludes us, for on the one hand there is the half hectare seized by stealth, on the other the forest of 10,000 hectares. Where the woods were already in retreat, to the west and south of the continent, there was a gain of perhaps 10 to 15 per cent. Further to the north and to the east, the figure may have been as high as 50 per cent. With dates, on the other hand, we are on firmer ground, and should ascribe these clearances to some time before 1100 in Aquitaine and in the Iberian zone, but also along the Saône–Rhône valley and in Poitou and Flanders. At the beginning of the twelfth century, the same processes reached Italy, northern France, the Harz mountains, the Hochwald, Franconia and, on the other side of the Channel, the Weald, Sussex and East Anglia. The assault must first have been directed at thickets, and then at areas which could well have been tilled several centuries before, and finally, but only through the use of horse and plough, at the heavier land.

I ought also to mention two other aspects of the process which, though marginal, are in the end more spectacular. Although virtually nothing is known of the economy of the mountain areas, the conquest of the precipitous and gullied slopes of the Mediterranean zones must date from these centuries. It was an endeavour of Titanesque proportions to have created terraces supported by low walls, trenches for draining away water, and vineyards, olive groves and millet fields on the *gradoni* or *lunettes* mentioned after the 1050s from Catalonia to Sicily.

This same period saw the rational exploitation of fluviatile terraces, which had long been held to be of no use, but which could sustain grazing, arboriculture and the growing of legumes on stony, waterlogged soil. Floodplains had been drained (the Ligurian *bonifache* date from 1090), and the dangerously unpredictable behaviour of rivers had been brought under control. Mention should, for example, be made of the dikes on the Loire (Henry Plantagenet's 'turcies', around 1160), or those on the Po and the Arno, between 1160 and 1185. Numerous valleys, formerly judged to be both insalubrious and unproductive, were soon to have thriving villages, along the Saône, the Allier, the Main and the Inn. The salt-pans of the Camargue, of Romagna and of Bavaria were also brought under control between 1080 and 1160. Contemporaries were most impressed, however, by the reclamation of land from the sea. Given the scale of such enterprises, it was generally the rich who took them in hand, among them the count of Flanders, the abbots of Bourbourg and of Ramsey, and the bishops of Saintes and of Ely. Groups of peasants, in part fishermen and in part shepherds, assumed responsibility for the upkeep of the dikes (*wateringen*), which isolated the drained fields, and for the supervision of the channels. The reclaimed fields, known as *moeres* or *polders*, were brought into use between

1070 and 1160 in Flanders, in Aunis, in the Fens and around Ipswich, and new towns also sprang up, such as Nieuport, Gravelines and Bourgneuf, where salt was harvested, and sheep, raised on meadows still steeped in saltwater, were sold. It is reckoned that 300,000 hectares were reclaimed in the British Isles, half as much again on the Poitevin coast, twice as much again from the Aa to Friesland. One should also bear in mind that the general fall in sea level, which continued up until around 1180, was obviously very much to the advantage of coastal peoples.

The end of the 'demesnial system'

Spectacular though they may have been, advances in tillage were but one aspect of the upheavals to which the rural areas of the west were subject in our period. It was in fact the drastic restructuring of the system of cultivation that would leave a lasting mark upon the peasant environment. I will consider the process in finer detail below, but here wish merely to note that it began in the late tenth century and gathered momentum between 1075 and 1175, its characteristic features finally bringing about the ruin of the old 'system' of the Carolingian period.

To begin with, the market in real estate became very lively. This change was already discernible prior to 1075 in the area from Catalonia to Campania, but occurred somewhat later in the north (although this discrepancy may be due to the uneven nature of the sources). The documents suggest a rise in sales and exchanges, while the lexicon in use gradually altered, both in its reference to the portion remaining in the possession of the lord (*villa* came in time to mean an 'agglomeration', *curtis* an isolated farm), and in its assessment of the areas of land allotted ('manor' gave way to *charruée* or *journal*, etc.). The second feature of the new system, although it might be more accurate to see it as a consequence of the first, was the juxtaposition of two trends which, in the context of a large demesne, had tended rather to be in conflict. To begin with, there was a large amount of commassation, or merging of fields, combined in the twelfth century, above all, with a restructuring of the most profitable elements, namely, tithes, mills, meadows and *tonlieux*. The church, on account of its archives, gives the appearance of leading this movement. St Emmeran of Regensburg owned 1000 manor-houses, while the monastery of Monte Cassino had 80,000 *has*. Yet the laity must have acted in very much the same fashion. Thus, in Bavaria, the Falkensteins owned 2500 manor-houses. The regrouping around compact nuclei which occurred in Sabina, in Valles, in Flanders and in the Mâconnais may have been a response to the conquest of fresh territory. Conversely, numerous demesnes indubitably underwent fragmentation, either because of changes in family structure or, more probably, because of a disenclosure arising out of

the removal of obstacles to the recovery of uncultivated land. Such obstacles had featured in 25 per cent of title deeds in tenth-century Catalonia, but the proportion fell to 8 per cent in the eleventh century, and to 1 per cent in the twelfth century. This trend was linked to the fate of fields without a powerful master, so that allods, which around the year 1000 or 1040 still accounted for 30 to 50 per cent of territory, were very plainly in decline before 1150. Many years were to pass, however, before the allod was to disappear altogether, for the conquest of new territory in the twelfth century may well have lent it new vigour.

Whether strengthened or not, large estates no longer presented the 'classical' profile familiar to us from the ninth and tenth centuries. The 'reserve' no longer relied upon prestations in services or kind made by tenants working individual plots. Regular labour services could hardly be sustained where the system of *Villikation Verfassung* with scattered demesnes was in operation (St Peter's in Salzburg had, for example, sixty-two centres in forty-seven different territories); ties were slackened between the *coutures*, the *condaminas*, the *mas doumencs* and the *corti* of northern France, Catalonia, Languedoc and Italy, and the *meix*, the *croadas*, the *casalia* and the *massae* installed on the actual plots. This is without taking into account the 'reserve' plots, known throughout most of France as *ansanges, accolae, ailes, ouches, courtils* and *masures*, entities whose precise status is obscure and whose fate is painstakingly researched by specialists. Those fields that were the hardest to supervise were best divided up into plots, so that the reserve might then represent no more than 15 to 25 per cent of the surface area of the whole demesne, as was the case in, for example, Winchester, Regensburg, St Gall or Cluny. Yet here too one should be wary of supposing that it was doomed to disappear, for it consisted of the most profitable and most useful land. In this regard, one should note that the restitution of tithes, which had been usurped in the tenth century, and which the laity had begun to resell or else, in a spirit of genuine piety, to give, after 1050 (that is, before the pressure exerted upon them by the Gregorian Reform), would never amount to complete abandonment. Indeed, from 1200 onward, with income from capital in land tending to fall to around 7 or 8 per cent of gross income, it was becoming more lucrative to hold on to the 10 per cent which the tithe yielded, even at the risk of one's salvation.

Yet it was tenure that mattered the most, in the last resort, because it affected everyone and because it sustained everyday life. We have much better access to its history in this period than before, because of the proliferation of title deeds. Three crucial features bring out the essential nature of the process. First of all, notwithstanding the survival in, for example, Italy, of *livello* tenures larger than 30 hectares, there was evidently a drop in size. Words such as *manor*, *mas* or *hufe* might well still feature in the documents, but they had shed their Carolingian

connotations and tended simply to refer to a built-up plot. Their surface area had suffered a drastic reduction, so that they no longer measured 5 or 10 hectares but were a quarter, an eighth, or less, of that size. Lexical innovation reflected this change, with *quartier*, *Vierteil*, *vergée* and *sorti* expressing the fragmentation of the old manors, and with *bovée*, *charruée* and *journal* denoting the quantity of land that might be worked in the space of a single day. Such developments were especially apparent after 1140–60, and may be ascribed as much to the breakdown of family structure as to technological progress, which meant that fewer hectares were needed to provide for a household. This may be why the breakdown was less pronounced in southern zones which, from this time on, were overtaken by the dynamism of the north, where the tendency, evident since the ninth century, to form a 'manor' out of disconnected plots further hastened its demise.

The second new feature, a consequence both of this embryonic fragmentation and of the relaxation of the previously close links with the reserve, was the collapse of services by arm or by plough. By 1100 or 1120, the lord had become well aware that such labour services were performed with ill will and on an irregular basis, or were even sabotaged. The buying back of such services would furnish him with money, which would fund his increasingly costly way of life or allow him to hire a more docile labour force. These developments did not proceed at a uniform pace. In southern Europe, where the system had never worked well, services dropped to a few days a year. In the Atlantic zones, or in northern France, the lord continued to demand three days' labour services three or four times a year, especially when it was the time for pressing, ploughing, harvesting, grape-gathering or haymaking. In Germany, and above all in Normandy and in the British Isles, such demands were especially onerous. None the less, the emphasis tended everywhere to shift from the land which sustained them to the men who owed them, and, whether commuted or not, they were no longer strictly enforced.

The third area of innovation was more complex, and concerned the rent paid on land divided into lots. Payments of a share of the harvested fruits, reflected in the proliferation of terms such as *champart, agrière, tasca* and *quarta*, and even, after 1200, when the proportion attained 50 per cent, *mezzadria* and *métayage*, were to the lord's advantage, inasmuch as he might use them to make gifts, to reimburse his agents or to supply the local market, while they served at the same time to shield the tenant from the tragic consequences of freaks of nature. Besides, there were some products, eggs, poultry, olives and flax among them, which could not really be replaced by money. Yet it was towards this latter system that rent, or the *cens*, was tending to evolve, for money was becoming more and more necessary and more and more plentiful. Unfortunately, the amount was fixed by custom, and could not be altered

without risk; after 1180 we do indeed find, in Burgundy, Bavaria and the
Rhineland, 'fructures' imposed in order to promote commutation, but these
were the exception. This is why masters relied instead upon the inflation of
commutation rights, the heavy *pretium* of the Mediterranean *livello* contracts,
the high *entratura* of the Iberian tenures, the Catalan *pressura*, the Aragonese
escalio and the Languedocian *apriso*, although these forms would admittedly
in the future develop in the direction of property. So it was that, after 1170
or 1180, the resulting tension between masters and tenants was reflected in
changes to the conditions governing the exploitation of the soil. In launching
themselves, around 1180–90, into tenancies with revocable leases, abbeys such
as St Denis and Glastonbury no doubt thought they had found a solution.

Territorial diversity

The reader will often have noted in the course of this survey that south and
north, Atlantic littoral and central Europe, offer many contrasts in rhythm, in
scale or even in the underlying causes determining the development of partic-
ular systems for the cultivation of the soil. Even the villages themselves serve
to exemplify such contrasts. Thus, in the Mediterranean zone, *incastellamento*
functioned in such a way that, if you except a few isolated *casalia*, any zones to
which access was difficult would be abandoned. Further north, on the other
hand, in the British Isles and from Poitou to Bavaria, tillage was severely cir-
cumscribed by the enclosed structure of the villages, which were *burgi* with
a *firma* and a precinct or *circuitus*. Some old terrains, in Brittany or in the
Auvergne, still featured dispersed houses or *mas*. In northern Europe, from the
Seine to the Elbe, whether with or without a castle, agglomerations tended to
sprawl and to swarm, often on virgin land, so that, even where written sources
are plentiful, one cannot ever hope to define the precise configuration of the
plots of land.

   With regard to the latter, one may only distinguish a few more or less general
features for the period in question. The first, crucial point is that the territory
would indeed seem at this stage to have been well provided with the network
of rural roads required by the villagers if they were to master it. Proof of this is
supplied by the fact that boundaries of plots or of sections of land no longer
referred to the names of men but rather to *semitae*, that is, *ruae*, running
from one point, often topographic or toponymic, to another. Of course, the
Roman thoroughfares, still identified correctly by scribes (as, for example, *via
publica, strata, via calceata*), served as uncontested points of reference, but it
would certainly be going too far to regard the grid of ancient centuriation, even
where it had held firm (as in Italy and Languedoc), as the still intact framework
for land tenure.

A second feature concerns the grouping of a quantity of plots in homogeneous blocs, which were known as *delles, cantons, furlongs* etc., and which either referred to manors later subdivided, or else were the outcome of a deliberate process of regrouping associated with the introduction of new agricultural techniques, to be discussed shortly, deployed by the community as a whole. We are, however, quite unable to provide a satisfactory explanation, at any rate during this period, for the fairly clear-cut distinction between fields with recombined plots (*quaderni, aiole*) and long strips. There remains the problem posed by the enclosure of ploughed land which, in the case of vines, olives or arboriculture on river banks, seems self-evident. Once again, however, from this period there is evidence only of the temporary enclosure of recently tilled fields, probably so as to protect them from straying livestock. Yet permanent hedges certainly existed, for example in central Spain, in Frisia, in the Weald and the Highlands of Scotland, in Brittany, and in many mountain zones. Generally speaking, one may account for them in terms of the concern to isolate cereal-growing plots situated in the middle of heaths or meadows grazed, on a regular basis, by herds, but one cannot therefore necessarily regard them as prefigurations of boscage, which is only known with any certainty in the fourteenth century.

Finally, I would add that, on the fringes of the Christian world of the tenth century, numerous territories were gradually subsumed within what became, by the same token, 'Europe', and this was by no means the least significant aspect of the conquest of the soil which illuminated the century and a half surveyed here. This 'expansion' was accompanied, especially in the south and in the middle of the continent, by military and political phenomena which are not my concern here, but the reader will readily understand that the capture of such territories, whether virgin or not, posed some problems, and that a word or two should be devoted to them.

The issues were simplest in the case of Scandinavia, since there the terrain was forested or covered with tundra, inhabited by breeders of reindeer or Lap fishers, who were by no means numerous and who were gradually driven back towards the Arctic. However, small groups of foresters, in fact very belated converts to Christianity, were moving northwards, and must have adopted quasi-'colonial' systems of planting, involving joint enclosures or *dorps*, with distribution and redistribution of family plots, known as *boels*, and all this without any interference from a master or a lord. Such freedom of manoeuvre, in what was a sort of 'Far North', was to have a lasting impact upon the Nordic system, even after 1140 or 1160, when the German example began to weigh heavily upon the peninsula. Indeed, German colonisation was to the detriment, not of harmless pastoralists, but of substantial groups of Poles, Czechs and Croats. These populations were well organised, in large villages whose agriculture did not yet – that is, around 1050–80 – involve the cultivation

of very precisely defined territories, and this fact was very probably to the advantage of the *Drang nach Osten*, when it entered its most intense phase, in the twelfth century. If one excepts the creation of the Baltic towns, which are not my concern here, one will allow that the process of occupation of virgin soil, and latterly of land occupied once the Slavs had been expelled, assumed a resolutely annexationist quality. When a palisaded village had been built, immigrants would be summoned, to live under the firm authority of the *Schultheiss*, or leader of the group. Plots, or *hufen*, would be allocated according to the customs prevailing in most of Germany, and Germanic law would hold sway. Neither in Silesia, nor in Carinthia, nor in Moravia, nor in Brandenburg was there any intermingling with the local population, which on occasion was resettled upon 'reservations', as in Lusatia or, in the thirteenth century, in Pomerania. Such attitudes obviously gave cause for some hostility between Slavs and Germans.

The case of Spain is quite different, especially if one calls a halt to one's study around 1200, and therefore before the Christians recovered the east of the country and Andalusia, which were far more densely populated than was the central *meseta*. Indeed, as the soldier-farmers or pastoralists from León or Catalonia gradually moved down – perhaps flanked by immigrants from, for the most part, the south-west of France – from the Asturias or the Pyrenees to as far as the Sierra Nevada, the territories they seized were somewhat infertile and sparsely populated but already very familiar to them, owing to the regular and well-established circuits of transhumance. Thus, the characteristic features of the *Reconquista*, at any rate in the domain which concerns me here, were first of all an extreme tolerance and an attempt at fusion between the defeated *mudejars*, who remained Muslim, and the *caballeros villenos*, Spaniards who were ever armed for the Conquest but who were none the less farmers and shepherds. Secondly, the freedoms granted to the peasants, to all the peasants – whether *francos* from the north, *serranos* from the mountains, Jews or Berbers – came earlier here than anywhere else in Europe. Indeed, the *fueros* began early in the eleventh century, a hundred years before the north of France. In reoccupied territory, the proportion of allods would therefore be high. As for the *pobladores*, who were responsible for setting up new quarters or even whole villages, they tended to use agreements with the subject populations, so that each Christian *aldea* and each Muslim *alqueira*, whether in partnership or not, would redistribute the plots of land to be cultivated. So perfect a solution was obviously made possible by the sheer extent of land that was still virgin or that had up until then been given over to grazing. By contrast, the Christians of northern Spain had been so isolated during the first centuries of their existence, between the eighth and eleventh centuries, on account of the indifference

shown to them by the Carolingians and their successors, and indeed by the church, that they preserved an archaic, almost pre-Carolingian system of land tenure, with clearly defined smallholdings and the most exiguous of domanial claims. It is true, however, that the strife-torn mood of the times, sustained by the struggle against Islam, would alone have justified such a system.

It would thus seem to be the case that, even allowing for the many features that were common to the various agrarian systems, a shared inheritance which fully justifies our use of the notion of Europe for the period in question, regional diversity resulted in something more sharply defined than mere nuances. To account for such variety, one need merely invoke the genius of this or that people, the nature or the objectives of its government, the social conditions affecting relations between men. If one were to take into account varieties of soil, climatic constraints or commercial relations, the study of agriculture would itself reveal contrasts of equivalent weight.

THE CULTIVATION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

However significant the Carolingian period – defined in the broadest sense as extending from the early eighth century to the end of the ninth century, or indeed somewhat later – may have been, no one would dispute that Europe's agricultural take-off occurred at some point after the year 1000 and continued, even if punctuated by some periods of stasis or even regression, up to the sixteenth century. It is all the more surprising to find that this surge was not characterised by a proliferation of agronomic precepts. You merely have to peruse the capitulary *de villis*, the letters of Lupus of Ferrières or the Statutes of Adalard of Corbie, to see what an abundance of practical advice and of references to Varro, Columella or Palladius the ninth century could boast, but it was not until well into the thirteenth century that well-ordered theories, propounded in Walter of Henley's *Husbandry*, and in *Fleta*, could again be found. This is once again to refer to England alone. Prior to this time, one has the sense of groping in the dark, of undertaking research in terms of isolated examples, and there seems to be little concern to organise knowledge, as if any notion of potential progress was an altogether secondary matter. The objection may fairly be made that there were current in northern France a number of distichs attributed, wrongly as it happens, to Cato the Elder, and which were known as 'chatonnets', but which seem in fact to have been collections of maxims. It was not until around 1120 or 1150 that a reasoned curiosity regarding economic questions was in evidence. Thus, the monk Theophilus described a number of different techniques, Abbot Suger vaunted his skill at agricultural management, the Cistercians plainly espoused, by virtue of their own Rule, a

'political economy', the sire de Rohan concerned himself with the quality of his studs, and yet there were still no standard texts to consult.

The problem of waste land

Cereals may well be the main feature of the rural economy in regions characterised by a sedentary mode of existence and yet, as we saw above, by no means all the soil in Europe was given over to the production of grain. Waste land formed part of the landscape, surrounded the cleared and cultivated fields, and remained an enduring preoccupation. We have already noted how large a part it played in the rural economy. Since waste land provided vital sustenance when other sources failed, it is only right that we look at it first.

As I observed above, our understanding of diet is severely restricted by our limited knowledge of the contribution made by natural vegetable products. Gathering, on a scale that is impossible to estimate, provided fruits, berries, roots, herbs and salads, cabbages and honey from the hive, once peasants had the 'use' of wood or scrub. None the less, the lord might keep for himself, or charge a prohibitively high price for access to, the olives or the acorns. Likewise, in the case of hunting, it is impossible to say what contribution to diet was made by rabbits, by hares caught in traps, by partridges, ducks, pheasants or many other birds captured in nets or with bird-lime, or indeed by running animals brought down by arrows, such as roe-deer, chamois or fallow deer. Of course, large game, such as wild boar, stags, bears and wolves could only be hunted with packs and huntsmen armed by the lord. Yet when there was a beat aimed at eradicating pests, commoners and lord would join forces, even entering for this purpose the *garennes*, the spinneys (*brogilum*) and the *plouy (ploiacum)*, which were in principle exclusively reserved for the lord.

Although historians know relatively little about the gathering of foodstuffs from waste land, they are much better informed about timber, owing to the copious documentation of villagers' rights of use or grubbing contracts. This is because vast quantities of wood were consumed, for building, burning, and making tools and bowls, and for constructing strongholds, palisades, boats, millwheels and cartwheels. The middle ages were the 'age of wood', even where stone rivalled it, for it was also needed for frames, trusses or coffering. Advances in iron tools, discussed below, in axes and saws (long sawing scarcely predates the thirteenth century), and the development of hoods and chimneys made it possible to burn trunks and large branches; the increasing demand for tools of every kind fostered an assault on tall-growing trees, from the highly dense oak to the beech with its long fibres, the soft and fast-growing conifer, or the chestnut tree impervious to damp conditions or to vermin. This also explains why lords kept the best stocks for their own use, in particular the

oak, the king of trees, the clandestine assault upon which might at times cost a life. From a fairly early date, the risks of a merely haphazard exploitation would seem to have been appreciated. Thus, texts from 1100 or 1120 in Italy, and rigorous Cistercian prescriptions between 1135 and 1190, introduced the notion of regular felling, of the 'placing under guard' (*aforestatio*) of cantons in course of regeneration, and of regular surveillance by guards, known in different regions as *gruarii, forestarii, saltari* or *verdarii*.

One ought not to neglect, however, the third role played by the waste land, upon which the medieval economy in the last instance depended. The undergrowth was rich in shoots, herbs and berries, often in sufficient quantities to feed livestock. Stockbreeding was one of the cornerstones of the medieval economy, yet it was often impossible to reserve for it a part of the already cleared territory, since the latter would be entirely given over to agriculture. Free grazing in the forest was the simplest solution to the problem, especially in the case of pigs, which could forage for food there, and which would regularly interbreed with wild boar. Cows and horses, however, risked incurring injuries, straying or being attacked by wolves. One had, moreover, to round them up, whether for milking or for breeding. As for sheep, and the goats which invariably accompanied them, their capacity to inflict damage was so great that they were very soon debarred from the woods. Demographic increase, and the development of pack-animals, whether saddled or yoked, exerted considerable pressure upon natural resources. The numbers involved by the time of Domesday Book, for example, were apparently already high, namely, 40,000 sheep, 20,000 pigs, 5000 bovines and 2000 horses. In the bishopric of Ely, the increase in the number of heads, taking all the different species into account, was 30 per cent between 1080 and 1125, rising again to 40 per cent in the period up to 1180. The prices paid for animals would themselves seem to have reflected a growing demand. Thus, in the twelfth century, the price of sheep rose by a half, that of cattle doubled, and that of horses tripled. As demographic pressure increased, more and more land had to be set aside for cereals, and less and less surplus land could be preserved in the woods. What then was to be done?

To begin with, numerous regions indubitably escaped this vicious circle. Thus, in the mountains, but also in the underpopulated hills, whether in Germany around the River Elbe, in northern England or in Brittany, grazing continued to be extensive and yet farming was not therefore obstructed. The movement of Alpine populations from the valleys to the higher pastures, for which there is evidence in the sources from the beginning of the twelfth century, was reflected in transhumance patterns at the turn of the seasons, and over long distances, from stables and sheepfolds to the inhabited zones of the *hermes* or the *causses*. The passage of *manades* or *bacades* consisting of thousands of heads of livestock, with the various species mixed up together, did of course cause

damage, and therefore lawsuits. For example, in Aquitaine, Dauphiné, Pouille and Castile, mounted guards had to be supplied, and obligatory routes were marked out, *drailles* or *cannadas*, evidence for which dates from 1090–1120, but there was as yet nothing to match the intense conflicts of the fourteenth century. Finally, the 'salt meadows' reclaimed from the sea in Flanders, Norfolk or Aunis, and the marshes of the Roman Campagna, Romagna or Provence, left soil which could not be planted with corn to sheep and buffalo.

Elsewhere, indeed in the majority of regions, there is no stable and general solution perceptible in the period under review. Shepherds, at great risk to themselves, accompanied their grazing flocks; yet the latter had to be brought back to the village for a part of the year, sometimes every day if milking was to be done. Stabling, or *stabbiatura*, had therefore to be developed, and this required both space and time. In winter, one had to feed the animals, and therefore to identify fallow meadows which would not be cultivated, and which would be costly to maintain. This accounts for the general willingness to undertake the haymaking labour services for the lord. Given the fact that, as I explain below, common land was especially abundant prior to 1200, one may readily discern a solution to the problem, but it was not to be realised until the end of the twelfth century.

It is obviously somewhat artificial to add a passing reference here to the question of fishing. Yet this too was an economic sector, whose contribution to ordinary diet cannot be properly estimated, which was subject to strict customary regulation, and which remains a highly obscure area for historians. We are none the less concerned here with uncultivated areas in which fish could be taken from rivers, pools or fish-ponds, and though we know for certain that they were consumed, we do not know which species were caught, or how. Deepwater fish are more familiar to us, and there were fisher-peasants in Brittany, in the Bay of Biscay, in Provence, in the Adriatic and around the northern seas. Yet in reality more is known of trade, of the fishmarkets in towns or on boats, than of the fish that might appear – or of the condition they might be in – in the village marketplace.

The empire of grain

Grain was the chief conquest of protohistoric times. It provided the basis for bread, which was at once a staple food and the main eucharistic 'species' for Christians. It would be naive to imagine that there were crucial changes, or botanical novelties, within the century and a half surveyed here. Archaeology and in particular palynology, and the excavation of night-soil dumps, tell us something, but texts tend to prove disappointing, if only because of uncertainties regarding terms used by scribes, who were men of the pen rather than of the

plough. What, for example, does *bladum* mean? What was *méteil*, a mixture of rye and wheat? What were the 'small corns', and where did they grow? Given these obscurities, I will restrict myself to a general survey.

White flour, with its delicate taste, was not the sole preserve of lords, although the claim is often made. It was a question of soil as much as of taste, and white bread or girdle-cakes also featured on peasant tables in the sedimentary regions of north-western Europe. Yet what was this flour? *Triticum*, the *speltum* (or spelt) of antiquity, thick-stalked and without a beard, would seem to have receded after the year 1000, save in Italy. Since it gummed up the mills, it yielded to bearded *frumentum*, which was lighter but which exhausted the soil. Barley, which reigned supreme in Mediterranean antiquity, continued to furnish the basic elements for barley beer and for gruels (*polenta*), and it also provided a nourishing food for bovines, but it could not survive harsh winters. Oats, on the other hand, which had come into favour along with the horse, flourished in clear, damp soils; it could also be sown in March. We have evidence for the progress it had already made in the ninth century, in southern Europe, and it reached the north between 1040 and 1130. It was also fit for human consumption, as gruel (porridge or *gaumelle*) or as decoctions akin to beer. In the case of rye, the 'indomitable cereal of the poor', we have to do with a crop which will grow even on stony soil, which survives frost or damp, and which has persisted across the centuries as a last recourse when all rival foodstuffs faltered. Its flour is grey and bitter in taste, but its ubiquity testifies to its importance in Europe. The use throughout the Mediterranean area and even up to the Loire of millet, panic grass and *farru*, all of which are derivatives of sorghum, may be said to reflect a capacity to accept substitutes or a curiosity about unfamiliar forms.

The land belonging to the village, especially prior to 1200, was by no means merely a sea of grain. Peas, vetches, lentils and some species of bean could well have been sown in open fields and gathered at harvest time, the tendrils of these legumes often coiling along the stems, which would be cut high up. However, these foodstuffs, which would be added to cabbage soups, were hard to digest. It is crucial, therefore, to undertake research into the preconditions, presumably established around 1130–50, for cultivation in the immediate vicinity of houses, on plains (*viridaria*), in enclosures on hills grazed by livestock (*orticelli*), on the terraces of southern Europe (*orts, huertas*), along fluviatile terraces (*ferraginalia, rivagia*), or on the alluvial deposits of marshy zones (*hortillons, hardines*). Once released from the burden of grain-growing, these terrains might be planted with cash crops or used to supply artisans with flax and hemp, or with woad and pastel, which yielded every shade of blue. Surviving texts leave us in no doubt that activities which flourished in the thirteenth century were first established around this time. In Italy, Picardy and Flanders, a 'rural industry' of this kind

arose in the middle of the twelfth century. In addition, victuals from the forest began, at the same moment and in the same places, to be found close to the village. Garlic, onions and peppers, whose calorific content and richness in proteins could make good the shortage of meat, were now grown in gardens, and the size of these plots testifies to their importance.

The intrinsic interest of such a picture would of course be greatly increased if one could attain to a more exact understanding of the rhythm and volume of growth. For there was indeed some growth: even, for example, over the twenty years which, in Domesday Book, separate the passage of the inquisitors from what was the case 'in the time of King Edward', there was discernible in the counties of Lincoln, Suffolk and elsewhere an increase in implements or live-stock. Scattered allusions to a harvest, to the garnering of a specified size of crop, or to a quantity of seed enable us to mark out the average level of returns, although precise volumes elude us. Thus, in Brescia, around the year 1000, wheat yielded three to four for each grain sown; in Cluny, in the middle of the twelfth century, the yield was plainly over five, while in Picardy, in 1200, it had reached six or seven, a ratio that would be achieved in England in the thirteenth century. One could engage in lengthy discussions regarding 'Carolingian' yields, but it would be a pointless exercise, for progress stares one in the face.

Now at last we come to the symbol of an advanced agriculture. Being a sign of life, pleasure and conviviality since antiquity, and in addition the second eucharistic species, wine and vine serve to express social superiority. Long the preserve of lords, the vineyard became, from the tenth century at the latest, a peasant concern. 'Drinking one's own wine' became the quintessential sign of social success. From the beginning of the twelfth century, there is evidence for the high price of wine on the local market, for the lord's right to sell off his old wine before that of the villagers (*banvin*), for the role of wine in international trade, and there is a whole literature in which it is the hero. To own one's own vineyard became a common aspiration, and numerous Italian contracts of hire, even in fields also planted with, for example, olives, stipulated future rights of access to the property. One should note, however, that the symbolic value of viticulture far outweighed its economic importance. Thus, Islam deprived itself of this resource and did not suffer overmuch as a consequence. Work in vineyards was arduous, the yield vulnerable to the caprice of the elements, the quality of the winemaking extremely low and the final result aleatory.

Towards a mastery of techniques

Progress could not be the product merely of a more clement climate, or of more dynamic men. Some contribution of a technological nature was required, and I ought therefore to devote some space to it. It has been argued that the perfecting

of techniques, even in the domain of agriculture, must have played a primary role. It is in fact clear that the preparation of the soil went beyond the level advocated by the agronomists of antiquity, but we are not able to specify the origin, date or immediate effects of any innovations. We know from scrutiny of the soil, for example at Wharram Percy (Yorkshire), that in the twelfth century there indubitably was spreading of manure, systematic marling and the scattering of household refuse on the land, or at any rate on the fields of the richest men or upon those that lay closest to the houses. There was very probably an increase in the number of methods, beginning with an attack with the hoe, followed by digging over the soil, a third tillage (*terciage*) with animals or even once again by hand in the case of the poorest, and, finally, harrowing after sowing. Evidence for the latter practice may be found in the Bayeux Tapestry (around 1090), but also at the same date in Winchester, Cluny and Brescia.

Obviously the tool for ploughing comes to mind here, and I have already alluded to this crucial but obscure problem. It is rendered still more obscure by the imprecision of the scribes, who were anyway in general incompetent, and who would use the term *aratrum* for every tool used for tillage. Besides, recent research has established that, for the majority of peasants, manual labour must have played the dominant role prior to 1200. There is still much debate as to the rival performances of the light, mobile swing-plough, well adapted to the dry soils of southern Europe, and of the plough, with its mouldboard turning the sod over to one side of the furrow, but, for the period surveyed here, the prevailing view is that both tools were used, depending on the men who might be using them or on the nature of the soil. We find this diversity in almost every county of eleventh-century England. This would be still truer of harnessing. Thus, in twelfth-century England, one tilled with six or eight oxen in twenty-four counties, and with horses and oxen combined in seven counties. The ox, being reputed to be more powerful and economical, remained dominant in Castile, Sabina, Burgundy and Bavaria. The horse gradually came to prevail, however, throughout the Paris basin, and in freshly cleared, heavy fields, where oxen could do little. One should also note the possible connection between modes of ploughing and types of land tenure. Thus, in the twelfth century, cross-ploughing with furrows intersecting at right angles, which was only possible where there were compact plots, was still the predominant form and, even where ploughing in elongated strips began to feature, it is hard to see how it would be easier to turn a team of eight oxen than a team of four horses. The differing efficacy of the two animal species in fact rested upon factors operative more or less at this level. Practices of rational harnessing, which alone made it possible to deploy all the muscular strength of the animals, with shoulder harnesses or front yokes, may well have existed in the twelfth century,

if we accept the evidence from the Bayeux Tapestry, from Gerona or from a host of other iconographic sources, but here too we lack precise information regarding both their origin and the rate at which they spread. The same is true, of course, of horse shoes, which archaeologists are unable to date. They feature as early as the eighth century, but were not yet in general use in the twelfth century, if *tonlieu* tariffs are a reliable indication in this regard.

Progress in agricultural methods, a more effective use of animal strength and the deployment of more powerful ploughing tools offered, after 1050, an at least partial response to demographic pressure. If I deem it to be no more than partial, it is because rises in population did in fact give rise to regular famines. On the other hand, the search for new land to cultivate, recovered from waste land, made it still more difficult to find a balance between grain and livestock, as I noted above. The solution, albeit in the short term, to this difficulty was to bring herds back on to the plough land, to reserve a portion of it for them, which they would manure with their dejections while at the same time feeding off the aftermath and off the natural herbage. The soil, being both rested and enriched, would then be better able to bear a resumption of ploughing, and the improved quality of the harvests would compensate for any losses incurred through having let a part of the territory lie fallow. This system was linked to the practice of sowing in spring cereals which were known as March cereals, oats in particular, and which would grow in the course of three months. One had to divide up the field into strips, which would in turn be sown with wheat and with oats, and would then lie fallow, or with some other formula obeying the same principle. We can clearly discern every aspect of this highly profitable arrangement, namely, general agreement between those involved; reorganisation of the fields into plots which were, if possible, compact, in order to facilitate grazing of fallow land (right of common); regular rotation between the *soles*, *royes*, *cantons*, *furlongs*, etc. of equal size; problems faced by tenants possessing a single plot and therefore condemned to harvesting nothing in their fallow year. Since all of these factors had to be taken into account, it is manifestly absurd to believe that so perfect a system could have been in existence in Charlemagne's time. A few of the larger abbeys, admittedly, to judge by the evidence from the polyptychs, practised double sowing and laying land fallow. Yet even in the twelfth century, many regions, especially in southern Europe, clung to the practice of letting the soil rest for several years, or to that of simply moving the zones to be ploughed across a territory. The first intimations of genuine crop rotation date from 1140–60, in the Paris basin and the Low Countries. Once again, such endeavours often only affected the fields of one particular lord. The generalisation or at any rate the extension of the process dates from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, at the latest.

Over a century ago, Marx propounded the hypothesis that the watermill was the soul of 'feudalism'. There is indeed no denying that such mills constituted a major element in agricultural progress, and in seigneurial domination. I have already mentioned the rise to prominence of the watermill, not in fact in antiquity, when it was not known, but from the eighth and ninth centuries. By bringing to bear water, either running or impelled by means of a race, tree trunks and wheels, lead pinions, iron hooping and millstones, the apparatus indeed seemed to constitute a point of convergence between technologies, some of which were Graeco-Roman and others Germanic, but all necessitating such a large outlay that, if one excepts a handful of collectively administered village mills in Catalonia, they must surely have been set up by a lord. This gave him an obvious technological superiority over his villagers, whether in the milling of his grain, olives, nuts or bark, the fulling of his cloth or the stamping of his iron. It is possible to reconstruct the rise of mill-building with some accuracy. Thus, the Domesday Book mentions over 5600, or around one to every three villages, whereas from 1080 to 1125, in Catalonia, the Toulousain and northern France, the number of mills tallied with that of the villages, and would shortly overtake it. Now mills, setting aside their secondary but by no means negligeable importance in providing fish-ponds through the damming of water above the sluice-gates and the race, served to accelerate a considerable number of agricultural projects. As a consequence, by 1120 or at most a very short time later, obligatory use of the machine was accepted both by the peasants, whose saved time was indeed worth a few pennies, and by the lord, who could, in charging milling dues, recoup his expenses, increase his control over peasant production and fill his granaries and his coffers. Those unable to pay would continue to grind their grain at home, and so lose time and, ultimately, social status.

Although the peasants were not troubled by the ubiquity of the mill – or, indeed, of the press-house, but evidence on this is lacking prior to 1200 – disputes were precipitated by the deeds of the miller who was suspected of giving short measure. Such men were very often objects of hatred. This was not the case with the smith, however, who had been at the centre of the village since the eleventh century, and who also had the lord for a client. His mastery of iron, fashioned in the fire, enabled him to forge the axes, coulters, ploughshares and scythes which sustained agricultural expansion. His work was made possible in its turn by iron-smelting which, from the mine to the bellows, underwent its first crucial advance. From 950, in the Pyrenees, Franconia, Saxony and Bohemia, around 1000 in Britain, for example in Yorkshire, and in 1050 around Burgundy and in Lorraine, the improvement in methods of extraction and the spread of low furnaces led to the production of irons, or even (albeit often by chance) steels of so high a quality that tool-making underwent a thoroughgoing

reform. Mills for hammering iron existed in central Germany as early as 1010, and the proliferation of forges in villages was evident after 1050. From 1080 to 1130 iron-making flourished in western and northern France, in the Rhineland and in Lombardy. The explosion of Cistercian iron-working, from the forest of Othe to Lincoln, from Languedoc to Westphalia, after 1150, would impart a quasi-'industrial' quality to this complement to agricultural progress.

It would be illuminating to know something of the quarries, and of the cutting and transportation of stone, of the brick-kilns and tileries, and even of the potteries. The sheer number of potsherds, fragments or ovens unearthed by archaeologists testifies to the importance of such activities, but neither techniques nor scale nor turnover are really accessible to researchers before the thirteenth century. Much the same might be said of village joinery and carpentry, of stud-work or of frames, of wattling or of hop-poles. The whole of this artisanal sector, as reflected in the general economic progress of the twelfth century and in what survives of tools and buildings, could only be represented by listing a series of work 'gangs'. But in a village anyone might turn his hand to anything. We know that it took thirty men a week to enclose a hectare, and from two to fifty men to raise a mound; that salt circulated from the Channel or from the Mediterranean, and that the Cistercians often acted to guarantee this trade; that wool was spun in every village, and even woven, prior to 1150, in Champagne, Tuscany and Lombardy; that the linen of Germany and of Champagne reached the east; that tanning and even paper mills appeared between 1140 and 1170 in Languedoc and in the Ile de France; and that, from the ninth century on, breweries, or *cambae*, were everywhere. These scattered items of information constitute the sole glimmers in an area of knowledge that is otherwise disappointingly obscure.

Local markets

A ninth-century capitulary stipulated the holding of a market every fortnight in the village but, as so often in this period, we know more of intentions than of reality. However, the resale on the spot of any excess in foodstuffs by the lord, and the surplus got by the richer members of the community, could well have fuelled exchanges within a very circumscribed area. It is less easy to judge what part was played in such exchanges by artisans who were, so to speak, wild, and who plied their trade in forests, as iron beaters, basket-makers, joiners or simply hermits, of whom there were many in the eleventh century. On the other hand, the archaeological evidence implies that production in domestic workshops, the *genicia* or small workshops serving a large estate, plainly went into decline in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and artisanal concerns run by single families consequently flourished. Treatises such as the *Ortus deliciarum* of Herrad of

Landsberg, dating from later than 1180, constitute a sort of encyclopedia of the domestic science and technology which, in this period, made possible a production that was at once larger in scale and higher in quality. In addition, the development (mentioned above) of highways complemented the progress made in harnessing. Whether with two, or with a single axle (*guadriga, biga*), whether with or without shoeing, wagons went past the toll-houses, for whose tariffs we have some record in England, northern France and Lombardy, prior to 1020 or 1050. As for river traffic, flat-bottomed barges of several dozen tons (*lembi*, *naviculi*, *chalani*) could penetrate deep into the countryside.

So it was that in the country market, known as the *foro* or the *mercadel* and held in the bailey of the castle, or even in the cemetery, there was a brisk trade in poultry or eggs, in bales of wool or hides, in baskets or in crockery, perhaps in barrels, and certainly in blankets (*queutes*). This did not amount to a 'commercial revolution' in the village, however, since everything else had to be obtained in the towns, where there was a revival in fairs, covered markets and booths, although these lie outside the scope of the present chapter. Yet, in one crucial respect, the two circuits of exchange were akin, for in both barter or payment in kind was giving way to cash.

Prior to 1170–1200, the role of money in the countryside is hard to discern. Where, however, the master met the expense of a project, the matter is brutally clear. Thus, a watermill was reckoned to cost 300 pounds tournois, a fortified tower perhaps 2000. The building of a church in stone, of which there are examples in Catalonia and in northern France around 1200, would require 5000 pounds. For the construction of Cluny III, at the dawn of the twelfth century, the monks had to pay 2000 pounds in salaries for a period of twelve years. The laity were not spared such burdens either. Thus, the Flemish budget for 1187, the *Gros brief*, devoted 30 per cent of the county's expenditure to building and to repairs. The sums spent on the purchase of real estate were equally surprising. Cluny spent 1000 locally minted pounds between 1090 and 1120; St Amand spent 4000 from 1140 to 1190; St Victor of Marseilles spent 15,000 between 1170 and 1210. The tiny Priory of Hesdin, in France, spent 450 pounds in the space of twenty years. One could quote many instances of large-scale expenditure, sometimes on luxury items (1000 pounds on fine wines at Cluny, in 1122), sometimes on charity (such as the 3000 pounds distributed on a monthly basis by St Trond, in 1070), and sometimes on war (such as the 50,000 pounds sterling reckoned to have been raised for Richard the Lionheart's expedition to Acre).

All of this poses something of a problem, for it is hard to see how we will ever discover the precise source of such large sums of money. It cannot have been the mines, whether in Saxony, in the Tyrol, in Asturia, in Yorkshire or in Poitou. White metal was struck in the form of small coin which around 1200

contained roughly between 1.2 and 1.8 grams of metal; devaluation, debasing and monetary crisis date from no earlier than 1210, and possibly from later. This money must have passed through peasant hands, since it was they, obviously, who manned the hired work-gangs mentioned above. We should also take into account alms and the offerings of the laity, fines imposed by the courts (there is mention of 4000 pounds sterling in Yorkshire around 1170), taxes replacing the *ost* or the labour services, the increasing part played by cash in the leasing of land, and the taille as well. These all represent paths by which money may well have passed into seigneurial hands, but they do not solve the problem addressed here. The arrival of money into the huts of the peasantry, even if it did not linger there, was a phenomenon of crucial importance in the economic history of Europe, and it gathered speed between 1050 and 1175. Moreover, the village market is the only plausible point of arrival for such funds, given the sale of peasant produce either to itinerant merchants or to lords themselves having cash through the regular exploitation of disposable wealth, through resold tithes, lotted woodlands, raids upon religious communities or, finally, through expeditions to distant places. There is thus no doubting the fact that the incipient movement of money through the villages coincided with the Iberian *algarades* and the Franco-Italian crusades. The years from 1050 to 1190 may indeed have been 'an age of great progress', as I noted at the start of this chapter.

For a deeper understanding of the interlocking phenomena of the years between 1050 and 1190, one would obviously need to turn one's attention to the towns, to long-distance exchanges, to the various social strata, and to both their spiritual and their economic interrelations. In the areas surveyed here, sometimes in utter disregard of a precise chronology, one should above all bear in mind that the constitutive elements of Christian Europe were established after the Carolingian experiment, and after the agonies of the tenth and early eleventh centuries. For at least a hundred years, as institutions of peace recovered ground in the Mediterranean, the reclassification of men and of their routine activities kept Europe in a state of difficult, sometimes even revolutionary gestation. Yet the twelfth century was an age of increasing calm, of incipient détente, even of 'normalisation'. Christian society, and the 'medieval economy', were in good working order.

TOWNS AND THE GROWTH
OF TRADE

Derek Keene

The two centuries that opened with the decline of Córdoba and closed with the sack of Constantinople in 1204 were ones of vigorous development in European commerce and urban life. Change was apparent throughout a territory measuring some 4000 km from the Volga to Ireland by some 3200 km from Scandinavia to the southern shores of the Mediterranean, which was characterised by a wide range in material conditions and in the forms of urban culture inherited from earlier times. Local variation was considerable, but there is much to be gained from considering the phenomenon as a whole, despite the fissures artificially imposed by subsequent national and historiographical traditions. Moreover, the towns and trade of Europe were in this as in other periods subject to strong influences from outside: from the Middle East and North Africa, and from trading networks which fed into those regions from much further away.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries most of Europe was distinctly backward and peripheral by comparison with areas south of the Mediterranean and in the Middle East, which were highly commercialised and urbanised and under Muslim control. This was an important influence on patterns of trade, and it was to be half a millennium before that relationship was conclusively reversed. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the period most parts of Europe were urbanised to some degree, in that they contained settlements which we can describe as towns, where there were relatively large numbers of inhabitants dwelling in close proximity and making a living predominantly from specialised crafts, exchange and other services rather than from agriculture. Many such places were also distinctive as seats of authority and were imbued with a recognised, though often borrowed or inherited, ideology of civic life. These settlements varied greatly in size, degree of specialisation, infrastructure and density of distribution. Modern historians are inconsistent in their use of the criteria which might define a town. Moreover, the evidence for such

47

identifying features in this period is often obscure or lacking. Comparison, therefore, is no straightforward matter.

In Italy and in France south of the Loire there was some continuity from antiquity: many towns had survived as administrative and ecclesiastical centres and some were lively centres of commerce. Further north functional continuity was rare, but many towns now prospered on, or in association with, the reused sites of Roman towns or fortifications. In England, from the later ninth century onwards royal policies of establishing fortified centres of refuge and of regulating trade and moneying had promoted a new pattern of urbanisation, including towns on new sites. From the tenth century imperial policy in Germany promoted the foundation of new markets and mints in association with abbeys and royal centres. This was most notable in Saxony, but the Rhine continued to mark a divide between a territory distinguished for its money economy and for its substantial towns, many of them with Roman antecedents, and the less commercially developed lands to the north and east. In many regions, including central Europe, princely and seigneurial fortifications had attracted mercantile and craft settlements, or were set up to control them. These were commonly situated on important river routes. Princely control played a major role in assuring their competitiveness and continuity. Terms denoting fortification and enclosure, such as *burgus*, *burh* and *civitas* (the last not restricted to places of Roman origin or to episcopal towns) were coming to be common indicators of urban status. The *burgus* was often a defended extension to an existing town, and townsmen were known as *burgenses*. Imperial, royal and ecclesiastical initiatives had recently promoted some cities, including Magdeburg, Regensburg and Winchester, as seats of authority and ceremony – cities of great churches, palaces and luxury consumption as well as of crafts and trade – while Pavia, as capital of the Lombard kings, had a longer tradition in that role. Trading centres were prospering on the northern and southern shores of the Baltic and in Gotland, while the activities of the Scandinavian raiders and merchants had contributed to urban growth in the west, as at Dublin and York, and in the east as at Novgorod and Kiev. The distinctive characteristics of many northern towns are apparent in the Arabic relation of the Spanish Jew, Ibrahim ben Yaʿqub, in the 960s: the size of the trading settlement of Schleswig, where they lived mostly on fish; the use of peat fuel at the big town of Utrecht; trading customs in the great international market at Prague; and the long-distance, luxury trade at Mainz.[1]

Cities also shaped European views of the world. Jerusalem, the focus of faith, was cartographically at the centre. Rome, the seat of Latin Christianity, also embodied deep-rooted ideas concerning secular order and authority. Both

[1] Miquel, 'Lʼ Europe occidentale'.

cities were powerful attractions to pilgrims, and elsewhere pilgrimage was a stimulus to town economies. Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries Constantinople, which in this period perhaps regained its sixth-century peak of some 400,000 inhabitants, was by far the most impressive city in Europe, for its size, walls, churches, wealth, manufactures, markets and great assembly of traders from all parts, as well as for its imperial court, palaces and bureaucracy. Up to the collapse of the caliphate in the early eleventh century Córdoba provided another powerful model of the capital city as the expression of civilised life, sustained by military might and cash and experienced by many Christians from the north. Even with the political fragmentation of Andalusia, the smaller cities of the taifa rulers continued to impress. Increasingly, Cairo – with fortifications, palaces and religious buildings, commercial, industrial and residential districts spreading along the Nile, tall tenement blocks, and its outport at Alexandria, which itself offered one of the most splendid urban landscapes of the Mediterranean region – would have attracted European attention as a scene of magnificence, power and trade, unrivalled except perhaps by Constantinople. For Latin Christians, even in Italy where the idea of the city as the organising principle of life was most deeply embedded, such places would have been on the far horizon at the limits of their experience.

Human and material resources were unevenly distributed in ways which influenced urbanisation and trade. The greatest differences were between east and west. If western Europe can be characterised as densely populated (although much less so than at its medieval peak around 1300), then in central Europe the population was sparse, while in the east it was much sparser still. There were two distinctive core areas for urban growth: northern Italy and the territories bordering the southern part of the North Sea and the English Channel and extending up the Rhine. Contemporaries perceived these differences and their expression in material culture. Otto of Freising commented on the wretchedness of the towns and villages of the Hungarians and on the barbarity and relative lack of agriculture beyond the Oder.[2] On the western periphery, Giraldus Cambreasis remarked on the healthy conditions in Ireland, which lacked the silks, gems, precious metals and spices of the east.[3] In such conditions settlements, which might be perceived as urban – by contemporaries or by modern archaeologists and historians – could vary widely in character. Thus in about 1200 in England, not a highly urbanised part of Europe, there were about 230 towns, of which perhaps twenty to twenty-five each contained 5000 or more inhabitants. The larger territory represented by modern France perhaps contained about thirty towns with 5000 or more inhabitants, with a

---

[2] Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 66, 175.
[3] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica*, in *Opera*, RS 21/5 (1867), pp. 68–73.

greater urban density north of the Loire. In the even larger territory of Poland there are said to have been 250 towns, of which the great majority were no more than 5 ha in extent. This is a surface area that in England would have been small even for the smallest of small towns: Woodstock, founded between 1154 and 1175 as an appurtenance to a royal residence in the countryside near the substantial town of Oxford, occupied 16 ha. This was a common size for English small towns of the period, although the well-known new town of Freiburg im Breisgau, founded by the dukes of Zähringen in 1120, initially covered no more than 5 ha. In England many predominantly agricultural villages were larger, including some of the new, planned settlements of the twelfth century. A distinctive feature of the Polish towns was their defensive enclosures, reflecting the untamed character of the landscape in which they lay. In the even larger territory of Russia there were perhaps 140 towns, of which about eighty occupied no more than 2.5 ha and only eight can be deemed substantial. Uncertain though these figures are, they demonstrate real differences in the prevailing characteristics of towns. At the same time they highlight problems of definition and comparison. A small town in England, France or Italy would count as a large one in central or eastern Europe. Conversely, the emergence of nucleated rural settlements in some parts of the west at this time could perhaps be seen as part of a wider process of developing urbanisation and exchange manipulated by lordship. These 'villages' perhaps occupied the lowest position in a developing 'urban' hierarchy.

Measurement and counting are tools essential for understanding these processes, as in the twelfth century they were becoming essential to managing them, but few reliable measures are available. From the mid-twelfth century the Genoese notarial records begin to supply some quantitative measures on certain patterns of trade, otherwise we rely on largely incidental indications of the movement of people and commodities. A few records of urban property holding and land values provide important benchmarks for some towns. Other more scattered records can be used to provide composite pictures. Archaeology and the study of material goods, including coins, provide ever more valuable indicators of the scale and complexity of urban life and of patterns of trade, but provide only small and unevenly distributed samples. Contemporaries have sometimes left statistics, some useful but many rhetorical. Not until around 1300 are there fiscal and other records which might inform the calculation of urban populations. Yet these calculations are uncertain and influenced by discrete historiographical traditions. Thus, reasonable estimates for the populations of three of the greatest European cities in 1300 – London, Milan and Paris – vary by up to 100 per cent.

The most robust indicator of town size and growth in this period is the extent of the urban enclosure. The phase of dramatic rural, urban and commercial

growth which began in Italy in the tenth century, between the Loire and the Rhine in the late tenth and eleventh, and further north and east from the later eleventh and twelfth centuries onwards is above all apparent in the physical expansion of towns and in the enlargement of their defences. There is, however, no straightforward correlation between the size of a town's circuit and its population or wealth. Town walls were often inherited from earlier periods rather than a direct reflection of the present size of the town. In Italy and England, for example, the late Roman circuits, still in use or being reused in 1000, were larger than their equivalents in Gaul. In some regions town walls were more of a defensive necessity than in others. Many early defences, built of earth and timber rather than stone, remain undefined. Extramural settlement often represented a large proportion of the town area, but may not be well recorded. Within built-up areas the density of housing varied greatly and some towns built higher and more solidly than others. Nevertheless, there are some dramatic indications of urban expansion. Cologne's walled enclosure was extended from 122 to 223 ha in 1106, and with the wall begun in 1180 to 403 ha. At Bologna the Torresotti walls of the late twelfth century enclosed 100 ha, four times the area of the preceding, fifth-century circuit. In the very different conditions of Midland England, Northampton experienced an almost equal degree of expansion from its tenth-century circuit to one enclosing about 100 ha. Over the twelfth century Arezzo enlarged its defended area from 17 to 42 ha; Florence enlarged its threefold to 75 ha; and Pisa's expanded from 30 to 114 ha after 1162. At Genoa, however, the defended area grew from 22 ha about 1150 to no more than 52 ha in 1200. Bristol, a vigorous commercial town and regional centre with much maritime trade, grew from practically nothing in the tenth century to an enclosed area of some 64 ha by the late twelfth, yet it can hardly have rivalled Genoa as a centre of business. London found its Roman circuit, within which the business heart of the city had been established since the late ninth century, to be sufficient for defence. It enclosed 134 ha, and was still not fully built up by 1200. By that date, however, ribbon developments beyond the gates were already extensive and the extramural jurisdiction had been extended to include them, making 259 ha in all. The modest but commercially prosperous Thames-side town of Wallingford was still contained within the 45 ha of the defensive circuit established *c.* 900, but Oxford, its better-situated rival upriver, over the same period enlarged its enclosure from about 24 to 36 ha.

   Some of the most dramatic rates of measurable physical growth occurred in newly commercialising and industrialising areas where the nucleus of the town was a seigneurial fortification. Douai, for example, expanded from 6 ha within the tenth-century comital enclosure to 48 ha within the twelfth-century wall. Bruges grew from 2 ha within the ninth-century *castrum*, enlarged under comital patronage in the tenth century by the addition of 5 ha for the craft

and commercial settlement later known as Oudberg ('old enclosure'), to 76 ha within the wall which existed by about 1127. Comparable growth at Ghent was even more striking. At Arras, the walls of the Roman *castrum* enclosed 11 ha, but seem to have contained little other than a church until the establishment of the bishopric there in 1093. Early growth took place around the famous abbey of St Vaast on the other side of the river, where there was also a royal, later comital, residence and a small commercial settlement, all within an enclosure of about 8 ha in 1000. Rapid growth followed around this core and at the beginning of the twelfth century the count of Flanders enclosed the abbey settlement within a wall encompassing 100 ha, some of them occupied by gardens.

Tracking numbers of towns indicates a similar picture, although with the problem of distinguishing between towns and villages. In Russia between 1150 and 1200 the number of small towns increased from about fifty to eighty. In Germany the number of commercial settlements rose from about ninety in AD 1000, to 140 in 1100 and to 250 by 1200. In England the comparable totals were about seventy, 130 and 230. Of the top twenty English towns in 1200 the five which had achieved that position since 1000 were all ports, and the counties with the highest proportions of towns appearing for the first time in the same period were all on the northern and western periphery. Urbanisation here was stimulated by sea-borne trade and progressed from the commercialised south-east towards the north-west.

Areas and a few population estimates provide some sense of the relative scale of the larger European cities at the end of the twelfth century. Constantinople enclosed an area of 2400 ha, not entirely built over. Rome's walls enclosed 1200 ha, but much of that area was now deserted and the city was inhabited by no more than 30,000 persons. Thessaloniki's walls enclosed 350 ha. The extent of Cologne's walled circuit was outstanding by comparison with other western cities. At Paris the wall of Philip Augustus, constructed between 1190 and 1208, enclosed 273 ha, an area similar to that covered by London and its contiguous suburbs beyond the formal city jurisdiction. In the next rank by area was Milan, with 200 ha. Important centres covering between 100 and 150 ha included Bologna, Strasbourg, Pisa, Siena, Toulouse, Metz and Arras. Ghent and Bruges may have been larger. Montpellier, Lille and Goslar covered around 80 ha, Barcelona 60 ha, and Bordeaux no more than 50 ha. A few Russian cities were strikingly large: Smolensk and Kiev enclosed 90 and 70 ha, respectively, and at Galich on the river Dniester the ramparts included about 50 ha. Such places stood out in scatters of much smaller towns. Where urban networks were denser, as in the west and in Italy, the gradation in size was more even.

What about the size of urban populations? According to one argument, Milan had a population of 90,000 in 1200, a total that more than doubled by

1300.[4] Venice perhaps had 80,000 in 1200. Probably neither city was as large as Córdoba had been two centuries earlier. There are good reasons to believe a view expressed about 1200 that London housed 40,000 souls.[5] In 1100 it had perhaps housed 20,000 or more. Several indicators, including numbers of parish churches and the payment of royal dues, suggest that at that time London was twice the size and more than twice as wealthy as English cities in the next rank, Norwich, Winchester and York. From 1100 onwards the differential between London and provincial centres increased. Paris in 1200 had perhaps only just begun to overtake London. In this context the traditional estimate for Cologne's peak population before the Black Death of some 40,000 inhabitants seems small, even for 1200. Likewise, some accepted estimates for major but second-ranking northern Italian cities seem low. They include the calculation that in 1200 Pisa had 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants: comparison by area suggests that might be too small and higher estimates have been made. Florence, on the other hand, has been estimated at 30,000 souls, but was probably smaller than Pisa. A recent estimate gives the rapidly growing commercial city of Barcelona some 10,000 inhabitants in 1200. Some southern cities were certainly populous. Naples, a ducal capital and the focus of local trade for a fertile region perhaps had 30,000 inhabitants. Palermo, capital of the kingdom of Sicily and famous for its palaces, churches, extensive suburbs, trade, crafts, water supply and gardens, is often said to have had the same number, but both may have been much larger. The leading Russian cities were probably very populous. Kiev has been estimated as having around 25,000 inhabitants. We are a long way from reconciling localised guesses and producing a convincing view of European cities as a whole.

The most fundamental stimulus to urban and commercial growth was that of rural development and population increase. This generated surpluses which in this period were transformed into more broad-based economic growth, especially in those regions where great estates fragmented, allowing freer movement of labour and crafts and more spontaneous market development. Some of the areas of densest rural settlement, including the upper Po valley and Flanders, were those of greatest urban growth. The correlation, however, was not always straightforward, and other factors were involved. Initially, Picardy was more densely settled than Flanders, but the towns of the latter took the lead on account of their industry and their better situation for commerce. Nevertheless, the basis of most towns' prosperity, and proportionally more so with the smaller ones, was interaction with the immediate hinterland. Barcelona's eleventh-century growth was based largely on its economic and political relationship

---

[4] Racine (1984).   [5] Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, no. 151; Keene (1989).

with its hinterland. Not until the mid-twelfth century did long-distance trade begin to contribute significantly to its prosperity. Town populations could only be sustained, let alone increased, by flows of people from the countryside. Personal names incorporating place-names reveal these migration fields, and hence zones of intensive interaction between town and country. Thus the inhabitants of twelfth-century Winchester, a city of some 10,000 people, seem to have come predominantly from within a radius of 40 km, while the scatter of more distant places suggests commercial and political links as well as migration. Similar information for French and Italian towns indicates catchment areas in proportion. Cologne's catchment area in the twelfth century was notably large, as befitted a large commercial centre with extensive river-borne trade. In 1181 the city was such an attraction to one young man, who preferred life as a shopkeeper to tilling the soil, that he considered selling rents charged on his land so as to finance his move. Winchester's political importance accounted for much of its prosperity and size, for it did not lie in a densely populated countryside. By contrast, the large and complex city of Norwich emerged spontaneously (so far as we can tell) in the tenth and eleventh centuries in the heart of one of the most densely populated areas of England and, in relative isolation from lesser centres, has dominated its region ever since. Milan similarly was the focus of a densely populated part of Lombardy, where both rural and urban land values were soaring around 1000, but it also drew on its ancient standing as an imperial and Christian capital, on the authority of its archbishop, and on its control of trans-Alpine routes to the north. Moreover, with the political fragmentation of the kingdom of Italy Pavia lost its former attraction as a centre of business and Milan gained ground as the regional centre. Another model of a town set within a densely populated territory is provided by the episcopal city of Laon, which was not large in the twelfth century (it was probably smaller than Norwich), but lay in what has been characterised as an 'urbanised countryside' devoted to the intensive cultivation of the vine.

The interaction between local resources and lordship shaped patterns of urban growth, especially for small towns. Devolution of authority to the nobility, or simply their growing wealth and avarice, promoted the construction of castles or other fortifications which became the foci for settlement and sites of trade. Many villages and small towns, in Italy as well as in northern, central and eastern Europe, originated in that way. The lord allocated land for building and provided the physical and legal protection, which, together with produce for sale and a demand for craft services, stimulated the market. Kings did the same in the estates they controlled. A market town, with or without a fortification, could immediately increase seigneurial income and promote more intensive exploitation of the land. The local expression of these relationships varied widely. Many of the Italian *castelli* were enclosures under the collective

control of their inhabitants, in contrast to the castle towns of the north where the lord's stronghold often dominated the townsmen. At Freiburg im Breisgau a marketplace was set up near the ducal castle, merchants were summoned and formed a sworn association with the founder, and each newcomer was given a plot of land upon which to build a house, for which rent was to be paid. The twelfth-century origins of the somewhat larger English town of Banbury have less narrative clarity, but involved the creation, or reorganisation, of a market adjoining a new castle established by the bishop of Lincoln as the administrative centre for his scattered estates in the region. The bishop, whose city lay far away, probably chose the site for its strategic and economic significance, since it lay on the main road leading north from Oxford, a route which had recently come to prominence in the exercise of royal power. Some powerful castles themselves would have contained enough soldiers and other inhabitants to be equivalent to a small town. In parts of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary villages surrounding the military strongpoint provided craft services to it, but by the twelfth century it was becoming common for craftsmen to settle, or be settled, within a suburb adjoining the fortification itself.

The case of twelfth-century Lübeck provides a rare insight into the complexities of such developments, and their relationship to earlier settlements and centres of authority. The town lay in a district well placed for Baltic and inland trade, where rival Slav leaders struggled for control on the margin between Germany and Denmark. An old Slav fort on the River Trave contained two churches and a small settlement of artisans and Saxon merchants. Following unsuccessful attempts to base a Christian mission there, the place was destroyed in a local war of 1138. The duke of Saxony restored peace to the area, and under him the count of Holstein established control, summoning settlers from the Low Countries and Westphalia to till the soil. The count also established a town a short distance upstream from the old one on a site associated with another Slav fort. The new town, to which the name Lübeck was transferred, prospered and attracted people from the duke's trading settlement of Bardowick to the west beyond the Elbe, and by promoting its local saltworks diminished the ducal income from those at Lüneburg. The count resisted the duke's demand for a share in the new town. Following the destruction of Lübeck by fire in 1157, the count refused to give up the site to the duke, who set up another town in the vicinity, but on a site less suited for shipping and defence. Eventually, the count resigned Lübeck and its fort to the duke. The merchants returned joyfully. The duke now offered peace and protection to traders from Scandinavia and Russia, established a coinage and tolls, granted rights to the citizens, and in 1160 transferred to Lübeck the seat of the diocese formerly based at Oldenburg. The archaeology of Lübeck reveals some activity in this period near the fort, but indicates that the main focus of business was on the river

frontage: the great marketplace uphill from the river, the later focus of civic life, was a subsequent development. As part of the extensive territory ruled by the powerful duke of Saxony, Lübeck became a major centre of long-distance transit trade as well as a regional market centre.

Even more than castles, monasteries could be seen as quasi-towns, with an elaborate formal order and dependent communities of administrators. merchants and artisans. Thus Ibrahim ben Ya'qub described the great monastery of Fulda as an immense town of stone where entry was forbidden to women. The system of transferring tribute and food rents to monasteries, from sometimes distant estates, promoted networks of transport and exchange. As more general patterns of movement and commerce evolved, the dependence of the traders associated with the monastery diminished, and the market town at the monastery gate, but primarily serving local needs, emerged. Where monasteries were gathered together within a city, and when more distant monasteries (as well as secular landlords of similar standing) owned blocks of land and residences there, as was common throughout the period, the stimulus to independent trade and urban growth was greater. But the degree to which the artisans or traders who occupied the houses on those urban estates supplied their landlords' needs is often unclear. At Strasbourg in the 1140s the bishop still reserved services and products from the craftsmen in his city, but this seems exceptional for the date. Elite supply systems, such as food rents, could continue to bypass local markets into the thirteenth century and beyond, even in highly commercialised environments. Some monasteries continued to engage directly in trade. Thus in the early twelfth century, the monks of Canterbury, no mean city for independent commerce, acquired freedom from toll across the sea at Wissant, probably in connection with buying Marquise stone for the cathedral. A description in 1086 of the small town of Bury at the gate of the great English abbey of St Edmund reveals the ambiguous standing of small monastic towns. Either a new town had appeared, or the enlargement of the church had displaced an existing settlement. In the new houses (probably arranged around the grid of streets and the marketplace apparent in later plans) there were seventy-five bakers, brewers, tailors, washerwomen, shoemakers, robe-makers or furriers (*parmentarii*), cooks, porters and stewards, 'who all daily wait on the saint, the abbot and the brethren'. In addition there were thirteen reeves (*prepositi*) in charge of the abbey lands who had their houses in the town, and thirty-four *milites*.[6] How much of that activity was spontaneous and how much directly organised by the abbey is difficult to say.

Towns also articulated systems of rule over extensive territories: they could house and feed assemblies and provide crowds to acclaim the king. In Germany

---

[6] *Domesday Book* II, p. 372.

Mainz, Regensburg and Magdeburg played a part in imperial progresses, but the delegation of authority to bishops, the preference of emperors for palaces on their own lands, and their use of abbeys (some of which offered better supply systems than the undeveloped towns) complicated the relationship between imperial authority and cities. Barbarossa, however, saw towns as appropriate sites for the exercise of rule and elevated several palaces, including Ulm where he stayed often, to the status of cities. In Italy, by contrast, cities progressively excluded imperial authority as their size and sense of identity grew. In England during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries great churches at Gloucester, London and Winchester were the sites of seasonal crown wearings. From the mid-eleventh century the dukes of Normandy developed Caen as a ceremonial and administrative capital with a residence and a pair of abbeys, but later spent more time in the larger and wealthier commercial city of Rouen. Likewise, as kings of England, they were increasingly attracted to London rather than to the traditional seat of authority in Winchester. London, however, remained predominantly commercial and only gradually attracted the functions of a capital, the physical expressions of which came to occupy a peripheral location at Westminster. In Paris, by contrast, the palace was at the centre and the city was the prime focus of the monarch's territorial interests.

Princely residence and attendance at assemblies injected a good deal of wealth into eleventh- and twelfth-century towns. In Cologne officials and members of other landowning families from the diocese were drawn to the city by administrative responsibilities and attendance on the archbishop. Similar groups operated in Barcelona and Toulouse under the count and in Milan under the archbishop. The property holders and occasional residents in early twelfth-century Winchester, the English royal and administrative centre, included lay and ecclesiastical magnates from throughout the kingdom and from Normandy and officials involved in royal government. Such people assembled cash revenues and produce in the city for transmission elsewhere and purchased goods in its shops and markets. By the late twelfth century that business was migrating to London.

The idea of the capital city with monumental buildings had a wide appeal and there were dominant models to hand. In Poland in the mid-eleventh century King Casimir transferred the royal residence to Cracow, an important centre of trade since at least the tenth century, where there was a palisaded fortress containing a stone cathedral, and a suburb nearby. With the political fragmentation of Poland in the twelfth century Cracow failed as a seat of authority. Kiev was the capital of a vast state with many subordinate urban centres. Prince Vladimir (d. 1015) adopted Christianity and employed Greek masons to build there a church dedicated to the Mother of God. His son Jaroslav built a new church as the seat for the metropolitan away from the palace and

within a much enlarged defended area, thus shaping a Christian city on the model of Constantinople. This pattern was repeated in other Russian towns, probably employing the same teams of builders from Constantinople, while in the twelfth century the building of great churches of more or less standard types expressed both urban development and princely control. In Venice, Amalfi and Norman Palermo the transfer of fine materials, substantial artefacts and skilled craftsmen from the Byzantine world made important contributions to their standing as sites of authority and civility.

These stimuli promoted the development of urban crafts. Exceptional documentation for some northern Italian cities reveals craft specialisation from before the tenth century, especially in metal-working trades, while for northern Europe both archaeology and texts indicate specialisation at the smaller and less numerous urban sites, including the communities subordinate to monasteries. There seems little doubt that specialised manufacturing increased rapidly from 1000 and especially after 1100, but to some extent that impression reflects the increased survival of documentation. Where more systematic comparison is possible, as in the case of Winchester between the mid-eleventh and the mid-twelfth centuries, it is less clear that the total of named activities increased. On the other hand, there was a distinct change in the pattern of trades, with an increase of specialisation in certain sectors, especially the textile sector.

The earlier recorded craft specialisms responded primarily to the daily needs of the town and its immediate territory. Iron-working was fundamental. Smiths and smiths' streets were prominent from the tenth century onwards. Leather-making and leather-using crafts are also visible at this early date. By the twelfth century many shoemakers, among the most numerous of urban artisans, were identified in French and English towns by terms which alluded to Córdoba leather, which was especially suitable for shoes. Some leather from Córdoba certainly found its way to the north, but many of these shoemakers probably used locally made leather, which resembled the Iberian product and drew attention to their specialised skill and product by using the name. The supply and processing of food occupied a great deal of effort in medieval towns, and bakers and butchers were among the early obvious trades. Bakers were one of the vital links in the urban food chain, and may often, as later, have had interests in the grain mills that proliferated in the vicinity of growing towns. The practice of exploiting ovens as a source of seigneurial revenue, and the crises in food supply which accompanied the rapid expansion of towns, explain why town lords took a close interest in regulating both bakers and the grain trade.

The iron and leather trades were important for building, transport, agriculture and the practice of other crafts, but were also essential for warfare and the exercise of power. Military demands did much to stimulate urban industry. Significantly, one of the three crafts in tenth-century Winchester indicated by

street names was that of the shieldmaker, who used leather, while the other
two were tanning and butchery, occupying places in the same supply chain.
Eleventh-century London had a reputation for its stock of hauberks, made of
leather and iron. Elite patronage gave work to the goldsmith and the jeweller.
In twelfth-century Kiev and Novgorod luxury crafts appear to have prolifer-
ated and expanded their production, and there are signs that other products,
especially of iron, were being made to more standardised forms in response
to the growth of demand. Most of the enormous population of artisans in
twelfth-century Kiev are thought to have lived within the compounds of the
secular and spiritual elite, as may have been the case in western towns ear-
lier. At Winchester, there are signs that the working of precious metals and
copper alloy became less widespread within the city, perhaps as those crafts
moved from an association with wealthy households to specialised workshops
producing for a wider market.

In the twelfth century the specialised craft came to occupy a more distinctive Textile finishers and those who made clothes are also prominent early in
the period, but not manufacturers of textiles, who did not come to the fore
among the named crafts in western European towns until the twelfth century.
The emergence of male weavers presumably represents the shift of production
from a predominantly domestic setting, where it was undertaken by women,
to specialist workshops. The technological aspects of this change, the most
important development in urban manufactures in northern Europe during the
period, seem to have been significant but are not well understood. Women,
however, commonly maintained a distinctive niche in this sector with their
work on fine textiles and embroidery. They included the 'noble matron' in the
city of London and her young female assistant who, according to a twelfth-
century story, were meeting an urgent order for the countess of Gloucester.
By working on a feast day the young woman consciously distinguished her-
self from the 'rustic multitude', but in consequence was striken by disease.[7]
Women made many other fundamental contributions to sustaining town life,
but remain largely invisible in the sources because their work was only partially
commercialised. One aspect of their domestic activities which did spill over
into the marketplace in this period was the brewing and selling of ale. Retailing
and petty trading generally are likely to have been typical female activities, as
at later dates.

In the twelfth century the specialised craft came to occupy a more distinctive
role in urban life than formerly, both as an aspect of personal and group identity
and as part of the urban landscape. Craft groupings, like other forms of guild
or association for mutual support, began to assume a political significance and

---

[7] Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita sancti Edwardi*, cols. 409–10; *The Life of King Edward Who Rests at
Westminster*, ed. Barlow pp. 157–8.

were capable of negotiating with rulers. Twelfth-century windows in Chartres cathedral depict a wide range of crafts, while at Piacenza the capitals in the cathedral begun in 1122 show dyers, skinners, wheelwrights, shoemakers and women carrying dough to bakers. Street names and evidence for the location of individual artisans reveal the dynamic processes of craft growth, and its association with appropriate environments and complex markets and chains of production. Of the fifteen main streets within the walls of Winchester in 1148, the principal one was simply known as 'the market' or 'great street', while certainly five and perhaps as many as eight of the others were named after specialised trades. By 1200 London contained at least twenty streets named after specialised crafts or commodities, of which six were concerned with foodstuffs.

Some of the largest and most populous cities owed their standing to their handling of a transit trade and to their role as centres for collecting and redistributing goods. The great Russian cities were collection centres, most of them at the intersection of trans-continental routes. Mainz, with a much longer history, occupied a similar position. Cologne gained a commanding position in the Rhine trade, served overland routes to the west and north-east, and also came to be an important market for the products of the Meuse valley. Rouen controlled the valuable wine trade of the Seine. This was the root of Rouen's conflict with Paris, which, by virtue of the growing power of the French king and its position at the focus of a river network serving an increasingly prosperous hinterland, eventually prevailed. London, as in the Roman and early medieval periods, was a centre for inland distribution, which enjoyed exceptionally close contacts with river-based trading systems on the continent. Toulouse, as a centre of comital power at the junction of long-distance land routes in a pacified and rapidly developing countryside, stimulated traffic further down the Garonne. Piacenza has been characterised as an 'innkeeping town' serving traffic through the Alpine passes to and from Italy.[8] Amalfi, Venice, Pisa and Genoa, and later Montpellier and Marseilles, grew by transferring goods and money between the north and the wealthier and more commercialised south. Haithabu, Schleswig and then Lübeck, although not major centres of population in this period, came to the fore on account of their strategic position in trade between the Baltic and the North Sea. Similar considerations influenced the foundation and development of smaller towns. Many were established so as to capture passing trade and it was common for one town to take the business of another which was less favourably situated.

Transfers of bullion and money, essentially an inter-urban trade, could be an important, though by no means an overriding, influence on urban prosperity and patterns of trade. The flow of silver from the Harz mines in the

[8] Racine (1980), pp. 107–9.

later tenth and earlier eleventh centuries undoubtedly stimulated the trade of Cologne and south-east England and London, where overseas trade revived. Cologne silver also facilitated the establishment of mints and markets east of the Rhine and lubricated trade with the Baltic region and Poland. In the latter area silver tended to shift out of circulation into hoards, until the late eleventh century when local trading networks developed. Gold as well as slaves from across the Sahara brought business to the ports of the Maghreb, facilitating Mediterranean trade and attracting the interest of merchants from Europe. Barcelona's eleventh-century prosperity was based partly on an inflow of gold and silver received from warring Muslim rulers to the south. When the establishment of Almoravid rule in the late eleventh century ended these payments the city endured several decades of recession. The impact of the more widespread contraction in the bullion supply which followed the exhaustion of the Harz mines is disputed, but seems not significantly to have interrupted the growth of European trade and towns, which presumably rested primarily on rural resources and population. Bullion and money were commodities which were eagerly sought out when available but for which substitutes could be found when necessary. In central and eastern Europe, where shortage of coin was most severe, there is widespread evidence for the use of token money, such as spindle whorls from Kiev, bundles of skins, and iron goods. In the west the increasingly common and standardised goods of long-distance trade such as wine, textiles and spices perhaps played a similar role.

From the 1170s onwards there was another silver boom, supplied from mines in the Erz Gebirge, near Meissen. This too coincided with rapid and widespread commercial growth and was particularly important for lubricating trade with the Muslim areas of the Levant, where silver was in short supply. The new German silver was soon to be found at the Champagne fairs, and in Cologne, Flanders and England. Mint output at Cologne, in England and elsewhere increased sharply and the economy entered a new phase of monetisation. Close relations between London and Cologne in part rested on monetary connections. Silver minted for the counts of Champagne as Provins deniers circulated in Italy and were imitated there. The discoveries also encouraged the search for silver in Tuscany and the eastern Alps. They also prompted a distinctive phase of urbanisation. The margrave of Meissen became immensely rich and built walls round his towns. In a gold rush atmosphere miners flocked from the Harz (by then primarily a source of copper) to the village where the discovery was made, which soon came to be known as the 'town of the Saxons' and in 1185 was chartered as the new town of Freiburg. Small minting towns proliferated in the region.

The varied pattern of minting reflected political and fiscal structures rather than the intensity of commercial life. Coinage was an urban activity and, as in

Scandinavia and central Europe, was sometimes adopted as an expression of princely status rather than for straightforward commercial reasons. Goldsmiths attained a prominent position in many towns on account of their role in the production and management of coinage, and moneyers, closely regulated by rulers, were members of the urban elite. In England and Germany the distribution of mints reflected tenth-century royal policies of establishing networks of markets in what were in some respects virgin territories. The German minting rights came to be delegated, usually to bishops and abbeys. In England kings maintained a highly centralised control and the decline in the number of mints probably reflects both bullion shortage and the growing integration of the market network. In France minting passed into the control of local secular lords, although in the later twelfth century, as the king grew more powerful, there was a trend towards centralisation. In northern Italy, one of the most highly monetised areas of Europe, moneying was restricted to the long-established minting centres of Milan, Pavia, Lucca, Venice (where the mint fell into decay soon after 1100) and Verona. Only in the mid-twelfth century did new mints under the control of towns begin to appear, evidence of political change as much as commercialisation. Siena owed much of its later prosperity as a financial centre to its mint and the imperial rights in local silver mines which the commune acquired from the marquess of Tuscany in 1180. Italy and Flanders, the most commercialised and urbanised regions of Europe, were both distinguished by the great variety of coin in circulation.

Local exchange and the generation of wealth stimulated long-distance commerce. A striking development from the beginning of the period, but especially from 1100, was the acquisition, by negotiation or force, of rights by merchants from one city in other cities under different rulers. These rights included freedom from tolls and sometimes the collective possession of a warehouse and lodgings, known in the south as the *fondaco*. Despite great differences in the scale and value of trade, these arrangements were fundamentally similar in the Baltic, North Sea and Mediterranean areas.

   Much long-distance trade continued to follow long-established routes, but there were important changes. Developments in the Islamic world were influential. Changes in Iran and the Steppes diverted the trade in Indian and south-east Asian spices from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea and so made Egypt and the port of Alexandria a prime focus in Mediterranean trade. The innovative agriculture and industries of Muslim regions stimulated trade between the eastern and western Mediterranean in the eleventh century, and subsequently between south and north. Andalusia in particular acquired great wealth, apparent in its export of timber, fruits, oil and raw silk to Alexandria in return for linens and oriental luxuries, and in its gold brought from the south. By the

mid-twelfth century Almería was renowned for its varied production of silk textiles and embroideries, succeeding an earlier reputation for brassware and iron.[9] In the busy commerce between Egypt and Andalusia, Sicily and Tunisia occupied a strategic position as sites of exchange and centres of production in their own right. Kairouan, at times the principal recipient of trans-Saharan gold and slaves, was the most important town in the Maghreb, and its port of al-Mahdia was a major centre of shipping, industry and wealth.

In Russia these changes appear to have diminished the commerce between the Caspian and the Baltic and placed more emphasis on the axis between Kiev and Novgorod. An important demand for northern furs, lubricated by new supplies of silver, now developed in the west and promoted Baltic trade. Gotlanders played an important part in this exchange during the eleventh century, obtaining furs at Novgorod. Thus Visby became an important town, apparently one of the few in Scandinavia not serving primarily as the seat of a ruler. Before the mid-twelfth century, cloth from Ypres was being traded to Novgorod. German merchants were visiting Novgorod by 1200 and soon afterwards obtained privileges both there and at Visby. In the twelfth century the search for furs in the remote hinterlands of Novgorod developed trade in the upper Volga region, where Vladimir emerged as a busy town. Westerly and overland routes also became busier. The emergence of Galich in the twelfth century was associated with trade between the Black Sea and the Baltic along the Dniester and the Vistula. Regensburg was an important market for Russian furs and enjoyed close contacts with Kiev, where a Regensburg merchant was dwelling in 1179. Russian traders were also active further down the Danube as far as Esztergom. Salt from southern Poland was also a major item of trade to both east and west. Throughout Russia and Poland the urban network became denser, with small towns emerging as collecting and staging points.

London regulations dating probably to about 1130 identify Regensburg as an important centre of trade, from which silks and precious stones from Constantinople were supplied, presumably via Venice.[10] The regulations associate Regensburg with Mainz, to which Regensburg goods were probably carried before being shipped down the Rhine to London. For Londoners, Mainz itself was a source of linens of several qualities. Further down the Rhine at Coblenz, a record of tolls reveals the extent of trade probably in the later eleventh century.[11] From Flanders and the lowlands around the mouth of the Rhine came cheese and fish. The towns of the Meuse valley supplied brass goods and wine. Wine came the greatest distance: from Flanders and the mouth of the Rhine (where it

---

[9] Al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, pp. 239–41.
[10] Bateson (1902), pp. 499–502.
[11] *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* I, pp. 3–4; see Hess (1974) and Kölzer (1992).

was presumably derived from France), from Cologne, from the Moselle valley, from as far up the Rhine as Strasbourg, from Würzburg on the Main, and from Regensburg. Zurich supplied copper. Cologne became the major distribution centre for the brass-working towns of the Meuse valley. In 1103 merchants of Liège and Huy sold cloths and tin (the latter probably from England) in Cologne and passed through the city with copper from the Harz.[12] By 1171 the men of Dinant were firmly established in Cologne as dealers in brass goods. Merchants from towns of the Meuse valley and its hinterland (Huy, Liège and Nivelles) were already trading in London by *c.* 1000, when they perhaps supplied both metal goods and wine. At the same time 'the men of the emperor' enjoyed special trading privileges in London. In the twelfth century they were commonly described in London as 'men of Lorraine', playing a prominent role in the city's wine trade and dealing in the commodities known as 'mercery', which included fine textiles and spices. They were succeeded by the men of Cologne, who in the 1170s, soon after they are first recorded in Ghent, obtained commercial privileges in London and possession of a guildhall there. This succession strikingly reflects the degree to which Cologne had emerged as a dominant centre in Rhenish trade, with an increased number of fairs and the capacity to restrict the activities of Flemish merchants in its region. Commercial relations between London and Cologne became especially close: English families lived in Cologne; English coins circulated both there and in Westphalia; and a man from London was a moneyer at Münster.

The London toll record of *c.* 1000 also identifies the presence there of merchants from Rouen as suppliers of wine and the products of whaling.[13] By 1066 they had their own site on the London waterfront, where there was a market in French wine. Flemish merchants from Flanders and Ponthieu were also active in London about 1000, as well as those from France and Normandy. Commercial interest was one reason why from 1103 onwards diplomatic relations between England and Flanders were close, and between 1155 and 1158 the men of St Omer acquired the right to trade freely and to occupy houses in London. Apart from strategic interests in common, there was a diverse trade between the two countries in which, during the twelfth century, the supply of English wool to the growing Flemish textile industry became increasingly important.

Between the tenth and the late twelfth centuries a small number of Italian port cities played an increasingly dynamic role in Mediterranean trade, altering the pattern of exchange between east and west and strengthening the north–south axis in European commerce. There were several common factors in the success of these cities. Essential assets included their fleets and a capacity to

---

[12] *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* III, pp. 385–6.
[13] *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* I. pp. 232–5; *Laws of the Kings of England*, pp. 70–2.

control sea routes: Venice developed its shipping and naval strength by setting up its state-controlled Arsenal in 1104. Their situations on geographical and political margins enabled them to handle a transit trade in silks, spices and industrial materials such as alum and cotton from the wealthy Muslim and Byzantine markets, in exchange for primary materials such as timber, salt, iron (especially from Lombardy) and slaves, which were in short supply in the east. Their lack of productive hinterlands forced them into long-distance trade. Thus Amalfi became more prosperous than nearby Naples, which relied on exchange within its fertile territory and on its linen textile industry. The key to Amalfi's early success was its close relations with Muslim centres of trade, probably including Andalusia and the ports of the Maghreb and Sicily, and certainly Cairo; Amalfitans were also active in Constantinople and Antioch, all by the early eleventh century. Despite being forcibly brought under Norman rule in 1073 and losing commercial advantages to northern cities, Amalfi was still an important focus of trade at the end of the twelfth century.

A record of *c.* 1020 shows that merchants from Amalfi, Gaeta and Salerno, along with those from Venice, were already established in Pavia, to which they brought spices, silks and other luxuries and where they would find goods from beyond the Alps.[14] By this date Venice enjoyed favourable trading conditions in Constantinople and had established *de facto* control of Dalmatia and Adriatic shipping. Its great wealth and its special relationship to Byzantium were expressed in the lavish rebuilding of its civic church of St Mark from about 1050 and continued decoration of it during the twelfth century. About 1082, in return for their support against the Normans at Durrës, the Venetians acquired extensive commercial privileges in Constantinople, including a quarter of their own, probably the first such district to be controlled by an Italian city. The Venetians obtained rights in the Holy Land in 1100, but their major acquisitions were in the ports that they helped to conquer, including a district within Acre and a third of Tyre. Even though the Christian conquest of Palestine seems to have caused a lasting setback to the size and wealth of its towns, such gains were important sources of income in their own right. For the Italians, whose interests there were largely confined to the ports, they made even more sense commercially as staging posts on the most efficient shipping routes between Venice, Constantinople, Alexandria and the Maghreb. The career of the seaman and merchant Romano Mairano between 1155 and 1190 reveals how Venetians used this network.[15] He raised loans and shipped timber to Constantinople. Then as a ship-master he sailed between Constantinople, Smyrna, Acre and Alexandria, being absent from Venice for nine years. Later, as a sedentary ship-owner he borrowed and invested to finance trade between

[14] *Honorantie civitatis Papie.*   [15] Heynen (1905); cf. Prawer (1980), pp. 221, 228.

Venice, Constantinople and Alexandria, organised a voyage from Alexandria
to the Maghreb, and himself returned to sea in the Levant. By the mid-twelfth
century Venice had also acquired footholds in Palermo and probably in Bari,
long an important centre of shipping and so a focus of Venetian attention. The
division of spoils between Venice and the Latin emperor of Constantinople at
the conquest of the city in 1204 was a natural outcome of this long tradition
of opportunistic acquisition.

   In the western Mediterranean during the eleventh century, commercial ini-
tiative and control passed to Pisa and Genoa. In 1015–16 they drove the Saracens
out of Sardinia. In 1034 the Pisans seized Bône and in 1063, during the Nor-
man conquest of Sicily, sacked Palermo. As the trade of the two cities grew
they became rivals, leading to conflict between 1067 and 1085 and periodically
during the twelfth century. They united in 1087, with a contingent from Rome
and perhaps another from Amalfi, in the sack of al-Mahdiya, an expedition
presumably intended to gain a position at the fulcrum of east–west trade, but
also reflecting a strong religious concern, an alignment with papal ideas, and
a distrust of imperial interests in Italy. Pisa and Genoa also collaborated in
attacks on Valencia and Tortosa in 1092–3 and then in the First Crusade. From
then on the two cities were as much involved in the eastern as in the western
Mediterranean. The Genoese had been trading in Egypt by the 1060s,
acquired a base in Antioch in 1098, and in 1104, in return for providing naval
support, shares in the ports of Palestine and a promise of a share in Cairo
were it to be captured. They seem to have been trading in Constantinople by
the 1130s, acquiring rights there in 1155 and a compound soon afterwards. Pisa
already had rights in the Palestinian ports in 1111, when it gained a quarter
in Constantinople. The rivalry between the Italians in Constantinople was
fierce: in 1162 the Pisans attacked the Genoese merchants and in 1170–1 the
Venetians helped them destroy the Genoese compound. In the course of the
twelfth century Pisa, Genoa and other north Italian towns, including Lucca
and Florence, obtained footholds in Sicilian ports, from which they probably
exported wheat and leather. In 1162, following his seizure of Milan, Barbarossa
promised both Pisa and Genoa extensive interests in Sicily should they help
him conquer the kingdom, a promise renewed by Henry VI in 1191. One of
their aims was to control the distributive trade within the western Mediter-
ranean, and from the early twelfth century onwards they each gained trading
rights, houses and *fondaci* in the increasingly busy ports of Provence, the county
of Toulouse and Catalonia, consolidated their interests in the Maghreb, and
continued to attempt to establish positions in Andalusia. By *c.* 1170, however,
Montpellier was noted for its many merchants from the Levant, Egypt and
even England, as well as from Genoa and Pisa,[16] and by 1200 merchants from

---

[16] Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, p. 3.

Provence and Catalonia had gained commercial privileges in Tyre, while those from Marseilles were trading in Sicily. As trade grew, so its networks became more diverse.

The great expeditions of Pisa and Genoa had important cultural, religious and political implications. Booty from the Pisan expeditions to Palermo in 1063 and to the Balearic islands in 1113–14 contributed to building the city's new cathedral. Genoa's participation in the capture of Almería in 1146–7 and Tortosa in 1148 was undertaken on the promise of a third share of the two cities and freedom from toll throughout Castile and Catalonia, and with the prospect of controlling the valuable trade in Almería silks. It also expressed a crusading ideal, and while the expeditions burdened Genoa with debt they enhanced its reputation as a place of power and Christian reputation, to its political advantage. During the emperor Frederick's visits to Italy in 1154 and 1158, threatening the independence of Genoa and other cities, the citizens pointedly gave him exotic gifts and declared themselves to be crusaders who had subdued the barbarians. Spoils from Almería were set up in the heart of the city and the consuls placed an inscription on one of the new city gates celebrating the capture of the towns.

The Italian trading cities owed much of their rapid increase in wealth during the twelfth century to the unprecedented prosperity of the Byzantine empire, which occurred in spite of its losses in Asia Minor. Rural production and population growth, not least in the capital itself, stimulated trade. Some provincial towns prospered as consumer cities dependent upon landed wealth, while others experienced commercial and industrial development, stimulated in some cases by state investment. Russian traders flocked to Constantinople. Greek merchants travelled to Vladimir and at about the same time were noted by Benjamin of Tudela at Barcelona and Montpellier.[17] There are clear signs of urban growth on the lower Danube and in eastern Bulgaria. Thessaloniki prospered as a centre of trade and manufactures second only to Constantinople, and there seems to have been a general revival of urban life in Macedonia. The most striking growth outside the capital, however, was in central Greece and the Peloponnese, where there was much new building. By 1170 Almiros, not recorded before the twelfth century, was a flourishing port visited by Venetian, Pisan, Genoese and other merchants. Thebes was a thriving centre where Jews wove silk and made purple. Corinth, where the Venetians were already purchasing silk and oil in 1088, was at its peak in the twelfth century when it had pottery workshops and glass factories as well as a busy silk textile industry. Overall, it seems that up to the late twelfth century the Italians, far from undermining the Byzantine economy, may have helped to open it up, although

[17] *Ibid.* p. 2.

their penetration was of limited extent. Moreover, while Greek merchants may have laboured under the institutional disadvantage of state interference, they had for long enjoyed facilities in the form of coinage, credit mechanisms and interest rates far superior to those obtaining in Venice. Furthermore, the luxury products of Constantinople itself – silk robes, bronzes, ivories and mosaics – maintained their value in the west as cultural capital.

Merchants from north of the Alps were regular visitors to Italy about 1020, bringing linen and woollen cloths, tin, swords, horses and slaves to the royal palace at Pavia. English merchants had been in conflict with palace officials, but were now freed from toll in return for a tribute of silver and other commodities to be paid by the English king.[18] This may refer to a long-standing arrangement or to an agreement made in 1027 between the kings of England and Denmark on the one hand and the king of Burgundy and the emperor on the other, by which English and Danish merchants and pilgrims travelling to Rome were to be free of tolls.[19] Throughout the period, the land routes through the western Alpine passes probably remained the principal means of commercial communication between north-western Europe and Italy, although development of ports to the west of Liguria suggests that routes along the Rhône valley and through the county of Toulouse also came to be used. Trade from Venice through the eastern passes into Germany was well developed by the early twelfth century, to judge from the role of Regensburg as a market for goods from Constantinople. The Ferrara fairs were important for Venetians as a place to meet merchants from Germany, as well as those who shipped their goods down the River Po. Later in the twelfth century Venice's northern trade was greatly stimulated by the new flow of German silver, and in 1228 the Venetians began to build for the Germans the Fondaco dei Tedeschi in the heart of the city.

Italian merchants also travelled north. They were at Ardres, near Calais, in the late eleventh century 'in order to do their business in England'[20] and were visiting the fair of Ypres in 1127.[21] Soon afterwards individual Italians are recorded in London, but not necessarily as merchants. At about the same date fustians as well as silks are recorded as an item of trade in London.[22] Merchants from Piacenza may have brought the fustians.

The trade in woollen and linen textiles was above all responsible for strengthening commercial links between north and south. This was already apparent

---

[18] *Honorantie civitatis Papie.*

[19] *English Historical Documents, c.500–1042*, pp. 476–8; *Laws of the Kings of England*, pp. 147–53.

[20] Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, p. 609; trans. Shopkow, p. 134; the story relates to the eleventh century, but may rather reflect conditions in the twelfth, when the chronicle was compiled: Ganshof (1925), Shopkow, p. 1 n. 3.

[21] *Galbert of Bruges: The Murder of Charles the Good*, pp. 123–4.

[22] *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* I, p. 674.

before 1020, but seems to have become substantial, with the emphasis on woollens, only after 1100. A possibly Flemish merchant was trading in expensive textiles in Barcelona in 1009, but this is an isolated and ambiguous case. Genoa was well situated for overland trade with the north. The 'merchants from beyond the mountains' who sold both woollen and linen cloth there in 1128 may have included Englishmen, Flemings and Germans. By the late twelfth century Genoa contained a settled community of English families, including Londoners, and people from northern France, Flanders and Liège were also living there. Cloths specifically from Flanders and Champagne appeared in the Genoese market probably well before 1150, and later in the century the products of many northern French and Flemish textile towns were known in Genoa by their names, along with cloths from England and Germany. The great majority of these textiles appear to have been relatively light and cheap woollen textiles produced in bulk, in contrast to the more expensive goods from the south. Some of the German textiles (Cologne and Regensburg are the only towns identified as places of origin) were linens rather than woollens, and linens from Champagne may have included cloths of German origin which were traded to the Champagne fairs. Arras emerged as the key transmission centre for Flemish cloth. Some of these textiles were supplied to the local market in and around Genoa, but by the 1180s many of them were shipped overseas to substantial markets in Sicily, Constantinople, Syria, Alexandria and the Maghreb. The high-quality cloths from Ypres dominated this sector of the trade. Some cloths were dyed and finished in Genoa.

Northerners travelled south by other routes and established control of the western seas. Pilgrimage to the shrine of St James stimulated traffic and business, and by 1130 Englishmen and Lotharingians were trading at Compostella itself. By the mid-twelfth century the sea north of Spain was known to southerners as the 'English Sea',[23] anticipating the close trading links which began to develop between the Bay of Biscay ports and the north from the late twelfth century onwards. Rhinelanders, Flemings and Englishmen, including Londoners, participated in the siege of Lisbon in 1147 and then carried on to join with the Genoese and Catalans in the capture of Tortosa. Londoners on their way to the Third Crusade joined in a similar adventure in Portugal. But the current and the prevailing wind made sailing westwards through the Straits of Gibraltar exceptionally difficult, and it is unlikely that these expeditions were associated with regular trade into the Mediterranean and with Andalusia.

Northern textiles, carried overland, reshaped Mediterranean trade. The north Italian cities handled them, but in the late twelfth century had no comparable products of their own which supplied an export market. Lucca produced

---

[23] Al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, p. 206.

woollens that Genoa sent to the south, but its silk industry did not become
important until the thirteenth century. Towards the end of the twelfth century
Milan was becoming widely known for its production of armour and Pisa for
its export of iron from the ore mined in its territories of Elba and Piombino.
The one exception was the weaving of fustians in the towns of the Po plain,
using cotton imported from Egypt and later from Sicily. Piacenza, exploiting
its strategic situation on inland routes and its connections with Venice and
Genoa, was the most important centre of this production. By the mid-twelfth
century the city had acquired substantial wealth and its fustians were shipped
to Alexandria. At the end of the century its merchants were beginning to sub-
stitute themselves for the northerners who brought cloth to Genoa and to trade
directly, or through their intermediaries the carriers of Asti, in the Champagne
fairs. This was the origin of their later role as bankers at the fairs. The merchants
of Asti already enjoyed rights of passage through Burgundy to the fairs in 1190,
when those of Genoa acquired the same privilege. Southern trade probably also
contributed to the diffusion of financial techniques during the later twelfth
century, with the Genoese placing funds on deposit in Messina, Naples and
elsewhere.

A system of seasonal fairs developed in Lombardy from the tenth century
onwards. In southern and eastern England, Flanders and parts of Germany fairs
proliferated and gained regional importance from the late eleventh century
onwards. Those of Champagne had a more remote ancestry but came to the
fore somewhat later. Their situation on the route between Flanders and Italy,
but also enjoying ready access to the valleys of the Meuse and the Moselle,
together with the protection and careful management offered by the counts
of Champagne, enabled them in the second half of the twelfth century to
develop collectively as a major focus of international trade. The four comital
towns of Troyes, Provins, Bar-sur-Aube and Lagny operated a cycle of six fairs
throughout the year. They experienced a distinctive episode of urban growth as
they acquired new streets and marketplaces to accommodate the traders, who
initially had set up their stalls on the margins of the towns. Merchants from
Arras and Flanders were present in the 1130s and from Rheims, Paris, Rouen and
Limoges by the 1170s. The fairs linked and focused markets, thereby reducing
the uncertainties and costs of long-distance trade. Italians, who frequented
the fairs from the late twelfth century onwards, were an important element in
their long-term success. The first Milanese to go north to buy their cloth did
so in 1172. The increasing wealth and reach of Italian merchants reduced the
northerners' ability and need to maintain bases in Genoa and other southern
ports. At the end of the century the five main fairs of Flanders also developed an
annual cycle, which was perhaps a response to that in Champagne, indicating
a further stage of commercial integration.

These were significant changes, antecedents of the 'commercial revolution' of the thirteenth century. The extension and integration of trading systems over much of Europe facilitated local specialisation, and towns and regions came to be known for distinctive products.

The rapid growth of towns promoted commercial solutions to the basic problems of supply, and these in turn encouraged specialised agriculture. Amalfi and Venice were famous for living not on what they had grown themselves but on what they obtained by trade. In the twelfth century Genoa likewise came to depend on corn shipped from the south. Its needs and those of other north Italian cities began to generate the wheat monoculture of Sicily. Locally grown grain was insufficient to feed Novgorod, which often drew supplies from southern Russia. From the eleventh century Flanders imported cheese from England, and in the twelfth century, at least occasionally, both corn and coal, goods which could be shipped as cheaply to Flemish cities as to London. In some of the larger cities there are hints that by the twelfth century the long-range droving of cattle made a contribution to food supply. Urban growth, as well as general demand, promoted fishing and fish processing. Salt, which as a preservative allowed certain foods, notably fish and bacon, to be stockpiled and traded as standard commodities, was carted great distances to towns in eastern Europe, was a staple of Lübeck's trade, and was one of the attractions of Sardinia to the Pisans and Genoese. The spread of intensive viticulture was also a response to expanding urban demand. In England a significant shift towards coal as a fuel had taken place by 1200, at least in the largest city. These supply systems could stimulate the rapid growth, sometimes from almost nothing, of places such as Newcastle (for coal), and the ports of the Wash (for corn, fish and salt, as well as wool and textiles), as collecting and shipping points. Lille appears to have prospered as a market supplying corn from southern Flanders to the expanding towns of the north, while Damme, founded before 1180 as the outport of Bruges, soon came to specialise in handling wine and salt from France.

To some degree it is possible to identify in these linkages a system whereby primary goods such as furs, timber and agrarian products were being transferred to more central and richer places of processing and consumption. The movement of textiles, however, shows that within western Europe at least the balance of comparative advantage, which dictated the exchange of manufactured goods, could be fine. Linen and woollen textiles from the north always had a market in the south despite, as in the case of linens, fustians and the woollens of Lucca, there being locally made alternatives. Even in the north textiles moved between centres with similar products, as between Flanders and England. Labour costs, rapid urbanisation and the flows of information promoted by institutions such as the fairs presumably made the difference and

promoted the explosion of specialised textile production in Flanders and its vicinity. Trade in primary goods also promoted urban industry. The smiths of Novgorod, for example, increased their output of iron goods, which were used to purchase furs. Numerous cases show that market advantage and the accumulation of skills, rather than the simple availability of materials, came to be key factors in urban industry. This was clearly the case with Lombardy fustians. The weapons and armour produced in Cologne and Milan used iron from Liège, Bergamo and Brescia, not the immediate vicinity. In the brass-working towns of the Meuse valley only zinc was available locally: copper and tin were brought in over great distances.

Towns also generated great reservoirs of people. Russian leaders saw them as places where armies could be raised instantly, and their conflicts often focused on the control and destruction of towns, as was also the case elsewhere. The Flemish towns were a famous source of soldiers in both England and France. Towns also operated an international market in skills. Flemish settlers in Saxony after 1160 were known for their cloth-making. There were Flemish and Brabantine weavers in Magdeburg in 1179 and in Vienna in 1208. The Normans brought silk-workers from Corinth to Sicily in 1147.

Building was one of the dominant characteristics of town life. In the towns of most regions there was a marked increase in construction from the eleventh century onwards. In the larger towns the framework of streets was inherited from earlier periods. New streets were inserted. Building encroached on to river frontages and marsh. Landlords and tenants subdivided houses and divided and built on open plots. Once substantial houses moved downmarket and shacks proliferated on the margins. Sometimes regular layouts were employed, especially for substantial extensions and for small towns. The wide market street was a common feature, as at Speyer following the building of the great new cathedral in the mid-eleventh century, or in the fair towns of Champagne. In the south new towns were often laid out on a more or less regular grid, as at Montauban in 1144, where the size of house plots was precisely defined, although the use of rectilinear plans was also well established in the north. Marketplaces, however, were often irregular spaces at castle, abbey or town gates, where roads converged. Many of the busier towns had more than one market focus. Within the walls of twelfth-century London, for example, there were two neighbourhoods known simply as 'market'. One of these was in the western part of the city in the wide street leading east from St Paul's cathedral, while the 'east market' had emerged by 1100 near London Bridge. There were several lesser streets and spaces which probably housed markets by this date. Just outside the city walls, to east and west, there were two large open spaces, used for livestock trading and fairs. Assembly areas, courthouses and civic buildings

were often situated where the chief market and the principal site of authority in the town adjoined, as in Cologne. Jewish communities, closely involved in trade and finance and enjoying the special protection of the lord of the town, often settled in the same vicinity. In the north in the eleventh century it was recognised that a community of Jews civilised a town.

Remodelling of townscapes was commonly associated with the imposition of fortifications, and the rebuilding of cathedral and abbey churches. Commercial wealth could contribute to such programmes, which might express both the new power of the citizens and religious ideals of urban order. Town walls could be important collective projects and the citizens of Genoa remodelled their harbour. The Pisans financed a cathedral building project that introduced a sense of Jerusalem to the city. In northern Europe, the growing landed wealth of ecclesiastical institutions and secular lords was a more significant element in these developments. The proliferation of housing and other activities in the vicinity of great churches was one reason for reordering their precincts, while their rebuilding was sometimes occasioned by their destruction in town fires. In several German cities during the tenth and eleventh centuries the careful positioning of newly erected great churches created formal 'sacred landscapes'. By the mid-twelfth century the city of Winchester was surrounded by a suburban landscape in which church dedications seem deliberately intended to remind both citizens and travellers of the Holy Land and the great continental places of pilgrimage.

Growth commonly resulted in the shift of a city's centre of gravity. In Paris during the twelfth century a succession of royal initiatives moved the commercial focus on the north bank from La Grève to the 'little fields' on the north-western margin of the settlement, where it was much better placed for road traffic. The king transferred one of the fairs previously held outside Paris to the new site, ordered the space and erected buildings for traders there. The neighbourhood between this new focus and the bridge crossing to the royal palace on the Isle de la Cité to the south quickly became the heart of Parisian business life. At Bologna in the eleventh century the commercial focus shifted from the market next to the cathedral in the centre of the city, to the space just outside the Porta Ravegnana where five major roads converged. This reflects the growing importance of exchange between town and country, and the influence on the city's economy of the well-endowed abbey of San Stefano, which stood a short distance outside the gate. Similar changes took place in English towns. At Northampton, which grew rapidly in wealth during the twelfth century, the focus of the later medieval town was at the convergence of roads just outside one of the gates in the early defences. This area was eventually enclosed within a new circuit of walls and may have been the *novus burgus* mentioned in 1086. At Hereford the principal market shifted from within the defences

to occupy a large space running along the edge of the ditch outside the city wall.

By the late twelfth century the practice was developing in Italy of creating formal spaces in the heart of cities for ceremonial and commercial purposes by acquiring and demolishing buildings. In Venice, Sebastiano Ziani at his death in 1178 left to the city houses he had acquired for this purpose, thus originating the great civic space of the Piazza San Marco. At about the same time the focus of the communal government of Bologna was established well away from the cathedral in a small square, which was subsequently enlarged and ameliorated. Northern cities such as Lille, Ghent and London adopted similar policies in the thirteenth century. At Ypres there are indications that one of its marketplaces was enlarged in the twelfth.

The early phases of rapid urban expansion depended upon the use of cheap and accessible materials, which commonly dictated the use of timber and un-fired earth for dwellings. This was the case even in Italy, where the transport and industrial structure which supported quarrying and brick-making was more developed and the inheritance of masonry buildings from earlier periods more substantial than elsewhere. In northern and central Europe there was a development from relatively slight to more solid and carefully wrought timber structures, which from around 1200 could be built higher than before. Never-theless, the tall dwellings in the major Islamic cities stood in sharp contrast to the houses of European towns, where the majority were no more than two or three storeys high. By the late eleventh century the larger northern towns had acquired a distinctive repertoire of house types. These included rows of cot-tages in peripheral or poor districts, and closely packed houses on busy streets with narrow frontages of about 5 m or less where the ground floor was used as a workshop or for retailing. The more substantial and complex premises occupied by leading citizens, churchmen and the nobility often included small houses or shops to let on the street frontage, while the main residence, with a courtyard or garden, lay to the rear. A great deal of the capital value of towns was tied up in their buildings and in the land they stood on. That value made a dynamic contribution, since as towns grew it both generated liquidisable assets for those who controlled property and provided opportunities for saving and investment by those who made money from trade. By 1100 a property market had developed in the towns of northern Europe comparable to that in the towns of the south. While ecclesiastical and secular lords often had the largest rent rolls, the control of urban land and houses, with associated rights of inheritance, was passing into the hands of townsmen who exercised a direct supervision of their holdings. Many families that rose to prominence in twelfth-century towns probably owed much of their wealth to the rapid increase in the value of their property there.

In northern towns, and even in Italy, there was a striking increase in the use of masonry for house building from the late eleventh century onwards. At Lübeck, far from sources of stone and lacking an existing brick tradition, that was a development of the thirteenth century. This material transition reflected the accumulation of wealth and the development of an infrastructure of quarries and transport which was often promoted by major building projects, such as castles, palaces and cathedrals. Among the first lesser structures to be built of stone were the small neighbourhood or parish churches that proliferated in towns across Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. London, for example, appears to have acquired most of its 110 parish churches by the mid-twelfth century. Many of these churches were intimately associated with less substantial houses and workshops, suggesting that they originally offered two forms of security to the family or neighbourhood groups who built them: spiritual salvation and safe-keeping of their goods from fire and theft. Security similarly influenced investment in stone houses, some early instances of which are associated with goldsmiths, moneyers and the wine trade, as well as with members of landowning and official elites. A stone or brick house could present a fine façade to the street, but often the use of masonry was confined to cellars or vaults or to high-status dwellings towards the rear of plots. Even modest stone houses often had impressive ranges of windows on the first floor above commercial premises, denoting the position of the most favoured room and the existence of an urban social culture of reputation, which involved both gazing on to the street and being seen from there.

In Italian towns, from Rome northwards, the inner part of many large house complexes included a fortified tower. These towers expressed the wealth, power and rivalry of the aristocratic families and alliances that built them, and the control which those groups exercised over the immediate neighbourhood. Sometimes the towers were very close together, and a number of towns contained well over a hundred of them. They made a strong impression on visitors such as Benjamin of Tudela, who in the 1160s claimed that the inhabitants of Genoa all had towers on top of their houses, from which they made war on each other, and also that Pisa had 10,000 similar towers.[24] At Bologna there were many towers near the Porta Ravegnana, suggesting that their owners wished to establish footholds in that prosperous district. They included the Assinelli tower, apparently built in the late eleventh century and standing 93 m high, possibly the tallest building in the Europe of its day. In several cities of the Midi, where *milites* were prominent in urban society, aristocratic families occupied towers on the walls. Some northern cities also had such towers, of which those at Regensburg are the best known. Officials at Laon and

---

[24] Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, p. 5.

Bruges had fortified houses, while Ghent contained some very tall stone houses. London lacked towers, except in its castles and along the city wall, but some of its twelfth-century landowning and mercantile families occupied enclosures, which acquired distinctive names. Incorporating the names of the families, these suggest that the houses dominated certain neighbourhoods and were associated with a factionalism which was certainly present in the city, although not on an Italian scale.

Rapid and disorderly urban growth generated problems of its own, of which the most serious was fire. In England, France and Italy towns were frequently devastated by fire. London's conflagrations led by the early thirteenth century to the formulation of sophisticated regulations governing building materials and the use of fire-proof party walls. Sanitary problems also generated rules concerning the disposal of rubbish and rainwater and the placing of cesspits, while archaeological evidence shows that street surfaces were regularly maintained, although not to the standards of classical times. In the thirteenth century an English queen of a century before was remembered as the founder of a public latrine in a busy waterfront district of London, demonstrating that the provision of basic urban facilities had come to be seen as an act of charity and a source of honour. There was an established tradition of canalising streams so as to provide power for town mills, drinking water and systems of cleansing. In some Italian cities ancient aqueducts had been maintained or restored. Sophisticated systems for piping drinking water from springs to cisterns or fountains were a feature of urban palaces and monasteries, but seem not to have been adopted for general water provision until the thirteenth century. Outside towns, the maintenance of roads and waterways was a matter of great interest to townsmen and their rulers. Ypres owed much of its prosperity to the canalisation of its river during the second half of the twelfth century. Bridges were another special urban concern and from the mid-twelfth century onwards there was a widespread programme of building or rebuilding town bridges in stone.

Townsmen and traders came to occupy an increasingly distinct role in the governance of towns. The complexity of the relationships between these groups and those who exercised authority in and over towns, and the many different ways in which those relationships were played out in practice, have tended to obscure some fundamental similarities between different parts of Europe. There seem to be few if any formulae that explain the outcome of relations between social classes and institutions in towns, even though fundamental interests were often similar. Much was contingent on local circumstances and external events. If there are broad differences across Europe in the nature of urban governance and society, they have their roots in relationships between

towns and wider structures of power – namely in the nature of the wider polity of which the town was part.

Throughout the eleventh century, in both north and south, the actions of groups of leading townsmen are increasingly evident. These associations were often short-lived, but could become established in the life and governance of a town. Similar groups exercised routine responsibilities and represented townsmen in relation to higher authority. They were identified by many imprecise terms, including *burgenses meliores*, *primates urbis*, *probi homines* and *seniores*. Their membership and the degree to which it may have overlapped with that of other associations is often far from clear. In Italy and parts of France they commonly included landowning nobles and knights (*milites*) whose interests focused on the city. Such groups were sometimes described as communes and, whether or not so described, came to represent that urban collectivity which is today often labelled communal government. In the north these groups sometimes had more purely mercantile characteristics. The urban leaders who opposed their bishops or other lords were sometimes identified as merchants, as at Cologne and Cambrai in the 1070s. At Cambrai the group was described as a commune. But northern communes and groups of leading townsmen certainly could incorporate non-mercantile interests. The peace movement of the tenth and eleventh centuries influenced, but probably did not originate, the idea of the commune, in both north and south. It brought different social groups together in sworn associations that covered wide territories. They were promoted by bishops, focused on cities and bound both townsmen and the rural aristocracy. Merchants and carters were identified as being among those who benefited from such arrangements, as at Rouen in 1096. Communes were very similar and often had peace as a prime concern. Leaders within the town and powerful individuals outside often worked together, as in the *conjuratio* at Cologne in 1114 (probably) which was directed against the emperor. Later in the century landowning vassals and officials of the archbishop in Cologne seem often to have been socially indistinguishable from members of commercial families with whom they had economic activities in common. Some northern communes, as with the one promoted by the bishop at Noyon in 1108–9, were explicitly for the benefit of clerks and knights, as well as burgesses. At London at least one family with extensive lands in the hinterland, of which some were held for military service, produced a canon of the cathedral and merchants, moneyers, aldermen and royal officials in the city. This recalls the family links between cathedral clergy, rural nobility and leading citizens, which were common in Italy and elsewhere. In twelfth-century London, as we have seen, it seems that the term *nobilis* could sometimes denote a member of a leading city family active in trade but lacking any discernible blood relationship to the landowning aristocracy. Aristocrats certainly did not shun the larger

English cities, but maintained houses there and at times of crisis attempted to establish positions there by force like their Italian counterparts. Such people, however, were fewer than their equivalents in the towns of the south, and more constrained by regnal authority. The differences between north and south in the involvement of mercantile and landowning interests in groups of leading townsmen seem to be ones of degree rather than fundamental structure.

An elite among the 'better citizens' sat on judicial assemblies and tribunals, under the supervision of an official of the lord of the town (bishop, count or king). Between the Seine and the Rhine these individuals were commonly known by the Carolingian term *scabini*. They were often rural tenants and dependants of the lord, who sometimes appointed them, but they also included merchants. In England their equivalents were known as lawmen or aldermen, offices which sometimes ran in families. Terms such as *barones* or *senatores* (Cologne, Ghent, London) were occasionally used to denote members of these tribunals, although it is not always clear that they had any more precise connotation than 'better citizens'. London's aldermen met in the court of Husting, supervised by the king's reeves or other representatives. Self-evidently an indoor meeting, the Husting was operating by 1000. By the late twelfth century it usually sat weekly at the city's guildhall and exercised jurisdictions over property holding, weights and measures, debt and relations with foreign merchants. The citizens through the Husting provided expert knowledge of these essentially urban and commercial matters and doubtless exercised much day-to-day control. The king did not lose his ultimate authority, but the citizens began to acquire a role even in the appointment of royal officials. Likewise in Cologne, institutions of a communal character grew with the tacit assent of the archbishop, who nevertheless continued through his officials to exercise regalian rights over justice, money and tolls. Significantly, the *domus civium*, where the better men and senators of Cologne were meeting to do business by 1149, was close to the archbishop's palace. There were certainly conflicts of interest, which attracted the attention of chroniclers, but much seems to have been achieved by consensus. Developments in Barcelona and many Italian towns were similar.

In northern Italy, however, the acquisition of regalian rights, the degree of informal self-government, and the emergence of sworn associations, were already well advanced by 1050. Milan provides a well-recorded example of the complexity of these developments in a large, strategically located city, where a multitude of landed groups competed for power. It also exemplifies the increasing role of episcopal authority as a focus for civic aspirations and rule. By the late eleventh century, communal regimes under magistracies of consuls were an established feature in northern Italian cities, representing the whole urban collectivity primarily through a landowning nobility that nevertheless

shared and incorporated mercantile interests. The very name consul reflects the conscious attempt to revive Roman principles to meet the practical problems of an increasingly complex, commercial and urbanised society. Consuls exercised more distinctly independent responsibilities than *scabini* or aldermen, but they were about as numerous (despite much local variation and change) and in practice had a similar role in civic affairs. In the eleventh and first half of the twelfth century they were often associated with bishops in town government, reconciling conflicting parties, imposing order and furthering the interests of the city, but later they tended to act alone. Consuls appeared in Provence, the county of Toulouse and Catalonia, as Roman law and the commercial influence of Pisa and Genoa spread in those regions. At Toulouse the *capitularii* were a sort of comital council, but at the same time acted for the city. They became the twenty-four consuls, first mentioned in 1168. At Venice, where the doge was the fount of authority, there were no consuls, but by 1143 a council of *sapientes*, numbering thirty-five, had emerged.

Popular assemblies, meeting a few times a year, were also an important element in these collective regimes. They involved hundreds, if not thousands, of individuals, but the extent of their membership is uncertain. Their role was to ratify, commonly by acclamation, the decisions of councils and higher authorities. In Italy these 'parliaments' often met in cathedrals. Their London equivalent, the folkmoot, met in the cathedral churchyard. In Italy the extent of urbanisation and the strength of interest groups meant that during the twelfth century urban government developed a degree of elaboration which was not usually apparent in the north until well after 1200. Councils, with a hundred or more members, emerged between the consuls and the popular assemblies. Specialised offices, dealing with justice and finance were set up. Pisa and Venice evolved systems of public debt. Within cities everywhere topographical divisions with administrative functions became more apparent and were reflected in the composition of assemblies. Streets, wards (identified by a wide range of terms) and parishes are each evident during the twelfth century as units of neighbourhood identity and secular administration, dealing with environmental management, taxation, defence, and the witnessing and registration of property deals.

In many northern towns merchant guilds were an important focus of social solidarity from the tenth century onwards. Early references, including the later eleventh-century statutes from Valenciennes and St Omer, emphasise the oaths and drinking sessions which bound members together; the provision of mutual assistance, especially when travelling in foreign lands; poor relief; and public services such as the maintenance of streets and walls. Rulers acknowledged the privileges of merchant guilds, including freedom from toll. The members of a merchant guild in one English city (Canterbury) were known as knights

(*cnihtas*, perhaps originally retainers of the king or other lords but not necessarily with a military function), and other English cities had guilds of knights in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They met in guildhalls and in some cases certainly had rights in town administration. They presumably provided some sort of framework or ancestry for the communities of burgesses which emerge more clearly from the late twelfth century onwards as the dominant bodies in the governance of many English towns under the king. At Paris between 1120 and 1224 the merchants involved in river trade acquired a growing body of rights and duties from the king, including responsibility for port facilities. They were the nucleus of the later municipality. Merchant guilds, however, were not necessarily identical with communes, nor did communes necessarily embody the whole urban collective, as they seem to have done in the south. Italy lacked early merchant guilds (although consuls and communes of merchants appear from the mid-twelfth century onwards), presumably because the practice of trade was more engrained and secure than in the north. Similar reasons may explain the lack of a merchant guild in London, where for perhaps 150 years up to 1125 there existed a guild of *cnihtas* under royal protection. It is impossible to prove any link between this guild, the city guildhall and a guildhall mentioned in another record of the 1120s. Yet London's civic guildhall certainly existed as a structure (if not certainly a guildhall) not long after the first record of Cologne's town hall and about the same time as the first great building of *palazzi pubblici* by the Italian communes. The other town guilds and fraternities which were widespread in this period were identified by their religious, craft, fund-raising and neighbourhood associations

Indications of the distinctive character of town customs and laws abound from the eleventh century onwards, above all in Italy. Rulers acknowledged and confirmed them, often at the beginning of a reign or following the resolution of conflict. King William confirmed the customs of London soon after his conquest of England in 1066. Emperor Henry V confirmed the citizens of Bologna in their ancient customs and granted them new rights in 1116, soon after the troubles that followed the death of the countess of Tuscany. Often those customs were not written down. When the commune of Valenciennes was set up in 1114, the count of Hainault saw that the city relied on customs rather than written law and so gave it a law called 'peace'.[25] Later town charters tended to specify customs minutely. There are signs at London, however, of a continuous but informal tradition of recording city customs in writing from about 1000 into the thirteenth century, at first concerning foreign traders but in the twelfth century extending to judicial, administrative and financial matters. The customs of dominant commercial cities such as Cologne, London and

---

[25] Gislebert of Mons, *Chronique*, p. 78.

Rouen set standards of practice in urban affairs which served as models for other towns under the same lordship. In Italy, as befitted the land outside the Muslim and Byzantine spheres where the business of writing and the study of law were most entrenched, the formal practice of codifying town laws is apparent from about 1150 onwards. By about 1200 the keeping of written records as a routine aid to administration and memory was becoming widespread in the cities of western Europe. There are hints, however, that the growth in trade, finance and the complexities of urban life had promoted a culture of practical literacy from a much earlier date. By the late eleventh century, city administrations in England probably employed quite detailed records of householders and property ownership. In Novgorod and other Russian cities from the same time onwards there was a remarkable proliferation of birch-bark letters between townsmen, concerned above all with matters of money and trade. For their informality, everyday concerns and mode of survival, but not their literary and commercial sophistication, these documents recall the contemporary letters of the Cairo Jewish community.

New forms in town governance often emerged in response to crises or to particular needs, such as naval expeditions or the building of defences and bridges. They were thus also associated with violent conflict. In both north and south violence was recognised as endemic in towns, being associated with crowded conditions, drink and oaths. In Italy major outbreaks usually arose from rivalries between aristocratic parties, from conflict between towns, and from the alignment of parties and towns with opposing sides in wider struggles, such as those between the emperor and the pope. Communes often emerged silently as a means of resolving internal strife. In the less urbanised north the balance of power was different, and the establishment of a commune, while often peaceful, on some notorious occasions involved public outcry and violence directed against the bishop as lord of the town. Some churchmen condemned communes as being profane or contrary to law and natural order. On the other hand there were bishops who promoted communes. Tensions between different sources of authority were fundamental, but were expressed in a variety of opportunistic ways. Here too, the issue of church reform could be a significant polarising force. Townsmen could ally with cathedral canons against reform, reformists against an imperial bishop or with the emperor against a bishop.

The strength of territorial rulers was also crucial. In the 1160s and 1170s the count of Flanders consolidated his power and granted new charters to Flemish cities, with the result that in most of them formal communal powers ceased to exist. At that time the French king tended to favour urban communes outside his territory but not within. In southern Italy communal developments were arrested with the imposition of Norman rule. The authority of the English

king was such that communes were hardly apparent in his kingdom during the twelfth century. London was the exception, where during the civil war the citizens pursued their interests as a commune, and during the 1190s, when the power vacuum and the king's urgent need for money allowed them again to assert a commune, this time with more long-lasting consequences. Even so, the new regime, in which the principal citizens united under the single magistracy of their mayor, offered considerable advantages to the monarch as a means of dealing with a complex and wealthy city. Likewise in northern Italy, from *c.* 1150 onwards, communes periodically attempted to solve the problem of internal conflict, including the control of towers, by resorting to the rule of a single magistrate, often known as the *podestà*, brought in from outside the city, a trend which was reinforced by Barbarossa's imposition of such officials after 1160. One effect of the new unitary regime in London was to increase the polarity between the more powerful and the less powerful citizens. In many towns, in both north and south, there were signs of a growing rivalry between merchants and artisans.

In the mid-twelfth century, northern Italy was perceived, more or less correctly, as a land divided between autonomous towns under the rule of consuls where scarcely any noble did not acknowledge the authority of a city. Imperial palaces in cities had been destroyed, as at Pavia in 1124 and Bologna in 1115. Imperial attempts, aided by alliances with selected towns, to restore unitary rule and to gain control of the riches of the south had no lasting effect. In such disordered circumstances cities had no option but to seek security through the control of the surrounding territory, the *contado*, thereby increasing the available resources of men, taxes and food supply. They improved road transport and navigation, increased the extent of arable land and introduced intensive dairying. They brought reluctant aristocrats, *castelli* and lesser communes under their control, and sought protected access to trading routes. They gained advantage by allying with the emperor, the pope or other towns. Since cities were so close together, neighbours were usually at odds. Lucca, the traditional capital of Tuscany, always allied itself against the upstart Pisa, which in 1171, partly in order to secure support against Genoa, established a *rapprochement* with Florence, which then itself entered into successive commercial treaties with Piacenza, Siena and Chivasso. Episcopal authority was an important influence, so that the *contado* often corresponded to the diocese. Archbishop Aribert's assertion of authority over eighteen sees shaped Milan's territory and gave rise to the consistent opposition of Como and Lodi. Strategies of consolidation included the widespread foundation of new towns. The papal town of Alessandria, created out of four village communities in 1168, commanded routes in the Po plain, especially that to Genoa which had recently allied to the emperor. Treviso defined its border with Padua in 1195 by establishing the small

town of Castelfranco, with a grid plan and rectangular outline. A few years later, and only 10 km away, Padua founded the gridded but circular Citadella as its rival. Urban form was an emblem of territory and authority.

Such strategies were impossible, indeed unnecessary, under the more powerful monarchies of England and of France from about 1200, although the foundation of small towns could play a part in the territorial strategies of rival magnates under the king. Exceptionally, both London and Paris obtained control of extensive stretches of their rivers. It was characteristic of such cities that they were more successful than their rivals in obtaining and asserting freedom from tolls within their kingdoms, but they gained few powers over territory beyond their immediate jurisdiction. Indeed, remnants of more extensive rights apparently inherited from earlier periods were eroded. The looser system of control that prevailed in Germany, however, enabled Cologne to pursue a policy of commercial alliances with other cities. Toulouse, as a capital in its own right, in the twelfth century pursued a territorial policy on north Italian lines.

In Italy the idea of town life as the natural focus of social order was well established in the eleventh century, but in the north, despite explosive commercial and urban growth, the emphasis, even within cities, was on lordship and on landowning institutions such as monasteries. Over the two centuries as a whole, however, both regions experienced a remarkable growth of a distinct social, material and intellectual culture in towns, and of an associated capacity to visualise and theorise the urban environment. The sources of inspiration were diverse. One expression of civic identity and patriotism in late twelfth-century Italy was the *carroccio*, a wagon bearing religious symbols which served as a rallying point in battle and a focus for other ceremonial occasions. Yet the *carroccio* was not a strictly communal invention and seems to have originated with the war chariot devised by Archbishop Aribert when he led the defence of Milan against the imperial siege in 1039. Similar communities, and sometimes conflicts, of interest can be seen in the attitudes of citizens to patron saints: in twelfth-century Italy saints protected urban communities, while citizens guarded their relics against dispersal and enforced the loyalty of the *contadini* to their patron. Pisa, unsurprisingly, acquired one of the rare instances of a lay saint, one Ranieri from a noble Pisan family who traded to the Holy Land and on his return preached a radical piety in the city. His cult developed rapidly after his death in 1160 and he soon became patron of the city, subordinate only to the Virgin Mary. Londoners' adoption as their patron of St Thomas of Canterbury, martyred in 1170, is especially noteworthy since it coincided with the emergence of the new mayoral regime. Not only had Thomas been born in the city and grown up in its administration, but he also symbolised a position of independence from the king and offered the citizens an opportunity of

distancing themselves from their bishop. Moreover, he was the ideal patron for London's new bridge, linking the cities of his birth and death and representing a major financial effort that undoubtedly gave Londoners a new social and political cohesion.

Cathedrals and other major urban churches were important symbols of unity and civic identity. In twelfth-century Italy communal offices were set up to finance and maintain them. Inscriptions on Pisa's cathedral proclaim the city's victories overseas that had paid for the fabric. At Ferrara an extract from communal statutes was in 1173 inscribed on stone and fixed to the wall of the cathedral. Town laws were powerful expressions of new identities and in Italy the process of codifying them was informed by the attempt to revive Roman juridical norms to meet the needs of busy commercial cities. Bologna's lawyers brought business and reputation to the city, by their teaching and their work on the Digest. The lawyers and intellectuals of twelfth-century Pisa sustained this revival. At the same time in Kiev the law responded to matters of trade. In north-western Europe intellectual activity and teaching, though less driven by responses to a business environment than in the south, came to be one facet of the reputation of cities. Philosophers responded in new ways to towns and trade. They noted the city as a place of order and communal justice, and gave the mechanical arts, including mercantile activity and building, a new place in the scheme of knowledge. The depiction of crafts in cathedral sculpture and painting may reflect a similar appreciation. Conversely, geometry made a more distinct contribution to regularity, in both building and town planning.

A wide range of narrative writing in western Europe in the twelfth century betrays a new interest in cities, precise topographical detail sometimes being combined with laudatory or satirical description. The history of a town and its monuments, legendary or otherwise, now began to make a new contribution to its fame. A life of St Thomas of Canterbury begins with a long account of London, noting the distinctive life of the waterfront, sports and drama, as well as the dignity of the citizens. Through the eyes of Gawain, Chrétien de Troyes about 1190 evoked an idealised but glittering urban landscape of fortifications, crafts and markets that would have struck a chord in many parts of Europe.

Most of these developments were, ultimately, the outcome of trade. Outside Italy and a small area of the Low Countries the level of urbanisation was low, but there had been a remarkable increase in the scale of trade and manufactures and in the number and size of towns. Despite wide differences in climate, local resources, population densities, intensity of exchange and political frameworks, the experiences of different regions of Europe had much in common. There were two prevailing themes. One concerns the growth of population, rural resources and local exchange, already dramatic in northern Italy by the early

eleventh century, but becoming apparent successively elsewhere. The other concerns integration and the degree to which markets, initially of localised scope and always doing much of their business in the immediate vicinity of the town, enabled towns and regions to develop complementary specialisms in manufactures or in handling primary goods. New landscapes of commodities and urban identities emerged. In particular, the urban network became more distinctly hierarchical, with certain key cities strengthening their commercial influence over widening regions, regardless of political structures. Especially important was the strengthening of links between the south and the north. While on the eve of the fall of Constantinople, European commerce and towns were still not to be compared with their established counterparts in the Byzantine and Muslim worlds, they displayed a pattern of growth, an expansive force and a buccaneering spirit which indicated the future.

1. Towns of Europe and the Mediterranean region

GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY

Susan Reynolds

A good many historians of this period prefer to use the word lordship rather than government. The reason may be that, whereas government suggests an impersonal and public authority, lordship implies the more personal and less public kind of political power that is often held to have characterised the eleventh century, if not the twelfth as well. The typical ruler of the time, according to this view, was the 'feudal lord', whose authority over his free or noble subjects was founded on the personal and voluntary contract of vassalage, and whose authority over peasants was founded on his proprietary rights over their holdings. Such collective activities as are envisaged in this world of essentially personal relationships were to be found chiefly among peasants and townspeople. Before the 'communal movement' of the twelfth century, however, even they did not form communities of any great solidarity. When popular solidarity developed it is often thought to have been soon, if not immediately, directed at securing a measure of collective independence from lords: lordship and community were thus essentially opposed to each other. It is the contention of this chapter that these views of government and community in the eleventh and twelfth centuries are inadequate. On the one hand, government was something more than personal lordship: the belief in the absence of any general sense of public welfare and public responsibility seems to rest on nothing but old stereotypes of feudal society.[1] Once any lord had exercised political control fairly effectively over an area for some time, his authority was legitimised by prevailing ideas about custom, lawful subjection and good order. He was regarded as having a duty to protect his subjects and treat them justly, while they were regarded as having a duty to obey him. In other words, irrespective of its historical origin, his power was not merely power but public authority, with obligations to the public welfare – the welfare of his subjects, who, because they constituted a unit of public and legitimate government, were therefore perceived as forming

---

[1] Reynolds (1994), pp. 17–47.

some kind of community.² When groups of subjects complained or rebelled, they seem to have generally done so in order to defend the same traditional values that their ruler was supposed to uphold.

Government at every level, from that of kingdoms down to villages or estates, depended on a great deal of collective activity. Every ruler had to take counsel with his leading subjects if only because he would need to rely on them to carry out his commands: if his nobles did not agree to go to war and raise forces from their followers a king would have a small army. The raising of taxes, the arrest of criminals, the judging of disputes had to be done collectively because even a ruler with the most loyal and efficient servants could not afford enough of them to do all he wanted. Indeed the most effective governments tended to evoke the most collective activity: the better law and order were maintained and the more taxes were raised, then the more panels of unpaid subjects would be needed to report crimes, deliver judgements and assess taxes. In the absence of guns and tanks to coerce them, even unfree peasants could be most effectively exploited if they could be induced to take it in turns to organise each other and take collective responsibility for dues and services.

These practical realities were reflected in assumptions and ideas about communities and lawful subordination. One of the assumptions that made subordination seem lawful and tolerable was that any unit of social and political life which endured for more than a few generations came to be regarded not as a mere piece of territory that happened to be ruled by sheer force – though in reality it might well have originated in that way – but as a community of culture and descent. Such communities were referred to in Latin as *gentes*, *nationes* or *populi*. It may be misleading to lay too much emphasis on particular words, especially words in a language that may have offered only a vague approximation to so many different vernaculars. All three of these words could be used in senses that had no connotations of social or political collectivity. Nevertheless, they could also all be used, more or less interchangeably, with distinctly political implications. In some contexts *populus* could mean the common people as opposed to nobles. Some writers defined *gens* and *natio* so as to distinguish collective groups of different sizes or character, but few, if any, followed their own definitions consistently and most others were unaware of them. The important point is that in many contexts all three words were applied to groups that corresponded to units of government. Their use in such contexts suggests that a kingdom was perceived as an area inhabited by a people – a *populus*, *gens* or *natio* that needed a king because, as a natural unit of society, it was also a natural unit of government. The names of kingdoms were the names of the peoples that were thought to compose them. The same seems sometimes to

² Reynolds (1997), *passim*.

have applied to counties, provinces or lordships. A twelfth-century history of Count Geoffrey of Anjou (d. 1151) and his ancestors told how the *Andegavorum gens* was famed for its warlike rulers and the fear it induced in neighbouring peoples (*circumfusis nationibus*).[3] It was probably only the subjects of relatively important and independent units of government, like Anjou, that merited words like *gens* or *natio*, but some of the same quality of community was also attributed to smaller and less independent areas.

New kingdoms sometimes needed new names, which might take some time to be agreed and then recorded in Latin texts that have survived for our information. The name *Franci* was much too glorious and well established to have been lost when the Frankish empire collapsed, but it was used inconsistently until new solidarities were formed and terminologies developed to express them. By the eleventh century the names of West and East Franks were no longer adequate to denote the two kingdoms that became France and Germany. The eastern kingdom's lack of an agreed name before the twelfth century has been taken to suggest its lack of unity, but it is hard to believe that soldiers who followed Conrad II or Henry III to Italy, even if they thought of themselves primarily as Saxons, Bavarians, Swabians or whatever, did not feel a wider solidarity as the subjects and soldiers of their great kings and emperors, whatever they called his kingdom. By the eleventh century outsiders, and notably Italians, were referring to them all as *Teutonici*, a name adapted from the earlier word used for their language (*lingua theodisca, todesca, teutisca*, etc.). The name *regnum Teutonicorum* appears soon after. Other communities, established long before the kingdom had existed, still functioned as units of government within it. The inhabitants of Swabia, for instance, whether or not Latin chroniclers called them *Suevi* or *Alemanni*, needed a name – or names – because they were a political community of the kind that was sometimes called a *gens*. The particular name of any people mattered less than the sense of a governmental entity that required to be called something just because it was an entity.

In the western half of the former Carolingian empire, where many counts or other lords were effectively independent of their king in the eleventh and earlier twelfth centuries, it was even more obvious to contemporaries that the subjects of these lords formed the kind of distinct entities that might rise to the scale of being called *gentes*, *nationes* or *populi*. Consciousness of larger categories did not disappear but became variable according to context and circumstance. In eleventh-century France *Franci* were sometimes the inhabitants of northern France, in contrast, for instance, with Aquitainians, and were sometimes only those immediately subject to royal authority, in contrast, for instance, with

---

[3] John of Marmoutier, 'Historia Gaufredi ducis Normannorum et comitis Andegavorum'.

Normans. Sometimes they seem to include everyone in the kingdom that was now the kingdom of the Franks or French (*Franci*), rather than the West Franks, though it is difficult to believe that many people were more sure of its boundaries than are modern historians. Meanwhile, by the eleventh century the lordships and kingdoms of Christian Spain had gained sufficient solidarity, despite shifting frontiers and internal divisions, to retain their separate identities for centuries within a kaleidoscope of dynastic combinations.

The use of collective names was thus an invariably accurate expression less of current political realities than of a political attitude or assumption that was all the more influential for being inarticulate and unreasoned. Any unit of government that had become established in custom was assumed to be the kind of natural community of both descent and custom that had characterised human society since the tribes descended from the sons of Noah had spread over the earth. The way that many chroniclers wrote about the origin and history of their own and other peoples is evidence of the common assumption that the political units of the chronicler's time were ancient and natural units. It was an unjustified assumption. Medieval *gentes* were primarily political units of more heterogeneous origins than their stories implied. They certainly were not races in the sense of having physically inherited characteristics that could have come from having long been a separate breeding population and that distinguished them from their neighbours. They were nearer to being units of common culture, though not very near, since variations of custom and language between political units were often no greater than those within them. None of these misfits mattered. People took it for granted that culture was transmitted along with physical characteristics, as we now know that it is not. Since they believed that *gentes* were real and objective entities, each with its own descent and culture, they saw what they believed was there. That makes their beliefs all the more significant: a belief that merely recognises what is obvious is hardly worth mentioning. As it was, the universal assumption that peoples were real and permanent entities reflects ideas about society and politics that explain a degree of solidarity and submission to rulers that is hard to attribute to purely interpersonal bonds.

Twelfth-century historians of the Normans knew that their rulers had once been Danes, who in turn were ultimately descended from Trojans, but they did not find it necessary to consider how many inhabitants of Normandy were descended from Danes and how many from Franks. Histories concentrated on rulers and nobles but only because they were the people who mattered: there is no suggestion that only the nobles were thought to be Normans (or Danes) while peasants were subjected Franks. For Orderic Vitalis the Normans who were descended from Trojans were the inhabitants of the duchy of Normandy as it was constituted in his own day. Many medieval historians, like many

modern ones, seem to have started with the idea of their *gens* or nation as an objective reality and then traced its history. For Henry of Huntingdon or William of Malmesbury the English people, although formerly divided into separate *gentes* with their separate kingdoms, had been an entity before it formed the single kingdom that was its manifest destiny. Exceptions were noted in such a way as to imply the rule that made them exceptional: King Stephen of Hungary (d. 1038) advised his son to welcome immigrants coming from different places with different languages and customs: a kingdom with only one language and one way of life (*unius moris*) was weak and vulnerable.[4] William of Apulia maintained that the Norman invaders of south Italy taught their way of life and language to those who joined their forces so as to create one people.[5] Fulcher of Chartres marvelled at how in Palestine all kinds of people, Franks and Romans, had forgotten their native lands, married together and with natives, and, combining their languages, become one community united by their single faith.[6]

Not all immigrants were easily absorbed and united. Just because political communities were such a basic assumption of political life, a violent invasion and conquest that broke the old sense of legitimacy could create long resentments. It took generations before the sense of a community of the realm overcame the scars left by the Norman Conquest of England. At the very end of our period Giraldus Cambrensis thought that the English were still wretchedly enslaved to the Normans, so that they had become slaves by nature. He was being a mite tendentious. Well before his time a good many people whose ancestors (or one of whose ancestors) had come from Normandy thought of themselves in many contexts as English.[7] A sense of community was being restored, consolidated not only by hostility to enemies outside, whether French, Welsh or Scots, but by an exceptionally tough centralised government that united its subjects both in resentment against its demands and in all the collective activities that its demands made necessary. The immensely popular history of Geoffrey of Monmouth may have gained some of its appeal from the way it cut across the divisions caused by recent invasions to show Britain as a unit in which, Welsh and Scots could claim a degree of independence, the king of England had supreme authority over the whole island, and in which, in the end, everyone could claim some kind of descent from Trojans.

There are, of course, many units of government about whose origins we have no stories which imply such clear ideas about peoples. We cannot know, for instance, whether the *gens Andegavorum* was thought to have existed before

---

[4] *PL* 151, col. 1240.   [5] Guillaume de Pouille, *Geste de Robert Guiscard* 1, line 168.

[6] '*lingua diversa iam communis facta utrique nationi fit nota et iungit fides quibus est ignota progenies*': *Historia Hierosolymitana* III.xxxvii.

[7] Gillingham (1995).

it had counts because surviving works from this period concentrate on the counts and refer to their subjects only in passing. It is, however, remarkable how many towns had their own descent myths which ignored the continuous immigrations that supported their populations. In practice, some groups remained outsiders. Traders who secured collective privileges in a foreign town might retain a separate collectiive identity, especially if they kept up contact with their homes or if their privileges included a right to be tried according to their own laws. Being treated as a collective unit was not always a mark of liberty. Jews were condemned to be outsiders everywhere and their exclusion became fiercer with the crusades. Dispersed and persecuted though they were, they were nevertheless seen as a people of common descent and common culture, showing the reverse side of beliefs about peoples in general. Charters of protection – of a kind – were granted to local communities of Jews and they were not only massacred as individuals but sometimes made to take collective responsibility for each other's debts.

While the distinctiveness of each people's customs and laws might seem to have more practical import than their mythical histories, a people's common and distinctive body of law was hardly less a matter of faith than was their common descent. Customary law varied from place to place and from time to time. What particular rules or procedures were involved when Henry III gave the Hungarians German law (*scita Teutonica*) are difficult to envisage.[8] A later version of the story made his gift that of Bavarian law but, though that would have constituted a slightly more coherent body of custom, the difference is only one of degree. The point was not the details of the law in practice but the German chroniclers' idea that the Hungarians' supposed acceptance of German – or Bavarian – law was a symbol of their subjection: independent peoples had their own laws. Even twelfth-century canonists and glossators, who tended to assume or extol the universality of canon or Roman law, seem to have accepted that in practice all peoples, whether forming kingdoms or provinces, had their own local customs or laws. When a twelfth-century bishop of St David's in Wales claimed independence from the archbishop of Canterbury he made the point that his people differed from those of Canterbury in nation, language, laws, way of life, judgements and customs.[9] Although the Welsh did not form a single kingdom their hostility to the English cemented their sense of being a people – a people distinguished from the English by different laws and customs.

Language could be another distinctive mark of a separate people, as it was between Hungarians and Germans, Welsh and English, and, at first, Normans

---

[8] Annals of Niederaltaich, 1044.
[9] '*natione lingua legibus et moribus iudiciis et consuetudinibus*': Bernard of St David's quoted by Gerald of Wales, *De invectionibus* II.vii.

and English. In all these cases difference of language confirmed political hos-
tilities and solidarities. In other cases different languages coexisted under the
same government and did not inhibit, even if they hampered, the development
of political solidarity. However inconvenient differences of language might be
in practice – and the long use of a kind of French in what the English came to
call their common law suggests that this can be exaggerated – language did not
come to be regarded as a vital component of the idea of a nation for centuries.
In any case, eleventh- and twelfth-century ideas about nations or peoples did
not need to be consistent because they were assumed and therefore uncontro-
versial. Whereas today supposedly common descent and supposedly common
culture are seen as reasons for being a separate state, in the middle ages they
were simply assumed to be the attributes of existing political units. The idea
of nations or peoples therefore had little revolutionary potential and did not
have to be argued.

There is not very much in the way of academic political theory from this
period, but what there is, like the less systematic thought that is reflected in
chronicles, charters and laws, suggests that political thought started, not with
separate individuals, but with groups. John of Salisbury's analogy of the *res
publica* to a body does no more than express old assumptions in a learned and
sophisticated metaphor. Emphasis on the group did not mean that individual
rights were ignored: virtually all charters of liberties, from that granted to the
people of Nonantola (Emilia) in 1058 to Magna Carta or the Golden Bull
of Hungary, both just after our period, contained clauses that were intended
to protect individuals from arbitrary oppression. Ideas about justice, public
welfare and good government did not, however, start from the individualist
and egalitarian premises that have developed since the seventeenth century.
Individuals were born into *gentes* as they were born into families, and they
were born under the authority of the ruler or rulers of their *gens*. Peoples or
nations were seen not as collections of equal individuals but as communities
composed of different orders, each of which fulfilled its due function according
to custom and right order. Governments had authority to control – though
not to monopolise – the legitimate use of physical force and to coerce their
subjects, provided they acted justly and in accordance with custom. Where
they achieved reasonable success their territories were therefore as worthy to
be thought of in our terms as states as are many in the twentieth century. In
their terms the equivalent of what we call states were peoples, understood in a
sense that implies a collective existence: they were communities.

Nobles, it is true, often thought of themselves as bound to obedience only
so far as they had freely granted it, and liked to think of their obligation to their
king or lord as one which arose from what might now be called an affective
interpersonal relationship. This should not be taken at face value. In many

societies it is common to envisage obligations in personal, affective terms, ignoring the structures within which individuals act and which constrain their activities but which they take for granted. People of high status in particular like to think of their obligations as voluntary and personal. The honour of free men demands that they seem to be bound only by their own voluntary submission. Medieval nobles who claimed to be free of obligations because they had not done fealty or homage were, however, not exempt from charges of treachery: unless they left their countries they were still part of the community and had to reckon with its demands. As for people at the bottom of society, who had no option about their obligations, there is plenty of evidence that they harboured resentments, especially when obligations were increased in contravention of custom, but little to suggest that they rejected the general structure of authority. A belief in the kinds of human equality that modern liberals or socialists cherish does not seem to be one that has been widely shared through human history, so that there is no reason why medieval peasants should have held it in defiance of the conventions of their time, however much we may think they should have. Government could not have worked as well as it did without the solidarities engendered by the belief that the subjects of any government, however unjust the government and however unequal the subjects, were a natural community of common descent and common customs. Nor would its failures and injustices have been resented as they were without this belief. Rulers had supreme authority, but it was an authority to rule justly and according to custom. They might declare custom on behalf of the community but could not create it unilaterally. Because government was supposed to be conducted for the benefit of its subjects and because the subjects formed a community in which great and small were supposed to be treated justly according to their station, the leading members of that community were thought to have the duty, as well as the right, to speak out when its ruler overrode its customs and acted as a tyrant.

As a result of these ideas, the rights and obligations of groups did not have to be explained or justified in terms of their being the sorts of groups that had the right to act as what much later law would call 'legal persons' or 'corporate bodies' with 'legal personality'. This is important when one comes to consider the nature, causes and effects of the 'communal movement' of the twelfth century. By the end of the middle ages governments were using professional lawyers to inhibit popular action, so that legal systems began to develop rules to divide groups (corporations or legal persons) that were allowed to act as if they were individuals from groups that were not. So ingrained had this distinction become by the nineteenth century that many historians then thought that the communes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had achieved a new kind of unity by acquiring legal personality as corporate groups. Since the nineteenth

century virtually all attempts to define communes and identify what was new
about them have started by assuming this distinction and have read special
significance into words like *communa* and *universitas*, as if their use necessarily
implied a new sense of corporateness. In this period, however, both lords
and people lived in the same collectivist world and felt no need for any law
of corporations. Groups were always allowed to take responsibility and were
often required to do so – provided they were not seen as subversive. From the
early middle ages local groups were punished collectively and taxed collectively,
sometimes being left to assess and collect contributions to penalties or taxes
for themselves – though, of course, the larger landowners in any group, and
perhaps the lord of the whole area (unless he was doing the punishing or taxing)
would be expected to take the lead. All kinds of groups, some with no fixed or
permanent membership, held property and were allowed to appear in court to
defend or claim it. If they claimed freedom from dues, or a freedom of action
that their lords did not want to concede, then their cases might well be dismissed
and occasionally they were told that they could not act collectively. The groups
that were allowed to act collectively, however, were not distinguished from those
that were not in any way that can be made to correspond with the modern
distinction between corporations, or potentially incorporable groups, and the
rest. The distinction between corporate and unincorporated groups did not
develop for some centuries.[10]

   That is not to say that the twelfth century did not see a great development
of collective activities in the countryside, in towns and in the government of
kingdoms and provinces. It did: but in trying to explain what happened we
must get out of our heads all the residues of nineteenth-century legal ideas
about communes or *universitates* as collectivities that by definition embodied
some special and new kind of unity. It may be that what changed collective
activities was something to do not with the nature of groups as such but with
the environment in which they functioned. Growing populations and growing
economies were provoking new kinds of disputes. Neighbours of similar status
had to compete more intensely for land or trade. Even more important, con-
flict between those who paid dues and services and those who received them
and wanted more was becoming more focused and more articulate. Grow-
ing literacy was making it possible for governments at every level to exploit
their subjects more efficiently, to communicate over wider areas, to control
their officials, and to keep records about everything. It was natural, in a world
that took communities and collective activity for granted, that people with
common interests should negotiate collectively with other groups and with
their rulers and, by the twelfth century, that the bargains they struck should

---

[10] Reynolds (1995).

come to be recorded in charters or lists of customs. While there is little evidence that the first negotiations and bargains were provoked by new ideas, their effect was to stimulate new demands. Words like commune (*communa, communia, communio,* etc.) acquired new and varied connotations in the new and varied circumstances in which they were used. Other words like *consul* or *res publica* came into use, or wider use, as academic education expanded, so that the prestige of ancient Rome was conferred on new civic governments. As all government became more formally structured, so did that of collective groups. Meanwhile the professionalisation of government and law created new rigidities, focusing and clarifying the disputes provoked by conflicts of economic interest and governmental power. In the long run the new practices, new disputes and new ways of arguing about them would stimulate entirely new ideas about rights, obligations and the right ordering of society. That, however, was far in the future in 1204.

URBAN COMMUNITIES

Towns were growing fast everywhere throughout this period and their history offers the most famous examples of collective activity. In Italy, where urban communities were relatively large and long established, and where Venice had long been entirely independent, many other cities began to take over more of their own government during the eleventh century. A few bishops and some lay lords objected when urban communities took over powers they had once exercised, but many were eased out without much conflict, while emperors recognised hard facts – and won themselves useful allies – by granting charters of liberties. During the twelfth century the word commune came into use to describe city governments but it does not seem to have had particularly revolutionary overtones. Frederick Barbarossa did not become embroiled in wars with the Lombard cities because they were communes or even because they had a measure of independence that was unknown and unwelcome to a German king. The fundamental causes of dispute were that Milan was strategically vital to him; that he wanted to recover rights that his predecessors had abandoned long ago and that Milan and the other Lombard cities had taken over; and that he wanted to define and record these rights. Rome, of course, was a special case. Neither pope nor emperor could tolerate collective autonomy there, however the collectivity was described. In fact, though historians often refer to the lay government that rebellious Romans set up on the Capitol in 1143 as a commune, the Romans themselves do not seem to have used the word. They called themselves by a far more evocative and ambitious title: *Senatus Populusque Romanus.* Frederick came to crush this overweening Roman republic for the pope in 1155, before ever he got involved in his Lombard wars.

Outside Italy, and especially in the north, towns started off with much less in the way of specially urban institutions. The distinctiveness of their economies, the needs of defence and toll collection, and their function as centres of government nevertheless gave their inhabitants good opportunities to work together in assemblies dealing with local government and law. By the eleventh century some traders and townsmen were also organising themselves more independently through club-like associations, often called fraternities or, in some parts of northern Europe, guilds, which engaged in convivial, religious and mutually supportive activities. Their character everywhere varied according to whether they were more given to drinking or piety, subversion or peace-keeping, and whether they were exclusive or forced people to join, but they shared a general character as voluntary associations that were run by their members for their own purposes. Their ideal was one of brotherliness, though, given medieval ideas of society, it was a brotherliness in which the richer and more substantial took the lead as elder brothers. Although they were by no means exclusively urban, they formed suitable vehicles for merchants who needed to club together for mutual protection and other common purposes. The men of Tiel (Gelderland) who claimed to have got the permission of the emperor to run their own affairs, apparently some time around the early 1020s, look in Alpert of Metz's account rather like a guild.[11] In England the close connection of early municipal governments with guilds is suggested by the way that town halls often became known as guildhalls. The way that guilds and fraternities were formed, made rules, owned property, negotiated with governments, and were permitted to do all these things so long as they did not seem subversive or threatening, makes them a perfect illustration of the medieval acceptance of collectivities and of the irrelevance of the modern distinction between corporate and unincorporated groups.

In a good many towns outside Italy, townsmen, whether organising themselves through their guilds or otherwise, negotiated their way to greater autonomy almost as peacefully as Italians did, though they did it later and achieved less in the end. When there was trouble it was generally because of particular local conditions. Most of the towns where violent revolutions occurred lay under the government of bishops or abbots whose power was too localised to provide effective law and order in the surrounding area but who nevertheless contrived to be oppressive within the town in a way that seems to have been rare in Italy. The clergy of cathedrals and urban monasteries, moreover, were often anxious to keep firm control of the towns in which they stood and from which some received a lot of their income. Kings and lay lords were usually rather more ready to delegate authority, though not to towns that particularly

---

[11] *Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae* I, pp. 424–5.

mattered to them politically or strategically. Just as Rome and Milan were especially sensitive in Italy, so London was liable to have its liberties withdrawn and Paris never got any worth noticing.

The word commune first and famously got into the record in the sense on which historians of the 'communal movement' have concentrated when the people of the cathedral town of Le Mans in 1070 formed a sworn conspiracy that they called a commune (*coniurationem quam communionem vocabant*).[12] Other towns in north France and over the border in the kingdom of Germany followed suit, with the most serious disturbances coming in towns with ecclesiastical lords. In Germany they were sometimes made more serious by coinciding with external conflicts. As the twelfth century went on many towns in both kingdoms achieved some measure of autonomy, whether with or without charters, with less fuss. In Spain there were some notable early struggles for charters, with ecclesiastical lords among the unwilling grantors, but the needs of the frontier ensured that many towns were given a measure of independence along with their military responsibilities. In England some towns had negotiated deals with the king about taxes and military service before 1066, though at that date they had no charters to show for it. Later, when they did get charters, their liberties remained strictly limited and liable to revocation. The oppression they had to contend with was that of a forceful central government, which may have been more endurable than that of a local bishop, since it was combined with relatively effective peace-keeping and protection. Emphasis on the peaceful side of the growth of collective urban liberties is not intended to suggest that kings or lords granted liberties out of pure generosity or far-sighted appreciation of the value of promoting self-government. Except when a king or lord founded a new town to provide more rents or act as a fortress, or both, and wanted to attract settlers, it seems likely that every concession was a response to grievances, demands from the urban community, and sometimes offers of large sums of money. But the twelfth-century evidence will not bear the gloss put on it by nineteenth-century liberals who saw the 'communal movement' as a first stirring of popular government and a precursor of democratic revolutions. Eleventh- and twelfth-century townspeople seem to have resorted to violent revolution only when their rulers flouted the traditional norms of custom and consultative government.

Modern historians have sometimes stressed the distinction between towns that were called communes and those that were not. The mark of a commune is sometimes thought to have been the collective oath taken by its members, which turned a local community (*communitas*) into something closer, more united, and therefore more revolutionary – a commune. The word seems, however, to have had less consistent connotations. By 1200 it was so well established

---

[12] *Actus pontificum Cenomannis*, p. 378.

in Italy as that which denoted an independent collective government that it was applied to the government as opposed to its subjects. In northern France some towns with a measure of autonomy had kept the name of commune that they had adopted in the heady days of rebellion while others took it over in more peaceful circumstances. By 1200 no one but a few nervous monks probably shivered when they heard it. Jacques de Vitry, who was very fierce in denouncing the wickedness and disorder of urban life, did not distinguish *commune* from *communitates*.[13] Nor is it clear that communes were particularly distinguished by the oath they imposed on their members. People who formed associations in moments of stress often took oaths to stick together. Because some communes were formed in such moments the word commune may have become associated with the taking of oaths but the association was not exclusive. The members of fraternities or guilds often took oaths, while town officials and councillors were generally sworn in, whether or not their towns were called communes. The automatic taking of oaths by all citizens or burgesses, on the other hand, may well have died away in many towns, whatever they were called, in times of peace when the need for commitment seemed less urgent. Apart from any other reason, few towns kept the kinds of registers that would have made compulsory oaths practical.

One indication that municipal governments were seldom seen as inherently revolutionary is the way that contemporaries who bewailed their internal conflicts or, less often, deplored their independence of external authority, made extraordinarily little of what seems to a historian their most obviously revolutionary characteristic: in a world of monarchies, the government of towns was not merely consultative, as was that of good monarchies, but republican. The lack of comment suggests the large measure of collective activity that was taken for granted in all local government and the even larger measure of effective autonomy that town assemblies often enjoyed even before they secured formal liberties. Townspeople, like all other groups, did not need to be communes or have charters of liberties to be able to negotiate collectively or litigate collectively, let alone to take collective responsibility for raising taxes or paying penalties. The real change achieved in the twelfth century was not that towns gained a new unity or new capacity for collective activity. It was that some of them, whether or not they were called communes, gained a new degree of freedom and power in carrying out their collective decisions. This was a real and important change but we should not exaggerate or distort it by ignoring the collective element in all government.

Another reason why the republican nature of town governments was so seldom commented on, provided it was peacefully achieved, was that the uses

---

[13] Giry, *Documents*, pp. 58–62.

to which they put their varying measures of independence were so unrevolutionary. Everywhere the richer and most established citizens or burgesses took the lead and were expected to do so. When the emperor Henry IV granted a charter to Pisa in 1081, the twelve men who were to give their assent to his appointment of a marquis for Tuscany were to be elected by an assembly summoned by bells. In the event those elected may have been the same, or some of the same, as those who had already negotiated the charter and had been chosen to do that because they already formed an elite or inner ring within the city's legal and governmental assembly. In the twelfth century the councils or panels of citizens who ruled Italian cities generally came to be called consuls, while the short-lived Roman republic elected a *patricius* and senate. By the end of the century many Italian cities had a single *podestà*, who was supposed to stand above internal divisions and conflicts.

When the town of Ipswich got a charter in 1200 it had to create its institutions from scratch, so the whole town met in the churchyard and elected 'twelve sworn chief portmen, as there are in the other boroughs of England'.[14] They also elected a number of executives but no single presiding officer. As yet mayors, the characteristic chief officers of communes in northern France, were only just beginning to appear in English towns. A good many towns outside Italy managed without any single presiding officer while many smaller ones managed with only their courts or open assemblies, rather than councils, to supervise the few executives they needed. Even in the great Italian cities open assemblies continued to be held for important business, though most of the proposals to which crowds assented by shouting 'Fiat, fiat' would be put to the citizens by their ruling councils.[15] A good deal was decided, and expected to be decided, in private. By 1204 the size and, above all, the independence of Italian cities was stimulating them to develop more complex structures of courts and councils, while their administration was becoming professionalised, notably by the appearance of professional lawyers and judges in the courts that used Roman law. Craft courts, however, still followed the old collective procedures of customary law and there was still much work of all kinds to be done by councils or panels of unpaid citizens. Size, independence and wealth also produced more economic and social conflicts and more temptations to corruption and oppression. Evidence of this is visible by 1204 but there is little evidence that oppressed townspeople wanted more than to be governed more justly and with the customary consultation: sometimes they wanted new kinds of councils and sometimes they appointed single chief officers, but that was as far as new ideas about structures and methods of government seem to have gone.

---

[14] Gross, *Gild Merchant* II, p. 117.
[15] Bonaini, *Statuti inediti di Pisa* I, p. 18; Boncompagnus, *Rhetorica novissima*, p. 297.

As for the purposes of government, they were always the same: to maintain law and order, treat everyone justly according to their station, and protect, promote and regulate the town's prosperity. One of the many collectivist assumptions of medieval government was that economies had to be regulated. It was sin or foolishness, not an inherent conflict of interests, that prevented rulers from regulating trade in the interests of everyone in the community. Where urban economies were sufficiently complex, trades and crafts had to be separately regulated. Independent municipal governments sometimes quashed the guilds that craftsmen had already formed to protect their own interests, or at least tried to bring them under closer control. The craft associations that urban governments approved and used instead were sometimes called guilds, but they were different in principle from the voluntary clubs and societies to which the word was more often applied. The craft associations that were used to regulate trade and industry worked through more or less explicitly imposed authority and normally controlled all practitioners of the craft within the town. Voluntary guilds or fraternities continued to exist alongside them, and often in close association with them, but the image of the brotherly, independent 'craft guild' is largely the creation of nineteenth-century historians. It has tended to obscure the degree to which medieval town governments controlled, and were expected to control, their trades and industries in the interests, not of the craftsmen, but of the whole community as they saw it. The only link between the ideas of brotherhood and sociability enshrined in the guild and the political economy that required that trades and crafts be controlled was the strongly collectivist character of the society in which the two coexisted.

RURAL COMMUNITIES

The local communities of the European countryside were almost certainly less structured before 1100 than some of them became later. Given the collectivist habits and assumptions of the time, it is doubtful whether that means, as is sometimes maintained, that there were either no rural communities at all or only weak and fragmented ones. Some historians attribute the supposed lack of communal activity before the twelfth century to the more scattered settlement that seems to have characterised the early middle ages. Scattered settlement was, however, not universal, nor, though the growth of population enlarged many villages and concentrated the houses within them more closely, did it disappear later. In any case, though it is easy to see how geographical propinquity could facilitate collective activity, some very effective and independent communities in Alpine valleys and on North Sea coastal marshes managed without it in the twelfth century and later. Scattered settlement need not therefore in itself have inhibited collective activity and a sense of community before that time. Despite

the scarcity of evidence there are, in fact, several indications that the collective activity that we see in the twelfth century was not unprecedented. In early eleventh-century Catalonia groups of inhabitants built local churches, bought woods and pastures, and engaged in disputes to defend their collective rights. In some areas of both north and south Europe woods or pastures were shared in a way that already needed some regulation, though this was less common, and the regulation was less strict, than it would be later when larger populations were pressing harder on the amount of waste that was left. Arable farming was also less regulated than it would later become in some areas of open-field husbandry, but both in those regions, and in others where there would never be formal regulation, holdings were sometimes so intermixed that a good deal of cooperation was nevertheless necessary. In some areas there were water-courses that provided irrigation or drainage and that must have needed cooperative maintenance. Where labour services were owed they may sometimes have been provided by groups of various kinds, while both services and dues must often have pressed hard enough, even if not equally on all members of local groups, to provoke collective grumbling, if nothing more.

Two other forms of collective activity were probably very widespread. It seems likely that the multiplication of parish churches throughout Europe in the eleventh century owed a good deal to lay demand. Peasants may often have had to provide only money or labour but, where lordship was weak or lords were not resident, they probably took a more active and organising part, as they had done in Catalonia since the ninth century. Everywhere, moreover, however much they did so under seigneurial command, peasant householders had to share responsibility for the maintenance of law and order. Although historians traditionally pay more attention to the military service of nobles at this time, a good many peasants seem to have been required to perform some kind of military duty. For the poorest it may have taken the form of supplying labour or provisions but at least some of the more prosperous had to do more. To judge from the remissions of military service in twelfth-century charters of liberties, the burden was heavy enough to provoke demands for exemption. Where lords made peasants serve in offensive armies collective cooperation might be minimal, but local policing and defence were another matter. In England all males over twelve years old were grouped into tithings for mutual policing, while the men of each village or locality had the duty of informing the man in charge of the hundred (a group of villages) about stolen cattle. Similar arrangements may have obtained in many areas. Whether local government was carried on through what historians call the 'public' assemblies of counties and hundreds or in the supposedly 'private' jurisdictions of castellanies, it worked through assemblies of the more established and respectable of the governed. Lords who had carved out territories for themselves around their

castles may have been in a good position to bully their subjects to accept extra obligations but they could not dispense with their cooperation. Lords and their officials, however tyrannical in intention, lived in a society where custom was supposed to rule, where decisions were supposed to proceed from the community whose custom was being followed, and where the senior members of the community, even if they were regarded as in some sense unfree, were expected to say what custom and justice required. The orders made at the assemblies that administered castellanies and manors or other lesser lordships, and did justice within them, had to be carried out and obeyed by those who attended, just as did those made at meetings of counties or hundreds. All this both presupposed and promoted a sense of community.

Given the poverty of surviving sources in most areas before the twelfth century, given the customary acceptance of subordination by the governed, and given also the customary acceptance of a measure of consultation by the governors, it is very difficult to know how far any of these collective activities were at that stage independent of seigneurial control. That the interests of lords and peasants conflicted in many ways is fairly obvious. What the peasants thought or did about it is not. There is, however, some evidence that they sometimes organised themselves effectively enough to worry their lords. According to a story that had probably lost nothing through seventy years of repetition by frightened monks, some time around the beginning of the eleventh century the *rustici* of the whole of Normandy formed *conventicula*, each of which elected two representatives to a single meeting. They demanded to live according to their own laws and to use woods and waters freely.[16] When the count heard of it, the representatives had their hands and feet cut off and the rest were sent home to their ploughs. Less ambitious and revolutionary protests could however achieve something even before 1100. One of the earliest local charters of liberties was issued by the abbot of Nonantola (Emilia) in 1058 to the whole people of Nonantola, then and in future.[17] The collective sense of *populus* is very clear here. The abbot promised the people secure rights of inheritance, and freedom from arbitrary arrest, assault, forfeiture of goods and demolition of their houses. He gave the whole *populus* all the land, woods, marshes and so on within stated bounds with the intention, it is clear, not that the property rights of individuals within the bounds should be overridden but that they would be held under the community instead of, or as well as, under him. Neither he nor his successors would grant anything within the stated bounds to anyone, except for the common profit of the *populus*. In return the *populus* undertook to build three-quarters of a wall round the settlement while he was

[16] Guillaume de Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, pp. 73–4.
[17] '*cuncto populo Nonantulensi nunc habitanti et in futuro habitaturo*': Muratori, *Antiquitates* 3, p. 241.

to build the rest. Financial penalties for any infringement of the terms were set out for each side, those to be paid by members of the *populus* being graded for greater, middling and lesser. All this implies a considerable communal organisation before the charter was granted. The abbot got something out of it but if he could have got the people to build the wall without making concessions he presumably would have. They had grievances, they acted collectively to get them removed, and they thought that they could organise the building of the wall and the enforcement of the agreement in future. While there is no reason to suppose that people everywhere were equally united and well organised, or that similar occasions for collective activity arose in most villages, there is also none to suggest that the solidarity of the people of Nonantola was unique.

In the twelfth century, charters to local communities became quite common. Some did little more than fix dues, but they still presupposed the existence of the groups to which they were granted. Many, like the Nonantola charter, were granted to existing communities which already had enough solidarity to negotiate. Some were granted by lords who wanted to increase their incomes by getting unused land brought under cultivation and thought that they could attract settlers by offering fixed rents and a measure of self-government. Some settlers came in groups which may have been able to exert pressure on lords from the start. In others there was apparently no pre-existing community, but the charters nevertheless assumed the existence of a group, sometimes called a commune, that was cohesive enough to receive privileges and run its own affairs. Charters that recognised or established a commune did not always give more independence than those that did not. Villages, parishes, guilds and all kinds of quite amorphous groups held property, just as towns did, without getting charters or being called communes. *Communia* or *communantia* in any case sometimes meant nothing more than commons for grazing or other common property. In England, where villages did not apparently get charters of liberty as such, manors were being held and managed by villagers at annual rents as early as 1086. Some later arrangements of this kind gave the tenants more autonomy than some villages elsewhere got with their communes or charters. In 1168, when a tax was raised from tenants of English royal manors, some payments were listed as made by individuals but in some cases the *commune ville* accounted for a round sum. Two years later it was said that the whole *soca* of a Norfolk lord – presumably all those under his authority – had disputed with him about a pasture.[18] They had lost their claim and had had to pay him 52 *s* but there is no suggestion that they had not had the right to make a collective claim.

[18] *Red Book of the Exchequer* II, p. cclxxvii (no. 46).

Just how local communities organised themselves, whether in villages or scattered settlements, is generally unknown. Generally speaking, it seems likely that external pressure from more formal procedures in government and law provoked more formal structures at the local level, and that these were likely to develop farthest where there was most independence. Some villages in areas where towns had consuls appointed consuls too, while French villages with communes often had mayors. In many cases, however, the only hint at internal structure we get is that a rural community was represented by a group of *boni homines*, *probi homines* or *jurati*, who may have been appointed *ad hoc*. In some cases the description may have been used to cover anyone who turned up at whatever occasion it was or the more weighty among them. Many rural communities were small enough to be able to manage their affairs through more or less open assemblies of householders or landholders which would appoint the executives or occasional panels they needed. Everywhere, as in towns, it was probably the richer who took the lead: we should not be sentimental about the happy democratic harmony which the expression 'village community' may suggest to modern readers.

The not uncommon assumption that the firmer structures achieved by the 'communal movement' in the twelfth-century countryside automatically meant an increase of 'community' is in some ways paradoxical. When people talk of the value of community nowadays they generally seem to imply that community means voluntary togetherness, with a maximum of direct inter-action between the members of the community unmediated through officials and a minimum of coercion – something like the community of common will, custom and sociability that the nineteenth-century sociologist Tönnies called a *Gemeinschaft*. In so far as the 'rural communes' of the twelfth century developed firmer and more formal structures, they may have moved away from this kind of community. Whether that means that they turned into the deliberate, *ad hoc* associations that Tönnies named *Gesellschaften* is doubtful. The problem is that the evidence for communities that look distinctly more like *Gemein-schaften* than *Gesellschaften* is so poor. This may be because of the poverty of evidence for the earlier period that should have been the age of *Gemeinschaft*. Later, when the evidence improves, shifting *Gesellschaft*-like associations seem to have been combined with assumptions about their proper working that look more appropriate to *Gemeinschaften*. That fits Tönnies' belief that the values of the earlier stage survived while the newer kind of association was beginning to prevail in practice, but it raises a more serious problem. The whole typology seems to have been constructed by combining premises of so-cial evolution that look highly questionable today with a restricted selection of medieval and early modern evidence, interpreted in a highly sentimentalised and nostalgic way. The argument that connects the two kinds of association

with successive periods is therefore circular. The evidence that the twelfth cen-
tury saw a change in character of collectivities beyond that imposed by external
changes in economies and government is hard to find.

Rural communities may have become less enclosed as trade expanded, but it
is not at all clear that peasants earlier did not move about or that their collective
activities were all carried on in the same closed ascriptive groups. If there is
any truth in William of Jumièges' story, the Norman peasants did not fit that
pattern. Although there is so much less evidence for the beginning of our
period, moreover, we have no reason to assume that the extraordinarily loosely
defined and overlapping groups we find in the more abundant records of the
twelfth century and later were an innovation. They could be a natural result
of the collectivist habits of both periods: since any group could act together
for any purpose, provided it was not rebellious, rural collective activity in 1024
may have been shaped to what was needed in a supposedly *Gesellschaft*-like
way as it was in 1204 and later. The group that collaborated to build a church
need not have been the same group as collaborated to fence a field or oppose a
lord. In some ways collective action may have become more constrained within
rigid units when custom became fossilised in written records. In the nineteenth
century and even later some parishes and local government areas still reflected
the boundaries set respectively by church-building and charters of liberties
in the twelfth century. Some Tuscan villages produced separate communes in
the twelfth century for elites (known as *milites* or *lambardi*) and for peasants,
whereas earlier the different groups might have moved in and out of association
with each other as the occasion required – and as they went on doing in other
areas. On the whole, however, records of collective activity continue to suggest
much vagueness about boundaries, categories and membership.

KINGDOMS

The nature of the communities that operated at the higher level of counties and
duchies, or at the highest level of kingdoms, is still more complex and obscure.
At this level, one might suppose that the only real, affective community of
frequently interacting individuals would be the ruler's household, warband or
immediate kin, or a combination of all three. Yet contemporaries saw things
differently. The great men who from time to time met together to take counsel
with rulers as representatives of the whole community were supposed to be
bound together by the affective bonds of mutual loyalty. Even if the bonds
were not effective, the practice of government, so far as it worked, involved
meetings and consultation. Some of the councils summoned to institute and
maintain the Peace of God in the eleventh century may have revived conciliar
methods and a sense of public welfare in the parts of France where they were

held. If so, that was only because government there had broken down above the local level. In at least some areas peace councils were quite closely connected with regular seigneurial government.[19] Consultation was already ingrained in the practices of secular government. In the kingdoms of Germany and England, for instance, which can hardly be ranked as mere exceptions on the map of Europe, nobles were accustomed to attending meetings to discuss and decide disputes and policy and then to serving in armies to carry it out.

Germans did not follow their kings to Italy merely for plunder or because each felt a personal obligation to his immediate lord: they surely also felt a duty to obey a royal summons and something like team spirit – the spirit of the top team in western Christendom. Some ignored their duty and some of them got away with it, but after Henry the Lion, the most powerful noble in Germany, combined absence of service with more open trouble-making he was punished. His punishment was ostentatiously imposed in 1180 by the judgement of the princes and everyone present in a great royal assembly. A few decades earlier Otto of Freising had disapproved of the way he thought Hungarian criminals were punished by the will of the prince rather than by the judgement of their peers. In practice, of course, kings did not ask or take advice about everything nor were councils invariably harmonious. In the eleventh century the Bohemians complained that the emperor Henry III was overriding agreements they had made with Frankish kings. He replied that the custom (*mos*) was that kings always added new laws. He went on: 'He who rules the laws is not ruled by law, for the law, as they say (*ut aiunt vulgo*), has a waxen nose and the king has a long and iron hand with which to twist it as he pleases.'[20] It was not only kings who were tempted to break the unwritten rules. Solidarity among their nobles was often broken by ambitions, resentments and mutual jealousies, as the case of Henry the Lion shows. Those are facts of any politics. Since few conflicts seem to have involved demands for formal separation from a kingdom, however, it cannot be assumed that conflict as such was inimical to community. In Germany repeated failures of heirs gave scope for the election of kings, which in turn gave scope for conflict between ambitious men. Even so, despite papal efforts to divide the princes of Germany during the troubled years after 1198, they repeatedly united behind the best candidate for election as king that they could find.

In Italy a German king's programme, if heat, disease and opposition allowed, was to travel around, as Conrad II did in 1026, holding councils and royal meetings in suitable places. By then he had already dealt with Pavia, where the royal palace had been attacked and looted during the interregnum before his arrival. To the Pavians' excuse that they had done no wrong because there had been no

---

[19] Martindale (1992).   [20] Cosmas of Prague, *Chronik der Böhmen* II.viii.

king at the time, Conrad, according to his biographer Wipo, pointed out that a kingdom survived its king just as a ship survives its helmsman. The palace was public, not private, property and did not belong to them. Some historians have suggested that Conrad (or Wipo) was here taking a more sophisticated view than was common in the eleventh century, with its supposedly 'personal' view of political relations. That, however, presupposes that there is something unmedievally sophisticated about 'transpersonal' government and the sense of public welfare and duty.

In England government was already effective enough at the end of Æthelred's reign to provoke demands for more just government, addressed first to him and then to Cnut, who made quite specific promises to relieve past oppressions. In 1051, when the greatest earl in the kingdom was in rebellion, peace was patched up because, according to a chronicler, people did not want to fight with other Englishmen, whom they saw as their own kin (*agenes cynnes mannum*), or leave the way open for foreign invasion while they were doing so.[21] Even at this stage the kingdom of England was starting to develop the kind of record-keeping government that would so noticeably change the character of collective activity in the twelfth century. The internal rebellions and French wars that followed the Norman Conquest favoured its further development. Demands for taxes, military service and appearances in royal courts, which in turn produced occasions for the imposition of penalties, not only stimulated subjects to unite against the government but show how the growth of professional bureaucracy in a kingdom, as in Italian cities, did not diminish the need for unprofessional service alongside. Meanwhile, in Scotland, where there was no comparable bureaucratic development, the king's awareness of his people as a whole, beyond his immediate courtiers and nobles, is reflected in the address of royal charters. From the 1140s they were addressed not to bishops, earls and so on but to all the good men (*omnibus probis hominibus*) of the realm.[22]

In the Spanish kingdoms the stimulus to collective activity, if any was needed, came both from military needs and from opposition to royal efforts to control law and order. In 1188 the king of Aragón had to abandon the exclusive use of his own officials to keep the peace in Catalonia. The concessions he made were said to be agreed for the common welfare (*comunis utilitas*, *publica utilitas*) by the archbishop, certain bishops, and all the magnates or barons of his land (i.e. Catalonia). Among much else the king-count promised not to appoint any *vicarius* who was not a Catalan. Four years later further legislation was proclaimed not only to clergy, magnates and knights, but to other good men in both towns and villages and to the people (*ceteris tam civitatum quam villarum*

---

[21] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D 1051.   [22] Barrow (1992).

probis huminibus et populo).[23] In Le6n Alfonso IX held his first great court in 1188 in the presence of the archbishop, bishops, magnates and citizens chosen from, or elected by, every city (*et cum electis civibus ex singulis civitatibus*).[24] He swore to keep the good customs (*mores*) of his predecessors and to maintain peace and justice in his whole realm, and he promised not to make war, peace or treaty (*placitum*) except by the advice of the bishops, nobles and good men by whom he ought to be ruled. In Castile in the same year bishops, nobles and representatives of towns took oaths to fulfil Alfonso VIII's marriage treaty. In the context of government and community in the twelfth century the teleology of deciding whether these events qualified as possible candidates for the 'first representative assemblies' or 'first meeting of estates' of Europe is irrelevant. The point here is that kingdoms (and, in the case of Catalonia, a county) were being treated as communities that were supposed to be consulted by their rulers and were supposed to support him in government. Towns were brought into the process of consultation and responsibility because they played a vital part in government and defence.

In spite of what Abbot Suger represented as the united resistance of the whole kingdom of France (except Normandy) to German invasion in 1124, there is not much evidence that the vestigial sense of community in the kingdom of France developed significantly before the last decades of the twelfth century. It may indeed have been further eroded when Normandy was subsumed into the Angevin dominions so that the king had to face almost constant trouble from the effectively detached western half of his kingdom. Political solidarities were, however, meanwhile being extended over wider areas as great lords extended and intensified their authority. The murder of Charles the Good in 1127 produced over a year of conflict and slaughter in Flanders but the account of Galbert of Bruges suggests a widespread sense that nobility, knights and towns, however divided about the candidates, shared a common interest in the choice of a new count. When a count of Boulogne died without heirs in 1173 the succession there too was apparently regarded as a matter for the men of the land. In the far south William VIII, lord of Montpellier (d. 1202) had a remarkably well-organised record made of his rights and the stages by which he and his predecessors had extended their power. Montpellier, according to the statement of its customs entered in his *Liber instrumentorum* in 1190, had one lord who ruled his honour and people (*populus*) with the help and advice of his *bajulus* and of good and wise men to whom he gave enough to enable them to set aside their own business and attend court daily to do justice.[25] By that time, fourteen years before the conquest of Normandy, the activity of the royal court

---

[23] *Cortes de Cataluña* I, pp. 63, 67, 68.   [24] *Cortes de León y de Castilla* I, pp. 39–40.
[25] *Liber instrumentorum*, no. 239.

suggests that Philip Augustus was beginning to awaken the latent solidarity of his kingdom. That it was still there to be woken was surely because kings and kingdoms were so deeply embedded in medieval thought about politics that kings started with an advantage that no other rulers enjoyed.

The kingdom of Italy, it is true, finally fell apart at much the same time that that of France was coming together, but the strains there were exceptional. Apart from the rival presence of the papacy and the strong growth of urban communities, the German kings of Italy did not merely start as foreigners but remained foreign, irrupting into the kingdom from time to time to disturb customs that had become established in their absence. The contrast with the new kingdom of Sicily is striking. Its kings and its nobility started in the eleventh century as foreign invaders, but then became sufficiently settled and absorbed for the *Regno* to have developed a significant sense of community by 1189. To judge from what happened thereafter, the kings until then were perceived as members of the people that William of Apulia thought the Norman invaders had created. So was the young Frederick II after 1198. The sense of political unity must have been fostered here, as in England, by the pervasive royal bureaucracy. It was not bureaucracy, however, that created the ideas about kingdoms and peoples that enabled the kings of Sicily, their advisers and those who wrote about them to see a population of different languages and religions as constituting a single people – the people of a kingdom.

CHANGES IN COLLECTIVE ACTIVITY

Discussions about communes and other forms of collective activity in this period inevitably imply some kind of idea about the nature of community. Generally it seems to be assumed that communes, along with some, but not all, other forms of collective activity, possessed characteristics that gave them an emotional, as well as formal or legal, unity. Their members were not merely people who happened to be neighbours or to work together in some way: they were communities. The essential characteristics that have been attributed to such groups, whether explicitly or not, have been very various, reflecting the varied ideas about society and politics that modern historians bring to the medieval evidence. While more explicit definitions make it easier to distinguish modern from medieval ideas, however, 'community' is not a concept for which it seems possible to agree a definition, let alone to apply it to all societies. Whatever definition one may choose, moreover, no human collectivity is going to be a perfect community. It seems improbable, for instance, that any that involves more than occasional contacts and trivial purposes is going to rely on affect alone, without a measure of regulation and coercion. At best one might be able to assess various forms and degrees of 'community-ness', so that

medieval communities that come down the scale because they had too little equal reciprocity or too much coercion might nevertheless go up it because of their degree of participation and unmediated interaction. What they go up on, above all, is in their assumption of collective purposes and activities and in the ideal of harmony that was applied to all units of government, imperfectly as it was fulfilled and unreasonable as we may think it was to try to apply it at all.

In considering how the character of communities changed in this period, one approach that should be dismissed at once is that which connects the growth of collective action or community with the attainment of legal personality. The old idea that communes or *universitates* were somehow more united than earlier groups had been and that they became so because of new legal ideas finds no support in the sources of the time. It seems, moreover, inherently improbable that legal or academic ideas could produce political unity in the way that this model implies. Today, while some historians seem to cling to residues of this interpretation, more see the apparent burgeoning of local communities in the twelfth century as provoked by an increase in economic conflict. There is no doubt that the interests of peasants generally conflicted with those of their lords, that at least some peasants resented seigneurial oppression, and that seigneurial pressure became more systematic in the twelfth century. Conflicts, oppressions and resentments were not, however, new then, nor was collective peasant activity. Besides, rural communities did not always or consistently exclude lords. They were much more fluid and variable than that. It may be easier to see economic change behind the rise of urban independence but it was only one factor in promoting urban solidarity and urban demands. Not all leading townsmen were merchants, and, while the rulers of every town were interested in protecting its trade, they had many other interests as well. Conflicts within towns, so far as they are visible in this period, often opposed the relatively poor to the relatively rich. These were not categories that had such directly conflicting economic interests as employers and employed. Such burgesses or citizens as were traders were for the most part self-employed. The regulation of trade caused disputes but most of the fiercest conflicts were about government as such – especially taxation – rather than about directly economic issues. A good deal of collective activity in the twelfth century cut across class lines and responded to more than economic interests.

Nearly all modern interpretations of medieval communities start from two assumptions that need to be questioned. First, it is difficult today to avoid assuming that communal activities and values are necessarily more or less egalitarian. If a true community involves multilateral, reciprocal interaction, and that in turn implies approximate equality between the interacting individuals, then few groups in the eleventh and twelfth centuries would count as communities. Some might, such as guilds and fraternities, for the model of

brotherhood was distinctly egalitarian, but, while the metaphor of brotherhood was pervasive, the medieval idea of community included strong elements of inequality and hierarchy. Different orders of society belonged together because each needed the others. Whatever the conflicts of interest between rulers and subjects, great and small, rich and poor, they all acted within a dominant system of values that assumed that interests could be harmonised if only sin could be restrained. The second common assumption that needs to be confronted and questioned is that medieval communities were essentially local. Local communities certainly involved more regular interaction than did wider ones and they are well recorded in accounts of disputes and charters of liberties that draw attention to collective activities. But the way that contemporaries referred to kingdoms and provinces, *gentes* and *nationes*, shows that these entities too were perceived as communities of a real and affective kind. However little the perception corresponded with reality, it influenced the way government worked.

Bringing together the different kinds of information we have about collective activity in kingdoms and localities casts light on both. In kingdoms some sense of group solidarity seems to have preceded formal structures of government. That serves as a warning against taking the twelfth-century evidence of local structures as evidence that the local sense of community was new. Formal structures in the government of kingdoms did not preclude or destroy communitarian values: they seem to have developed them, stimulating loyalty and solidarity against outsiders at the same time as they stimulated resistance to demands for taxes and service. Some of the same factors may have operated at a humbler level, helping us to understand why local communities were only partly oppositional. Belief in harmonious community, along with belief in lawful subordination, and with prudence and self-interest, enabled government at every level to contain a good deal of discontent.

By 1204 rulers had conceded a great deal more formal autonomy to collective groups among their subjects than had been enjoyed in 1024. How far that implies a new strength of communitarian feeling is doubtful. Struggles for independence may have consolidated communities but the degree of their success was often related as much to political circumstances as to the amount of togetherness. In any case, the belief that local communities were weak or non-existent earlier is as ill-founded as the belief in their new legal capacity. On the other hand, it seems inherently probable that local privileges and the work involved in self-government induced a stronger sense of group identity, at least among elites. Their subjects, meanwhile, did not lose all opportunities for traditional collective activities or all their obligations to engage in them. Even if informal, multilateral, reciprocal activities between all inhabitants of a town were diminished as the population grew and professional judges and

administrators were appointed, bureaucracy did not supersede Buggins's turn. Larger and more diverse populations meanwhile carried on in smaller groups some of the forms of collective activity that were no longer practicable for the town as a whole.

Whether or not the greater formality and professionalism of law and government were the enemies of communitarian feeling, they brought significant changes to collective government. Those who exercised power within the autonomous or semi-autonomous units of local government exercised more systematic power than they could have done earlier but, at the same time, most of them had to endure more systematic supervision by their subjects as new forms of administration began to be accompanied by new forms of consultation and decision-making. These would become more obvious in the thirteenth century but their origins are already clear by 1204. At the same time most local government was also subject to more supervision from outside than in 1024. While rulers had granted liberties or, as they were beginning to see it, had delegated more authority, many of them also had more effective central administrations. These too, however, in proportion to their effectiveness, were becoming subject to more formal criticism and control from those who counselled the ruler as representatives of the whole community. More literacy and more record-keeping gave conflicts more precise and consistent focus and enabled the values that linked government and community to be more clearly articulated. Fundamentally, these values, as distinct from the ways in which they were expressed, do not look very different in 1204 from those that are more obscurely implied in documents from two centuries before. The subjects of governments were still thought to form communities of descent and custom that were bound to their rulers by bonds of lawful and customary duty. Rulers were still the supreme representatives of the communities of which they formed part and which they had the duty to cherish and preserve.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAW

Peter Landau

THE INTELLECTUAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND TO THE NEW DIRECTION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAW IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

IN comparison with what preceded and followed it, the eleventh century can be seen as a time of rupture and crisis in European history. An influential recent study of European legal history by the American scholar Harold Berman sees the foundations of the 'western legal tradition' in a papally inspired 'revolution' between 1075 and 1122, namely the transformation of legal systems inspired by Pope Gregory VII (1073–85). This development has traditionally been known as the 'Gregorian reform', but the term does not do justice to its revolutionary character. Although Berman's interpretation of eleventh-century legal history may be somewhat overstated, it is scarcely possible to deny that a new direction, 'un tournant dans l'histoire du droit',[1] was taken in the closing decades of the eleventh century, marking a clear historical transition in the development of law. This new direction can be linked thematically to the great ideological struggle between pope and emperor, the Investiture Contest. Formally, it could be seen as a definitive espousal of written forms of law and a renunciation of previous approaches which depended extensively on the continual adaptation of oral traditions. That earlier legal culture is hard to relate to concepts based on modern forms of law.

In order to account for the eleventh-century transformation, we must first glance back at the laws and legal systems of the early middle ages, although by our period these had already begun to give way to new forms of law. It is not at all easy to distil from the sources, which are mostly not legal documents as such, the exact nature of legal systems between the collapse of the Carolingian empire and *c.* 1050. It often seems as if, even in the tenth century, the law was not seen as an ensemble of rules and regulations, but could be perceived

---

[1] Berman (1983); Fournier (1917).

only through concrete decisions, although it was assumed to be permanent in itself. This can be illustrated, for example, from an event which took place in 938 in the East Frankish kingdom of Otto I, as reported by the chronicler Widukind of Corvey. A dispute arose among Otto's vassals over the nature of an inheritance. Could the children of a son who had predeceased the testator share in the heritage along with his sons? In other words, did grandchildren have a right to inherit? They considered submitting the question to legal experts, but eventually had recourse to an ordeal in order to settle this abstract legal point. The ordeal demonstrated that grandchildren did have such a right, and at a formal hearing in the king's court it was agreed that this rule should be perpetuated.[2] Thus the question was decided without recourse either to traditional precepts of Germanic tribal law or to written Roman law, but through a conciliatory procedure.

Although it can be assumed that law before the eleventh century consisted mainly of oral tradition, there is no doubt that, in some areas at least, written law also carried some weight – especially church (canon) law, which had come down from late antiquity in collections of canons which had a certain authority in the legal system and practice of the early medieval church. Some elements of Roman law had also been subsumed in clerical practice, sometimes in the form of a *Lex romana canonice compta* (the title of a ninth-century collection of legal texts from northern Italy). If this focusing of legal culture on written norms is seen as a positive development, the early medieval church already had a start over the secular world in its grasp of legal rationality. This makes sense, in view of the fact that the church had never quite abandoned the idea that corporations could have 'rights' – whereas outside the church, many 'rights' persisted only within families.

The whole territory of law seems to have been more limited in early medieval society than it was to become later. There were, of course, legal customs associated with treaties and agreements; there were legal consequences and sanctions, but there were also many ways of resolving conflicts which had nothing to do with 'law'. It is debatable whether personal redress and feuds, which were undeniably a reality in early medieval society, can be seen as legal institutions, or whether there were simply large areas of human activity which before the eleventh century were not subject to legal regulation at all. For example, early in the reign of Conrad II, in 1025, a dispute arose between the king and the people of Pavia. During the interregnum, the latter had destroyed the royal palace in their city: had this been an illegal act? According to Wipo, Conrad's biographer, the king claimed that the Pavians had destroyed not an ownerless

---

[2] Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres* (History of the Saxons) II. 10; composed 967/8.

piece of property, but a public building (*aedes publicae*).[3] This presumes an awareness of transpersonal legal continuity, which was evidently not shared by Conrad's Pavian opponents.

It was again Conrad II (1024–39) who in 1037, as the first king of Italy, issued a feudal decree on an occasion which Heinrich Mitteis has described as 'the first case of feudal custom being defined by imperial legislation'.[4] This law of Conrad II is the first piece of legislation by a medieval Franco-German king. Shortly before, in 1025, Bishop Burchard of Worms had been one of the first to record in writing the household regulations of a community dependent on him, the *Lex familiae Wormatiensis ecclesie*: these regulations, he declared, were laws which would apply equally to both rich and poor. For the first time, such laws were to be recorded in writing. Why was such a record felt to be necessary?

To answer that question, we might look first at economic developments. The eleventh century saw the beginnings of an economic transformation in Europe which recent researchers have dubbed the 'commercial revolution' of the middle ages.[5] As a result, the number of conflicts and disputes increased, and hence there was a greater perceived need for legal security, which could not be met by existing notions of law.

The beginnings of the 'commercial revolution' go back to the latter half of the tenth century. The population of Europe was beginning to grow, and was to go on growing until the fourteenth century. This growth was accompanied by changes in agriculture. Improved equipment and the manorial system led to more intensive cultivation; and population growth promoted the enclosure of new agricultural land everywhere from Italy to Scandinavia and the Iberian Peninsula. This agricultural progress was a prerequisite for the 'commercial revolution'. The growth in agricultural production stimulated consumption and the development of a luxury market; the production of surpluses encouraged the growth of existing towns and the foundation of new ones – another eleventh-century phenomenon. There were relatively few large towns in Europe at that time, but they were already focuses for an increasing volume of trade, which would rapidly extend overseas with the diminishing danger of attack and invasion from the Islamic world, Hungary or the Vikings.

The commercial revolution inevitably created a demand for a rational law of contract and a reliable credit system; and this could only happen on the basis of secure and generally accepted legal texts. In the fragmented Europe of the eleventh century, the only such *corpus* available was in texts expounding the Roman law of Justinian. The *Digest* was rediscovered just as their contents were

---

[3] Wipo, *Gesta Cuonradi II imperatoris* (1040–6), c. 7.
[4] Mitteis (1975), p. 141.   [5] Lopez (1971).

acquiring vastly more practical relevance than they had had when first written in the sixth century.

The transformation and new development of law was impelled not only by economic, but also by religious factors. Jacob Burckhardt, in his *Reflections on History*, named religion, alongside state and culture, as one of the three potencies which condition gradual, or in times of crisis rapid, historical change. In the eleventh century, the monastic reforms which had been initiated in the tenth century, at Cluny in Burgundy and Gorze in Lorraine, began to spread all over Europe. It was in the eleventh century, in Italy, that the monastic orders of the Camaldolese and the Vallombrosans were founded; in 1059, in Germany, Hirsau became a centre of reform under the influence of Gorze; religious houses in Catalonia were subordinated to the reformed monasteries of southern France. Monastic reform always included a return to the existing monastic rules, which were based on the Benedictine Rule and imposed on monastic communities in the form of *Consuetudines*. These monasteries, which in the eleventh century became foci of religious renewal and also undisputed centres of higher culture and learning, and in which the rights and duties of the community were enshrined in fixed, written *Regulae*, were potential models for the subjection of other communities to the rule of written law.

In addition to monastic reform there was also general church reform, and especially the 'reform in Rome'.[6] Modern research distinguishes between the Cluniac, and other monastic, reforms and general church reform, which is usually traced back to the intervention of the emperor Henry III at Sutri in 1046. From the reign of the Lotharingian pope Leo IX (1049–54), the general church reform of the eleventh century was spearheaded by the papacy and the Roman curia, which Leo revived: the rise of the papacy was the prerequisite for the profound changes in canon law which were to take place in the twelfth century. Two key elements should be stressed here. First, the bishop of Rome made good his claim to be the leader of all Christendom. This claim was ultimately based on Christ's words to Peter; *Tu es Petrus . . .*, in the Gospel of St Matthew (Matthew 16:18), but the pope's legal position *vis-à-vis* the church really rested on the decretals formulated by Innocent I and Leo I, and later (in the ninth century) on the False or Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. Hence the struggle for the *libertas* of the Roman-led church inevitably implied an increased interest in the canonical tradition, and therefore in law generally. This emerged particularly clearly in the writings of the reformer Peter Damian in the middle of the eleventh century. Secondly, since the collapse of the Carolingian empire, medieval Europe had possessed (and was to possess) only the most rudimentary *political* unity: therefore the law of the church could be unified only by an

---

[6] Blumenthal (1988).

ecclesiastical authority who enjoyed general acceptance. By 1200 the pope – in the person of Innocent III – had attained such prestige as a lawgiver that he was compared to King Solomon; but the first to aspire to such pre-eminence were the popes from Leo IX to Urban II (1088–99): by the beginning of the First Crusade, the latter was the more or less undisputed leader of Christendom. Canon law was the institutional foundation of the medieval papacy; but it also, and increasingly, became itself the product of that same, unique institution.

Alongside the economic and religious (or ecclesiastical) factors, the transformation of the law was also, in the twelfth century, influenced by a third, *political* factor: the (abundantly attested) loss of legitimacy by traditional political authorities. The result was, first, a plethora of political and ideological disputes (denoted by the blanket term 'Investiture Contest'); and secondly, a conscious striving by secular powers to ground their authority in fixed, written law. Since Carolingian times, the western European political model had been a unified secular and ecclesiastical culture, and its ideal monarch had been the biblical King David, who could illustrate the concepts of kingship and *imperium*. In the eleventh century, this unity split into a double hierarchy of secular and spiritual power which eventually produced the dichotomy between church and state that lingers in Europe to this day. The change was due, at least in part, to a *change of outlook* which did not relate exclusively to religion. A new, *intellectually critical* mentality had entered European history, and as time went on it was to steer this part of the world into a unique series of renewals and upheavals.

Clear evidence of this transformation is supplied by the disputes which affected Milan between 1035 and 1075, starting with the 'revolt of the valvassors' against the ruling archbishop in 1035 and ending with the religious folk movement of the *Pataria* after 1050. At the beginning of the twelfth century Milan was already a self-governing commune ruled by a consulate. Other northern Italian cities saw a similar development: Pisa, too, had a consular constitution. The same was happening in some places outside Italy. In 1077 there was a conspiracy to form a commune in Cambrai; in 1073, at the height of the conflict with Henry IV, the citizens of Worms rose against their bishop; in 1074 the people of Cologne revolted against certain decrees by Archbishop Anno, who was temporarily driven out of the city. At the beginning of the twelfth century there was a conspiracy in Cologne which was described in the Royal Chronicle of Cologne (1112 or 1114) as a *coniuratio pro libertate*, a conspiracy for freedom. The political development of independent communes, which affected most parts of Europe from the twelfth century onwards, created a fresh demand for legislation, legal forms and legal concepts.

Yet another factor encouraging legal debate must have been the *political propaganda* which appeared during the Investiture Contest. This propaganda

naturally drew on the Bible, but it also and increasingly used legal arguments, which were advanced – to different ends – by the partisans of Pope Gregory VII and the emperor Henry IV and escalated into a veritable war of quotations. However, a detailed description of this propaganda belongs to the political history of the Investiture Contest.

THE REBIRTH OF LEGAL STUDY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: LOMBARD LAW, ROMAN LAW AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE *DIGEST*

To speak of a rebirth of legal study in this period is to assume agreement with the dominant view of recent research and to dispute the earlier concept, widely held in the nineteenth century, of a *continuity* in such study from the rhetorical schools of antiquity right up to the eleventh century. Certainly texts of Roman and canon law continued to be copied throughout the early middle ages, and were also gathered into new systematic compilations. Thus, at the end of the ninth century, a collection of canons made in the Milan area, the *Collectio Anselmo dedicata*, brought together numerous texts of Roman law which later also found their way into the pre-1025 *Decretum* of Bishop Burchard of Worms, the most widely known and influential compilation of ecclesiastical law prior to 1100. However, it was not yet customary for the content of such compilations to be expounded in particular law schools: the history of Roman and canon law in the early middle ages is largely confined to the history of compilations without academic interpretation, unless the selection and ordering of texts is itself to be described as such. We do also find, prior to the eleventh century, some glosses and a few summaries of such sources of Roman law as were still known: in Italy, the *Codex Justinianus*, the *Epitome Juliani* and Justinian's *Institutes*. However, the vast majority of these comments bear only on isolated words and do not attempt to give a juristic commentary on the inherited texts.

True legal study, meaning a learned exposition of the texts and the systematic teaching of law, began in Italy in the eleventh century. Before the twelfth century, when Bologna rose to European importance as a school of Roman law, law was already being taught by academic specialists in Pavia, and possibly in Ravenna. At that time, the old imperial palace in Ravenna was one of Italy's chief urban centres; according to a tradition mentioned by the Bolognese jurist Odofredus, there was a law school there even before there was any formal teaching. Not only Odofredus, who may merely have been repeating a more recent legend, but also Peter Damian, a contemporary, mentions in his canonical treatise on degrees of kinship (*De parentelae gradibus*) that Ravenna had sternly disciplined schools in which knowledge of the law was imparted. However, Damian is probably alluding to the teaching of rhetoric within the framework of the *artes liberales*, which included some elementary legal knowledge.

Much less ambiguous than for Ravenna is the tradition that there was a school of Lombard law in Pavia, the old capital of the Lombard kingdom, in the second half of the eleventh century. By the beginning of that century there already existed in Pavia a comprehensive compilation of the laws of the Lombard and Frankish kings of Italy: it is known to scholars as the *Liber Papiensis*. At the end of the century, the same material found its way into the systematised *Lex Lombarda*, the product of an active school of Lombard law which had arisen in Pavia in the interim. Even before the *Lombarda* appeared, the jurists of Pavia were already expounding Lombard law; their views and debates were summarised in the *Expositio ad Librum Papiensem*, which appeared shortly before 1070, probably the first juristic commentary in the history of medieval legal study. The *Expositio* mentions seven Pavian judges, respected legal authorities, all of whom lived between 1000 and 1070. These jurists also quoted Justinian's *Institutes* and used Roman law when expounding Lombard texts. In the twelfth century, the Pavia school continued to write commentaries on the *Lex Lombarda*. The scanty available sources cannot be taken to prove that this Pavian juristic tradition was the model for the school of Roman-law *glossators* at Bologna in the years after 1100; nevertheless it is likely that Pavia was the earliest centre for law teaching in medieval Europe.

In pre-eleventh-century western Europe outside Italy, the main source of ancient Roman law was the *Breviarium Alaricianum*, the great codification made by the Visigothic King Alaric in 506, which included substantial extracts from the *Codex Theodosianus*, an earlier compilation of imperial decrees from late antiquity. In Italy there was still some knowledge of Justinian's *Corpus iuris civilis* – the *Institutes*, a few books of the *Codex Justinianus*, and the *Novellae* in a sixth-century Latin translation known as the *Epitome Juliani* – and these texts were glossed, though the glosses were mostly grammatical. But the *Digest* or *Pandects* of Justinian remained unknown until the last quarter of the eleventh century; their rediscovery gave the impulse for the establishment of Bologna's law school. In late antiquity the last authorities to quote the *Digest* had been Pope Gregory I (603) and Pope Agatho (680); the next certain allusion to them after that is in a Tuscan court record of 1076. The sole manuscript of the *Pandects* which has come down from antiquity is the *Codex Florentinus*, now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana. Research has thrown some light on the adventures of this manuscript since it was written in Constantinople in the sixth century. It soon found its way into Byzantine southern Italy, and by about 1070 it was probably in Monte Cassino, where it was compared with another excerpt from the *Digest*, now no longer extant, which belonged to another tradition: the two were conflated to produce another text, which as the *Littera vulgata* found its way to Bologna and was there greeted as a fundamental textbook. In the first half of the twelfth century the *Codex Florentinus*, which differs from the

Vulgata text, came to Pisa, and thence to its present resting place in Florence in 1406.

Thus, strikingly, it was by pure chance – the conservation of a single manuscript – that the academic study of law in Europe was triggered; nevertheless, the production of the *Vulgata* text, which diverges from *Florentinus*, shows that there were people about with sufficient intellectual training to understand legal texts. The increasing number of *Vulgata* manuscripts after 1090 indicates that there was already a lively interest in the text of the *Digest*.

Medieval scholars divided the *Digest* into three volumes: the *Digestum vetus*, the *Infortiatum* and the *Digestum novum*. The *Infortiatum* was further subdivided, one section of it being known as the *Tres partes*. Many attempts have been made to account for the apparent arbitrariness of the divisions and the oddness of the titles. The subdivision of the *Digest* was due to the fact that originally, in Bologna, only the *Digestum vetus* was known, i.e. the first twenty-four of the total of fifty books. The *Digestum novum* and the *Infortiatum* were not widely known or glossed until later. Thus scholars absorbed the content of the *Digest* gradually, piece by piece, until they were familiar with the complete work – a process which took several decades.

Similarly, the first medieval scholars knew only the first nine books of the *Codex Justinianus*. For this reason, the glossators included the last three books, the *Tres libri*, in the same volume as the *Institutes* and the Justinianian *Novellae*. Medieval jurists cited the *Novellae* from the *Authenticum*, another Latin translation which was fuller than the *Epitome Juliani*; the original text, which was almost entirely in Greek, did not become generally known until the fifteenth-century humanists rediscovered it as part of the *Corpus iuris civilis*.

'CANON LAW' AT THE END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: *DICTATUS PAPAE*, ANSELM OF LUCCA AND IVO OF CHARTRES

Thus the end of the eleventh century, the time of the Gregorian reform, saw the rediscovery of the *Digest* and the first attempts to teach Roman law. But the rise of academic legal study in western Europe also took place in canon law: new collections of canons were compiled, and scholars developed an original methodological approach to written law. The reformers intended from the outset to gather together all the canonical texts which could help them reach a more accurate definition of the pope's status. A famous witness to this intention is a letter written in 1059 by Peter Damian to the Roman archdeacon Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII. Hildebrand, says Damian, had asked him to make a new collection of all the statutes relating to the prerogatives of the papal see. Even if Damian did not himself fulfil this commission, people certainly were making such compilations by the beginning of Gregory VII's

pontificate, and they all focus on the papacy as an institution. Most important is the *Seventy-Four Titles*, which strongly emphasises the primacy of the pope and draws almost exclusively on papal decretals (real and forged), paying scant attention to church councils. Most of the decretals are Pseudo-Isidorian, but the text is often tampered with, usually in order to strengthen the jurisdiction of the pope. This collection, which centres on church discipline and procedural law, presents the pope essentially as the church's chief judge, whose protection extends to all clerics troubled by unjust complaints.

It is not certain, however, that this collection issued from Gregory VII's immediate circle, though it must have been in existence in the early years of his pontificate, when it was used by the Gregorian propagandist Bernold of Constance. We do not know where it was written; it could be from northern France, where canonists were also active at the time.

A rather thin canonical compilation is the *Dictatus papae*, a short account of twenty-seven formal pronouncements on the position of the pope which Gregory VII included in 1076 as an exceptional entry in the register of his correspondence. The whole work reads like a treatise on ecclesiastical policy; its principles sometimes contradict the canonical tradition. Despite some intensive research, the immediate purpose of this document is still unknown; but it is certainly a very concise formulation of the pope's own legal outlook. Although the pronouncements in the *Dictatus papae* were seldom adopted word-for-word into contemporary canonical works, its principles became an integral part of ecclesiastical law over the next 150 years. In fact, the Gregorian approach enjoyed lasting success.

From 1075 onwards, Gregory VII's circle produced a series of new canonical compilations, which were widely known in Italy even in the eleventh century, and were felt to be specifically Roman legal compilations. The earliest is the little *Breviarium* of Cardinal Atto of San Marco; it was followed by the compilations of Bishop Anselm of Lucca (*c.* 1085) and of Cardinal Deusdedit (*c.* 1087), and finally by the *Liber de vita christiana* of Bishop Bonizo of Sutri. Of these the work of Anselm of Lucca, a close associate of Gregory VII, was by far the most successful; it was the only one of these compilations which was extensively drawn upon by Gratian. Anselm's view of ecclesiastical law is a strongly centralising one, and his first book is devoted to the power and supremacy of the pope. He devotes a good deal of space to procedural law: Anselm, following Gregory himself, asserts that the church must be purged of lay influence. The compilation is, in fact, a very faithful mirror of Gregorian thinking. Through Anselm, numerous pronouncements by the Church Fathers, especially Augustine, found their way into canonical texts – in particular, pronouncements on the just war, which now came for the first time within the purview of canon law.

The rival compilation of Cardinal Deusdedit was the first work of its kind to be dedicated to a pope: in fact, to Victor III, Gregory VII's successor. This compilation also puts first the rights of the Roman church, but the work is less well organised than Anselm's. Deusdedit is the first compiler to cite Justinian's *Novellae* from the *Authenticum*, a precocious sign of the influence which the rediscovery of hitherto unknown Roman law texts was to have on canon law. Some items in Deusdedit's collection are from the papal archive, showing that at this early date such archives were already being combed for canonically valuable material.

The last author in this group of 'convinced Gregorians'[7] is Bonizo of Sutri. The very title of his work, *Liber de vita christiana*, bespeaks a hybrid of theological and canonical interests: the theological emphasis is plain from the fact that the first book is devoted to baptism, and the next to confession. The compiler does not simply gather texts, but also provides *dicta* or pronouncements which show a germ of academic interpretation. Bonizo is already attempting to reconcile contradictions in the texts he has gathered: his approach is not dissimilar to that of the glossators. However, the influence of his work on later canon law was slight.

Before the end of the eleventh century France had already produced three extensive canonical compilations which soon became known throughout Europe, so that their influence far surpassed that of the Gregorian Italian compilations previously mentioned. All three are linked with the name of Bishop Ivo of Chartres, in whose circle they were compiled around 1095. They are known to scholars as the *Collectio tripartita*, the *Decretum* of Ivo and the *Panormia*, but only the third title is authentic. While the *Tripartita* is organised partly on a chronological basis, the *Decretum* is an enormous, systematic compendium of texts, and the *Panormia* a concise, easy-to-use handbook of canon law. Not only are Ivo's compilations more extensive than any others made at the time, they are also much more wide ranging thematically. The ecclesiastical law of marriage (which had been substantially overhauled in the eleventh century, in particular with respect to the prohibited degrees and the jurisdiction of the church courts) is central to Ivo's compilations. Ivo wholeheartedly espoused the principle of consent as the essential element in marriage; in the twelfth century this was generally accepted by the church, with far-reaching consequences for the marriage of serfs and the notion that women should be equal partners in marriage. Ivo also considers the sacramental nature of marriage. As regards procedural law, his attitude towards the ordeal (*judicium Dei*) betrays an incipient rationalisation, doubtless under the influence of early scholasticism. His approach to the Investiture Contest was moderate: unlike the committed

---

[7] Fuhrmann (1972–4), II, p. 534.

Gregorians, he did not consider papal primacy over the church to be of central importance.

Ivo's prologue to one of his canonical compilations is of great historical importance; it often appears separately from the compilations themselves and is the first comprehensive academic study of canon law. Ivo distinguishes between unalterable, basic principles and a great variety of modifiable laws for which he uses the term *dispensatio*. Ecclesiastical law, he maintains, should not be dispensed according to principles of strict and rigid justice, but should always incline towards *misericordia*. This new teleological outlook on Ivo's part laid the foundations for an independent canon law which was soon to develop its own academic tradition.

Almost 300 letters by Ivo have survived, in which he often discusses legal matters as a recognised expert on canon law. These letters are invaluable evidence for legal practice around the turn of the twelfth century.

Of Ivo's works, it was the handy *Panormia* which quickly became known all over Europe. Both it and the *Collectio tripartita* were extensively drawn on by Gratian. By the beginning of the twelfth century Ivo's compilations had already reached Poland and probably Scandinavia, the first works of canon law to do so. He also surpassed his predecessors in his knowledge of Roman law, for he used an excerpt of the *Pandects*. His work, along with the earliest output of the Bologna School, marks a turning point in European legal history.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE SCHOOL OF BOLOGNA: IRNERIUS AND THE FOUR DOCTORS; THE EMERGENCE OF GENRES IN ACADEMIC LEGAL WRITING

The teaching of law at Bologna developed out of the teaching of rhetoric as part of the *trivium*, and in parallel with the gradual rediscovery and exploitation of the *Corpus iuris civilis*, particularly the *Digest*. The recognised founder of legal teaching, and of the Bolognese School of glossators, is the jurist Irnerius, who was the first to interpret texts of Roman law on the basis of the complete *Corpus iuris civilis*. There are many documentary references to Irnerius between 1112 and 1125; his legal expertise brought him into close contact with the protagonists of the Investiture Contest. He was at first an adherent of Countess Matilda of Tuscany and appeared in her courts. After the emperor Henry V received the countess' inheritance in 1116, Irnerius often sat as judge in his royal court, and in 1118 he supported the emperor at the election of the antipope Gregory VIII. As a result, Irnerius was excommunicated by Pope Calixtus II at the council of Rheims in 1119. He is last mentioned in connection with an arbitration in 1125.

Granted that Irnerius must already have been a recognised teacher of law by about 1110, his teaching career could have begun as far back as the last decade of the eleventh century. Before Irnerius, the name of one Pepo has come down to us as one of the teachers and judges in the Bologna circle; we are not sure what exactly he taught, or when. He features in court records from the 1070s onwards, and may have acquired some knowledge of the *Digest* well before Irnerius did. These scant details of Pepo's career do at least allow us to date the earliest beginnings of the Bologna Law School back to about 1080. Whereas no work attributable to Pepo has survived, we do have a large number of Irnerius' glosses on the *Corpus iuris civilis*, both interlinear and marginal. They may already have been intended as a glossatory 'apparatus', i.e. a continuous commentary. In the nineteenth century scholars attributed other, anonymous twelfth-century works to Irnerius, but recent research has shown that these claims are unsubstantiated.

Irnerius' chief claim to fame is that he founded a school of glossators in Bologna, which in the next generation was linked with the names of the *Quattuor Doctores*: Bulgarus, Martinus Gosia, Jacobus de Porta Ravennate and Hugo de Porta Ravennate. The *Quattuor Doctores* appeared on the political scene in 1158, in the entourage of Frederick I, when they gave their support to the emperor in the dispute over regal rights in Lombardy. Bulgarus and Martinus, if not the others, may have studied under Irnerius himself.

Bulgarus and Martinus had contrasting approaches to glossing, and both their methods remained in vogue until the *Glossa ordinaria* was written in the middle of the thirteenth century. Bulgarus took the text at its face value and favoured the *ius strictum*, whereas Martinus frequently applied the principle of *aequitas* and so inclined towards a freer interpretation of the sources. Bulgarus' school – *nostri doctores* – continued to hold sway at Bologna, while the followers of Martinus, who became known as the 'Gosiani', were to be found chiefly outside of Bologna, particularly in southern France, where they influenced the study of Roman law.

The writings of the *Quattuor Doctores* were mostly glosses and commentaries. The comments of their generation on the *Digest* and the *Codex Justinianus* formed the basis of Accursius' *Glossa ordinaria* on the entire *Corpus iuris civilis* in the thirteenth century: Accursius was able to build on almost a hundred years of creative interpretation of Roman law. The same generation also initiated the writing of monographs on particular problems in Roman law: commentaries on procedural law, for example, became a separate genre known as the *Ordines iudiciorum* (for Roman law) or *Ordines iudiciarii* (for canon law). The earliest work in this genre is an exposition of procedural law, in the form of a long and detailed letter written by Bulgarus to Haimeric, chancellor of the Roman church between 1123 and 1141. In this letter Bulgarus also deals with a section

of the *Digest*, *De regulis iuris*, to which he devotes a special commentary (*Commentum*) on how to classify general legal principles; it became the model for another separate genre.

This generation of Bolognese academics also initiated the compilation both of *Quaestiones* (pedagogic discussions of legal problems without direct connection to special texts of law) and *Distinctiones*, which systematically analyse legal concepts. A substantial example of this genre may be attributable to Hugo de Porta Ravennate.

In conclusion, it was the Four Doctors and their contemporaries who established the genres in which the glossators were mainly to work; and their method of probing contrasting academic opinions initiated a culture of juristic debate that was to become an integral part of medieval learning.

Southern French jurists were also active at this time (the first half of the twelfth century), producing a series of anonymous works on Roman law; recently there have been attempts to assign them to particular places, and if possible particular authors.[8] The first surviving work of this school is a *Summa* on the *Institutes* which begins 'Justiniani est in hoc opere' and was compiled at Die, in the Rhône valley, in about 1127. Even this very early work shows the influence of Martinus, indicating that Bolognese jurisprudence had quickly become widely known. Soon after this *Summa* a series of practical handbooks appeared containing excerpts from salient texts of Roman law. A particularly notable example is the *Exceptiones Petri*, which is divided into four books and was already being used in about 1150 in Catalonia, where Roman law was being incorporated into Catalan customary law. However, the outstanding achievements of this southern French school were their *Summae* on the Code of Justinian, which predate any such work produced at Bologna. These *Summae* gave a systematised overview of Roman law, obviating the need for direct consultation of the dauntingly complex *Codex iuris civilis*; they also provided an accessible introduction to Roman law itself. The first *Summa* on the Codex is the *Summa Trecensis*, so called because the manuscript is in Troyes; recently, Gouron has identified the author as a French jurist named Géraud. The *Summa Trecensis* underlies a *Summa* in Provençal known as *Lo Codi*, which was the first attempt to translate Roman law terminology into a vernacular tongue. It was compiled in about 1160 in the Rhône valley and became widely known, especially when the text was translated into Latin and so could be used outside the Provençal-speaking area in Italy. *Lo Codi* was also translated into French, Castilian and Catalan and so became widely known in France and Spain. Indeed, the influence of this unique work of Provençal legal theory spread even outside Europe, for in about 1162 it was

---

[8] Gouron (1984; 1987; 1993).

incorporated into the law of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, in the redaction known as the Assizes of Jerusalem. *Lo Codi* both marks the apogee of the independent Provençal school and initiates its decline. After 1160 southern France came under the influence of such famous Bolognese masters as Rogerius, and later Placentinus, who worked at Montpellier. Both also wrote *Summae* on the Codex.

Irnerius turned Bologna into the centre of Roman law studies, and so it remained throughout the twelfth century. Other places attained occasional prominence, especially in southern France – Valence, in the Rhône valley, and Montpellier – but none had the continuity of Bologna, which may justly claim to have been teaching and studying the law for longer than any other European university.

Indeed, the beginnings of Bologna as a 'university' can be traced to the first half of the twelfth century, when the law was taught privately by individual experts – Irnerius and a succession of teachers after him. However, its statutes go no further back than 1253. Almost everything we know about the earlier period comes from just two sources. The first is the famous *Authentica Habita*, a privilege granted by Frederick Barbarossa in 1155. It is an imperial decree, granting the teachers of law at Bologna jurisdiction over all would-be students *en route* to that city. Wherever they stayed on the way, they were not to be punished on account of unpaid debts or crimes committed by their fellow countrymen. The emperor also granted them a privileged legal status: when in Bologna they were not subject to the town courts, but could choose between the bishop's court and the discipline of their teachers. The privilege assumes that the teachers (*domini* or *magistri*) are already a group with a distinct status. The fact that the privilege is confined to foreign students indicates that a large number of such scholars already existed. Later on, students who were not from Bologna were divided into two separate corporations (*universitates*): the *Citramonti* from inside Italy and the non-Italian *Ultramontani*. It is hard to say when this division first began, but it may have been in existence by the middle of the twelfth century, when it was assumed that the *universitates*, as institutions, could guarantee the safety of foreign students, whereas local students automatically enjoyed the protection accorded to resident citizens.

Barbarossa's privilege was followed by another granted to students by Pope Lucius III in 1184, which is preserved in a decretal. It forbids landlords from turning lecturers and students out of their rooms if someone else offers a higher rent: offenders are threatened with excommunication. This shows that even

elementary aspects of student life were already being regulated by ecclesiastical law.

The university of Bologna was to a large extent controlled by its students: by the end of the twelfth century the *universitates* were already being ruled by elected student rectors. The rectors had to have completed a five-year law course and to have reached the age of twenty-five. They claimed jurisdiction over the students, alongside the jurisdiction granted to the bishop and the professors by the *Authentica Habita*.

The student communities were tightly knit bodies and were quite capable of organising a mass migration by the students if there was trouble with the city authorities. Even before 1200, individual lecturers had occasionally abandoned Bologna temporarily and migrated to other places; at the beginning of the thirteenth century there were some mass secessions by both students and teachers. There was a law school in Vicenza for a few years after 1204, but only in 1222 did a lasting rival to Bologna emerge, when a large teacher–student group migrated from Bologna and founded the university of Padua. Like Bologna itself, these new, competing foundations started life as private schools, unsupported by any privileges from pope or emperor. Although the fact that the student corporations were not subject to the city's jurisdiction inevitably led to town-and-gown conflicts, Bologna always strove to prevent academic migrations. A statute of 1215 threatens scholars with expulsion and confiscation of their assets if they try to incite other students to leave the city: this regulation was plainly directed against the student rectors. But town–gown conflict over the recognition of the student rectors finally provoked a series of interventions by Pope Honorius III, during a migration which lasted from 1217 to 1220. Honorius fully supported the students' right to elect their own rectors, and forced the city to accept this. The migrations seemed effectively to have dissolved the Bologna Studium: evidently the boycott was highly effective, for it compelled the city authorities to give in. In 1219, Honorius III further decreed that the archdeacon of Bologna cathedral should supervise the granting of degrees, thus institutionalising ecclesiastical supervision over the law school. The intervention of popes in Bolognese student affairs was evidently welcomed by the student corporations, because it guaranteed them a measure of freedom from municipal control.

The Bologna Studium developed into a centre for advanced education controlled by its students; this form of organisation distinguished it sharply from the University of Paris, which had developed out of the theological Studium there. Bologna's recognition of the autonomous student institutions was eased by the fact that most law students were of noble birth and were older than the students of arts or theology.

THE UNIFICATION OF CANON LAW: GRATIAN

One of the most significant turning points in twelfth-century history was the establishment and development of a science of canon law, out of which a broadly consistent legal system developed which was applicable throughout western Europe. This development is closely bound up with that great work, the *Decretum Gratiani*, which synthesised the existing canonical compilations and, by methodically contrasting and reconciling contradictory canons, created a viable work of reference for the church courts. As soon as it appeared, this comprehensive, intellectually ambitious work became the standard textbook on canon law, which could now take its place alongside the study of Roman law.

The *Decretum Gratiani* first appeared in Bologna around 1140. Its compiler was supposedly a monk called Gratianus, of whose life nothing certain is known. However, the content and orientation of the work indicate that he did live in a monastic milieu and was himself a teacher of ecclesiastical law: indeed, his pupils were the first true scholars of canon law. Since the first such canonists were almost all active in Bologna, it is logical to conclude that Gratian also worked there. His work survives in many twelfth-century manuscripts, and between 1140 and 1160 it became known all over Europe. The *Decretum Gratiani* has a different construction from earlier canonical compilations: the canons themselves are explained and validated by Gratian's own commentaries (*dicta Gratiani*), which are sometimes very extensive. This makes it more of a textbook than a mere collection of texts. Gratian applies the interpretative ground rules laid down by Ivo of Chartres in his Prologue, and like Ivo, Gratian attempts a synthesis of theological and legal thinking. This approach was to have a decisive effect on future developments, when canon law became a branch of jurisprudence, but with a theological basis. Gratian's theological teaching (e.g. his concept of marriage) was influenced by early scholastic theology (the Laon school).

Gratian's enormous work has almost 4000 chapters. They include the canons of the primitive and early medieval church councils and decretals by the popes up to Paschal II (with a particularly large selection by Leo I, Gelasius I and especially Gregory I), together with almost 1000 excerpts from the Church Fathers. Since the onset of the Investiture Contest a growing number of compilers had drawn heavily on patristic texts, particularly the works of Augustine, but Gratian went further in this direction than any other. Hence the teachings of the Church Fathers had a decisive influence on such legal matters as oaths and the just war, which means that Gratian's work lies behind some important elements of international law.

At first, Gratian seems to have been cautious about including Roman law in his work: we now distinguish at least two redactions of the *Decretum* and recent research has shown that the numerous quotations from Justinian were

not included until a late redaction. However, one of Gratian's sources for 'natural law' was the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, and Isidore quotes extensively from Roman law: Gratian borrowed many of these quotations and incorporated them into his introduction, in which he sets out his approach to law. This borrowing proved fertile, for the *Decretum* became the main source of medieval scholastic teaching on natural law, and was used by later authors up to and including Thomas Aquinas.

Gratian used only a few of the earlier canonical compilations in his work, but when he did so he generally incorporated the canons without alteration. Recent research has shown that his main sources were Ivo's weighty compilations; he also used Gregorian collections such as that of Anselm of Lucca. This doubtless puts him substantially in line with Gregorian legal thought, e.g. when he stresses that the pope is entitled to modify canon law as he sees fit (he has the *ius condendi canones*). The pope's jurisdiction is strongly emphasised and lay influence on the church is decisively reduced, especially as regards church property: the institution of proprietary churches, so characteristic of the early middle ages, disappears.

Gratian's choice and disposition of his material effectively decided which areas were thenceforward to come within the purview of canon law. Like Ivo, he devotes a great deal of attention to marriage: as a result, marriage, in particular the definition of marriage and divorce, remained an undisputed part of canon law for centuries thereafter. The church law of property is also prominent, and some new rules on prescriptions and tithes are developed. Numerous new procedural rules are also introduced. Concerning sacraments, the chief emphasis is on ordination and the combating of simony. It is important to note that Gratian insists on the unity of ecclesiastical law: the regional law of provincial councils is to be accounted secondary. Gratian develops a model for a centralised church governed by its clergy.

THE DECRETISTS: GENRES, SCHOOLS AND THE EUROPEAN DIMENSION

The first redaction of the *Decretum Gratiani* was more or less complete by 1140. Over the next decades there rapidly developed an academic tradition of *Decretum* interpretation whose representatives are known as the Decretists. The first of them, surely a student of Gratian himself, is the Bolognese lecturer Paucapalea, who may well have worked on the *Decretum* itself and wrote the first textbook (*Summa*) on it. As with the literature on Roman law, the first writings on Gratian's text were mostly glosses, which were soon being put together in manuscripts as complete commentaries attributed to various authors.

Subsequently, the glosses developed into 'apparatuses': one of the first comprehensive commentaries of this kind was written at Bologna in about 1180.

Not only glosses, but also *Summae* were very important to the study of canon law: they were compiled in Bologna and, from the 1160s onwards, in canon-law schools outside Italy. Not all the compilers are known by name: some important anonymous textbooks are therefore denoted only by their incipits or the provenance of the manuscript. The first outburst of *Summa* production in Bologna culminated in the works of the canonist Rufinus, later bishop of Assisi (*c.* 1164). Rufinus has a strong theological bias, and some of his work has a dogmatic approach to law which is largely his own creation. Thus the scanty remnants of proprietary churches, which we find in Gratian, were turned by Rufinus into the legal institution of patronage. He also drew up a list of prohibited degrees of marriage which became standard in cannon law. The ecclesiastical law on marriage was to be systematically constructed by the Decretists and further developed through the decretals of Pope Alexander III.

Soon after Rufinus' work came the well-known *Summa* of Stephen of Tournai (*c.* 1166). Stephen was a French canonist, educated at Bologna, who wrote his textbook after his return to France, where he became a regular canon at Orléans. His work decisively influenced the writing of independent canon-law texts in France, but the Bolognese canonists were also quick to assimilate it, in particular Johannes Faventius, who refers to it in his *Summa* on Gratian's *Decretum*. Stephen's ecclesiastical career was notable: he became abbot of St Geneviève in Paris, and later (1192–1203) bishop of Tournai. His numerous surviving letters are valuable evidence for the practice of ecclesiastical law in the second half of the twelfth century. His *Summa* is far more strongly influenced by Roman law than is Rufinus': it is a precursor of the *ius commune*, which combined elements of Roman and canon law. Stephen, unlike Rufinus, did not insist on the pope's primacy over the emperor (a central question at this, the time of Barbarossa), but inclined towards a dualistic position which was imitated by many later canonists. From the debate over this point emerged a theory of the relationship between church and state which has perpetuated the influence of canon law up to the present day. Canon law, midway between jurisprudence and theology, was not grounded on a vision of an almighty church, nor did it always insist that theology should take precedence over jurisprudence.

After Stephen's, many other *Summae* on Gratian appeared before 1200: some were written in Bologna, but others are of French, German or English provenance (though in the latter case we should rather say 'Angevin', England being only part of the Angevin domain). The most important, and effectively the final, Bolognese *Summa* was that of the Decretist Huguccio (completed

c. 1188). He took full account of the new law which, since the time of Alexander III, had been constructed on the basis of papal decretals, producing a virtually encyclopaedic and also very original work. Huguccio later became a close associate of Innocent III, and may have instructed the latter in the law before he attained the papal throne.

From 1170 onwards, numerous *Summae* on the *Decretum* were produced in France, probably in its academic centre, Paris. These works were also known outside France: for example, a textbook of French provenance is known to have been in use in Carinthia. A very original *Summa*, organised on different lines from the *Decretum*, was written in Cologne in 1169 (the *Summa Coloniensis*): it is the outstanding product of a short-lived Rhineland school of Decretists who had contacts with England. English canonists produced a number of *Summae* from 1180 onwards; among them we may note that of Magister Honorius, active as a teacher of law between 1185 and 1195. Later, his chequered career in the service of the archbishop of York included a term of imprisonment for unpaid legal costs.[9]

Though few *Summae* on the *Decretum* appeared after 1200, collections of glosses, put together to constitute comprehensive commentaries, found renewed favour at Bologna and Paris. Their authors were mostly foreigners lecturing in Bologna, and became leading canonists under Innocent III: Alanus Anglicus; Laurentius Hispanus, later bishop of Orense in Spain, teacher of the future Pope Innocent IV; and Johannes Teutonicus, who wrote the *Glossa ordinaria* on Gratian's *Decretum* some time before 1216. This work did for the work of the Decretists what Accursius' *Glossa ordinaria* had done for Roman law: it provided a succinct overview whose influence lasted for many centuries as the standard commentary on Gratian.

The twelfth century saw the development of other kinds of canonical literature as well as glosses and *Summae*. First come the *Quaestiones*, collections of imaginary cases intended for student practice, which were often compiled by students from the lectures of a particular teacher. Such *Quaestiones* go back to the 1150s in Bologna and are evidence of the rapid development of canon-law teaching after 1140. In the last decades of the twelfth century *Quaestiones* were also compiled outside Bologna, in southern France and in England; they are often modelled on genuine cases, so that they give us some insight into contemporary legal practice.

Legal concepts were analysed in *Distinctiones*, which were compiled mainly in French and Anglo-Norman schools from 1170 onwards. The most important work in this genre is the 'Distinctions' of the Bolognese lecturer Ricardus Anglicus (*c.* 1195). After his return to England he became prior of Dunstable,

---

[9] Weigand (1980).

where he remained until 1242; during these years he often acted as a judge on behalf of the pope. The figure of this versatile English canonist is a particularly forcible demonstration of the close links between academic legal theory and legal practice during this period.

The building of general legal principles was fostered by the 'Brocarda' compilations, which from 1180 became a special sub-genre of canon-law theory. Another very influential work of this nature was the 'Generalia' of Ricardus Anglicus (c. 1195), which took into account the new law of the decretals and so can be included amongst the output of the Decretists.

Summing up, the second half of the twelfth century saw canon law become an academic subject of European importance. The varied genres of canon-law writing show that the law of the church had reached a high level of intellectual development; the synthesis of legal and theological approaches sharply distinguished the study of canon law from the contemporary academic approach to Roman law.

PAPAL DECRETALS UP TO THE TIME OF GREGORY IX: DECRETAL COLLECTIONS, AND THE DECRETALIST APPROACH TO CANON LAW

It is not only as the 'father of the science of canon law' that Gratian is important. The popes based themselves on the *Decretum* when they issued their own laws or 'decretals', and their output was enormous. Because Gratian, following Gregory VII, expressly acknowledged that the pope had the *ius condendi canones*, it was logical that devotees of the *Decretum* should appeal to papal authority to decide difficult cases and clarify questions of law which Gratian had not resolved. In fact, decretals – authoritative legal decisions by popes – are known from as far back as the late fourth century; by late antiquity the western church was according them equal status with conciliar canons. But until the middle of the twelfth century we cannot point to any consistent exploitation of decretals as 'case law'. Until 1150/60 it was rare for a pope to issue an expert opinion on a question of law; but during the pontificate of Alexander III (1159–81) there was an explosive increase: more than 700 decretals survive from Alexander alone. We cannot identify him with the Bolognese canonist Rolandus, but his traditional title of 'Lawyer Pope' is deserved in a wider sense, because it was under him, and doubtless with his encouragement, that a *ius novum*, strongly influenced by the decretals, developed; as collections of significant decisions built up, the result was indeed a kind of case law. 'Case law' is not, however, a completely adequate description, because the decretals often considered wider legal questions. Decretal law is not a coherent legal code, and for a long time the acceptance of individual decretals depended solely on a consensus of canonists, who from 1170 onwards made occasional reference to individual

decretals in their commentaries on the *Decretum*. In any case, to talk about legislation 'by decretals' is misleading. Decretals, as a source of law, were much more like the imperial rescripts of ancient Roman law.

The new law of the papal decretals was at first treated sporadically by the canonists in their commentaries on the *Decretum*. From 1170 they began to make independent, and at first rather random, compilations of important recent decretals, chiefly for the use of ecclesiastical judges who wanted to be up to date with the newest developments in the law. Such of these compilations as survive are mostly of English provenance: to an extent this may be due to the simultaneous development of the common law.

From 1175 the decretals were being gathered into systematic and orderly collections, which were at first known only locally. These systematic compilations prompted the development of specialised glosses or commentaries, modelled on the interpretation of Gratian, and also academic study of the decretals. There is evidence for the existence of a decretalist literature in England by the 1180s, when the Decretists still reigned supreme at Bologna. Things changed in about 1188, when the Bolognese canonist Bernard of Pavia compiled a *Breviarium extravagantium decretalium* – a compendium, in five books, of all decretals issued since 1140. Bernard's work was intended for use in both law schools and church courts. His comprehensive and well-organised work soon became known all over Europe and encouraged further supplementary compilations. The *Breviarium* joined the *Decretum* as a fundamental textbook of canon law, *the* source for all study of the decretals.

Bernard's *Breviarium* was glossed by the Bolognese canonists as soon as it appeared; indeed, he himself began the process. The great post-1200 Bolognese Decretists, such as Alanus Anglicus and Laurentius, were also active as decretalists: both wrote commentaries on the *Breviarium*. Bernard also prepared a *Summa* of his own compilation, which is of exceptional interest because it provides a more or less authentic explanation of the criteria and objectives (e.g. with regard to Old Testament law) he had in mind when choosing the texts for inclusion in the *Breviarium*.

The copious outpouring of decretals continued after 1190 through the pontificates of Celestine III (1191–8) and in particular Innocent III (1198–1216). There is no doubt that the latter was the greatest of the law-giving popes. At first, the new law continued to be promulgated via canonistic compilations; many of these works are by professors working at Bologna, such as the Englishmen Gilbertus and Alanus, and the Spaniard Bernard of Compostella. This professorial control over the major texts of case law meant that the development of the law itself could not be controlled by the pope, since the choice of decretals included in each collection depended entirely on the caprice of the academic compiler. The pope seemed in danger of losing control over

the reception of decretalist law to the canonists. Because Innocent III saw the decretals as instruments of papal legislation, he must have been keen to exercise authority over the choice of material from his own decretals. He commissioned his notary, Petrus Collivaccinus, to make a collection of texts from the papal register; by 1209, Collivaccinus had duly gathered together all the laws from the first decade of Innocent's pontificate. The collection was organised on the lines laid down by Bernard of Pavia and was intended to complete the latter's work; it was subsequently known as the *Compilatio tertia*.

The pope sent this authorised work to the University of Bologna with orders that its contents, approved by himself, should be used in all teaching and in all court cases. This gave the work something approaching the status of a legal code; it can certainly be seen as a milestone in the development of medieval legislation.

Because this collection of Innocent III's decretals began with the first year of his pontificate (1198), there was no authoritative collection covering the decade between the end of Bernard's compilation and the accession of Innocent. This gap was filled in 1212 by the Bolognese canonist Johannes Galensis (John of Wales), who compiled a sequel to Bernard's *Breviarium*. All three collections were used in the Bologna law school, which dubbed them, in chronological order, *Compilatio I* (the *Breviarium*), *Compilatio II* (John of Wales) and *Compilatio III* (Innocent). These three together formed a systematic handbook of decretalist law which superseded all other competing compilations and was soon in use all over Europe. The standard commentaries on all three compilations were written by the leading Bolognese canonist Tancred: they were usually copied along with the decretals themselves as a *Glossa ordinaria*. After about 1215, the focus of canon-law studies began to shift towards the modern law of decretals.

There was at first no authorised papal collection of Innocent's decretals from 1210 onwards, and in particular for the legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. There was one collection, by the Bolognese canonist Johannes Teutonicus, but it was not commissioned by the pope, and the pope refused to authorise it, which meant that it was slow to attract attention. Later Johannes' collection was dubbed *Compilatio IV*, and in 1226 it was supplemented by a *Compilatio V* made by Honorius III (1216–27), containing the most important decretals from his own pontificate. As a result, from 1226 the canonists possessed five works, with the status of legal codes, containing the decretals as a continuation of the *Decretum Gratiani*. In 1234 Gregory IX gathered the law issuing from the five *Compilationes* into a single statute book. This was the result of a complicated editorial process whereby the Dominican Raymond of Peñafort directed the removal of outdated decretals and the resolution of dubious questions by new laws unrelated to any particular case. The work

was known as the *Liber extravagantium decretalium (Liber extra)*, because it contained all the decretals which were not included in Gratian's *Decretum*; in 1234 the pope sent it to the universities of Bologna, Padua and Paris for use as a statute book. The five earlier compilations ceased to be valid.

Innocent III's decretals show considerable changes since the time of Alexander III, both in the construction of the decretals and in the applicability of the directives. The arguments are highly developed stylistically, often with heavy theological overtones: in consequence canon law, as a legal discipline, never became a mere pendant of Roman law, but it was considerably influenced by the theological nature of its sources. Because Innocent's decretals were often politically charged, concerned with the relations between the pope and secular rulers, the canonists began to work towards a distinctly legalistic political theory. On the basis of the decretals, canon-law study successfully developed into an independent discipline with its own methodology, separate from the Roman-based civil law, which Cardinal Hostiensis (d. 1271), the leading canonist of the thirteenth century, was already calling a *mixta scientia*.

THE FIRST MONOGRAPHS ON PROCEDURAL AND CRIMINAL LAW

Legal theory in the twelfth century was concerned primarily with the interpretation of Roman- and canon-law texts, following the organisation of the sources – an approach which justifies the general description of writers on both civil and canon law as *glossatores*. It must be emphasised, however, that this period also saw the appearance of the first monographs on particular areas of law, and this made it possible, for the first time, to distinguish scientifically between such areas. The differentiation of different aspects of the law is one of the greatest achievements of legal study in the twelfth century.

First in this field is the literature on procedural law, in the form of systematic *Summae*. There had been adumbrations of a literature on court procedure as far back as the ninth century with the appearance of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which had focused on innovations in procedural law. One ninth-century monograph on this subject is the *Opusculum in 55 Chapters* by Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims. However, this remained unknown outside Rheims until the middle of the eleventh century. During the Gregorian reform, the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals were much consulted, and this aroused interest in the procedural rules for ecclesiastical courts – an interest which Gratian emphatically shared, for he devotes a substantial part of the *Decretum* to procedural questions and assumes on principle that even in a case of manifest guilt, a properly conducted trial is required. At about the same time as the *Decretum*, the first works specifically devoted to procedure appeared: first for

Roman law, the so-called *Ordines iudiciorum*, and soon after for canon law, the *Ordines iudiciarii*, a term taken over from Gratian.

The first of the Roman-law *Ordines* was the epistolary work of Bulgarus (mentioned above), which was written before 1140. As the twelfth century progressed, further procedural treatises were produced in Italy, chief among them the *Ordo 'Invocato Christi nomine'* by Bencivenne, a Sienese judge, which appeared shortly after 1198. A substantial description of ecclesiastical procedure was written in the same decade at Bologna: the *Ordo iudiciarius* of Ricardus Anglicus.

However, the bulk of twelfth-century procedural literature comes from France, England and Germany. Works not composed at Bologna are chiefly devoted to ecclesiastical procedure and draw mainly on Gratian. They graphically demonstrate the fact that church courts were eagerly adopting a procedural law based on a unified set of principles. Among these *Ordines iudiciarii* is the *Rhetorica ecclesiastica*, probably written in Hildesheim in about 1160; several similar works appeared around 1170 in Paris, Rheims and Cologne, and finally come the Roman-law and canon-law *Ordines* from England, of which the oldest is probably the *Ordo 'Ulpianus de edendo'* (*c.* 1160–70). It is characteristic of English procedural literature that its citations of papal decretals are very up to date, which indicates that these works were being consulted in church courts.

The procedural literature of the glossators culminates in the *Ordo iudiciarius* by the canonist Tancred, which was completed in 1216 and repeatedly updated thereafter. The importance of this work for medieval legal practice is indicated by the fact that it was translated into German and French. But twelfth-century procedural literature is not confined to general works: there were also collections of formulae, actions and objections (*exceptiones*), and treatises on the law of evidence and on appeals.

The twelfth century produced works not only on procedural law, but also on criminal law, as soon as the interpretation of Roman-law sources had established a clear distinction between civil and criminal law. We now recognise two anonymous twelfth-century works on criminal law, the older of which may have been written before 1150, in Provence. No specialised works on criminal law were written at Bologna until the end of the twelfth century; here again Tancred deserves special mention, as the compiler of a *Summula de criminibus*.

The rapid development of canon law through the post-Gratian decretals soon created a demand for monographs on the salient themes of ecclesiastical law. Monographs appeared on the electoral process, which was now strictly regulated for the first time (for example, it was established that the election of a pope required a two-thirds majority, as is still the case today). The second area for monographs was the law of marriage, which was in process of systematisation both by canonists and in decretals. The first canonist to write treatises on

electoral and marriage law was Bernard of Pavia, in the 1170s. Tancred wrote a *Summa de matrimonio* between 1210 and 1214; in comparison with Bernard's work, it includes many more innovations deriving from the decretals.

THE STUDY OF ROMAN LAW AT THE TURN OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: PILIUS, AZO, ACCURSIUS

Towards the end of the twelfth century, another generation of scholars gave a new lease of life to the Bolognese school of Roman-law glossators. One particularly versatile author was Pilius, a native of Medicina near Bologna; but he left Bologna for Modena in the 1180s. He wrote on procedural law and compiled collections of *quaestiones* and *distinctiones*, but his masterpiece is the *Liber disputatorius*, a substantial compilation of theoretical legal arguments. This 'libellus' is the first of a genre known as the 'Brocarda' compilations. In around 1200, Pilius also compiled a *Summa* of Lombard feudal law, the *Libri feudorum*, the first specimen of the abundant thirteenth-century output of works on feudal law.

The most important disciple of Bulgarus was the Bolognese professor Johannes Bassianus, who wrote glosses, treatises on procedural law and *summulae* on individual items from the *Digest*. He in turn was the teacher of Azo, with whose works the Bolognese school of glossators reached its apogee after 1200. From 1190 to 1220 Azo was the leading professor of Roman law at the university of Bologna; among his many students were the most important Roman-law theorists and canonists of the first half of the thirteenth century, including Accursius (who compiled the *Glossa ordinaria* to the *Corpus iuris civilis*), and, among other canonists, probably Johannes Teutonicus. Accursius' *Glossa ordinaria* draws heavily on Azo's glosses on the *Corpus iuris civilis*, with the result that Azo, as transmitted by Accursius, influenced the dogmas of continental civil law for centuries. No less important than Azo's glosses is his work on the *Corpus iuris civilis*: his *Summae* on the Codex and on the *Institutes* are both definitive, classic textbooks which were never superseded by later works and were still printed frequently in the sixteenth century. Azo's works and Accursius' glosses both had a decisive influence on legal practice. Later, Azo also indirectly influenced the development of the common law, for Bracton used him as an authority on Roman law. Bologna's pre-eminence in the teaching of Roman law throughout the thirteenth century was mainly due to Azo.

THE BIRTH OF THE COMMON LAW

The development of the glossator school of Roman law, and the beginning of the academic study of canon law and the decretals, were paralleled in the

twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the emergence of the common law. This
branch of the law, the direct ancestor of so much in the modern English
and American systems, used to be treated in isolation from civil and canon
law. More recent research has shown, however, that on the institutional level
the more learned branches did influence the common law: the latter did not
exist in isolation from either continental development. The greatest difference
between the development of the English common law and the continental civil
and canon law (later to be subsumed in the *ius commune*, comprising elements
of both of them) was that the former, unlike the latter, was never dominated
by academics. The common law was a product of the royal courts, and of the
guidance of lower courts through a system of 'writs' – formal orders issued by
the chancery on royal authority.

The new, native English law was 'common' because it was a unified sys-
tem applying to the whole kingdom, relegating local customary law to second
place; and English legal institutions also had some influence on the neigh-
bouring countries of Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The common law was the
only legal system in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe which could be
described as more or less uniform and 'national' – the outcome, it seems, of an
unusual byway in European legal history. The causes of this development are
not easy to determine. In view of the fact that the common law was born in the
first 150 years of Norman rule, one is tempted to attribute this unification of the
legal system to the unusual exercise of domination by an originally alien, and
numerically small, elite whose language and culture were removed from those
of their Anglo-Saxon and Danish subjects. Norman control could be guaran-
teed only by rigorous centralisation, which could be best achieved by means of
a unified legal system. This unification also meant that the king's high court
could offer some genuine legal protection to his subjects: the implementation
of royal justice became an essential tool in forging the population into a single
English nation, and in the later middle ages it helped to promote the growth
of an English national consciousness. Van Caenegem has shown that the
existence of the English common law preceded the birth of the English nation
itself.[10] The astonishingly rapid creation of the common law was also due to
the fact that two of the post-Conquest monarchs took an unusual degree of
initiative in the organising of royal justice: Henry I (1100–35) and, in particular,
his grandson Henry II (1154–89).

The common law was the king's law; it was implemented with the help
of a ruling elite, some of whom were churchmen. However, this unified law
did not rest chiefly on royal legislation, as it did in the Norman kingdom of
Sicily and Naples, for example. It owed its origin rather to three institutional

---

[10] Van Caenegem (1973).

innovations. The first was the system of itinerant royal judges (justices in eyre), who from the time of Henry I toured the kingdom (irregularly at first) as the king's representatives and inspectors, dispensing a standard of justice which appeared superior to that of the local courts. Above all, their judgements were backed by the king's authority: they offered rapid and effective legal protection.

Secondly, the judgements of the lower courts were guided by the system of royal writs. Originally informal orders from the king, from Henry II's time they worked more like modern writs, i.e. official summonses which a plaintiff could obtain from the royal chancery: the claims and procedures which they imposed were binding on the lower courts just as the actions of the praetor were binding in classical Roman law. Because of the writ system, the decisions of the local courts had to be based on the king's law, and their procedures had to follow a more or less consistent set of rules. The system of formal writs issued by the chancery on the royal authority imposed guidance on the lower courts all over the kingdom.

Thirdly, by the twelfth century there was a supreme royal court at Westminster which was empowered to pronounce judgements in the king's name even during his frequent absences (usually in France). Whereas in continental kingdoms the dispensing of royal justice was inseparable from the king's own person and was, like him, itinerant, in England the royal court of justice was, after 1176, more or less self-sufficient. This meant that by 1200 England's court system was comparatively advanced; and it developed further in the thirteenth century with the appearance of two additional supreme courts, the Court of Common Pleas and the King's Bench.

The uniqueness of the common law is rooted in the writ system: every remedy contained its own inherent right. The common law was further stabilised when, in about 1187, Glanvill wrote a comprehensive treatise on it which included the established forms for writs. Once there was an academic literature devoted to this new institution of the common law, its future was assured. Unlike continental legal literature, however, it continued to be produced by actual practitioners, which meant that the common-law training of English lawyers did not take place in the universities.

Roman law was being taught in England by the twelfth century; the *Liber pauperum* of Vacarius had provided a popular explanation of the subject for English use. Occasional lectures on Roman law were being given at Oxford before 1200, and perhaps even earlier at Lincoln, but there was no permanent law school comparable to Bologna. Such academic works on Roman law as were written in England – especially on procedural law – seem to have been mainly addressed to clerics. Canon law, which had had little impact on Anglo-Saxon England, became much more important in the Norman kingdom, as

can be deduced from the spread of pre-Gratian legal compilations, and later from compilations of decretals and canonical literature of English provenance. A knowledge of Roman and canon law was necessary in the church courts, and the disciplines of academic law strongly influenced many details of the common law, though they were never its foundation. In consequence, England never adopted the continental dichotomy between *ius commune* and *ius proprium*: England's *ius proprium* was the common law.

LOMBARD FEUDAL LAW AND THE FIRST ITALIAN STATUTES

The juridical culture of twelfth-century Italy was considerably more advanced, owing to the intensive academic study of Roman and canon law: Italy was the first country in Europe to have a class of university-educated self-styled jurists, who soon became indispensable functionaries in her numerous cities and could anticipate excellent career prospects. In northern Italy, Roman and canon law were supplemented by a third, regional legal discipline, Lombard law, which was based on the laws of the early medieval Lombard and Frankish kings and was not finally systematised until about 1100, in the *Lombarda* code. In the twelfth century Lombard law was taught in Pavia, Milan and Mantua, and from 1150 it had its own learned commentaries or *Summae*, in the earliest of which there is no mention of Roman law. Very different was the attitude of the Beneventan jurist Carolus de Tocco, who compiled a definitive commentary on the *Lombarda* around 1215 in which he referred continually to Roman law. Though the Lombard law of northern Italy was superseded in the thirteenth century by city statutes and the *ius commune*, it lingered in some of the former Lombard areas of southern Italy into the late middle ages.

Again in the twelfth century, the decisions of north Italian feudal courts and the specialised literature on feudal law gave rise to a feudal form of *ius commune* which was codified in the *Libri feudorum* and found its way into the *Corpus iuris civilis*. This development was stimulated by the feudal legislation of the emperors in their capacity as kings of Italy: the first such statute was promulgated by Conrad II (1037), another by Lothar III in 1136, and this was followed by the feudal statutes issued by Frederick I Barbarossa at the Diet of Roncaglia in 1158. Thus feudal law was the first area of medieval law to be regulated extensively through statutes; from the twelfth century onwards, in most European countries, it was considered a separate domain, as can be seen, for example, in Germany in Eike von Repgow's *Sachsenspiegel* (*c*. 1225), which distinguishes between feudal law (*Lehnrecht*) and customary law (*Landrecht*). Feudal relationships existed not only in rural society, but also in the north Italian cities, in which feudal law was modified through the practice of the special feudal courts whose existence is adumbrated in Conrad II's statute.

The first treatises on feudal law appeared some time after 1100 in Pavia, but from 1150 their production was concentrated in Milan, where the outstanding authority in Barbarossa's time was Obertus de Orto. Subsequently statutes, practice and academic literature were brought together in the *Libri feudorum*, the first redaction of which appeared in Milan before 1158. The *Libri feudorum*, as the work of urban jurists, pay more attention to the regulation of feudal holdings than to personal feudal relationships.

The *Libri feudorum*, supplemented by the statutes of Frederick I, reached Bologna by about 1220, when the glossator Hugolinus included them as an innovation appended to the Roman-law compilation known as the *Authenticum*. This subsequently brought them into the *Corpus iuris civilis*, in which form they were later (*c.* 1250) revised by Accursius, who provided them with a *Glossa ordinaria* modelled on older commentaries.

Thus the Bologna school made feudal law into a part of the *ius commune*. Therefore, wherever Roman law went, this feudal law followed, although it rarely ousted local feudal systems outside Italy.

The legislative activity of the north Italian cities in the twelfth century was not confined to feudal law. New laws are dubbed *statuta*, a term already in use in the twelfth century. The first statutory law was developed in the Italian cities in the form of oaths to the city council: thus in Genoa (1143) and Pisa (1155). After Barbarossa had introduced the *podestà* constitution, which turned the independent communes into monocracies, it was the *podestà* himself who issued new laws with the consensus of the commune, as in Verona (1205). Although Roman-law jurists did not accept the statutory competence of the communes until the time of the post-glossators, in the fourteenth century, the cities were in fact issuing statutes as far back as the middle of the twelfth century; the city republics of the thirteenth century took the right to issue statutes as a token of their own independence, although such statutes were always supplemented by Roman law, as *ius commune*, and were valid only in the context of this higher legal order.

LEGISLATION AND LAWBOOKS IN OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The thirteenth century also saw the first statutes in countries outside Italy, and inherited customary law was inscribed in lawbooks: as the Europe of nation states began its slow development, monarchs began to exercise their statutory powers. This legislation was modelled on the codification and continuing elaboration of ecclesiastical law. In the German areas of the Holy Roman Empire, the public peace was regulated by statutes issued by Frederick Barbarossa; the first dates from 1152, the year of his accession. It is debatable whether the imperial public peace decreed by Frederick I was effective without formal acceptance

by his subjects, i.e. whether its legitimacy depended entirely on the emperor's statutory powers. However, even in Barbarossa's time such decrees should be reckoned as statutes, because he considered himself to be the successor of the ancient Roman emperors. Apart from the public peace, which appertained to criminal law in so far as it dealt with breaches of that peace, the German Roman Emperors did not issue a great many statutes in the German sphere, though they did issue laws in the form of privileges which were granted, *inter alia*, to individual cities such as Lübeck. The Ottonian and Salian emperors had at times issued such privileges, which had the force of law, so the Staufen emperors were following a long tradition. The law of German cities was, as a rule, based on privileges granted by the local lord or founder, so it differed in its origin from the independent Italian communes.

In so far as Germany was governed by customary law, this was not written down until the thirteenth century. The earliest German lawbook is the *Sachsenspiegel* (Mirror of the Saxons), compiled between 1215 and 1235: it is the most important evidence for native law before the shift towards Roman law, and comes from north Germany, probably from the Dessau region. This lawbook was known all over Germany and into eastern Europe, where, sometimes in translation, it provided many countries with their first taste of fixed, written law.

In France, too, the first statutes date from before 1200, at a time when the monarchy was relatively weak: the first is a statute on the public peace by King Louis VII in 1155. In the same century, however, some of the rulers of the virtually independent, and sometimes highly centralised, French fiefs issued statutes on their own account. This applies to Normandy under the English kings Henry I and Henry II; however, the duchy of Normandy was closely bound up with legal developments in the English kingdom, and until Normandy was lost to England in 1204 it followed the same unusual legal path as the latter. Statutes issued by the counts of Flanders, both for individual cities and for the whole country, survive from the second half of the twelfth century. Flanders, like northern Italy, was economically in advance of the rest of Europe and had already developed an extensive urban culture, which prompted a special interest in legal security backed by a written code. The *keuren* issued by the counts for Flemish cities are comparable to the Italian city statutes, though in Flanders the statutes were issued by the local lord.

In the Iberian Peninsula, where the extensive legislation of the Visigothic kings was never completely forgotten, royal statutes on the public peace appear earlier than in most other European countries. In 1211 the Portuguese king Alfonso II issued a code known as the *Establecimentos de Coimbra*; another such, the *Leges Alfonsi*, was promulgated by Alfonso IX of León in 1208. These works precede the comprehensive legislation of Alfonso X of Castile in the middle of the thirteenth century: his *Siete partidas* can be considered the greatest statutory achievement by any medieval ruler.

Among other European kingdoms we may mention Sicily and Hungary, whose kings were issuing important statutes before 1230. The history of Sicilian legislation begins under the first king of the new state, Roger II, who issued 'assises'. According to a contemporary report, Roger was consciously assuming imperial legislative powers.[11] His example was followed by his grandson, Frederick II: the Constitutions of Melfi (of 1231) are rivalled only by Alfonso X's *Siete partidas*. The legal history of the Sicilian kingdoms is unlike any other in Europe, for both the Norman and the Staufen kings modelled themselves on the Byzantine image of the ruler as both legislator and guarantor of the law. Frederick II's statutes for Sicily have many unusual, sometimes modern-sounding features. Many aim to protect the prosperity of cities; rules for the training of doctors and apothecaries have a particularly modern ring. The Constitutions of Melfi establish an unusual procedural institution, the *defensa*, by which any individual who considered himself an injured party could appeal to the king, or commission a royal official to appeal on his behalf. These statutes assume that the king's guarantee of legal protection is a priority of government.

Hungary, like Sicily, lay between the western and Byzantine cultural spheres. Here, too, the kings were quick to adopt statutory functions: according to a rather dubious tradition this began with the first of them, St Stephen (100–38). The first historically dependable statute is the ground-breaking Golden Bull of Andrew II (1222), which has certain features in common with Magna Carta (1215).

In Norway a unified law code for the country (*Landsloeg* or *Land law*) was promulgated in 1274 by King Magnus VI Håkonsson (*Lagaboetir* or *Lawmender*).

This sketch of the legislative activities of secular rulers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries reveals substantial differences between countries. Statutes were most likely to be issued in countries which still felt the influence of late Roman or Byzantine traditions (in the first case Spain, in the second Sicily); or in the more highly urbanised areas (Flanders). The rulers of Germany and France tended to confine themselves to questions of elementary security, especially breaches of the public peace.

TWELFTH-CENTURY INNOVATIONS: THE SCOPE OF LAW, LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

Before 1100 law was mostly a matter of oral tradition, with no permanent written form, so that it is difficult to know to what geographical area it applied, or whether certain areas had any law – for example, criminal law – of their

---

[11] It is, however, doubtful whether Roger II issued the assises at one time at the court of Ariano in 1140, although this is frequently stated. See Matthew (1992), pp. 184–8.

own. In the twelfth century, by contrast, ecclesiastical law in particular, but also secular law in some areas, depended on fixed, written norms. These written laws distinguish, and remodel, sections of society which previously had had only a rudimentary legal existence. This matter can be discussed only briefly here.

Perhaps the most important change was to the constitution and procedure of the courts. As far as church law was concerned, one of the results of the post-Gregorian controversies was a hierarchical restructuring of the ecclesiastical courts, with the pope at their head as the supreme and omnicompetent ecclesiastical judge. This hierarchy of authority was embodied in the constitution of the twelfth-century church courts and became the model for centrally organised European states such as England and Sicily. This authoritarian structure required procedural rules to assign competence in different areas of law to the various courts. Hence rules for appeals developed: they occupy a good deal of space in the twelfth-century decretals. These regulations, which belonged initially to canon law, were later applied also to secular law along with the inherited rules of Roman procedure, with the result that continental procedural law followed the Roman and/or canonical model until well into modern times.

The new procedural law also depended on the assumption that the outcome of the trial must reflect a truth which could be gauged by reason (*ratio*). The academic lawyers, deeply imbued with early scholastic rationalism, had in fact subjected the law itself – and procedural law in particular – to those same standards of rationality. This is particularly clear in the changed attitude towards legal proof, especially in the rejection of the ordeal by the Fourth Lateran Council – the highest ecclesiastical authority – in 1215. Witness statements and documentary evidence mostly replaced irrational proofs such as the judicial combat and other ordeals. Similarly, the constitution of the jury as deciders in the English common law rests on the principle of rational proof.

In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the church, and the church alone, had extensive procedural regulations which could be mastered only by trained judges. They needed to be professionally qualified through the study of canon law. The result was that, from the late twelfth century onwards, the ecclesiastical courts became the exclusive province of professional judges or *officiales*. The 'Official', a permanent judge appointed by the bishop, appeared first in Rheims and later in other French dioceses in the last two decades of the twelfth century, and the institution was adopted by England and Germany in the following century.

In the second half of the twelfth century this Official, or professional ecclesiastical judge, was joined by another new institution that appeared first in Italy: the public notary. Authorised notaries were a necessity once documentary proof had become an important part of procedural law: a document signed by a notary (a notarial instrument) was considered particularly reliable. The

first rulers to appoint public notaries were Pope Alexander III and the emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

Criminal law, as an independent domain, is often described as a twelfth-century innovation. This claim is supported by the fact that contemporary statutes on the public peace decreed heavy punishments, uncommutable to fines, for breaches of that peace. Such statutes also attempted, with varying success, to stem the use of traditional self-help methods such as the feud. Instead of fines, physical punishments ('life and limb') were often decreed, although remnants of the older system of fines or composition lingered on into the early modern period.

Alongside the punishments decreed by secular rulers, the church maintained its own substantial body of criminal law, which was not confined to the disciplining of errant clerics but also covered excommunication, which was an effective sanction at that time. Canon law also developed additional sanctions, in particular the interdict, which the church used as a weapon in its struggle to establish its power and overcome secular resistance. The interdict, which cut off the entire country or area of the malefactor(s) from the sacraments of the church, constituted a highly effective ecclesiastical boycott, which was used (for example) by Pope Innocent III against King John of England and resulted in England's becoming a fief of the Holy See.

The difference between criminal and civil procedure was already clear in twelfth-century canon law. A criminal action usually began with a private complaint, but Innocent III brought in a decisive innovation, the inquest, which first was applied to the discipline of the clergy, but later became a criminal procedure, with its own rules, an alternative to the traditional accusation. Trial by inquest did not require an individual accuser: if there were grounds for suspicion, an inquest could be initiated *ex officio*. This originally ecclesiastical procedure was adopted in the secular sphere. It marks a change of paradigm in the criminal law: acceptance of the notion that punishment is the prerogative of a higher authority, and that the Christian higher authority has a duty to proceed against malefactors. However, the inquest never became part of the common law, with the result that by 1200 there was a fundamental difference between criminal procedure in England and on the continent, a difference which has endured to the present day.

Another twelfth-century innovation was the codification of feudal law. Medieval society was predominantly aristocratic, and for the nobility feudal law was at least as important as civil law. Land ownership was extensively regulated by feudal law: indeed, traces of it remain in the common law to this day. The constitution of many medieval European kingdoms was regulated by feudal law; this is particularly clear in Germany under the Staufens, where all the princes of the Holy Roman Empire were feudally dependent on the king. Power

relationships were regulated by feudal law. Two of the biggest political disputes of the century, Barbarossa's action against Henry the Lion and that of Philip II Augustus of France against King John as duke of Normandy, were pursued largely under feudal law. The *ius feodale* and the canon law can be considered the twin precursors of public law as developed in modern European states.

The trend towards written law, which made it possible to assimilate Roman law, went hand in hand with what was obviously a determined effort to establish legal certainty by means of jurisdiction. Such legal certainty was furthered by the rationalisation of criteria of proof, and also by the development of firm rules on prescription – another domain in which canon law was ahead of the secular sphere. Prescription (or limitation) protected the wealth of ecclesiastical institutions, which retained a considerable degree of independence despite the centralisation of the church. The medieval church was not administered like a modern bureaucratic state: clergy generally drew their income not as a salary paid by a centralised authority, but as a benefice based on revenues whose value must not be allowed to diminish. The medieval benefice system served as a counterweight to the centralising tendencies of the church. A clear, well-established law also assured litigants that they would quickly obtain the legal protection afforded by procedural innovations. A particularly notable instrument was the possessory action, which made it possible to issue temporary regulations to ensure peace under the law. The burden of proof in such cases was relatively light.

The introduction of possessory writs was one of the most important innovations made by Henry II, and a step on the road to the common law. Possessory actions were prominent in the church in the twelfth century, in connection with such matters as the patronage of churches, the possession of benefices and, under marriage law, the temporary regulation of marital relationships. Possessory actions increased the efficiency of the legal system; even the unprivileged classes of society expected some legal protection, at least from the church, one of whose self-proclaimed duties was the protection of *miserabiles personae*. These included all socially disadvantaged persons – widows, orphans, paupers, pilgrims and the sick. The church also provided for the upbringing and maintenance of such persons: thus canon law also included provisions for the furtherance of social welfare.

LEGISLATION AND LEGAL SCHOLARSHIP: THE ACHIEVEMENT AND THE OUTCOME

The inheritance of the twelfth century, which has been called the age of the jurists, consists above all in the shaping of legal culture by two factors, legislation and the law schools, and their mutual influence. In antiquity the only

real academic legal discipline had been Roman jurisprudence. Although the concept of Roman law (*ius*) was the result of theoretical study and its practice (*leges*) a product of legislation, the zenith of classical jurisprudence and the zenith of legislation did not coincide, so that their mutual influence is a matter of hindsight. The twelfth century was different, especially in the field of canon law. The academic discipline of canon law arose directly from Gratian, but papal law-giving – the decretals – also increased in the mid-century, so that the two were parallel from the beginning. Ecclesiastical legislation reached its zenith in 1215 with the Fourth Lateran Council; in the same year Johannes Teutonicus completed the *Glossa ordinaria* on Gratian, the 'Summa' of all canonistic output.

In the secular sphere, Roman law was scarcely influenced by legislation through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; it was the academics who turned it into the *ius commune* of medieval Europe. After 1200, however, there was abundant legislation of *ius proprium* in many European countries: even without reference to ecclesiastical developments, the thirteenth century can be described as a century of legislation. The common law took a somewhat lonely path: it was largely directed by the central authority of the king, but innovations took place overwhelmingly not through formal legislation, but on the basis of decisions in the high courts. However, there are parallels between the development of the common law under Henry II and that of the papal decretals, if we view the latter in isolation from the contemporary academic discipline of canon law.

All in all, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a 'foundation period' in legal history: they saw the establishment of a legal culture which has lasted without a break to the present day. This western legal culture had three elements: legislation, sometimes reforming legislation, which culminated in comprehensive lawbooks such as the *Liber extra* of Gregory IX; authoritative decisions by the highest courts in a hierarchical organisation; and the academic discipline of jurisprudence, which created a class of university-educated lawyers. The period between the pontificates of Gregory VII and Innocent III saw the professionalisation of the European judiciary. Thereafter it was their task to turn the archaic system of customary law into a professional discipline based on legislation and case law. Perhaps the most important bequest of the twelfth century to secular legal culture has been the high status of the judiciary in the modern western culture of Europe and – later – America.

CHAPTER 6

KNIGHTLY SOCIETY

Jean Flori

THE WARRIOR ORDER

At the beginning of the eleventh century, Bishop Adalbero of Laon expressed, in a famous formula, the ecclesiastical theory of western Christian society, formed in the image of the celestial realities. The 'House of God', he said, which was believed to be one, was in reality three, because in it three categories of men performed three distinct functions: the first prayed, the second fought and the third worked.[1]

For the ecclesiastics of the period – whose opinions are the only ones to have come down to us – this phrase expressed the conception of a society which was immutable since willed by God. 'Those who pray' (the *oratores*) clearly came first, since they served as intermediaries between God and His creatures, for whom they translated His will, or interceded by their liturgies or their prayers, before His throne. The third category, those who toiled and sweated in manual labour (the *laboratores*), still consisted almost entirely of peasants who, by tilling the soil, fed everyone. The growth of towns, one of the chief features of the period under discussion, would add artisans and workers, while the rise of the commercial bourgeoisie would pose the difficult problem of how to insert merchants into an ideological model which had made no provision for them.

Only the second category is of direct concern to us here: those who fought (the *bellatores* or *pugnatores*). To Adalbero, this meant essentially lay princes and in particular the kings to whom God had entrusted the mission of ruling the world and ensuring in His name order and peace, guided by the bishops. His vision did not descend to the level of the simple executants, the soldiery; their very humble social status ranked them rather with the labourers. There was still, at this date, 'no warrior order'.[2] Here, Adalbero represented a rather

---

[1] 'Triplex ergo Dei domus est, quae creditur Una;/ Nunc orant, alii pugnant, aliique laborant', Adalbero of Laon, *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem*, 297–8.

[2] Duby (1978), p. 79 (p. 58 of English translation); Batany (1978), pp. 24–34.

148

conservative strand of thought. In the eleventh century, the warriors were emerging from obscurity. This is visible in all the sources, in which the word which describes them (*milites*) appears with increasing frequency.[3]

This term, which historians till recently translated almost systematically (albeit mistakenly) by the word 'knights', deserves attention, as it is not free from ambiguity. The eleventh-century Latin sources used it in the general sense of 'soldiers', whatever type or method of combat was at issue, but also with the meaning of service, armed or not. Thus the monks who, by prayer, served God and confronted the forces of evil in spiritual combat were called 'servants (or soldiers) of God' (*milites Dei*). They nevertheless belonged to the order of *oratores*. In the singular (*miles*), the word is even more ambiguous since it retained the old sense which applied to public service; it could also mean a vassal.

In the case of the warriors properly speaking, the term which indicated them (*milites*) did not yet, in the eleventh century, imply a particular social status, still less a privileged rank, or even a specific way of fighting, mounted or on foot.[4] At the beginning of the twelfth century, chroniclers of the First Crusade such as Fulcher of Chartres still sometimes retained the wide sense of the term, almost general half a century earlier, as when they described an army of soldiers (*milites*) composed of men on horseback (*equites*) and men on foot (*pedites*).[5]

At this period, nevertheless, the preponderance of the heavy cavalry and its growing prestige had already begun to make men on horseback the arbiters of battles and a privileged entity. In the eyes of contemporaries, the true warriors must be mounted. The vocabulary reflects this evolution: Fulcher of Chartres, like many other chroniclers, also frequently used the term *milites* to mean those he elsewhere called horsemen (*equites*) in contrast to footsoldiers (*pedites*); whilst Baudri of Bourgueil systematically opposed the *pedites* to the *milites*, classing the latter together with the knights.[6]

The sources called 'literary', in vernacular languages, testify to the same evolution which intensified during the twelfth century. The knights – for that is what they now were – play a key role. But here, too, we should take care not to be deceived by words. For while the terms which indicate them in such works do indeed mean a warrior on horseback, an elite fighter, they do not necessarily at first imply a high social level or, even less, some title of nobility, as would later be the case.[7]

---

[3] Van Luyn (1971), pp. 45–7. [4] Flori (1986b), pp. 226–30; Carpentier (1991).

[5] 'Milites, tam equites quam pedites.' For example, Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* I.21; I.33; II.16, etc.; Radulf Glaber, *Historiae* I.3, 7; III.2, 7; III.9, 38; IV.9, 26; V.4, 21, etc.

[6] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* II.1; II.6; II.11, etc.; Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Hierosolymitana* II.1; II.3; II.15; III.21, etc. Flori (1999a), pp. 202–25 and (1999b).

[7] For old French, see Flori (1975); for Germanic areas, see Bumke (1964), Reuter (1971) and Jackson (1994); for occitanian regions, see Paterson (1981) and (1993).

The knights were now generally regarded as constituting a clearly defined professional group, but not yet a social class or caste. This change, however, was under way and the twelfth century marked the true rise of the knightly class, which increasingly took on aristocratic colours and tended to merge, in certain regions at least, with the nobility of which it was the military and secular expression.[8] Its social ascent was accompanied by an ideological promotion and the slow formation of a specific ethic which is generally called the chivalric ideal: an ideal which owed much to the church, which had tried to mould the knights and infuse them with its moral and religious values, but also much to other more profane if not pagan values, their origins in the distant past but restored to favour through the intermediary of romance literature, in particular of Celtic inspiration.

By the end of the twelfth century, there was undoubtedly 'a warrior order', that is, the knights. When, in 1175, he compiled his *Livre des manières*, Stephen of Fougères adopted Adalbero's classification, but for him it was the knights who were charged with the divine mission to protect the church and the whole of Christian society.[9]

A century and a half separated Adalbero from Stephen, and a number of changes had taken place during the course of this period. First, in the political domain, the fragmentation of Europe did not mean its decline and the demographic increase which was beginning reversed a trend: Europe was no longer besieged, but in its turn went on the offensive against its neighbours, pagan or Muslim, more or less deliberately confused for propaganda purposes.[10] Second, in the social domain, the need of the princes for power led them to surround themselves with *milites*. At the same time, the need for peace in a troubled world persuaded the church to concern itself with the warriors and define more clearly their status and their duties. Third, in the technical domain, a number of innovations profoundly modified the art of war and conferred on the knights a greater pre-eminence. All these factors created or accelerated the trend towards the formation of a knightly society which was aware of itself and produced its own ideology.

THE SEIGNEURIAL AGE

The great political groupings of the Carolingian period were succeeded by a fragmentation which was once seen as decline and degeneration. Work

---

[8] Flori (1986a) and (1998a), pp. 64ff; but see also Cardini (1982); Barbero (1987); Barthélémy (1993a), pp. 361ff and (1993b).

[9] 'Li Clerc deivent por toz orer,/Li chevalier sanz demorer/deivent defendre et ennorer,/ et li païsant laborer', Etienne de Fougères, *Le Livre des manières*, 169, lines 673–6.

[10] Daniel (1960) and (1984); Bancourt (1982); Sénac (1983); Bray (1984); Rotter (1986); Flori (1992c) and (1998b), ch. 4; Ducellier (1996); Tolan (1996) and (1997).

published since the 1980s has enabled historians to adopt a significantly less pessimistic and negative viewpoint.[11]

This fragmentation led first, from the end of the ninth century, to the formation of territorial principalities where the princes, dukes and counts held the powers of military coercion, justice and minting money.

As the eleventh century progressed, this movement of devolution did not stop at their level. Almost everywhere in Europe, sooner or later and to varying degrees, the reality of power passed down to a lower social level. In much of Europe, this phenomenon began between 980 and 1030. Elsewhere, it continued throughout the eleventh century. We need therefore to describe, for the chronological span which is our concern, the 'seigneurial' society (some say 'knightly' society, for reasons which will become clear) contemporary with this downwards seepage of the powers of the counts to the lords, the castellans. It covered, roughly speaking, the whole period to be considered here, since it was towards the end of the twelfth century, between 1180 and 1200, that the castellans lost their autonomy in the very regions in which it had been strongest, that is in France. The central monarchical power was then reconstituted and acquired a new strength by basing itself on the concept of feudalism which was the product of the seigneurial age.

Putting aside the right to mint money, we will focus our attention on the two other regalian rights mentioned above, which clearly illustrate the seigneurial revolution.

By 'seigneurial revolution' I mean a broad social and ideological movement which increasingly affirmed the power of castellans and knights. This development seems to me to be undeniable, whether it took place in the context of a rapid 'feudal mutation' *c.* 1000 (as has been claimed until quite recently in the wake of research stimulated by Georges Duby) or (as some others now believe) in the more settled context of a slow evolution or 'feudal revelation' which was the result of the real 'feudal revolution' which occurred much earlier on the political level after 888 with the disintegration of the Carolingian empire. With regard to knightly society this question is not yet settled. Probably the answer will reflect both the regions studied and the presuppositions of historians, in particular their ideas of nobility and knighthood, which are often confused with each other.

Comital authority can be measured by the powers we have mentioned: military command, symbolised and realised by the possession of public fortresses,[12] and justice, that is the right to judge free men and to collect the fines which ensued. These two powers gradually passed from counts to castellans. In some

---

[11] Poly and Bournazel (1980); Debord (1981) and (1992); Fossier (1982); Barthélémy (1986), (1990) and (1999); Geary (1986); Bournazel and Poly (1998).
[12] Lemarignier (1951); Fournier (1978); *Les Fortifications de terre* (1981); Debord (2000).

regions they remained under comital control and castellanships do not seem to have become emancipated; in others, on the other hand, especially during succession crises, comital authority did not always successfully maintain itself, and the resulting struggles saw the formation of autonomous, if not independent, lordships. In either case the outcome depended on effective control of castles and of the *milites* attached to them, and this shows the growing importance of the latter. We need not present this as a triumph of anarchy and as general social and economic disorder. On the economic level there is every indication that lasting progress had begun in the west. Moreover, the disintegration of unified central power with the end of the Carolingian empire did not have immediate consequences everywhere: they became apparent slowly and in different ways.

In certain regions, in fact, and not the least important ones, central authority resisted with some success, and in their case we can talk of 'power maintained'. This was particularly the case in the Germanic region, where the authority of the dukes persisted and where the fortresses were held by garrisons of the emperor or entrusted to unfree court officials, the ministers (*ministeriales*), who often served him loyally. Seigneurial justice, too, was slow to emerge, and the hereditary landowners, the allod owners, continued to be answerable to the comital court. This was also the case in Flanders, where the count retained his control over the construction of all fortresses: the new castles were built with his permission and often on his initiative, and were entrusted to agents who could be removed. This situation lasted throughout the eleventh century.[13] The multiplication of castles here testifies to the militarisation of the society ruled by the count, not to a diminution of his power.

Normandy, till recently seen as the very model of the maintenance of ducal authority, resisted the rise of the castellans less successfully than was once thought, for example after the death of Duke Robert (1035). The young William found it far from easy to take possession of the county; he had to destroy the 'illegal' castles (that is, built or occupied against him) and exile several 'noble' families. The conquest of England (1066) by his faithful companions, and that of Sicily by 'dissidents' (1060–80), served both as a diversion for seigneurial turbulence and as an outlet which reinforced ducal authority. The duke was able to maintain his control over warriors and fortresses, few of which, in fact, are known before 1066. In contrast, after William's death, private fortresses proliferated.[14]

[13] Ganshof (1943); Dürst (1960); Génicot (1960), (1961) and (1975); Bösl (1962); Van Winter (1962) and (1986); Vercauteren (1968); Schramm (1969); Freed (1976); Fossier (1982), pp. 387–99; Dereck (1983); Arnold (1985); Pellaton (1998).

[14] Yver (1955–6); Musset (1976) and (1979); Le Maho (1977); Debord (1981) and (1983); Bates (1982), pp. 101–26; Brown (1984); De Boüard (1984), pp. 103–217; Arnoux (1992).

Some of the same developments can be seen in England, where it seems now to be accepted, after much debate, that castles increased in number soon after the Conquest, to the point where there were between 500 and 600 in England alone by 1100. Most were major fortresses intended for the surveillance and control of centres of population, entrusted to companions of the Conqueror, but some were smaller castles held by barons, who were 'subtenants'. The number of these fortified places diminished during the twelfth century, partly for political reasons (the pacification was complete), and partly because more comfortable residences of stone were preferred to these castles of earth and wood. In England, in comparison with the greater part of France, the construction of castles happened more rapidly and was more closely controlled by the central power, though we should not exaggerate the strength of the latter. Further, neither seigneurial customs nor castellans emerged. Knights were proportionally more numerous and aristocratic social mobility greater in England than in France. Justice remained in the hands of the king (who tended to reduce the role of the private courts established before the Conquest), whether directly in the case of the barons, or indirectly through the intermediary of the earls in the case of the valvassors, and the hundred and manor courts in the case of the subordinate classes.[15]

In the small Spanish kingdoms, expanding with the help of the Roman church and of warriors from the other side of the Pyrenees, 'feudalism' was gradually put in place and showed both resemblances to and notable differences from its model in the south of France. The conspicuously military nature of the aristocracy did not remove the distinction between nobility and knighthood; the latter long remained subordinate and rustic. In Catalonia, too, at least in the vicinity of Barcelona, the central power continued to exist. The castles remained in the hands of the count and his direct dependants. His control of military service remained total, as did his authority over the church. The crisis which shook Catalonia between 1020 and 1060 led to the appearance of fiefs of private origin, but Berenguer I was able to recover them, by utilising and developing feudalism, causing the majority of the castellans to enter into personal dependence on him. However, the new aristocratic society which then prevailed was open to a new, still subordinate, layer, that of the castellans supported by their troops of *milites*.[16] Also, after 1040, comital justice was gradually curtailed to the benefit of seigneurial courts.

---

[15] Hollister (1965); Renn (1973); Brown (1976); Le Patourel (1976); King (1983) and (1988); Chibnall (1986) and (1989); Eales (1990); see also Douglas (1964); Brown, R. A. (1989); Crouch (1992); Coss (1993).

[16] Sanchez-Albornoz (1968); Grassotti (1969); Bonnassie (1976), pp. 123ff, 644–6 and (1994); Barbero and Vigil (1978); Lewis (1984); Zimmermann (1986); *En torno al feudalismo* (1989); Laliena Corbera and Sénac (1991); Alvarez Borge (1993); Martinez-Sopena (1993); Aurell (1994); Gerbet

In Italy, a synthesis is made even more difficult than elsewhere by the particular features of this geographical area: towns which developed earlier and faster than elsewhere and the great importance of the ecclesiastical patrimony. However, it appears that, in this region of written law, the judicial authority of the counts remained stronger than their military authority; at the end of the eleventh century, in fact, castles multiplied and largely escaped their control. Local potentates imposed their law on the inhabitants of northern Italy just as much as in Latium or Sabina.[17]

The weakening of comital power and the strengthening of the castellans, already visible in some of the last regions discussed above, becomes increasingly apparent in a second group, particularly represented in France. In several areas, however, the power of the count was not wholly destroyed. This was the case, for different reasons, in Anjou, in Poitou and in Champagne (where, in contrast, comital power was only beginning to be imposed). There, we can speak of 'power shared', between the prince and his emancipated former agents, even with usurpers pure and simple. By no means all the castles which proliferated throughout the eleventh century, especially between 1020 and 1060, were controlled by the prince. In Charente, for example, it has been estimated that as many as two-thirds of them were 'private' constructions, usually built on the initiative of members of the princely clientele.[18]

The regions of the Ile de France, the Paris Basin and even Picardy are a special case. For a variety of reasons – the chief being the proximity of the king – we do not see the formation of castellanies properly speaking. Yet the fragmentation of power was considerable. It took the form of a multitude of counties of small size which, by and large, can be regarded as castellanies without the name. These counts with a single county to a considerable extent assumed power; they levied taxes, summoned and led the *milites*. The kings of France themselves hardly behaved differently, but they benefited from the immense moral and religious advantage of being crowned and recognised as, at the very least, *primus inter pares*: this, especially in the twelfth century, assisted their gradual recovery of the kingdom, beginning with the regions abutting on their own estates.[19] A third group consists of those regions where we can speak of 'power transferred', the public authority having escaped the count and

(1994); Glick (1995); Laliena Corbera (1996); Barton (1997); Laliena Corbera and Utrilla Utrilla (1998); Larrea (1998).

[17] Toubert (1973), pp. 1254ff; Keller (1984); Conti (1975); Gasparri (1992); Fumagalli (1976); see also Martin (1993), pp. 743ff and (1994); Settia (1984), pp. 287ff; Racine (1997); Giordanengo (1998).

[18] Beech (1964); Garaud (1967); Sanfaçon (1967); Guillot (1972) and (1980); Bur (1977); Zadora-Rio (1979); Bachrach (1984) and (1995); Debord (1984).

[19] Lemarignier (1965); Fossier (1968) and (1993); Chédeville (1973); Sassier (1980); Barthélémy (1984) and (1993a).

passed to the level of his agents, viscounts or vicars, and even castellans who had almost completely usurped the public powers, military and judicial.

The Mâconnais, so well studied by Georges Duby, constitutes for this group an 'extreme case', which has too readily been generalised to the whole of France, even the whole west. Here, prior to 1030, all judicial matters had escaped the count and been devolved to the castellans. The collapse of comital power is equally clear on the military plane, where the vicars and castellan families had assumed, to their own benefit, the right of summoning men and leading them on expeditions.[20]

Though the disappearance of comital power was not always taken so far, a similar situation developed in most central and southern regions of France: perhaps even earlier in Berry, where it started at the very beginning of the eleventh century,[21] a little later in Forez, Auvergne and the Bourbonnais, even later in Lorraine, land of the empire, where, in 1050, numerous comital fortresses still survived, and where the term castellan had a functional rather than a social meaning.[22]

It was, in fact, in southern France that the central power had earliest and most completely surrendered its public prerogatives, as numerous recent regional studies have shown. These regions certainly retained features peculiar to them (an almost total absence of 'advocacy', persistence of landed immunities, strength of written law, etc.), but it is here that, contrary to what was thought over thirty years ago, the phenomenon of the castellan manifested itself most visibly and soonest. At a very early date, judicial power passed from the counts to the castellans (in the countryside) and the *bailes* (in the towns). By the beginning of our period, military power was similarly privatised; it had passed into the hands of the lords, surrounded by their squadrons of *milites* who were then no more than mounted soldiers, warriors on horseback, who were also called *caballarii* or *cabalers*. We are still a long way from a knightly class.[23]

Despite the significant differences which existed from one part of Europe to another, we can still speak of a crisis of the castellans, generalised to the extent that the majority of the features characterising what we may call 'the

[20] Duby (1946), (1953), (1972) and (1976); but see also Bois (1988).

[21] Devailly (1973), pp. 187–96.

[22] Fournier (1951) and (1962), pp. 389ff; Richard (1954) and (1960); Parisse (1982); Lauranson-Rosaz (1987) and (1990).

[23] Lewis (1965), pp. 354ff; Magnou-Nortier (1974); Poly (1976); Mussot-Goulard (1982); see, however, on the debate over 'mutationnisme', Weinberger (1982); Bois (1988); Barthélémy (1992b), (1993a) and (1993b); Bisson (1994) and (1995); Martindale (1997); Beech (1998); Flori (1998a); Poly (1998); Salrach (1998).

seigneurial age' eventually spread even to regions which had long maintained a strong central power, in fact or in name. But the almost general degradation of the public central authority should not be seen as 'anarchy', as was till recently so often the case. There is here an unfortunate confusion. Never, in fact, had men felt weigh on them an authority so immediate and permanent as in the 'age of the seigneurs'. Locally, power was not weakened but strengthened, by being concentrated in the same hands, those of the potentate, the lord (*dominus*). Nor should we necessarily assume that this fragmentation of power was in itself a bad thing. This idea has tended to attract minds formed by two centuries of a Jacobin tradition in France and an uneasy statist nationalism in most European countries, further strengthened by the formidable fascination which Marxism has for over seventy years held for western intellectuals: it was believed that good could only emerge in a society ruled by a strong central power, any dilution of which must be bad. Degradation, retreat, decline: we no longer see it this way.

We should not, of course, go to the opposite extreme, and invest the seigneurial age with imaginary virtues. Let us rather say that, in the circumstances of the time, this politico-social system, corrected by the feudalism which often accompanied it, functioned no worse than any other. Perhaps this new system was the only one which could actually have functioned, adapted as it was to the realities of the age. We should not forget that it was a matter not only of the degradation of a political system, but of the emergence of a new system of government. The devolution to comital agents, then to castellans, of rights of armed coercion and justice did not simply mark an evolution. It was a profound revolution, with major historical consequences. It helped to abolish all real difference between the hitherto opposed categories of the free and the unfree, and to divide lay society into two main groups: on the one hand, those who were subject to the *ban*, the result of the castellan's power – the undifferentiated mass of people consisting mainly of peasants, but also, descended from them, artisans, workers and merchants; on the other, those who exercised the *ban*, who had received or usurped the power to judge, to command, to carry out decisions – the lay aristocracy who would become the nobility.

Between these two categories, descended from the former but rubbing shoulders with, and aspiring to join, the latter, we should place the *milites*. We even need to specify the 'ordinary' *milites*, so great, it must be emphasised, is the ambiguity of the word, especially in the singular. An 'ordinary' *miles* was not one of those noble personages solemnly entering the *militia*, the exercise of the public function whose vocabulary, at least, persisted throughout the eleventh century. Such a noble, when entering office, when 'made a *miles*' *(miles factus)*, publicly received the sword, sign of his public authority, military and judicial.

One encounters many such cases in the eleventh century, or even later.[24] They directly represented the public power, the ancient *militia*, and were usually princes at the beginning of the eleventh century, sometimes castellans at the end, precisely when this public function had passed from the princes to the castellans.

The castellans commanded the ordinary *milites*, who obeyed their orders. Descended for the most part from the upper ranks of the peasantry, these *milites* were the armed fists of the prince or castellan. It was through them that the lords ruled, protected, contained and oppressed the masses. It was by their lances, javelins and swords that they imposed the order of the *domini* – or their disorder. The inevitable result was that they escaped constraints and tried to merge into the aristocratic group by whom they were employed. At the time when this volume begins, 1025–30, they had barely embarked on this process and remained subordinate. By the end, that is the end of the twelfth century, they had largely succeeded, at least in certain regions of western Europe. Their omnipresence was so marked, throughout the whole of this period, that the expression 'knightly society' is often used to mean the society of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Moreover, the militarisation of society continued apace throughout the eleventh century, with the beginnings of European expansion. For long squeezed and besieged, Christian Europe freed itself and expanded, pushing back its pagan adversaries in the east beyond the Danube plains and in Poland, and its Saracen enemies in Spain, where the *Reconquista* was stepped up. *Milites* from throughout the west played a part in this reconquest; Norman warriors, descendants of Tancred of Hauteville, carved out for themselves principalities at the point of their lance or sword, in Sicily or southern Italy; others sought fortune as mercenaries in the service of the *basileus* of Constantinople. In the zones of conquest, such as Muslim Spain (*al-Andalus*), the combination of castles and knights proved effective. The same was true throughout the west, where this combination became the emblem of power in both its immobile (the castle) and its mobile (the knight) forms.

So while the political reality of the period took the multiple form of principalities themselves divided into castellanies, the idea of unity survived in the west. People continued to dream of an empire which Otto resuscitated, and the figure of Charlemagne obsessed the magnates. Christianity, in its armed contacts with the Saracens, became aware of its existence and aspired to unity. The struggle between the papacy and the empire, which assumed such prominence in the second half of the eleventh century, had many facets. One cannot be denied: the battle was in part to decide who would rule the united

[24] Van Winter (1976); Flori (1979a); Leyser (1984); but see, however, Barthélémy (1992b).

Christendom of which people dreamed. The crusade, too, can be related to this important question.

In all these acts and in all these dreams, the warriors played a preponderant role, alike in Spain and the Holy Land, in England and in Sicily. They were the artisans both of the European expansion which was beginning and of the politico-social system which was being imposed within its frontiers. Their role could only increase. The rise of the knight had begun.

KNIGHTLY SOCIETY

This society included all who, at different levels, participated in the *ban* within the framework of the political seigneurie, of which the castle constituted both the symbol and the base. As has already been said, its defensive function, though real, was not of prime importance. It was above all the place where resided the lord who judged, convoked and collected rents and taxes, assisted in all these functions by his *milites*.

The upkeep of these castles and the arming of their garrisons in part justified the taxes levied by the lord on those whom he 'protected'. Thus we see the appearance, and slow generalisation, during the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, of certain 'customs' which gave rise to dues. Those called 'aids' by historians were intended to procure for the warriors their means of subsistence, and in the twelfth century took the form of financial contributions in certain circumstances: when the lord married his daughter, knighted his son, departed for the Holy Land or had to pay a ransom for his freedom. The warriors' equipment was expensive and, to meet its cost, the lord levied on the inhabitants of his seigneurie the arbitrary tallage (*taille*), heavier in some places than others; the vocabulary which describes it (*exactio, consuetudo, tonsio*, etc.) is evidence enough that it was not always well received. It was codified during the course of the twelfth century, and gradually transformed into an annual 'tax', more acceptable because predictable.

The lord also received dues in labour, again justified by the need to maintain the defences: the *corvées*. They were similarly unpopular, less because of their weight, which was in practice minimal, than their timing, which was often unfortunate, for example coinciding with the grain or wine harvests, which were labour intensive.

Lastly, the lord used his authority to levy on the villages he dominated several taxes of an economic nature, on markets, routes (bridges and roads) and on the use of several instruments of production of which he abrogated the monopoly; oven, mill and press. These various taxes expressed the extension of seigneurial power to all, even the free, who lived under his tutelage. The men of war, who benefited from these taxes, escaped the customs which they

helped to levy. This economic exploitation of the men of the seigneurie, free or unfree, inevitably increased the social fissure created between the men of arms and the rural masses from which they came.

The society of warriors was governed by ties of dependence whose origins were in the distant past; Charlemagne himself developed them in an attempt to channel to his own benefit, by the generalisation of the oath, the power of the tie of vassalage which, by the Frankish period, created around powerful men clienteles (*familia*) of every type. The militarisation of society in the tenth and eleventh centuries produced a strengthening of the links binding a lord (*dominus, senior*) to his vassal, his 'man', even his '*homme de main*' (*vassus, homo, miles*).

The contract which joined these two free men, one of whom entered into honourable dependence on the other, provided for reciprocal responsibilities and duties which historians of feudalism have frequently described and made well known:[25] the lord ought to provide his men with their subsistence (in accord with his rank), judicial assistance and military protection in case of threats. In return, the vassal owed his lord respect and in particular, especially during the period considered here, armed service (*servitium*), financial and military aid (*auxilium*) which was a form of 'class solidarity', and the benefit of his advice (*consilium*) when an important decision had to be taken. The benefice (*beneficium*) granted to the vassal by the lord can be seen as a gift calling for a counter-gift. The benefice increasingly took the form of a hereditary grant of land (fief), which appeared as the salary for the services of the vassal. It is precisely this link, well established at this period, between the grant of the fief and the entry into vassalage which constituted the essential feature of what is called 'feudalism'.

Provided with an income, the vassal could satisfy his material needs: food and arms. He could render to his lord the duties to which he was committed by oath; after 1050, military service was the chief of these. It took various forms, garrison in the castles (*milites castri*), participation in the comital army (*ost*) assembled for the great (and rare) pitched battles (*proelium, bataille champel*) or, more often, the razzia or cavalcade (*chevauchée*), limited in time to a few days. At the end of forty days or two months, the vassal could withdraw, or at least be compensated for his service, which then took on a more mercenary than feudal aspect. This explains the development, by the first quarter of the twelfth century and in rare cases in the eleventh century (for example the

---

[25] Lemarignier (1945); Ganshof (1957); Fawtier and Lot (1957); Guerreau (1980); Bloch (1968), pp. 309ff; Boutruche (1968–70), II, pp. 170ff; Fourquin (1970); Poly and Bournazel (1980), pp. 105–54; *Structures féodales* (1980).

Conquest of England), of the use of mercenary armies, professionals of war who were easier to assemble, control and maintain, at this period at least, and which constituted the remote origins of the professional armies of today.[26]

Contrary to the view developed in the magnificent synthesis of that great historian of feudal society Marc Bloch,[27] the classic 'feudalism', which he believed to have first emerged in the regions situated in north-west France and Belgium, between the Loire and the Rhine, probably never existed, except in the Norman model and in the regions where the Norman conquerors imposed it from the top: England, Sicily and the Holy Land. There, feudalism in its entirety is revealed in the texts: the prince held the land through the intermediary of the companions to whom he had assigned it, whilst at the lower level the knights had in their turn received 'knights' fees', counterparts of the Norman *fiefs de haubert*, which supplied their needs and enabled them to perform armed military service. In these regions, we see more clearly and more completely than elsewhere all the forms of feudalism and its rites: homage 'by the hands' (*immixtio manuum*), the oath, investiture with the fief symbolised by the handing over of material objects, for example a clod of earth or banner, rites described in detail in the classic works on feudalism.

In contrast, in other parts of the alleged cradle of feudalism, feudal practices are both difficult to find and generally later than in the zones which used to be seen as resistant, in particular in the Mediterranean region, which has emerged from obscurity since the 1970s thanks to several fine studies.[28] It is there, it seems, that we first see the transformation into a hereditary grant involving services of what was hitherto only an act of goodwill, a gift calling for a counter-gift. The southern fief was, in essence, simply a method of payment in kind, by means of the grant of an asset in origin public. It was, it has been said, 'a *stipendium* become hereditary'.[29] Southern feudalism was certainly neither 'complete' nor perfect (where was this the case?). The ties were rather loose, the fealty sworn was relatively unimportant, homage by the hands was repugnant to most of the grandees, who regarded it as an excessive act of humiliation, and rarely practised it before the end of the eleventh century. But it was already a highly militarised and warlike seigneurial society.

It was, in fact, in central France that feudalism was most precocious and spread most rapidly. From Aquitaine to Burgundy, including the central regions of Berry and Auvergne, feudalism was already firmly established by the start of

---

[26] Boussard (1945–6) and (1968); Chibnall (1977); Prestwich (1981); Contamine (1980), pp. 138–42; Brown, S. D. B. (1989); Ayton and Price (1995).

[27] Bloch (1968), pp. 209–32.

[28] See note 24; also Bonnassie (1969), pp. 529–61 and (1980); *Les structures sociales* (1969); Aurell I Cardona (1985); Bourin-Derruau (1988); *Structures féodales* (1980).

[29] Poly and Bournazel (1980), p. 127.

our period. The early disappearance in these very regions of the public power and comital authority probably contributed to the strengthening of the vassalic ties binding together the members of the warrior aristocracy, ties intended to provide a structure, a framework limiting the risks of conflict. It was not by chance that the institutions of peace, also intended to restrict the violence of the warriors, were born in these same regions.

Other regions, however, long resisted. This was particularly true of the lands of the empire, where the tradition of a central power persisted up to the end of the twelfth century, in the realm of ideas more than in reality. This tradition maintained a strict hierarchy within aristocratic society. The military service of free men also survived, without the need for grants of tenures to assure it. The fief, properly speaking, did not yet exist. There was strict hierarchy, but not of a feudal nature, and the ritual of homage, though very early, did not have the same significance as in France. Here, ministers and knights appeared as clearly subservient warriors, simple executants of power. Knighthood remained subordinate, and was in no sense a springboard for accession to the aristocracy or the nobility. It was not until the end of our period, or even later, during the thirteenth century, that the feudal and knightly model penetrated the empire and there assumed aspects of an ideological veneer.[30]

Over and above the variations and chronological differences, one conclusion is clear: feudalism progressed throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In France, in particular, it established a hierarchy of people which soon, in the second half of the twelfth century, extended to the land itself. The renascent monarchy of this period made no attempt to destroy a system which had accompanied the decline of the central power. On the contrary, it drew strength from it, taking advantage of the formation, at least on the plane of ideas, of a feudal hierarchy which had the king at its apex, of a society conceived as one great *familia* of which the king was the *senior* and the kingdom a connected series of feudal tenures.[31]

The aristocratic society of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was seigneurial, because it developed within the framework of the castellan lordships; it can be called feudal, because it was structured by feudo-vassalic ties which established its rules and its rites, even though the fief was not general, and though allods, hereditary lands held of no lord, survived in such numbers that it has justifiably been argued that they constituted not the exception but the rule;[32] it was knightly, because it was above all warlike and military, and because the *milites*

---

[30] Dubled (1960); Johrendt (1971) and (1976); Döllinger (1976); Fleckenstein (1978); Arnold (1985); Jackson (1994), pp. 34–87; Bournazel and Poly (1998).
[31] Poly and Bournazel (1980), pp. 287–310; see, however, Barthélémy (1986); Zimmermann (1986).
[32] Verriest (1946), p. 25; Fossier (1982), pp. 957–8; Reynolds (1994).

of the early eleventh century were gradually transformed into knights, who aspired to merge into the aristocracy they served, and form with them one socio-juridical class, the nobility.

The rise of the knight, like the other changes described above, was not uniform, but it was general and characteristic of this period in western Europe, to the point where the knight appears wholly to incarnate it. What, then, were the *milites* in the aristocratic society of the first third of the eleventh century, and what had they become by the end of the twelfth century?

Their roots lay in the peasantry, sometimes even in servitude. Their march to nobility was long, especially in the geographical regions where the central power survived and where the hierarchy remained clear, at least in people's minds. This was particularly the case in the Germanic empire, where the nobility remained royal, even imperial. It was a territorial nobility and also, if the emperor wished, a nobility of service. It was he who decided to bring into the nobility such and such a person from among those who performed on his behalf services of public function. The holders of castles did not enter the nobility. Nor, very definitely, did the knights (*Ritter*), who were and who remained merely subordinate warriors, even though the prestige of western knighthood, imported from France, persuaded the emperor Frederick, at the end of the twelfth century, to conform ceremonially to the rites of dubbing.[33]

In adjacent regions, for example Lorraine, the aristocratic elite did not mix with the *milites*, and shunned all knightly titles. In Champagne, the nobility was based on blood, on lineage, and remained closed to knights of humble birth throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[34] Here, the word *milites* lacked any social significance; it was a functional term.

Was it any different in the regions further to the west? In the case of Spain, the answer has to be yes, but with a distinctly subordinate aspect. There, two ranks of nobility were distinguished, that of the *comites*, the court nobility, and, below them, that of the *infanzones*, a landed nobility serving the king. The simple *caballero*, 'the mounted fighting man, sometimes simply an armed peasant (*caballeria villana* from 1050), had no claim to join them'.[35]

So it may have been in the southern regions of France that the knights earliest draw near to, sometimes even merged with, the lower ranks of the aristocracy; at least this is argued by P. Bonnassie for Catalonia and J.-P. Poly for Provence, who accept, as did G. Duby some time ago for the Mâconnais, the

---

[33] Van Winter (1962); Genicot (1965) and (1968); Leyser (1968); Reuter (1971) and (1979); Störmer (1973); Fleckenstein (1974) and (1978); Arnold (1985), pp. 70ff; Jackson (1994), pp. 34ff; for the debate concerning the social origins of knights, see Barthélémy (1992a), (1992b), (1993a), and (1993b) and Flori (1995a) and (1998a).

[34] Parisse (1976), pp. 245, 250, 266; Bur (1977), pp. 419–20.

[35] Fossier (1982), p. 979; Linehan (1993); Rucquoi (1993); Astarita (1999).

early identification of *miles* and *nobilis*, and entry into the nobility by dubbing by the eleventh century.[36] This thesis, strongly influenced by Marc Bloch, has not found universal acceptance.[37] There is too much evidence to show that, even in these regions, the adoption of the title 'knight' by a true aristocrat might have little social significance. The nobility was defined above all by birth. It was a matter of blood, of parentage; one was born noble, and the Carolingian ancestry of the medieval nobility is hardly in doubt. True, the profession of arms was principally that of the nobles, but it did not automatically follow that, conversely, knighthood conferred nobility, at least in the period under discussion here. At the beginning of this period, all lay nobles in good health were knights, that is to say they fought on horseback at the head of troops of *milites* under their command. But these knights who followed them were not noble.[38]

In the eleventh century, in the majority of cases, the term *milites* applied to the armed servants of the lords, just as the word *famuli* similarly applied to the domestic servants and ministers of the churches.[39] It was during the course of the twelfth century that occurred the social and still more the ideological elevation of the knights, at the time when, within the cavalry, the knights were distinguished from the mounted sergeants and when knighthood became in effect, by the end of the century, the monopoly of the aristocracy. The history of our period is that of the successful promotion of the knight, at least in France, at the very end of the twelfth century. Knights and nobles came closer to the point where they sometimes merged. This promotion had causes which were more ideological than social, to which we will return.

By the eleventh century, the *milites* were attracting the attention of all existing institutions, in particular that of the church. There were two reasons for the latter's interest; moral, since these warriors disturbed the peace of Christendom; socio-economic, since the church possessed property (ecclesiastical lordships, bishoprics, abbeys) which was affected by political and social developments. The church was involved; it needed above all to defend itself. This is probably the principal reason for the earliest assemblies of peace, which have, however, given rise to differing interpretations. Assemblies of peace are not now seen as a last stand taken by the church to eliminate the violence of *milites* from a society which lacked law and justice and which was also terrorised, with the approach of the year 1000, by fear of the end of the world. 'Feudal anarchy' should not be exaggerated; expecting the end of the world was a permanent fact in the middle ages and it was not particularly intensified near the year

[36] Duby (1953), pp. 200, 316, 322 and (1972); Bonnassie (1976), pp. 808, 875; Poly (1976).
[37] Tabacco (1980).
[38] Hunt (1981). Fossier (1982), pp. 987ff, Flori (1986a), pp. 26–37.
[39] Barthélémy (1990), p. 131.

1000. The alleged 'terrors of the year 1000' are largely mythical products of the imagination of historians writing in the nineteenth century.

Several historians, on the other hand, have underlined the popular character of the peace assemblies. But this need not mean that they were anti-feudal or revolutionary, still less that they were precursors of the communal movement. In fact, the primary purpose of these assemblies was to assure the protection of ecclesiastical possessions which were threatened by *milites* acting on behalf of their lords or for themselves, and threatened still more by legal challenges made by lay lords against ecclesiastical lordships. The peace assemblies were therefore a means whereby the church put moral pressure on *milites* for the protection of its own personnel and property. Just as its advocates, the defenders of churches or *milites ecclesiae*, were responsible for armed defence of the material interests of ecclesiastical lordships, so too the institutions of peace came into being principally to protect the same, but to do so by means of moral and religious pressure and by the taking of oaths in the awesome presence of the relics of saints.[40]

The appearance of peace assemblies is a sign of the weakening of the ability of central power to protect churches, and a sign too of the growing interpenetration of the public and ecclesiastical spheres. The maintenance of public order was incumbent on governments, that is, in the Carolingian tradition, on kings. This mission had, of course, been devolved to the princes as part of the formation of the great territorial principalities, and had passed down to the level of the castellans since it was in them that the powers of justice and armed coercion were concentrated. It was clearly in the regions where the central power had disappeared earliest that there would first appear the greatest risk of things going awry; this was especially so, as we have seen, in central and southern France, where the warriors easily became brigands and where the local potentates engaged in pillage and raids to the detriment of their neighbours. The insecurity principally affected the mass of the peasantry, but also all who were unable to defend themselves because they were unarmed (*inermes*): women, children and ecclesiastics. Nor did the property of the church escape. To struggle against encroachments by lay lords on ecclesiastical lordships the church turned to the miraculous powers of the saints and brandished the weapons of excommunication against those who attempted to despoil her, even including those who were meant, as vassals or advocates, to give her protection.

For all these reasons, the church attempted to promote peace. This was not a new phenomenon; the bishops had shown their concern in the Carolingian period, and their influence can be detected in imperial decisions promulgated in the capitularies, and in the 'mirrors of princes', writings intended to remind

---

[40] Barthélémy (1999); Gougenheim (1999); Flori (2001).

kings, who governed the world by the will of God, of their duties.[41] It was now necessary to attempt to win the support of the high aristocracy in containing the brigandage of the castellans and warriors. This was the aim of the councils of peace held from 975 (Le Puy), which proliferated in every region of central and southern France throughout the eleventh century and beyond, eventually spreading to other regions, and somewhat changing their character.[42] The public authority being unable to impose order, it was necessary to try to win from the grandees, but also from the castellans and warrior chiefs (*principles militiae*), the moral engagement, sworn on the relics of saints, to renounce certain types of pillage and fighting: not to attack the *inermes*, not to capture for ransom noblewomen or ecclesiastics without the protection of a military escort, or even a *caballarius* if he, too, was unarmed; not to destroy or burn houses, at least when they did not contain an enemy warrior, as was spelt out by the text of a council of peace held at Verdun-sur-le-Doubs in 1016 or 1021.[43]

So the bishops and abbots, in particular of the Cluniac order, tried to act as substitutes for the enfeebled princes in order to protect all those who could not defend themselves. Their weapons were spiritual, but not negligible; the fact that, in the assemblies of peace, the warriors were requested to swear a solemn oath on the relics of the saints, held in high regard at the period, implied the responsibility of those who swore to the redoubtable heavenly powers. The church punished violations by excommunication, as was the case, for example, at the council of Limoges in 1031.

It was a question not of outlawing war, even private war between Christian princes or castellans, but rather of trying to confine its terrible consequences to the warriors themselves, of protecting in some degree the *inermes* and, in particular, ecclesiastics. All the same, the limitation of the violence of war that the church sought to introduce into the very world of turbulence, that of the *milites*, led inevitably to the extension of these prescriptions; in 1054, at the council of Narbonne, the assembled bishops declared that 'he who kills a Christian sheds without any doubt the blood of Christ'.[44] They posed the premises from which Urban II drew the logical conclusions when, in 1095 at Clermont, he preached the crusade, at the end of a council which was essentially a council of peace: war, yes, but directed against the infidel, outside, no longer inside, Christendom, for the church and not against it.

[41] Bonnaud-Delamare (1939); *La Paix* (1962); Flori (1983), pp. 65–83; Werner (1989); Landes (1991); Goetz (1992); Magnou-Nortier (1992).

[42] Bonnaud-Delamare (1951); Töpfer (1957) and (1992); Hoffmann (1964); Duby (1966); Cowdrey (1970); Callahan (1977); Magnou-Nortier (1979); Head and Landes (1992); Barthélémy (1999).

[43] 'Mansiones non incendam, nec destruam, nisi inimicum meum caballarium cum armis intus invenero . . . Caballarium ad carrucam non assaliam neque occidam', quoted in Flori (1983), pp. 147–8. Barthélémy (1999), pp. 428ff.

[44] 'Quia qui christianum occidit, sine dubio christi sanguinem fundit', Mansi 19, col. 827.

The Truce of God, which spread soon after the Peace of God in neighbouring regions, tried to go one step further; no longer only to shield people from war, so attempting to reserve it to warriors, but now to protect them, to limit violence by declaring it inadmissible during certain periods, to make certain key times sacred, to make them taboo for primarily liturgical reasons: first Sunday, so that people could properly observe the day of rest which the church had long ago transferred from the seventh day of the week (Saturday or the Sabbath) to the first, and during which all professional activity should cease, that of the peasants and that of the warriors. This obligation of abstinence from war appeared by 1027 at the council of Toulouges (=Elne), near Perpignan. Not long after, in 1033, the council of Vich (Catalonia) tried to extend the length of this restraint to three days, from Thursday night to Monday morning. The idea then spread widely throughout the southern regions. In 1042, at the council of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, Peace of God and Truce of God came together, forbidding the *milites*, great and small (*majores et minores*), from taking up arms during these periods. In 1054, the council of Narbonne extended the truce to a number of religious festivals. It then covered 285 days in the year, allowing legal warfare only eighty scattered days. Violations were liable to excommunication and a fine of 40 *sous*.[45]

But these were merely pious hopes; the very large number of councils and assemblies of peace simply testifies to the innumerable violations of the peace. The ecclesiastical sanctions proved insufficient, and the oath was not always kept, or even sworn. Penal sanctions were added, which the 'public authorities' engaged to ensure were respected whenever they were able to do so, in the second half of the eleventh century in particular. But it was precisely their weakness which had led the church to intervene directly; in the absence of a princely power sufficiently compelling, there was sometimes in some regions no other way of limiting the violence of the local warlike potentates than to appeal to their own will to abstain, to an abstinence comparable to a true penitence. The multiplying of councils of peace leads one to ask whether their purpose was to affirm a largely unrealistic programme of general, universal peace based on moral and religious ideals. Perhaps the councils were more a sacralised means of regulating local conflicts and reconciling those engaged in disputes. But even in this attenuated role the institutions of peace contributed to the shaping of mentalities which were later to become chivalric.

Once, perhaps (though it is open to doubt), the church tried to create a sort of popular militia responsible for ensuring peace by force of arms. In 1031, at Bourges, Archbishop Aimo made all the men (no longer only the princes and seigneurs) swear to regard as enemies those who violated the peace, to seize

---

[45] Bisson (1977); Flori (1983), pp. 150–2; Barthélémy (1999), pp. 499ff.

their possessions, to march against them, with arms. Here was a paradox indeed: the church, from its own mouth, calling to arms the unarmed (*inermes*) to use violence against the *milites*, habitual instigators of violence. It was a failure; the soldiers of the violator, the lord of Déols, cut to pieces the popular troops. Knights could not be produced at will. To make war, it was necessary to have recourse to warriors. The sacralisation of knighthood, for example by the ceremony of dubbing, met the need of the church to harness knighthood to serve its own needs. In 1031 such a sacralisation was not yet possible, but it developed, under reforming popes, in the second half of the eleventh century.[46]

The institutions of peace were not confined to the south. Their ideology spread widely throughout Europe, as far as Normandy, Flanders, even the empire, though rather later. But in areas where the public power had not been entirely relinquished by the princes, these institutions were for the latter an occasion to affirm their authority. The Peace of God was here turned into the peace of the prince.[47] Peace became once again a lay prerogative, a duty incumbent on the public power.

This was already the opinion of Adalbero of Laon and of Gerald of Cambrai by 1030; for these bishops in the Carolingian tradition, the mission to establish and maintain peace should rest not on the church but on kings. This is why Gerald resisted the bishops of Beauvais and Soissons who wanted to introduce into these northern regions the southern institutions recently sworn at Verdunsur-le-Doubs, and compel all men, on oath, to preserve peace and justice.[48] By another route, in these northern regions, the princes and also the bishops, several of whom already possessed comital rights and played an important temporal role, could dispense with the Peace of God which the abbots of Cluny sought to promote, and which the bishops of the north hardly appreciated by reason of the exemption they preached, which limited their rights over the abbeys.

The ecclesiastical establishments, principally the bishops and the great monasteries, were in any case not without ways of defending themselves. They were veritable ecclesiastical lordships, sometimes principalities, capable of supporting armed troops, *milites ecclesiae*, in the empire, but also elsewhere, in France, where the bishops shared with the counts the lordship of the cities.[49]

[46] Duby (1978), pp. 222–35 (pp. 181–91 of English translation); Flori (1983), pp. 137–55; Paul (1986), pp. 564–74; Head and Landes (1992), pp. 219–38; Barthélémy (1999), pp. 410ff rightly corrects the interpretation of G. Duby which I did once accept.

[47] Bonnaud-Delamare (1957) pp. 147ff; De Boüard (1959); Graboïs (1966); Magnou-Nortier (1974); Génicot (1975), pp. 52ff.

[48] Bonnaud-Delamare (1955–6); Duby (1978), pp. 35–61 (pp. 21–43 of English translation).

[49] Guyotjeannin (1987); Reuter (1992); for nuances see Barthélémy (1999), pp. 439ff.

To ensure their protection, the ecclesiastical establishments, at least in the north, developed the system of 'advocacy', that is, entrusting to a lay lord the responsibility – lucrative and much coveted – of representing them in judicial actions and war. Princes, but also lords of lesser importance, were here the advocates (*advocati*) or defenders (*defensores*) of the ecclesiastical establishments whose banners they bore, which did not prevent them, on occasion, from treating them to more exactions than protection; the eleventh, and even more the twelfth, centuries resound with the constant complaints of churchmen and monks about the depradations of their advocates.

The churches thus had close ties with the *milites*, sometimes simple warriors, sometimes more important lords, who thus entered into their vassalage. The church of Rome itself did not disdain to recruit *milites ecclesiae*, while more important lords bore the title of *miles sancti Petri* (the emperor himself, officially accredited defender of the church of Rome, was himself one such 'knight of St Peter').

The recruitment by the churches of fighting vassals probably led to ceremonies comparable to those of seigneurial investitures. A few traces survive, from the eleventh century. One is a ritual of Cambrai which was once thought to have been intended for the dubbing of knights, but which in fact served for the investiture of a vassal of the church, which explains the presence of the handing over of the banner and various blessings with a strong ideological flavour, in origin royal.[50] It means that the world of the church and the world of the warriors were not separated into watertight compartments, and that all wars – and consequently all warriors – were not condemned by the church to 'outer darkness'.

The eleventh century saw a veritable ideological promotion of the warriors fighting on behalf of the church, and principally of the church of Rome. At the same time, several technical innovations in relation to the two 'pillars' of the warrior society of this period – the castles and the knights – significantly changed methods of fighting, resulting in profound social and ideological changes which influenced the notion of knighthood.

WAR AND THE KNIGHTS

The castle and the knight were the symbols of contemporary power. Both were to experience major changes during our period which helped to transform aristocratic and warrior society. The castle was the residence of the agents of the public authority, now more or less autonomous as holders of local public power, but it was also the centre for the economic exploitation of the

---

[50] *Ordo ad Armandum ecclesiae defensorem vel alium militem*, ed. Flori (1985a).

men who lived around it: the castellany. Its strategic role was by no means negligible, but remained secondary. Its prime function was domination and protection.

The number of castles, it is now generally agreed, greatly increased during the eleventh century, necessitating the installation of garrisons (*milites castri*), which consisted to a considerable extent of paid fighting men, along with dependants of the castellans fulfilling their obligation of castle guard. These castles were for the most part very modest towers of wood protected by palisades or stakes, erected on natural mounds or mottes, or especially in the south of France, in fortified towns or villages. During the course of the eleventh century, many secondary fortresses of wood and earth were abandoned, or transformed into pure fortifications with an exclusively military purpose, while towers of stone (donjons) began to appear. Stone castles, visible symbols of seigneurial power, proliferated during the twelfth century, and became general during the second half of that century.[51] From then on, the castles of princes or lords were the focal points of the political, economic, military and later cultural activity of aristocratic society. The knightly vassals, when not on guard duty in the castle, usually lived in fortified farms, or houses in the villages or towns.[52] Others, however, served there permanently and formed the garrison of the castle and the escort of the castellan. They were specialised fighting men.

The specialisation of tasks was, in fact, one of the consequences of the development of castles. A 'court life' began to be organised there, necessitating the construction and upkeep of buildings with a domestic or economic function. These aspects do not concern us here, and we therefore simply signal their presence. But specialisation also prevailed in the military sphere. The upkeep of the defensive walls needed masons and carpenters, craftsmen not warriors, and the attacks and sieges of fortresses led to the appearance of new specialists charged with sapping or dismantling the walls, and with constructing siege machines to facilitate assaults on the ramparts. On the strictly military plane, the role of archers and crossbowmen, in battles as well as sieges, increased in importance. These warriors, all footsoldiers (*pedites*), were indispensable to victory. We should not forget this, or allow ourselves to be blinded by the aristocratic sources of the period which hardly mention them but concentrate almost exclusively on the exploits of the elite troops, the cavalry.

Within the cavalry, we also see a trend towards specialisation. At the beginning of our period, all mounted fighting men were lumped together under the

[51] Fixot (1969) and (1975); Fino (1977); Le Maho (1977); Fournier (1978); De Boüard (1979); *Structures féodales* (1980); Debord (1982); Bachrach (1983); Chatelain (1983); S. D. B. Brown (1989); Eales (1990); Charbonnier (1996); Debord (2000).
[52] Pesez and Piponnier (1972); Génicot (1976); Chapelot and Fossier (1980); *La Maison forte* (1986); Debord (1987); Brand'honneur (2001).

same term: *equites*. At the end, we are just able to distinguish the elite knights from the less heavily armed mounted men and from sergeants on horseback and the squires.[53]

At the same time, and for the same reasons, the use of mercenaries developed, making it possible to form armies of specialists in war more efficient and manageable than the contingents of feudal service (*ost*). The resumption of political power by the princes during the course of the twelfth century was accompanied by the growth of these mercenary armies, particularly in the Plantagenet domains, in the second half of the century. The repurchase of the service of host (*scutagium*), already known by 1100, became general after 1150, and allowed the recruitment of armies of knights, true professionals in 'aristocratic' knightly warfare.[54]

The attention of all contemporary chroniclers was in practice, from the mid-eleventh century, concentrated on the knights and their arms. They alone aroused their interest, as if the knights of this period, like the tank in 1917–18, or aircraft in 1940–45, had come to dominate warfare. There are two concomitant explanations for this, one technological, the other social and ideological.

The technological revolution is well known;[55] the appearance and then the diffusion of the stirrup in Europe, from the seventh century, led to the creation of a heavy cavalry by the Carolingian period. According to many historians, the use of the stirrup and the saddle revolutionised the war technique of the horseman, by giving him a better seat and greater stability in battle. Thus was born the true cavalry, now using the lance and the sword, no longer the javelin or pike.

The cavalry confrontation, the famous charge followed by *mêlée* so often described in medieval epics, is then the consequence of these technical innovations. At the same time, as a defence against the terrible lance, various forms of protection were developed: coats of mail, byrnies, hauberks, shields, etc. As a result, the new knights needed stronger horses (because of the increased weight of the armed rider), better trained for close combat, clashes and noise. The very high cost of horses and arms then operated to restrict the number of these elite fighters to a tiny minority of the privileged, who had access to ample resources and sufficient leisure to devote themselves wholly to military activities. Thus was born the knightly class which would dominate warfare, leading to 'feudal' society, even to nobility.[56]

---

[53] Contamine (1980), pp. 159–69, 192–207.
[54] Boussard (1945–6) and (1968); Schlight (1968); Duby (1973b), pp. 461–71, 473–82; Chibnall (1977), pp. 15–23; Brown, S. D. B. (1989), pp. 20–38; Coss (1993), pp. 100–34; Gillingham (1994a); Flori (1999c).
[55] White (1969), pp. 1–53; Beeler (1971); Contamine (1980), pp. 321–9; Devries (1992).
[56] White (1969), pp. 25ff; Verbruggen (1977), pp. 22ff.

This is an attractive thesis; it confirms the notion, accepted by many intellectuals, that social classes express the economy, itself dependent on technology. However, it is a thesis which needs to be corrected at a number of points.

It will be noted that the diffusion of the stirrup and the saddle in Europe was in practice very much earlier than the emergence of knighthood, and, even more so, of a nobility resulting from it. It was, in fact, in the second half of the ninth century that these two innovations became general and it does not appear that they then revolutionised the techniques of war.[57] At the beginning of the eleventh century, and even later in certain regions, for example in Anglo-Saxon England, men continued to fight on foot or even on horseback, not without success, using the lance as a javelin, as the Bayeux Tapestry shows.[58] The use of the lance as a pike persisted for much longer. We must therefore avoid hasty generalisation and attempt to establish a more precise chronology.

It is generally agreed that in the mid-twelfth century, the very moment when the concept of knighthood, so well reflected in the vernacular literature,[59] took shape in men's minds, the knights had adopted the technique of the couched lance that Lynn White Jr believed resulted from the appearance of the saddle and the stirrup. At this period, mounted combat was already codified and stereotyped; the cavalry drew up, facing each other, on the battlefield, at a good distance and in lines. At a signal from their leader, they placed their shields in front of their chests, lowered their lances, hitherto vertical, and held them firmly in a fixed, horizontal position, clasped tightly under the arm. They then spurred their horses, shouted their battle cry and rushed at their adversaries, who were doing the same.

So battle commenced with a head-on collision, the purpose of which was to unseat the enemy by accurately controlling the direction of the horse so that the lance, pointed at him, but fixed, hit him head-on. Lance, rider and horse formed a solid block and the more massive and compact the squadrons (*conrois*, battalions, *échelles*), the more formidable was the cavalry charge.

It is easy to understand the fascination of this impetuous, impressive charge, capable of scattering the enemy ranks, unseating the horsemen and putting the footsoldiers, as much despised as indispensable, to flight. But we still need to know at what date this new technique was adopted. That it appeared very early, before the start of our period, is now no longer believed; there is nothing to support this thesis. There have even been some recent attempts to locate its appearance much later, towards the middle of the twelfth century.[60] This

---

[57] Bachrach (1970) and (1988); Keen (1984), pp. 23–7; Bachrach; Davis (1989).

[58] Ross (1963); Brooks and Walker (1978); Cowdrey (1987); Flori (1988).

[59] Flori (1975), pp. 408–45; Paterson (1981); Bumke (1982); Ruiz-Domenec (1984a); Burgess (1994); Jackson (1994); Flori (1996).

[60] Butin (1965), pp. 95ff and (1972); Cirlot (1984) and (1985).

is no more convincing; the evidence of iconography, literary sources and the chroniclers of the First Crusade, as well as a few Arab sources, all converges, obliging the historian to locate the diffusion of this new method before the end of the eleventh century; it is highly likely that it first saw the light of day in central France or Normandy around 1050.[61]

So it was long after the appearance of the saddle and the stirrup that the technique of knightly cavalry combat became general in the west, and though it certainly owes its success to these linked inventions, without which it would not have been possible, it is difficult to attribute to them alone the adoption by the warrior aristocracy of this method of fighting. Even less can we attribute to them the major social changes of the tenth and eleventh centuries which antedate them.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that this method, which became a characteristic of the knights because adopted by them, contributed to the separation, within the category of mounted warriors, of those who were able to fight in this manner and those who were not. It resulted on the one hand in an acceleration of the process of specialisation already described, and on the other in a social and ideological cleavage. The elite of the cavalry, equipped for the new way of fighting, was further separated not only from the mass of footsoldiers (*pedites*) but also from those who, though fighting on horseback, lacked the necessary resources for the very expensive equipment of the new knights. It has been estimated that the cost of the complete equipment of a knight was in *c.* 1100 in the region of 10 *livres*, and that its upkeep necessitated revenues corresponding to an estate of some 150 hectares.[62] In these circumstances, it is clear that only members of the landed aristocracy could afford to be knights themselves, while surrounding themselves with 'other' knights. These 'others' were dependants, maintained by their lords, or mercenaries putting their skills at the service of a potentate. It is also clear that this elite was increasingly distinguished from the rest of the warriors and tended to form a corporation, then a class and finally a caste, dominated and penetrated by the nobility which controlled entry to it.

The knightly class so formed was distinguished from the other warriors by equipment, by methods of fighting and training, by the way of life and manners and lastly by an ethic and an ideology, known as 'chivalric'.

The equipment is well known. It consisted of horses and of defensive and offensive weapons. We should speak of horses in the plural. The literature of the twelfth century may often convey the image of a solitary wandering

---

[61] Ross (1984); Flori (1988); Sigal (1991); Gaier (1992), pp. 57ff.
[62] Duby (1953), p. 197; Van Luyn (1971), pp. 38–42; Contamine (1980), p. 189; Fossier (1982), p. 429; Flori (1998a), pp. 89–119.

knight,[63] but the reality was that, to be fully operational, the knight needed to have at his disposal several war-horses (*destriers*). He had to make provision for the horse's death, injury or flight if the rider was unseated. The knight who had fallen to the ground also needed immediate assistance if he was not to fall prey to the enemy infantry. His squire was responsible for watching over his master and bringing him a new horse with minimal delay. Further, it was better to keep the war-horse for battle, and use other horses (palfreys or rounceys) for journeys or transport. The squire who provided this service to the knight, tending his horses and weapons, was at first merely a servant, sometimes a peasant. His status rose during the eleventh century, as the prestige of the knight with whom he was associated, if at an inferior level, grew; for some it was a preparatory and provisional status, the way that future knights accomplished their apprenticeship. Not every squire, of course, became a knight, only those who were already members of an aristocratic class in the process of becoming closed.[64]

The defensive arms of the knight consisted essentially of the shield (*scutum, targe*); the most common type in the twelfth-century west was that diffused by the Normans (and already portrayed in the Bayeux Tapestry), oblong in shape and pointed at the base. The knight hung it from his neck when riding and holding the reins, and held it in front of him on his left arm when he charged. The helmet or helm (*galea, helmo*) was also pointed in the twelfth century, and usually had an extension to protect the nose (the nasal). The helm was laced over the collar of the hauberk, a coat of woven mail, or the byrnie, a leather tunic covered with stitched plates or scales of metal, if, that is, as seems likely, the words hauberk and byrnie really do, in the twelfth century, indicate two different types of cuirass (*lorica*).[65] The strengthening of the hauberk and its effectiveness against blows with the edge of a sword, and even, though to a lesser extent, thrusts, is probably linked to the adoption of the new technique of cavalry combat without it being possible to say which came first.

The offensive arms are equally well known. In the eleventh century, knights were wholly familiar with the use of the bow or crossbow, which so impressed the Greek princess Anna Comnena when the crusaders reached Constantinople.[66] But the process of specialisation referred to above led to the formation of troops of archers who were footsoldiers (*pedites*), whose role was to overwhelm the enemy lines with their arrows before moving aside to make way for the massive cavalry charge of the knights. The latter only used the bow when they were themselves *pedites*, for example during sieges. In charges,

[63] Chênerie (1986).
[64] Menant (1980); Bennett (1986); Paterson (1986); Flori (1992a).
[65] Butin (1965), pp. 103ff; De Riquer (1968); Gaier (1979); Contamine (1980), pp. 320–5.
[66] Anna Comnena, *Alexiade, X*, VIII. 6; Morton and Muntz (1972), pp. 112–15.

their preferred weapon, from the middle of the eleventh century, was the long and heavy lance of ash, held under the arm in the fashion already described. The head-on collision was then so violent that it was by no means uncommon to see the lance, and even the ensign that it carried, pierce the enemy right through, as is related in many 'historic' sources, not to speak of the epics which make this one of their favourite motifs.[67] It is therefore hardly surprising that they were often broken on the shields or hauberks, forcing the knight to draw his sword (*ensis gladius*) and fight at close quarters, in the *mêlée*.

The supremacy of the knightly cavalry in pitched battles resulted from several factors: the penetrative power of the compact, collective charge performed in serried ranks; the remarkable protection afforded by the hauberk to the knight (though not yet to the horse, vulnerable to enemy arrows) and the general high quality of the weapons of these aristocratic warrior elites. It was also related to the respect felt for them and to the tacit acceptance of the rules of knightly combat, then being imposed in the west, and without which their supremacy would have been less pronounced. In fact, to be effective, the cavalry charge was dependent on the method of the head-on clash being adopted by the two opposing sides. If this was not the case, the charge was into a void. This was what happened in the first battles fought by the crusader knights against the Turks. They were completely disorientated by the fighting methods of the Turkish cavalry, who hurled their javelins at them from a distance, then simulated a disorderly flight in order to separate their pursuers, whom they then showered with arrows by pulling their bows in full flight, on horseback, turning round. The disarray of the crusaders, reported by all the chroniclers, emphasised the extent to which the conventions regarding knightly combat had already been largely accepted by the end of the eleventh century, some fifty years after the appearance of this new method of fighting.[68] It also suggests that the popularity of the method of the couched lance and the charge might have owed more to its aristocratic connotations than to its real military superiority.

It is probable, in any case, that the new method of knightly warfare gained acceptance at the same time that tournaments (*torneamenta*) became popular, a phenomenon reflected in literature, especially after 1150, under the patronage of the courts of Champagne, of Flanders and (later) of the Plantagenets, where both tournaments and chivalric literature (Chrétien de Troyes) found favour. Tradition attributes the invention of tournaments to Geoffroy de Preuilly, not long before 1066, but their real popularity came after 1100. They continued to

---

[67] Ibn Munqidh, *Des Enseignements de la vie*, p. 147; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei* VII, 44; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* II, 11; Flori (1988), pp. 227ff.

[68] Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei* III, 11; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* I, 11; Smail (1956), pp. 77–82, 106–20; but see also Strickland (1996), pp. 98ff and 133ff; Flori (1998b), pp. 389–405.

develop throughout our period, despite the reservations and condemnations of the church, which saw them, with reason, as a game comparable to war.

In fact, up to the end of the twelfth century, tournaments bore little resemblance to the spectacular sporting jousts of later centuries, where two knights equipped with blunted weapons (*à plaisance*), opposed each other face to face in an enclosed field; they still took the form of real collective combats opposing two camps, one of which (*ceux du dehors*) beset the other (*ceux du dedans*), blocking or provoking their sorties, laying ambushes, seeking to isolate a few knights from the opposing troops as a preliminary to unseating them and seizing their horse as booty or, better still, capturing the knight as well and holding him to ransom. The essence was the collective charge, even if the individual exploits, glorified by the jongleurs, were remarked on and excited admiration and envy, bringing glory and the hope of eventual social promotion.[69]

Tournaments were no different from war in the matter of method, and constituted a sort of general repetition of war, its intensive and public prolongation. But these battles lent themselves nevertheless to codification, and gave birth to an ethic and rules which the knights tacitly observed. These features were also to be found in real war, even in major battles. Describing the battle of Brémule (1119), Orderic Vitalis emphasised that there were only three deaths among the knights because they were well protected, being clad in mail, but also because, as they did not thirst after the blood of their brothers-in-arms, they spared each other, straining to capture but not to kill those who fled.[70]

So tournaments forged the chivalric ethos. They also promoted solidarity in battle. It was in tournaments that tactics were perfected, and the cohesion and necessary discipline of the teams of knights (*conrois*) forged, encouraged by their previous companionship and collective training. It was in tournaments, even more than in the other less serious forms of training (*behourds* and quintains, practised in castle courtyards or lists), through mixing together and shared actions, that solidarity was forged between the knights of one lord, irrespective of social or economic differences. It was also in tournaments that these emerged and developed the role of distinctive marks, colours and blazons, which came to be called 'arms', whose aristocratic character is obvious and which also promoted solidarity.

Of course, such a 'chivalric' solidarity did not abolish barriers or level social ranks, or put the 'household knights' (*milites gregarii*) on the same plane as

[69] Duby (1973a) and (1984), pp. 111–53; Gauche (1981); Keen (1984), pp. 83–101; Barker (1986); Fleckenstein (1986); Barber and Barker (1989); Flori (1991) and Barber (1995), pp. 156–79 and Flori (1998a), pp. 131–52.

[70] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* xii, 18; 'Ferro enim undique vestiti erant, et pro timore Dei notitiaque contubernii vicissim sibi parcebant, nec tantum occidere fugientes quam comprehendere satagebant'. See also Strickland (1996), pp. 160ff.

the princes who employed them. But at least on the battlefield or in the tournament, the moral courage, physical strength and fighting abilities of the knight counted for more than birth or wealth.

Tournaments also, as has often been said, gave humble knights or younger sons a chance of social advancement. A 'poor' knight, lacking land, a younger or disinherited son, might here, by his prowess, attract the attention of a prince, be hired as one of his knights, fight under his banner, and assure his own future. A young 'bachelor', a poor unmarried man, might also hope, by the same method, to seduce by his exploits some rich heiress (or even more her father), and win her in marriage. Literature abounds with cases of this type, and some are known to history. It is certainly true that, rare though they might be, it was by these means, and perhaps by them alone, that a certain social mobility continued to exist at the end of the twelfth century, at a period when the nobility had taken over knighthood, directing and controlling access to it, making it an aristocratic profession deeply imbued with its own ideology. It was marriage rather than knighthood which gave access to the nobility, but knighthood contributed, to the extent that it permitted and promoted 'noble' marriage.[71]

THE KNIGHTS AND THE CHIVALRIC IDEOLOGY

At the beginning of our period, knighthood did not yet exist. The only concern of the theoreticians of the church was to condemn the savage turbulence of those inveterate pillagers, the *milites*. It was against them that the church asked kings and princes to hold firm the sword of justice and order. *Militia* (militia) rhymed with *malitia* (malice), as churchmen, and especially monks, liked to point out, in a formula which was repeated by Bernard of Clairvaux in the middle of the twelfth century, when the rise of the knights was at its height.[72]

But times were changing. In the mid-eleventh century, knighthood embarked on the rise which took it, within a century, to such towering heights. This involved a veritable ideological promotion, for which the two great powers of the period were responsible: the church and the aristocracy.

Let us look first at the church. For the historian, nothing is more surprising than the complete volte-face performed by the church with regard to war, as the conversion of the emperor Constantine transformed the initial condemnation of war into its legitimation in certain circumstances. By our period, the

---

[71] Duby (1973a), pp. 41–3, 110–28, (1981), pp. 259ff (pp. 243ff of English translation) and (1984), pp. 137ff, and Bouchard (1981) and (1998); Aurell I Cardona (1985); and (1996), pp. 63ff; Flori (1990b), pp. 78ff and (1999b).

[72] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Vita Sancti Malachiae, PL* 182, cols. 556, 675, 923; Flori (1986a), pp. 209ff.

U-turn was far in the past, and the just war – that is, war ordered by the public authorities to defend the country or restore a violated peace and justice – was no longer condemned, especially if, as in the Carolingian period, it meant fighting against pagan enemies who ravaged churches and monasteries. But serious reservations persisted when it was a matter of Christian warriors confronting each other. This is visible in the penitentials, which still, on the threshold of the eleventh century, prescribed days of fasting for the warrior who had killed his enemy on the battlefield, even under orders.[73] As late as 1070, the soldiers of William the Conqueror, though fighting the 'perjurer' Harold, and under the papal banner, did penance four years after Hastings.[74]

However, the need of the church for warriors to undertake its defence increased as the interdiction forbidding clerics to shed blood, quietly buried in the Carolingian period, was gradually reasserted during the eleventh century, whilst the authority of kings and princes grew weaker. The institutions of peace, the Peace of God and the Truce of God, were what might be called a negative response to this preoccupation, seeking to limit the perverse effects and the duration of private wars.

Another response was possible: to propose to the warriors an outlet and an ideal, to impregnate them with an ideology and an ethic which would dictate to them 'from within' how to behave, almost without their knowing it. It was in response to its own need for protection, for its property and its personnel, that the church transferred, from kings to princes and then to knights, that ancient mission to protect churches and the weak (that is, the *inermes*: ecclesiastics, widows, orphans and the poor) which would later constitute one of the finest flowerings of the chivalric ideal.

This evolution can be traced in texts of the chivalric ceremony *par excellence*, dubbing, which marked entry into knighthood, and which incorporated, when the arms were handed to the knight, prayers and blessings strongly impregnated with ideology. We must be careful, however, not to see texts used for quite other purposes as relating to the dubbing of knights. In fact, it is clear that most of the prayers and blessings which comprise the most complete of the rituals for the dubbing of knights (for example, that of Guillaume Durand, at the end of the thirteenth century) were initially composed not for knights, but for kings or princes, and for the moment when they received, on assuming office, the sword of the *militia*, of public service, at the highest level. Other prayers, similarly ideologically charged, derived from ancient formulae for the blessing of banners or arms pronounced over royal armies setting out on campaigns against pagans, in particular the Vikings. All, or almost all, referred to the

---

[73] Vogel (1969), pp. 81ff; Flori (1983), pp. 14–19.
[74] Cowdrey (1969); Contamine (1980), p. 430.

ancient and traditional royal mission to protect the country against its enemies and maintain order within its frontiers.[75]

The royal origin of most of these formulae, and their late (thirteenth-century) collection in the *ordines* intended for the dubbing of knights, bear witness to the transfer to the knight of the ancient royal ethic of protecting the weak, and, by that very fact, to the ideological promotion of knighthood. But this point had not yet been reached in the twelfth century, still less in the eleventh, when the knightly class as a whole did not as yet enjoy a good press in the church.

Great importance has been attached, even recently, to a ritual of Cambrai, Rheims or Cologne (three designations for one single text) which would already, by the eleventh century, have included many prayers heavily charged with ethical elements in an *ordo* of dubbing.[76] This was not, in fact, an *ordo* of dubbing, but a ritual relating to the investiture of an advocate (*advocatus*), a warrior-vassal of the church charged with assuring the protection and defence of an ecclesiastical or monastic establishment.[77]

Nevertheless, the use for this purpose of formulae and prayers of royal origin reveals the real interest which the church then felt, not yet in knights as such, but in lords and warriors whom it recruited and tried to direct to undertake its own defence. We see here the beginnings of an ideological promotion of certain warriors and a sanctification of certain wars undertaken on behalf of churches.

This is even more marked in the case of the church of Rome and the direct interests of the papacy. The eleventh century saw a stepping up of the process of sanctification of wars waged on papal orders against the enemies of Christianity, often confused with the immediate adversaries of popes: pagans and the infidel (Muslims), but also 'heretics', schismatics or temporal adversaries of the papacy.[78] Leo IX, having recruited in the empire *milites* for the church of Rome, led them into battle at Civitate against the Christian Normans of Robert Guiscard, who cut them to pieces (17 June 1053). Leo had previously absolved the *milites* from their sins and it is highly probable that he had made spiritual promises in case of their death in battle, since he did not hesitate to pronounce them forthwith admitted to paradise in the company of the holy martyrs.[79] Gregory VII made similar use of spiritual promises to the *milites*

[75] Van Winter (1976); Flori (1979a), pp. 266ff; Leyser (1984).
[76] Erdmann (1955), pp. 332ff; Bloch (1968), pp. 633ff; Contamine (1980), pp. 442ff; Poly and Bournazel (1980), pp. 178ff.
[77] *Ordo ad Armandum ecclesiae defensorem vel alium militem*, MSS Cologne 141 and Bamberg 56. See also Flori (1985a).
[78] Erdmann (1955); Noth (1966); Brundage (1969), pp. 29ff; Russell (1975); Cowdrey (1976), pp. 9–31; Delaruelle (1980); Flori (2001), pp. 161ff.
[79] Flori (1990a).

who committed themselves to the service of the church of Rome as *milites sancti Petri*, or who became vassals of the holy see and espoused its cause.[80] When, in 1074, he contemplated organising, even personally conducting, a military expedition to assist the Christian east threatened by the Turks, he emphasised anew the moral significance of such wars and the spiritual rewards assured to those who perished in a just war on behalf of the heavenly king and Christ.[81]

This was, admittedly, an expedition against the 'infidel', but we find very similar features in the case of combats led by papal champions against Christian adversaries regarded as schismatics or heretics. Thus the *milites* Liutprand and Erlembald, who assisted the pope during the Milanese *Pataria*, were described by him as *milites Christi* (the very expression adopted by the crusaders some years later) and were, by their death in a good cause, elevated to the ranks of the martyrs and the blessed by Gregory VII in 1078, in the presence of the future Pope Urban II.[82]

So when Urban II preached the crusade at Clermont in 1095, he was only following in the footsteps of Alexander II, Leo IX and Gregory VII. It is true that the crusade had many features which distinguished it from the 'holy wars' hitherto defined, in particular its elements of (armed) pilgrimage, of mystical or eschatological appeal, of being an act of fraternal piety and other aspects emphasised by recent historians of the crusades.[83] But it does not seem to me, contrary to the views of J. Riley-Smith, that Urban II displayed any reticence in describing the crusaders as *milites Christi* or promising the martyr's palms to those who died in battle against the infidel.[84] In practice, the crusade combined all the criteria for the 'holiest' of wars, since it was simultaneously directed against the enemies of Christendom, preached by the pope and intended to liberate the holy places, perhaps even reconquer lands once Christian, as well as being directly descended from the institutions of peace (Clermont was above all a council of peace); it therefore offered turbulent warriors, fomenters of disorder in the Christian west, the chance to purge themselves of their faults by a penitential but also warlike pilgrimage, without abandoning the world or their arms, but directing their military ardour against the enemies of Christianity, despoilers of 'Christ's heritage'.[85]

[80] Robinson (1973); Blake (1970); Semmler (1985); Flori (1997).
[81] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II, 31; II, 37; I, 46, etc.; Cowdrey (1972), p. 12, (1984), pp. 27–40; and (1998), pp. 638ff; Gilchrist (1988).
[82] Cowdrey (1985), pp. 48–9.
[83] Duby (1966); Cahen (1983), pp. 53–65; Riley-Smith (1986), pp. 1–30; Mayer (1988), pp. 8–37; Lobrichon (1998); Flori (1999a), pp. 263ff.
[84] Cowdrey (1985); Riley-Smith (1986), pp. 14–31; Flori (1991), pp. 121–39; Riley-Smith (1997), pp. 72 et seq.; Flori (1999a), pp. 205ff.
[85] Flori (1992b), pp. 110ff and (2002), pp. 229ff.

Was this to attach a higher value to knighthood? Not at all, at least in principle. Indeed, Urban II articulated this clearly, in the purest tradition of monastic thought: the *militia* led to sin; one ought therefore to leave it. But warriors could abandon the *militia* of the age without donning monastic garb; it was enough to change master, to serve God, Christ, the church, Christendom, instead of being a slave to the world and its princes; to fight for God against his enemies instead of indulging, at risk to their souls, in fratricidal wars and pillage.[86] Ralph of Caen, in order to glorify his hero, the Norman Tancred, portrays him as tormented with moral scruples because he knew that his consuming passion, that is knighthood, distanced him from the gospel precepts by impelling him towards conquest, and the quest for heroism, prowess and glory, but as delighted when he learned that Pope Urban II, by preaching the crusade, assured him remission of his sins while at the same time giving him the opportunity to fight as a knight in the service of Christ.[87]

Bernard of Clairvaux still expressed this negative vision of the *militia* of the age *c.* 1130 when he wrote his *De laude novae militiae*, to encourage the warrior-monks of the Order of Templars, recently confirmed by the council of Troyes on 13 January 1129 (not 1128 as was formerly believed), but who sometimes questioned the merits of their double vocation. He depicted the knighthood of the age as given over to vanity, luxury, pride and indiscipline, and most of all condemned to sin since to kill an enemy, even in legitimate defence, was homicide. The knight of Christ, on the contrary, did not imperil his soul whatever happened; 'he gives death in all security and receives it with even greater assurance: if he dies, it is for his own good; if he kills, it is for Christ'. His enemy is an infidel, which is why 'in killing a wrongdoer, he commits an act not of homicide but, dare I say, of 'malicide'.[88]

Denigration and condemnation of the internal wars of the knightly class, praise and sanctification of war waged against the infidel by the *milites Christi*: this surely demonstrates, on the part of the church and the papacy, an attempt to assume responsibility for the destiny of Christendom and take control, with its new powers, of the knights. The church, speaking through the pope, designated the enemy outside Christendom who must be confronted and whom the knight could safely fight: the infidel. But the church also designated other enemies within Christendom, whom it believed it had the right to hound, constrain and eradicate: the heretics, schismatics and, in general, all the enemies of the

---

[86] Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei* II, 4; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* I 3.
[87] Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi* I.
[88] Bernard of Clairvaux, *De Laude novae militiae* III, 4: 'Miles, inquam, Christi securus interimit, interit securior . . . Sane cum occidit malefactorem, non homicida, sed, ut ita dixerim, malicida'.

church. This was a theme developed, at this period, by canonists such as Ivo of Chartres, Bonizo of Sutri and Anselm of Lucca.[89]

This attempt to create a new knighthood in the service of the ideals of the church, a new type of knight, the Christian knight (*miles Christianus*) was unsuccessful, for a number of reasons.

The first reason was political: kings and princes, especially in the second half of the twelfth century, regained control of affairs and their power increased. The notion of the state returned to favour and a theoretician such as John of Salisbury thought that the *milites* might see themselves as 'saints', in the service of God, when they served legitimate princes, who, for their part, ought to obey divine precepts.[90]

The second reason was religious: the crusade, during the twelfth century, was not always successful and its popularity declined. Detractors emerged, who criticised the direct involvement of the church in the sphere of war and violence, demanding that at least it did not itself brandish the sword of coercion, but left it to kings and princes, and their warrior entourages. The power of the papacy itself was challenged by statist ideologies and by sovereigns more jealous of their prerogatives, which they based on the rediscovered Roman law.[91]

The third reason was social: the knights of the twelfth century did not seek only spiritual or ideological patronage. They sought, above all, patrons. The distant reconquest of lands which had once been Christian might well excite the cupidity of some, but even then, it was in the service of their lord, their master or their employer, that they went on crusade and, usually, returned. In the twelfth century, knights aspired to princely courts far more than to distant dreams, and they adopted the aristocratic ideology of the court of their lord much more than a universalist Christian ideology which remained diffused or confused.

It was probably in recognition of this relative failure that the church tried to infuse the knightly class (the real chivalry) with its values, its ideals and its ethic by the use of dubbing, which had hitherto remained professional, utilitarian and lay. It was to recognise the existence of the knightly class as such, while seeking to modify its behaviour from within, by means of ideology. A few liturgical sources reveal that in the twelfth century, the formulae already forged for kings and princes, and discussed above, began to be used for knights (*ad faciendos novos milites*). The oldest rituals of dubbing properly speaking

---

[89] Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana* VII; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum* VIII, X, XV and *Panormia* VIII; Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonica* XI, VII, VIII and especially XIII; Gilchrist (1985); Flori (1986a), pp. 181–208; Cowdrey (1992).

[90] Flori (1982).

[91] Hehl (1980); Kedar (1984), pp. 97–136; Siberry (1985); Paul (1986), pp. 399–414.

date only from the very end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth, but many references to 'liturgical' dubbings in the Latin historical sources as well as in epic and romance literature demonstrate that the church was trying by this means to institutionalise knighthood and inculcate it with an ideology, the ideology which it had previously assigned to kings: the defence of the country and the church, the protection of the *inermes* – ecclesiastics, women, the weak and above all widows and orphans.[92] This was an ideology which, curiously, united indirectly the kings and the princes served by the knights so dubbed.

But this ideology, which we may for the sake of simplicity call ecclesiastical, since it effectively derived from the church, was not the only one to impregnate the knights. It was mixed with the aristocratic ideology developed, in princely courts during the twelfth century, by the literature called chivalric.[93]

It is far from easy to establish a sociological interpretation of this literature. The many disagreements on this point which still separate the specialists are clear proof.[94] However, they are in agreement on certain points, which are all that concern us here: the vernacular literature of the second half of the twelfth century reflects a resolutely aristocratic ideology, preaching lay values, which differed at certain points from those which the church sought to impose.[95] Some of these values were properly military and no doubt had their roots in the distant past: the quest for warlike feats of arms, the cult of courage, the extolling of physical strength and *virtus*, loyalty to the war leader, a sense of fellowship, a thirst for fame and glory, etc. These were the values lauded above all in the epics, and in which the knights recognised themselves.

After 1150, these values did not fade, but ceded first place to other, more aristocratic values, exalting nobility and lineage, birth and the virtues recognised as innate to it: good manners, 'courtesy', largesse – on which the knights who enjoyed it in princely courts depended – an often exaggerated sense of honour, keeping one's word, the taste for gesture, a certain 'hauteur' verging on disdain for the 'vulgar', attachment to one's 'house' and one's 'arms', to one's colours and bearings, etc. Chivalry added to ancestral values a new sporting, knightly conception of warfare. It led to the reduction of enslavement and systematic massacre of the defeated; it put emphasis upon capture rather than extermination of the enemy, and upon the rule of showing 'Merci' to a defeated knight

---

[92] Flori (1986a), pp. 202–26.
[93] See, among others, Van Winter (1969); Payen (1970) and (1971), pp. 92–280; Mancini (1972); Köhler (1974); Duby (1988); Le Ridder (1978); Boutet and Strubel (1979), pp. 39–102; Bumke (1982), pp. 77ff; Ruiz-Domenec (1984a); Barbero (1987), pp. 142–80; Flori (1998c).
[94] Jackson (1981), pp. 352–70; Harper-Bill and Harvey (1986).
[95] Frappier (1954); Maranini (1970); Duby (1978), pp. 352–70 (pp. 293–307 of English translation); Flori (1984), pp. 205–21; Ruiz-Domenec (1984b).

asking to be spared. Little by little, it brought about a real improvement in the lot of prisoners, and helped in the formation of the later 'laws of war', even though this ethical outlook was still restricted exclusively to knightly society.[96]

We lack the space to discuss the love called 'courtly', codified by the treatise of Andrew the Chaplain, and whose ideological interpretation is as complex as it is controversial. Whether it served the interests of the petty nobility (E. Köhler) or those of the princes and courts (G. Duby), its aristocratic and noble colour is not disputed. All these values distinguished the nobility, which closed its ranks to the bourgeoisie whom it began to despise and to fear on account of its wealth and growing influence with the monarchs and great princes who had succeeded in rebuilding their power. Thus 'squeezed' between two powers who threatened it from above (the monarchy) and below (the bourgeoisie), 'the nobility fled to what refuge it thought there was: in etiquette, worldly pleasures, ideology, – making its last stand on the ramparts of the imaginary'.[97]

Knighthood then assumed mythical aspects. It was adorned with all the virtues. Its birth was pushed backwards in time to the beginning of the world (*ab initio*), the better to emphasise its beneficent character, willed by God. It became an 'order' of a society in which it is not difficult to recognise what would later be called the 'nobility of the sword' (*noblesse d'épée*). Describing in *Perceval* the dubbing of its hero, Chrétien de Troyes did not hesitate to assert that the *prud'homme* who dubbed him thereby conferred:

> Le plus haut ordre avec l'épée
> Que Dieu ait fait et commandé.
> C'est l'ordre de la chevalerie
> Qui doit être sans vilenie.[98]

Here, the knights join the nobility in ideology. It is not so much, as was once thought, that knighthood conferred nobility;[99] for this there is little evidence. Rather, the nobility, which had formed, closed and frozen in order to resist the joint assaults of the monarchy and the bourgeoisie, wholly 'recovered' the knights to its own advantage, infused them with its values and henceforward controlled entry to knighthood by an increasingly honorific ceremony of dubbing.[100]

---

[96] Keen (1965) and (1984), pp. 51–63; Cardini (1982); Burgess (1983); Flori (1990c); Gillingham (1992), (1994a) and (1994b); Strickland (1992a), (1992b) and (1996), pp. 183–203.

[97] Duby (1978), p. 390 (pp. 324–5 of English translation). For courtly love, see, among others, Köhler (1974); Schnell (1985) and (1989); Duby (1988); Flori (1990b); Scaglione, A. (1991); but see also Stanesco (1988), pp. 5ff see; however, Barthélémy (1992b).

[98] Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Roman de Perceval*, vv. 1633–7. Flori (1979b) and (1996); Burgess (1994).

[99] The arguments are summarised in Fossier (1982), pp. 964–79.

[100] Fleckenstein (1976), pp. 392–418; Flori (1976), (1979b) and (1987); Barbero (1987).

At the beginning of our period, not all knights were noble; many were not. By 1200, in most regions of western Europe, the situation was reversed and the nobility increasingly reserved a more highly valued knighthood for its own sons. The time was not far off when all knights would be sons of nobles, but all sons of nobles would not be knights, dubbing conferring an additional quality, a sort of 'decoration', attributing to whoever was dubbed the social, moral and charismatic virtues of an idealised chivalry.

Thus the myth of chivalry left its stamp on the entire middle ages, which, for many of us, remains the age of castles and of knights who are not only knightly but chivalrous.

WAR, PEACE AND THE CHRISTIAN ORDER

Ernst-Dieter Hehl

IN the eleventh and twelfth centuries, 'Latin' Europe went through a period of growing social differentiation, in which the function of each class became more clearly defined. The king was seen as the holder of an office, the discharge of which must answer to a basically Christian ordering of affairs. The warrior class emerged as a group whose position in society was determined by their ability and duty to bear arms, which gave them a claim to nobility. Differentials in the religious life emerged with the monastic reforms originating in Cluny and the development of new religious orders: Cistercians, Premonstratensians and canons. Religion also became more strongly centred on the Roman church and the pope. The interaction of these processes of transformation, within aristocratic and chivalric society on the one hand and the church on the other, gave rise to a new phenomenon in medieval history: the crusades. What was new was not so much the adoption of war to a religious context as the fact that the pope was summoning the whole of western Christendom to war: to a certain extent, western Christendom constituted itself as such by going jointly to war. No longer was individual withdrawal from the world into the cloister the sole representation of the ideal Christian life. Rather did war, a worldly activity, and the Christian life come together in a previously unknown relationship, no longer opposed one to the other. Fighting, which had previously been a way for the individual to rise above the mass of the population, shook free of this orientation and became part of a greater whole. In the case of the crusades, this greater whole was Christendom. At the same time, however, the duty of the warrior to the socio-political unit in which he lived was stressed ever more strongly. Not only the church, but also kings, as heads of such units, took advantage of this integration of warlike activity into a Christian order and way of life. The essence of this integration was that the warrior must pursue not his own interests but those of his fellow men. The ideal justification of his struggle was no longer the old aristocratic striving to increase his own fame

185

and self-esteem, but love of his neighbour, that fundamental Christian virtue through which he expressed his love of God.

The equation between the life of the warrior aristocracy and the Christian concept of order, which I have just outlined, actually took a long time. Not only can it be deduced from the actual events; it was also accompanied and demanded by the reflections of contemporaries. War was conceived as a way to maintain the world order – to keep the peace.

THE DUAL EVALUATION OF WAR AND FIGHTING

In 1038, the emperor Conrad II went from Basel to Friesland *pacem firmando* – to strengthen the peace. That is how Wipo, his biographer, sums up his account of the emperor's final acts.[1] The first duty of the ruler was to maintain peace and justice. Wipo was propagating a traditional ideal of kingship. The coronation order (ordo no. 72) in the tenth-century *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum* stresses the king's duty to protect church, people and kingdom. The king must not stay on the defensive: he must also fight against the heathen peoples outside the kingdom, as well as false Christians and enemies of Christendom. The end was peace; the king's means to that end should be justice and military action.

It was not only on the king's behalf that God's blessing was called down on the performance of martial duty. The *Pontificale* contains a mass for the army (ordo no. 245); the army was also included in the prayers at the king's consecration. God would stand by the army. In victory, it should thank Christ, who was the real victor. Neither the liturgy nor the ceremonial of kingship shows any reservations about warfare, so long as it serves the defence of the kingdom and of the Christian order.

However, there is one reservation which is significant for the evaluation of war at the beginning of the eleventh century. It emerges from the regulations for penance. Those who killed in battle had to do penance, according to the *Decretum* of Bishop Burchard. This collection, which was widely disseminated up to the twelfth century in Germany and northern Italy, systematises ecclesiastical law and was thus well adapted to practical use. Burchard influenced the compilations of canon law by Ivo of Chartres at the turn of the eleventh century, and through him the *Concordia discordantium canonum* of Gratian.

Burchard has two themes: the ordering of the church (books I–V) and the correct penances for wrongdoing by both laymen and monks (books VI–XIX). In his conclusion he enhances both themes by a description of the expectation of eternal life. Right penance upon earth is an indispensable preliminary to

---

[1] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, ch. 38, in Wipo, *Opera*, p. 58.

this. Burchard's questioning leads to a negative view of real life on this earth. He is interested in the sins and failings of individuals and the penances which they require, not in the socio-political order. He treats war and warlike disputes only to the extent that they are connected with sinful killing and guilt. He takes sinful killing very seriously, devoting the whole of his first book on penance to the subject (book VI of the *Decretum*).

The general readiness to resolve 'private' conflicts by the use of force made killing in war, and at a lord's command, seem legitimate. In opposition to this view Burchard quoted (VI.23) the penitential of Hrabanus Maurus. Hrabanus, and Burchard after him, refused to accept the excuse that one had taken up arms on 'princes' orders' (*jussu principum*). Such killing was a consequence of greed and a desire to please an earthly ruler; it showed a disdain of God and His commandments. Hrabanus had written this as a partisan of Lothar I, when the struggle between Louis the Pious' sons had shaken the Frankish kingdom, and Lothar had suffered a defeat at Fontenoy in 841. Burchard detached these explanations from their historical context and made them into general principles. They stood in contradiction to a social order based on the warrior's duty of loyalty to his lord. The expectation of reward for services rendered is denounced as greed, the root of all evil. The social link with an earthly ruler is subordinated to the link with God. However, Hrabanus succeeded in resolving this dilemma. He concluded by distinguishing between the legitimate ruler and the rebellious tyrant, the defender and the disturber of the peace. This solution inclined towards a more abstract understanding of lordship which could distinguish between the just and the unjust. Burchard made no use of it.

When Burchard composed an order for penance (book XIX of the *Decretum*), he made much more use of Hrabanus' wording when establishing a penance for killing in battle. The penitent was asked, 'Have you killed in war, on the orders of a legitimate ruler, who ordered it for the sake of peace, and did you kill a tyrant who wished to violate the peace?' If he said yes, then 'do penance at the time of the three [annual] fasts on the prescribed days of the week'.[2] The penance is less than what Burchard lays down for other kinds of killing, but he does insist on it. The deed itself – any shedding of blood in war – required penance. This is particularly striking in that Burchard does not totally forbid the punishing of evildoers. He approves of the death penalty, since God himself has sanctioned it (VI.43 and 44). What he does reject is bloodshed without a trial which has proved the individual guilty. His attitude may stem from a taboo on shedding blood; if so, he conceived it in terms of Christian teaching. For

---

[2] Burchard of Worms, *Decretorum libri viginti* XIX.5: 'Fecisti homicidium in bello, jussu legitimi principis, qui pro pace hoc fieri jusserat, et interfecisti tyrannum qui pacem pervertere studuit? Tres quadragesimas per legitimas ferias poeniteas': *PL* 140, col. 952.

killing a Jew or heathen he demands a penance of forty days, because the killer 'has destroyed an image of God and the hope of a future conversion'.[3] Even after killing, without any feeling of hatred, some *membrum diaboli*, in order to free oneself or one's family, Burchard recommends fasting *propter imaginem Dei* (XIX.5). Killing a human being shook the very foundations of Christian belief.

However, Burchard says that doing penance and taking part in war can be combined if the war is against the heathen. As a rule, a penitent ought not to carry or use any weapons after serious offences involving killing. Burchard often adds to this the exception 'unless it is against the heathen'.[4] Thus, traditional teaching on penance already contained an invitation for crusaders to interpret the struggle against the heathen as a penitential act.

Burchard attributed the passage from Hrabanus' penitential, quoted above, to a council of Mainz. This supposed origin lent it higher authority. In fact, no council from late antiquity to the ninth century, and no papal decrees, had ever demanded penance for killing in war. It is found only in penitentials, which mostly prescribe a penance of forty days. The demand came from a kind of source whose authority was increasingly being contested. As the ecclesiastical law of late antiquity, together with papal decrees, came increasingly to be accepted as authoritative, the demand for penance in such cases might lose its *raison d'être*.

With the Gregorian reforms this tendency became more marked. Penance for killing in war now appeared as a prescript of the local church law which the reformers were seeking to undermine. While earlier penances could still be seen as ritual cleansings, penance now assumed guilt. At the same time, following the teaching of Augustine, sins were increasingly seen no longer merely as deeds, but also in relation to the will and mentality of the sinner.

The idea was not new. Hrabanus had argued against it in his penitential, and Burchard followed him. For after the battle of Fontenoy the bishops on the winning side had explained that it had taken place 'only for the sake of justice and equity'. Therefore, participation did not imply guilt. Only those who had fought out of hatred, desire for fame and similar motives had to confess and do proper penance for their guilt.[5] Here it was not the actual, visible deed which counted, but the mentality of the doer – and that was not subject to judgement by outsiders.

Later, in the first half of the eleventh century, Bishop Gerald of Cambrai reduced the idea to a formula: 'The discharging of an office implies no guilt,

---

[3] VI.33: 'quia imaginem Dei, et spem futurae conversionis extinxerat': *ibid.*, col. 772.

[4] VI.34 and 46, XIX.5, 'nisi contra paganos'; *ibid.*, cols. 73, 777, 953.

[5] Nithard, *Historiarum liber* III.1: 'inventumque est, quod sola iusticia et aequitate decertaverint', pp. 8–9.

if there is no sin in the conscience.'[6] Gerald was aiming to justify the use of arms and the existence of the social group which bore them. His remark belongs in the context of a new, tripartite division of society according to function, and of Gerald's own disputes with the 'Peace of God' movement. Here he represented the conservative view. It was for the king, not the bishops, to organise the keeping of the peace. But Gerald's reasons for excusing those who gave military service to the king in fulfilment of their obligations had implications for the future. Here, his arguments intersected with the moral revaluation of military action in the 'Peace of God' movement.

PEACE OF GOD AND *TREUGA DEI*

The 'Truce of God' originated in southern France in the second half of the tenth century. From there it spread over the whole country. Alongside the original aim of protecting churchmen and their institutions, unarmed civilians and their livelihoods, from the consequences of war there appeared attempts to keep particular days of the week, penitential seasons and the high feasts of the church's year free from armed conflict. Thus the use of force in society would be reduced, and its consequences mitigated. The movements in support of the Peace of God and the *treuga Dei* were by implication redefining the role of war and weapons inside a society which was shaping itself more and more along Christian lines.

Keeping the peace was no longer the duty of the king alone: the bishops took the same duty upon themselves, beginning in the south, which was outside the sphere of influence of the French king. Here their chief partners were the dukes of Aquitaine and certain powerful counts. Similarly, but at a later date, the bishops of northern France shared with the king in the task of organising peace. That peace seemed to them to be disturbed by the lesser nobles as they strove for power and independence. Hence some of the leading secular rulers used their support for the Peace of God as a means to eliminate rivals and concentrate political power in their own hands.

The demands of the Peace of God were often formulated in negative terms. They forbade certain warlike activities, above all the plundering of churches and the oppression of unarmed civilians. There was no attempt to prohibit war as such. On the contrary, peace itself had to be defended by military means, even under the ever-present threat of ecclesiastical punishment. In this way the defenders of the peace defined a permissible war against disturbers of the peace, who had revealed themselves as enemies of the church not only through their

---

[6] *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium* III.52: 'officium non est in culpa, si deest peccatum in conscientia': *MHG Scriptores* VII, p. 485 (hereafter *GEC*).

behaviour, but also by their rejection of ecclesiastical punishments. Military pressure was exercised against those who dared to go against the peace.

Churchmen could be involved in the organisation and command of military action to enforce an agreed peace. Thus Aimo, archbishop of Bourges, bound himself and all the male inhabitants of his diocese to pursue all enemies of the peace. Aimo and his newly created militia had some initial success; subsequently he made war on the lord of Bennecy, an alleged disturber of the peace, and destroyed his castle. It was said that 1400 people were killed in this attack. However, in 1038 the archbishop and his army suffered a crushing defeat. The chronicler Andrew of Fleury explains this by saying that God had turned against Aimo's troops because of their atrocities at Bennecy.[7] The wars of the archbishop of Bourges showed a transition from defending the peace – which was pleasing to God – to fighting a war on which God's blessing no longer lay. The change came about because Aimo allowed himself to be swayed by greed, the besetting sin of the warrior. Nevertheless, the episode mirrors the conviction that the church had the right to organise and conduct military measures on its own account, and that God would stand beside the church's warriors in the fight for freedom. Some reservations are perceptible, however. When Andrew describes the archbishop's army as 'weaponless' he is following older ideals, according to which a warrior of God should vanquish his enemies through trust in God and His saints, without the shedding of blood.

In about 1040, Archibishop Reginbald of Arles and other bishops gave their unqualified approval to war against disturbers of the peace, as part of a propaganda letter on behalf of the *treuga Dei* in Italy. People ought to 'follow in the footsteps of God and keep the peace one with another', so as 'to merit the possession of peace and endless rest with God'. Those who marched against disturbers of the peace 'ought not to be considered guilty of any fault, but ought to go forth and return with the blessing of all Christians, as those who further the cause of God'.[8] Even on days which, according to the *treuga*, were to remain free from warlike activity it was permissible to take measures against disturbers of the peace. Because peace on earth was a prerequisite of peace in Heaven, the authors of the letter concluded that those who acted to defend the *treuga* were *cultores causae Dei*. By defending the peace they were serving God.

The programme of the Peace movement was part of a wider religious and social reform. Deeds of violence showed that the foundations of common life

---

[7] Andrew of Fleury, *Miracula s. Benedicti* v.2–4; ed. de Certain (1859), pp. 192–8.

[8] *MGH Constitutiones* 1, pp. 596–7: 'Rogamus vos et obsecramus . . . ut . . . sequamini vestigia Dei, pacem habentes ad invicem, ut cum ipso mereamini pacem et tranquillitatem perpetuam possidere . . . vindicantes nulli culpae habeantur obnoxii, sed sicut cultores causae Dei ab omnibus christianis exeant et redeant benedicti.'

were being shaken to the core, the core being the relationship of man to Christ. This was formulated most incisively by the council of Narbonne in 1054: 'We warn and command according to the law of God and our own, that no Christian shall kill any other Christian. For he who kills a Christian undoubtedly sheds the blood of Christ.'[9] This reminds us of Burchard's prohibition on killing a human being, the image of God.[10] However, killing is not prohibited altogether. The precept of Narbonne immediately goes on to consider the circumstances in which someone might kill a man 'unjustly' (*injuste*) – meaning that it does not exclude the possibility of 'just' killing. Not only did the council give the usual order that peace must be kept for the protection of the church and of unarmed civilians; its conditions for the *treuga* included numerous occasions on which weapons must be laid aside altogether. In other words, it still implicitly sanctioned private feuds as a form of armed self-help.

The Peace movement aimed for a reduction in private warfare and a new way of defending peace and justice. The movement was connected with a general transformation of society and an increasing focus on religion, which extended to the laity. 'The law of God and almost the whole of Christian religion have – so we read – come to nothing; injustice abounds, and love has grown cold': it was in these terms that the synod of Elne, in 1027, described the state of contemporary society, which they sought to overcome by renewing the *treuga*.[11] In the 1030s, Radulf Glaber saw the 'peace of God' movement as a sign that God had once again turned His face towards His creation, after a time when the sinfulness of mankind had made it seem very likely that the end of that creation was nigh. Radulf thought that councils should be held with the broad aim of 're-establishing peace and consolidating the holy faith'.[12]

The Peace movement was born out of feelings of insecurity, especially within the church and among civilians. This uncertainty was perceived as a crisis, which they tried to overcome by a change in attitudes and by penitence. Against this background the *treuga Dei* can also be understood as a change in attitudes: it was not the capitulation of a pacifist church to a fundamentally belligerent social group. The warrior who accepted the *treuga* renounced the use of weapons at times which were sacred to God, but their use was permissible at other times – just as married couples were bound at times to show their love

---

[9] Mansi 19, col. 827: 'monemus, et mandamus secundum praeceptum Dei, et nostrum, ut nullus Christianorum alium quemlibet Christianum occidat: quia qui Christianum occidit, sine dubio Christi sanguinem fundit'.

[10] See above, note 3.

[11] Mansi 19, col. 483: 'Hoc autem pactum sive treugam ideo constituerunt, quoniam Divina lex, et pene onmis Christiana religio ad nihilum deducta, ut legitur, abundabat iniquitas, et refrigescebat caritas.'

[12] Radulf Glaber, *Historiae* IV.v.14: 'de reformanda pace et sacre fidei institutione celebrarentur concilia': ed. France (1989), pp. 194–5.

of God by abstaining from sexual intercourse. The Peace of God movement took religious rules which applied to all lay people and adapted them into regulations which affected only warriors. Warriors were beginning to form a class apart.

In the 1030s the Peace of God movement was criticised by two bishops from the ecclesiastical province of Rheims: Gerald of Cambrai, who belonged to the German empire, and Adalbero of Laon. Both started with the idea that the role of the king as a defender of the peace had been diminished. Both saw society as being made up of three functional groups: those who prayed, those who fought and those who tilled the soil.

Gerald of Cambrai opposed the bishops of Soissons and Beauvais, who in 1023 had demanded an oath to defend peace and justice which contradicted the fundamental ordering of society:

In this way the state of holy church is cast into confusion, for it ought to be governed by two persons, the king and the priest. It is the latter's part to pray, and the former's to fight. Thus it is the duty of kings bravely to suppress revolts, to bring peace after war, and to encourage peaceful intercourse. The duty of bishops is to exhort kings to fight bravely for the safety of their country, and to pray that they may be victorious.[13]

Gerald's argument turns on the duties of kings; he differentiates between king and bishop on the basis of the distinction between imperial (or royal) power and episcopal authority proposed in the fifth century by Pope Gelasius I.

Gerald himself had to swear the required oath. A few years later, probably in 1036, he quarrelled with French bishops who were trying to forbid the use of weapons.[14] On this occasion he developed his idea of three functions which must be mutually supportive. Warriors (*pugnatores*) are there to ensure that those who pray (*oratores*) and those who till the soil (*agricultores*) can go about their business undisturbed. They themselves profit not only from the work of the farmers, but also from the fact that 'the holy prayers of the pious men whom they protect deliver them from the sinfulness of bearing arms'.[15] Gerald does bear in mind the intrinsic sinfulness of the use of arms, but opposes to it the principle that 'the discharging of an office implies no guilt, if there is no sin in the conscience'.[16] He supports his argument with instances from the Old Testament of people who took up arms 'at God's call' (*ex voce Domini*), and by

---

[13]   *GEC* III.27: 'Hoc etiam modo sanctae aecclesiae statum confundi, quae geminis personis, regali videlicet ac sacerdotali, administrari precipitur. Huic enim orare, illi vero pugnare tribuitur. Igitur regum esse, seditiones virtute compescere, bella sedare, pacis commercia dilatare; episcoporum vero, reges ut viriliter pro salute patriae pugnent monere, ut vincant orare' (p. 474).

[14]   On the dating see Oexle (1981), pp. 74–6. Duby (1978), p. 63 dates it to 1024.

[15]   *GEC* III.52: 'Pari modo pugnatores, dum . . . armorumque delicta piorum quos tuentur expiat precatio sancta, foventur' (p. 485).

[16]   *Ibid.;* see above, note 6.

observing that in his own time it was the church which girded the sword on kings.

In his examination of the social order, Gerald speaks in general about those who fight, till the soil and pray. He is trying to describe the fundamental social units into which humanity has been divided from the beginning.[17] In the process he transfers to warriors the attributes which had formerly been confined to kings, and applies to them some comments from St Paul's letter to the Romans: 'The apostle also calls them [warriors] servants of God, saying, "For he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath", and adds, "he beareth not the sword in vain"' (Romans 13:4).[18] Thus Gerald makes warriors share in the duties of kings.

Kings, he says, have imposed laws which make it possible for churchmen and others to regain goods which have been stolen from them, and to force the robbers to make restitution. Gerald insists that such laws are valid, opposing the notions of the Peace movement, whose members saw such enforced restitution as part of a vicious circle of violence. Underlying this is Isidore of Seville's definition of the just war: 'A war is just which is waged on authority to regain one's possessions.'[19] The just order of society is created by kings. It is not forbidden to bishops to enforce that order so as to gain justice for themselves and their church. Not only must kings help in that task: so must every warrior, and thereby he can show himself to be *minister Dei*. Gerald thought that if everyone gave up trying to defend his legitimate rights, and tried to make an agreed peace, this would simply lead to a victory of might over right. The mighty would establish what Augustine had described as a 'false peace' (*pax falsa: De civitate Dei* XIX.12), instead of being guided by the laws.[20] Gerald concludes that defending the peace is the task not only of kings, but also of *pugnatores*.

At about the same time, Bishop Adalbero of Laon adopted a similar position in his *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem*. The rule of kings and emperors ensures the security of the realm. But beside them stand 'the warriors, the protectors of the churches; they defend all people, great and small, and so protect all, and themselves too, in the same way'.[21] Without any royal command, warriors

---

[17] Oexle (1987), p. 101 n. 189.

[18] *GEC* III.52: 'Hos et apostolus ministros Dei appellat, ita dicens: "Minister enim Dei est, vindex in iram", subinferens: "Non enim sine causa gladium portat"' (pp. 485–6).

[19] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XVIII.i.2 (see text in note 50 below, in the version by Ivo of Chartres, *Panormia* VIII.54 = Gratian C.23 q.2 c.1).

[20] *GEC* III.52 and 53 (pp. 486–7). Also for the following.

[21] Adalbero of Laon, *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem*, lines 282–3:

> Hi bellatores, tutores aecclesiarum,
> Defendunt uulgi maiores atque minores,
> Cunctos et sese parili sic more tuentur.

assume the task of protecting churches. In this duty they are equal to the king. Hence Adalbero includes both in a single group, establishing a threefold ordering of society: some work, some fight, some pray (lines 295–6). If this order is correctly maintained, peace will follow.

This ordering underlies Adalbero's attack on the Cluniacs (lines 77–172). In his eyes the Cluniacs, under Abbot Odilo, have exceeded their competence and set themselves up as warriors. A 'warlike order of monks' (*monachorum bellicus ordo*, line 156) has arisen, fighting under its 'king' Odilo: 'Now I am a soldier. I shall remain a monk, but of another sort. No more shall I be a monk, but fight at the behest of my king', explains a monk who has gone over to the new order.[22] Monks, whose *militia* (according to St Paul) meant not 'entangling themselves with the affairs of this life' (2 Timothy 2:4), are acting like secular warriors. Adalbero denounces the mixing of *militia Dei* and *militia saecularis*.

Gerald's and Adalbero's views on the tripartite functioning of society stress the king's role in the social order. But they also assign to soldiers alone the duty of defending the church. They mirror the process whereby certain of the king's duties were being transferred to an emerging new class of warriors. Here they touch on some of the concerns of the Peace of God movement. The warrior ethic is Christianised. Adalbero points out the attendant danger, that the church and its institutions might themselves assume a warlike ethos: monks have turned into soldiers. The process of Christianising the warrior ethos posed the question whether the warrior's *militia saecularis* was really comparable to the *militia Dei*, the lifestyle enjoined on ecclesiastics and monks as the surest path to salvation. A first *rapprochement* took place at the time of the crusades. A century after Adalbero wrote his satirical claim, 'Now I am a soldier. I shall remain a monk, but of another sort', Bernard of Clairvaux wrote his description of the Templars; and in that context, Adalbero's satire had a positive ring.

WARS OF THE CHURCH AND WARS FOR THE CHURCH: THE REFORMING PAPACY

The papacy never had much to do with the Peace of God movement, and took no interest in it up to the time of Leo IX. However, the policy of the reforming papacy led to a further clarification of how warlike activity might be reconciled with the Christian life. This clarification was above all a consequence of the struggle which opposed Gregory VII and his supporters to the German king Henry IV and the antipope Guibert of Ravenna (Clement III). The

---

[22] *Ibid.*, lines 112–13:

> Miles nunc! monachus diuerso more manebo!
> Non ego sum monachus, iussu sed milito regis.

main question was whether pope and church could independently organise the fight to defend their interests, and achieve their ends by military means. The reformers who proclaimed that this was possible could not continue to maintain that war was invariably sinful. Such thoughts were avoided equally by defenders of the traditional notion of royal power, because they thought the king exercised his power in accordance with a God-given order.

The reforming papacy from Leo IX to Alexander II

When in 1053 Leo IX marched at the head of an army against the Normans of southern Italy, this did not imply any shift of principle. Earlier popes had engaged in military activity. Since the reforming papacy could no longer look for help to the western empire, which had been hostile since the time of Henry IV, the former had to organise the defence of its own interests and raise troops for its own war. Perhaps Leo had already promised forgiveness of sins in return for such support. In any case, he declared that participation in his campaign was pleasing to God, and promised that the fallen would go to heaven. His defeat called the religious basis of the undertaking into question. Leo himself grappled with the problem, comparing his war against the Normans with the struggle against the heathen; his ideas on the liberation of Christendom prefigure a motif of later crusading propaganda.[23]

The *vitae* of Leo and the polemical literature of the Investiture Contest present the dead of this war as martyrs. Similarly, the reformers reckoned Erlembald, the champion of the Milanese *Pataria*, as a martyr. The epitaph of the German anti-king Rudolf of Rheinfelden, who died in 1080 in battle against Henry IV, ends, 'Death was to him as life, he fell for the church.'[24] It was not the value of his death as witness to the Faith which earned him the martyr's crown, but the fact that he fell in battle against (Christian) enemies of the church. The notion of martyrdom turned fighting for the church into a way for an individual warrior to save his own soul. This pattern of interpretation successfully displaced the notion that victory or defeat were God's way of indicating which party was in the right. The wars of the church did not need to be justified by success. Death in battle could be a much better incentive for future generations to offer their lives in defence of the church.

The Normans against whom Leo had campaigned later became vassals and allies of the reforming papacy. They were responsible for providing military protection to an elected pope. In 1059/60 Nicholas decreed that an usurper of the papal throne must be driven out 'with human help' (*humano auxilio*).[25]

---

[23] *PL* 143, cols. 778–9.

[24] Schubert and Ramm, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Merseburg*, no. 3: 'Mors sibi vita fuit, ecclesiae cecidit.'

[25] *MGH Constitutiones* I, p. 551.

The state of affairs in Rome being what it was, military force was the only way to get a pope established. Contemporaries often looked sceptically on this connection between papal election and military might. Reformers like Peter Damian found it offensive. He complained bitterly about the schism between Alexander II and Cadalus of Parma (Honorius II) and the attendant fighting. Instead of putting up with injustice, the priesthood was trying to retaliate and so causing further injustice. Only the king could have recourse to the secular arm; the church must confine itself to the word of God. Peter Damian was defending the traditional division of functions between the secular and the spiritual power. His lament shows what arguments were used to overcome that division. Those who approved of military measures taken by the church appealed to the precedent of Leo IX, who was considered a saint in spite of his warmongering. Damian will not accept this. Good and evil, he says, must not be judged according to the merits of those who possess them, but according to their own nature.[26] Whatever the end, it could not justify the means, if the means used by the church was force.

The wars against which Damian was protesting were wars waged by the church in its own cause. But during the pontificate of Alexander II, the papacy also expressed opinions about wars which lay outside its own immediate interests. It sanctioned the Norman conquest of Muslim Sicily and called for help in the Spanish *Reconquista,* and Hildebrand at least (the later Pope Gregory VII) gave his support to William the Conqueror when he went in 1066 to seize the crown of Christian England. However, in none of these cases was the war instigated by the papacy.

In Sicily and in England, accounts written by the conquerors set the war in a religious context. The combatants made their confession before battle. Participation in battle was not in contradiction to any penance which they had to do for sins committed, and it did not involve them in further sin. Alexander II offered absolution to soldiers willing to drive the Saracens out of Sicily 'if they inwardly repent and avoid sinning in future'.[27] The war against the heathen was an integral part of the penance. It became a token of the soldier's obedience to God's commands. The reformers progressively modified the principle that penitents should bear no weapon. Gregory VII retained it as a basis, but allowed soldiers to use weapons 'on the advice of pious bishops in the defence of justice'.[28] This formula goes beyond the exception made for wars

---

[26] Peter Damian, *Letter* 87: 'cum mala vel bona non pro meritis considerentur habentium, sed ex propriis debeant qualitatibus iudicari': ed. Reindel, part 2, p. 514.

[27] Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii* II. 33: 'absolutionem de offensis, si resipiscentes in futurum caveant . . . mandat': ed. Pontieri, p. 45.

[28] Gregory VII, *Registrum*, VI. 5b, c. 6: 'arma . . . ulteriusque non ferat nisi consilio religiosorum episcoporum pro defendenda iustitia' (p. 404). See also VII. 10 (p. 472), which permits the bearing of arms 'on the advice of pious men' ('religiosorum virorum consilio').

against the heathen, as practised by Alexander II in agreement with older penitential systems. It was rooted in the conviction that every man had a duty to defend justice, if necessary by force of arms.

After the battle of Hastings, in 1070, the English church held a synod. In the presence of a papal legate, it laid down for William's soldiers one of the few penances for killing in battle.[29] The judgement was based on two criteria. First, it emphasised that all killing, even in 'public war' (*in bello publico*), required penance. Second, the synod made casuistic distinctions between degrees of punishment. Penance was also incumbent on those who had not actually killed anybody, but had been ready to do so.

In the second half of the eleventh century there was a twofold development. Sins were increasingly measured according to the mentality of the sinner, not according to the deed itself; this also applied to killing in battle. Penance should demonstrate not so much a rejection of the world as a fresh turning to God. Thus, penance could be combined with the use of arms in defence of justice and the church.

This connection is clearly shown in Pope Alexander II's appeal for support for the Spanish *Reconquista.* Men about to set out for Spain were told to make their confession and receive penance. Alexander then remitted it and granted them forgiveness for their sins. They would be able to bring their undertaking to a successful conclusion because they had begun it 'under the admonition of God' (*divinitus admoniti*).[30] The adventurers had earned remission of their penance by their readiness to make war on the heathen; the next step was to define that same war as a work of penance, lest the participants should be accused of avoiding penance altogether. Alexander did not go that far, but he judged the expedition strictly according to the criteria for the just war. He distinguished between a forbidden war against the Jews, who had submitted, and a permissible war on the Saracens: 'For it is right to make war on those who are persecuting Christians and driving them out of their cities and dwelling-places.'[31]

During those years the papacy took no part in the military organisation of the *Reconquista.* The Spanish princes and bishops were the driving force, and they strengthened the religious background of the struggle. They preached the triumph of the cross. When the cathedral of Barcelona was dedicated in 1058, Count Ramón Berenguer I expressed the hope that the cross would advance victoriously further into Spain. The anniversary of the dedication ought to be celebrated in future 'for the honour of Christ and the glory of the holy cross, that God may give us victory over the barbarians through the triumph of the

---

[29] Text in Cowdrey (1969), pp. 241–2; Morton (1975), pp. 381–2.
[30] Löwenfeld (ed.), *Epistolae pontificum Romanorum ineditae,* p. 43, no. 82.
[31] *PL* 146, col. 1387: 'In illos enim, qui Christianos persequuntur et ex urbibus et propriis sedibus pellunt, juste pugnatur.'

cross'.[32] The triumph of the cross, the battle for the honour of Christ, and the safeguarding of the Peace of God through military action, are all crusading motifs which are echoed in these actions by the church and the nobility of Spain.

Pope Gregory VII

Even to his contemporaries Gregory VII was known as the warlike pope who turned the 'soldiery of Saint Peter' into a tool of generalship. This soldiery corresponded to the military retinue of a German bishop, or the contingents raised by French bishops to defend the Peace of God. The only difference was that Gregory gathered his feudal soldiery from a wider geographical area. From an ideological viewpoint this mirrored the desire of the reforming papacy to extend its control over all Christendom; and it was necessary because the nobility in the environs of Rome was often hostile to the reformers.

This comparison with the structure of episcopal regiments explains why Gregory often demanded military intervention without making any particular promises in return. This also applied to war against the heathen. Thus, when in 1074 Gregory made a 'crusading plan' to come to the aid of the Christians of Constantinople, under threat from the Turks, he was slow to promise any spiritual rewards. He turned first to the French princes, who had sworn an oath of assistance to St Peter's chair. He promised them a rather imprecise reward through the chief apostles (*Reg.* 1.46). In his general crusading appeal of 1 March 1074 (*Reg.* 1.49) he said that western Christians had a duty to offer their lives 'for the liberation of their brethren' (*pro liberatione fratrum*). For by so doing they would, in the words of the first Epistle of John (3:16), be following Christ: 'hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren'. Making war on the heathen in support of Byzantium was a fulfilment of the Christian command to love one's neighbour and the mark of a follower of Christ. From this, Gregory could, while making no promises, derive the certainty that soldiers in such a war could earn eternal reward from God.

The idea that love of one's (beleaguered) neighbour could be expressed by taking up arms in his defence was not, in Gregory's view, confined to wars in the interests of the church. If it was permissible to fight for one's own country, it followed that it was also justifiable to fight for eastern Christendom. Fighting for Christ must indeed be *more* meritorious, 'for if, as some say, it is a noble thing to die for our country, it is far nobler and a truly praiseworthy thing

---

[32] Mansi 19, col. 882: 'propter honorem Christi et sanctae crucis gloriam, ut . . . nobis de barbaris per crucis triumphum det victoriam'.

to give our corruptible flesh for Christ, who is life eternal'.[33] Gregory had no qualms about using Horace's famous line in praise of dying for one's country *(Carmina* 3.2.13): he had no objection to fighting for secular ends.

In 1080, therefore, Gregory supported Robert Guiscard's expedition against Byzantium, when the Norman duke attempted to set a monk who claimed to be Michael VII upon the imperial throne. Gregory considered this to be a just war, because Michael had been unjustly dethroned. Robert's and Michael's soldiers must 'be truly loyal to them, as is fitting for Christians, and in all their deeds have the fear and love of God before their eyes, and persist in good works'.[34] The secular power, when fighting for a just cause, had a right to support. To give it was a Christian duty.

From 1076, Gregory's pontificate was overshadowed by his quarrel with Henry IV. The appearance of two rival kings and one antipope turned the quarrel into open war. Gregory considered himself obliged to defend justice. He made this into a slogan which could also be used to justify the wars of a secular ruler. As recently as 1075 he had congratulated Henry IV on his victory over the Saxons, who had unjustly (*iniuste*) opposed him. Henry should remember to defend the honour and justice of God above all things, and conduct his war as a punitive expedition 'for the sake of justice' (*causa iustitiae*; *Reg.* III.7). For although Gregory sanctioned 'secular' wars for justice, he was disappointed that so few men were ready to fight in the cause of St Peter. Driven out of Rome by Henry IV, he spent the last few months of his pontificate in appeals to Christendom for help and in bitter lamentation. Many indeed were willing to face death for their earthly lords, but not for the Lord in heaven.[35] In this appeal, and in many others, Gregory promised that the man who took arms for the church would gain absolution from his sins (*absolutio peccatorum*). This was by way of an inducement; central to his thinking was the idea that soldiers had a duty to offer such service.

People should care more for the truth and for their neighbours than for their own interests. Laymen should defend the former in the world with whatever means were available to them. Therefore, Gregory could consider entry into the cloister as a flight from responsibility. He harshly censored Abbot Hugh of Cluny for receiving Duke William of Burgundy into his monastery: 'Where are those who willingly face dangers out of love for God, withstand the godless

---

[33] Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes*, no. 5: 'quia si pulchrum est, ut quidam dicunt, pro patria mori, pulcherrimum est ac ualde gloriosum carnem morticinam pro Christo dare, qui est aeterna uita' (text and trans. Cowdrey (1972), pp. 12–13).

[34] *Reg.* VIII.6: 'et rectam fidem, sicut decet christianos, circa illos servare, in omnibus actibus suis timorem Dei et amorem prae oculis habere et in bonis operibus perseverare' (p. 524).

[35] *Epistolae vagantes*, no. 54, ed. Cowdrey, p. 132. Similarly *Reg.* IX.21, but with a distinctly negative attitude towards fighting for a secular overlord.

and do not fear to suffer death for justice and the truth? See, those who seem to fear or to love God flee from the wars of Christ, set aside the salvation of their brethren and, loving themselves alone, seek for peace and quiet.'[36] When the countess Matilda of Tuscany wished to enter a nunnery, he ordered her to remain in the world, and not to abandon her subjects 'seeking the salvation of your own soul alone. For love seeketh not itself.'[37]

Gregory saw armed defence of the Christian world order as a fulfilment of the command to love one's neighbour and a potential mark of the follower of Christ. This duty was incumbent not only on kings, but also on every nobleman capable of bearing arms. Soldiers who fell in the performance of this duty merited eternal salvation, as long as they were not in a state of sin. However, Gregory did not see the wars of the reforming papacy as a chance for martyrdom or a kind of penance. He was still far removed from these elements of crusading propaganda.

Polemical and canonical writings

Matilda gave military assistance to Gregory. Her supporters, such as Anselm of Lucca, John of Mantua and Bonizo of Sutri, defended Gregory's conviction that armed force could be employed on the church's behalf. This concentration on the church's wars was a consequence of the political situation. But every argument which was advanced to justify them also conferred legitimacy on warlike actions by the secular power, if it was acting in pursuance of truth and justice.

The popes were not the only ones to undertake the religious justification of war. During the earlier Saxon rebellion against Henry IV, both sides tried to bolster their actions with religious arguments. In 1073, the Saxons threatened the king with a 'just war' (*iustum bellum*) if he did not accede to their demands; they would fight 'for the church of God, the Christian faith and also for their freedom' (*pro aecclesia Dei, pro fide christiana, pro libertate etiam sua*). Rudolf of Rheinfelden, who was chosen as rival king by the opposition in 1076, was urged to wage 'the war of the Lord' (*bellum Domini*) against Henry.[38] The vocabulary used to justify this war is very similar to that used by Gregory VII.

---

[36] *Reg*. VI.17: 'Ubi sunt, qui se sponte pro amore Dei opponant periculis, resistant impiis et pro iustitia et veritate non timeant mortem subire? Ecce qui Deum videntur timere vel amare, de bello Christi fugiunt, salutem fratrum postponunt et se ipsos tantum amantes quietem requirunt' (p. 23).

[37] *Reg*. I.47: 'ut tuae solius animae saluti provideres. Caritas enim . . . non quae sua sunt querit' (pp. 71–2).

[38] Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, years 1073, 1076, pp. 152, 181. For the following, *ibid*. pp. 222–3 (year 1075).

According to Lampert of Hersfeld, the king's side took much the same line. After the victory over the Saxons on the River Unstrut (1075), they attempted belatedly to give the war a religious colouring. Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz excommunicated the Saxons retrospectively for earlier misdeeds. Henry's army was told that it could continue to fight, and kill, without sin or ecclesiastical punishment. Lambert's account is probably invented, but for that very reason it reflects a wider concept. The question whether a man ought to be punished for killing an excommunicated person had been extensively discussed by the reformers. In about 1084-9, Bernold of Constance had refused to demand heavy penalties in such cases. He acknowledged that the killer was motivated by 'zeal for God' (*zelus Dei*) and was fighting 'for the needs of the church' (*pro ecclesiastica necessitate*). But Bernold assumed that killing could seldom be blameless. Similarly, Pope Urban II spoke of an 'ambiguity' (*duplicitas*) which made the penance debatable. Both seem to shrink from the idea that such killing was meritorious, as Manegold of Lautenbach had declared.[39] In reality, however, they are introducing an objective criterion into a subjective debate. Manegold had said that the defence of the church – either against the heathen or against supporters of Henry IV – was sufficient grounds for considering such killing blameless. Bernold and Urban started, rather, from the intentions of the killer. It was true that the deed itself was justified. But the doer of it could either be showing his zeal for God and the church, or be inspired by such motives as hatred and greed (for plunder), for which he must then do penance.

Pope Paschal II concluded this debate in a letter to the knights of San Gimignano. They were to persist in obedience and service to the church. If they happened to kill an 'impious' (*sacrilegus*) man 'in the defence of justice' (*pro defensione iustitiae*), they would not be guilty of murder. The aim of the war gave grounds for assuming that the soldiers had acted in good conscience. They must do penance only if they appeared to have a 'careless attitude' (*levitas*). Paschal makes little of this; he concentrates much more on promising the obedient soldiers absolution from their sins and eternal life. Paschal was certainly thinking of the church's wars, but the struggle for justice also justified wars waged by a secular ruler. For Paschal also refers to a fundamental principle of Roman law (*Dig.* 9.2.45.4): 'To repel force with force is permitted by all laws and legal principles.'[40]

The church's appeal to armed force in pursuit of its own ends led logically to the notion that the secular power was entitled to do the same. Guilt and sin

---

[39] Bernold of Constance, *Libellus* v, *MGH Libelli de lite* II, p. 98; Urban II, *PL* 151, col. 394; Manegold of Lautenbach, *Ad Gebehardum liber*, chs. 38 and 40, *MGH Libelli de lite* I, pp. 376–7, 380–1.

[40] *PL* 163, col. 366: 'vim vi repellere omnes leges omniaque jura permittunt'.

did not result from mere participation in war: they were the consequence of
unworthy motives and actual misdeeds. This was the outcome of a discussion
which had not centred on war as such. Henry's supporters only disputed the
idea that pope and church could undertake their own defence. That the king
had the right to wage war was to them self-evident. The reforming papacy, on
the other hand, formulated war aims which were given priority over the king's
prerogative: justice and the protection of a 'right' way of life according to the
dictates of church and religion. Those aims alone justified the use of arms, and
the soldier's duty was to them and not to the king. This orientation of war
on predetermined objectives belongs with other, simultaneous processes: the
development of a chivalric ethic and the functionalising of royal power.

The quarrel reached its zenith after 1080, when Gregory excommunicated
Henry IV and his supporters for the second time. Gregory was accused of
having legitimised rebellion against Henry by absolving his subjects from their
oath of allegiance – while at the same time trying to create a new loyalty to the
rival king Rudolf of Rheinfelden. To those who would stand 'loyally' beside
Rudolf he promised 'absolution from all their sins and their [the apostles']
blessing in this life and in the future'.[41] This was effectively a licence to kill and
murder. Gregory's opponents saw his promised absolution, in particular, as an
irresponsible excusing of sins, as if obedience to the pope was an insurance
against sinning.

The Gregorian party rejected such arguments and justified the reformers'
involvement in military activity by blaming it on Henry's depravity. The oath of
allegiance should be valid only when made to a ruler who fulfilled his duties.
Henry was seeking to destroy the church, so war against him had become
self-defence. Especially after the election of Guibert of Ravenna as antipope,
Henry had to be considered a heretic and schismatic, and as such had to be
pursued by secular and military means, in accordance with the traditions of
the church. Whoever tolerated such injustice became guilty of it himself. War
against Henry was justified by the circumstances and arguments in and by
which it was waged, and which told against the formal duty of obedience.

Because the Gregorians' arguments were drawn from late antiquity, they
tended *ipso facto* to justify war-making by the secular power. From the tradition
of the old church they took the idea that the church's needs ought to be defended
by force of arms, and that it was the duty of the emperor to undertake this
defence. That is to say, their authorities supplied the Gregorians with arguments
to justify force of arms, killing and war, but not with the idea that the church
itself could take up arms. That conclusion they drew for themselves.

---

[41] *Reg.* VII.14a: 'omnibus sibi fideliter adhaerentibus absolutionem omnium peccatorum vestramque
benedictionem in hac vita et in futuro vestra fretus fiducia largior' (p. 486).

By drawing on the writings of Augustine, the Gregorians evaded the notion that war was intrinsically sinful. This process emerges most clearly from the collection of canons by Anselm of Lucca. In Book XIII Anselm gathers canons relating to 'vengeance and justified persecution' (*de vindicta et de persecutione iusta*).[42] Here he examines the morality of war. Anselm stresses that blood-thirstiness and similar motives for war are unacceptable: only love of one's neighbour can justify the use of force. Hence, the aim of war is not to destroy the enemy, but to turn him away from sin and save his soul at least – even if this involves killing him!

In one of his own sermons, Anselm defines love as 'the root and foundation of all the virtues'.[43] It seeks not its own good, but that of its neighbour. This care for one's neighbour reveals a lover of God and follower of Christ. In Anselm's collection of canons, 'love' is the inner attitude which decides whether a deed is to be accounted to the doer for good or for ill: 'your attitude gives its name to your deed' (XIII.27).[44] Objectively 'good' deeds alone are insufficient to gain merit with God. Anselm separates the external deed from the attitude of the doer; each must be judged on its own. Thus he avoids the concept that killing in a just war demands penance, because guilt springs from one's mental state. The biblical commands which appear to prohibit the use of force refer not to the external deed, but to the intention. War and peace are not irreconcilable opposites, for only in war can one strive for peace, and in war one must be 'peace-seeking' (*pacificus*), so as to share in the biblical blessing upon the peacemakers.[45] With love one can, even in war, display the fundamental Christian virtue which opens the way to everlasting salvation.

Love ought to govern the conduct of every man; but his actual deeds must depend on his status and its attendant duties. From the universally applicable law of love there sprang an ethic of social class. Anselm, following Gregory I, asserts that the 'highest merit' (*summa laus*) of the soldier is to obey the demands of the state (XIII.9). However, his chief concern is to prove that the church is entitled to use force against its enemies. The justification for this lies in the ideal love of Christ. Christ converted St Paul through force and fear, yet 'Who can love us more than Christ, who gave his life for his sheep?'[46] None the less, Anselm still thought it was the *ruler's* duty to defend the church.

---

[42] Edition of book XIII in Pásztor (1987), pp. 405–21. See *ibid.*, p. 376 n. 5, for doubts about Anselm's authorship of books VIII–XIII of the collection.

[43] Pásztor (1965), p. 96: 'Radix est et fundamentum virtutum omnium caritas.'

[44] XIII.27; Pásztor (1987), p. 419: 'affectus tuus nomen imponit operi tuo'.

[45] XIII.3, p. 406; XIII.4, p. 408.

[46] XIII.16, p. 412: 'Quis nos potest amplius amare quam Christus, qui animam suam posuit pro ovibus suis?'

The Investiture contest, however, forced the Gregorians to ask the nobility for military assistance; in Italy they had to appeal first and foremost to Matilda of Tuscany. At her request, John of Mantua wrote a commentary on the Song of Songs, intended to strengthen Matilda in her battle for the church. Here, too, the use of warlike force is justified through love.[47] It is not enough to live for oneself, even in obedience to God. Love demands that we transcend ourselves for the salvation of all mankind. Matilda is seen as the bride in the Song of Songs in that she is vowed to contemplation, but also wields the sword against the enemies of the church and so becomes a 'catholic soldier' (*miles catholica*). The contemplative life, otherwise designated for monks, can be led by a lay person in time of war. Contemplation and love are interdependent.

Bonizo of Sutri, in his *Liber de vita christiana*, lays greater stress on the role of the king. He must be obeyed: rebellion will be punished by the church. Soldiers have a twofold obligation: they 'must so serve the secular power that they do not work against the Christian religion'.[48] They must be ready to give their lives in defence of their lord or 'for the survival of the state' (*pro statu rei publicae*). Hence they should fight against schismatics and heretics, as well as defend the poor, widows and orphans – duties which originally devolved upon the king. Bonizo explains that these are duties which soldiers must fulfil without a direct command from their lord. He is laying down the basis of a chivalric ethic: loyalty to the king and defence of the church and those who cannot defend themselves. In the middle of the twelfth century, John of Salisbury connected this with the motif of love of one's neighbour and the imitation of Christ. It was the knight's duty to 'shed his blood for the brethren and, if necessary, lay down his life'.[49]

The state of the argument over war at the end of the eleventh century is documented in the canonical collections of Ivo of Chartres. Ivo was closely connected with the Reformers. As a French bishop, he had no part in their military disputes, and in his chapter on the problems of war and the use of force, he shows no desire to justify actual political activities by the popes. Ivo rejects the tradition that penance must be done for killing in war. His last collection, the *Panormia*, contains no canon which prescribes any such penance. The penance which Urban II had recommended for the killing of an excommunicate is not mentioned in this work (VIII.11), although Ivo includes it in his *Decretum* (X.54).

---

[47] On what follows see John of Mantua, *In cantica canticorum* 5.2 (pp. 104–5); 1.16 (pp. 51–2); 2.15 (p. 65).

[48] Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana*, VII.28, ed. Perels (1930), II. p. 248: 'sic militent terrenae potestati, ut Christianae non obvient religioni'.

[49] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* VI.8: 'pro fratribus...fundere sanguinem et, si opus est, animam ponere': ed. Webb (1909), vol. 2, p. 23.

In the *Panormia* Ivo makes a general statement of his opinions. In the last book he deals with the misdeeds of lay people. For his first canon (VIII.1) he borrows from Augustine the idea that killing is not always a sin. A soldier or holder of a 'public' office may kill without sin if he has authority to do so, and is acting 'on behalf of others or of the state' (*pro aliis vel pro civitate*). Because it is forbidden to kill with 'private power' (*privata potestate*), or to kill an innocent man, Ivo's next chapter includes a prohibition of suicide. The rest of this chapter shows that unlicensed and sinful killing is *a priori* limited to the 'private' sphere. Killing in the 'public' and 'civic' sphere – the death penalty or war – follows other criteria. They contribute to the internal and external maintenance of justice and peace, and are therefore legitimate.

These ideas had already been formulated by the Gregorian canonists and propagandists in the throes of the Investiture Contest. The real persecutors were those who treated the church unjustly, not those who fought and punished such injustice by force of arms. Ivo removes this argument from its polemical context. He stresses the legitimacy of legally constituted punishment, both corporal and capital. 'This is not bloodshed, but service of the laws', he states, and follows this immediately with the definition of the just war from the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (XVIII.i.2): 'That war is just which is waged upon authority, to regain property or drive out enemies.'[50]

Ivo was the first to include this definition in a collection of canons. He thereby disentangled war from the problematics of sin and penance. A just war is not an injustice, but an attempt to combat injustice. There can be objective grounds for deciding whether a war is just or not. It must be absolutely necessary, but if it is, then one is always justified in fighting in self-defence, and in defence of one's country and its socio-political order (*leges paternae*). These ideas of Ivo's (VIII.37) show how superior interests were superseding the ideals of the *treuga Dei*, which prohibited fighting at certain prescribed times.

Ivo energetically proposes defence of the secular order as the aim of war. However, he does not deny the church the right to defend itself. To this end, he includes in his collections accounts and letters concerning the warlike activities of popes of the Carolingian era, who had undertaken to protect the Roman church against the Christian Lombards and the Muslim Saracens. Ivo promises heaven to the soldier who falls in battle 'for the truth of the faith, the saving of his country and the defence of Christians'.[51] He emphasises not the struggle against the heathen, but the defence of the Christian order. If a war was focused on defence and justice it was possible to participate in it without sin. The

---

[50] Ivo of Chartres, *Panormia* VIII.53: 'non est effusio sanguinis, sed legum ministerium'. VIII.54 (= Gratian C.23 q.2 c.1): 'Justum bellum est quod ex edicto geritur de rebus repetendis, aut propulsandorum hostium' [Gratian: 'hominum'] causa'. *PL* 161, col. 1315.

[51] *Ibid.*, VIII.30: 'pro veritate fidei et salvatione patriae ac defensione Christianorum': *PL* 161. col. 1311.

defence of Christendom offered the opportunity to win everlasting salvation. A war to reconquer formerly Christian lands could be understood as a just war according to Isidore's definition: it was permissible, but the participants gained no religious rewards.

Ivo's teaching cannot, therefore, be directly connected with the crusades, whose participants were promised religious rewards. Nor does the teaching of Gregorian canonists and propagandists lead directly to the crusade, for the Gregorians were concerned to defend their reform against their Christian opponents. However, there is a possible connection between Ivo's doctrine of war and crusading theory, via the idea that war can be waged for a justice defined in religious terms. For as God is the 'fount of justice' (*iustitiae fons*), killing on His orders is just, either in war or as a legal punishment. This passage from Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (1.17–18, 20–1) begins with a prohibition on suicide. Ivo cites it both in his *Decretum* (x.4) and in the *Panormia* (viii.2). In both collections, however, the notion of killing on God's orders remains peripheral. Ivo heads the chapter with the assertion that both secular and canon law forbid the shedding of human blood; but he distinguishes between 'private' killing and permissible 'public' killing.[52]

Gratian, however, heads this passage, 'Those who have waged war upon the authority of God have in no way transgressed the commandment not to kill.'[53] Scarcely half a century after the beginning of the crusades, this citation from Augustine gave Gratian the key to integrating the notion of the crusade into the theory of the just war. The juristic prerequisites for the just war, such as reconquest and punishment, were not sufficient for Gratian to explain the crusades. He completed them with the help of a theological axiom from Augustine. God is the source of justice; he can initiate and order war and killing. Anselm of Lucca had previously opened his canon on war and the use of force (xiii.1) with a similar idea from Augustine. Moses was not cruel when he dealt out death 'at the Lord's command' (*precepto Domini*); indeed, he was acting 'with great love' (*magna dilectione*).[54]

---

[52] The introductory rubric to this chapter in the *Decretum* comes before x.1, and in the *Panormia* before viii.1: 'Omnes leges tam ecclesiasticae quam seculares effusionem humani sanguinis prohibent.' The rubrics printed by Migne (*PL* 161, col. 691) to *Decretum* x.2–4 are not in MS Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 14315 (which has no rubrics). There is no rubric to *Panormia* viii. 2 in the manuscripts I have consulted (viz. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 1358; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. soppr. G 1836; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 713). Migne (*PL* 161, col. 1305) here prints the rubric from Gratian C.23 q.5 c.9; at viii.1, col. 1303, the rubric from C.23 q.5 c.8. Thus his edition gives a misleading impression. On the development of the rubrics in the manuscripts and printed editions of the *Panormia* see Landau (1982) and Fransen (1987).

[53] C.23 q.5 c.9: 'Qui Deo auctore bella gesserunt, preceptum non occidendi nequaquam transgressi sunt.'

[54] Pásztor (1987), p. 405.

WAR AT GOD'S COMMAND: THE CRUSADE

The crusade in the Holy Land

Urban II based his appeal for the crusade in 1095 on the presupposition that, in certain circumstances, the church was not bound to consider participation in a military campaign as a sin. Indeed, on the planned expedition the crusaders would earn spiritual rewards. They gathered under the war-cry 'God wills it', which Urban may have coined himself. He integrated the crusade into a 'theology of war'. In this war the crusaders could directly obey the will of God. Logically, therefore, Guibert of Noqent described the crusade as 'The Deeds of God through the Franks' (*Gesta Dei per Francos*).[55]

Such images also stamp other descriptions of the First Crusade. To the crusaders themselves it seemed that God was fighting on their side, and they described themselves as 'the army of God' (*exercitus Dei*).[56] The difficulties of the crusading expedition made the victory seem miraculous, and strengthened the conviction that they were marching according to God's will, and with His blessing.

God's will, which must be obeyed, did not mean defending the church against enemies within. The crusaders were bound to fight for their Christian brethren in the east, reconquer their lands from the Muslims, and thus extend the dominion of Christendom. In the early days of his pontificate, Urban II had already said that wars to reconquer formerly Christian lands were the will of God. He gave contemporary examples: the Norman conquest of Sicily and the Spanish *Reconquista*. Urban saw the success of these campaigns against the Muslims as a sign that God had once again turned His face towards the Christians, who had long ago lost His favour. The reconquest meant that times were changing, as Urban repeated in 1091 and subsequently with reference to the Prophet Daniel (2:21): 'he changeth the times and the seasons; he removeth kings, and setteth up kings'.[57] God was now giving Christendom the opportunity to act on His behalf. He was inspiring them to war, and fought Himself with the help of the Christian princes. The concept of the crusade as 'the deeds of God through the Christians' goes back to Urban. He did not confine it to expeditions to the east. After he had launched the crusade, in 1098, he explained in a letter to the bishop of Huesca that God 'in our days has indeed fought the Turks in Asia, and in Europe the Moors, with the might of the Christians'.[58]

---

[55] *RHC Occ.* IV, p. 121.

[56] See Hagenmeyer (ed.), *Epistolae et chartae*, index under *exercitus Christi, Dei, Domini*.

[57] *PL* 151, col. 332 (for Tarragona, 1 July 1091): 'ipse transfert regna et mutat tempora'. See Becker (1988), pp. 337–53; Ringel (1987).

[58] *PL* 151, col. 504: 'Nostris siquidem diebus in Asia Turcos, in Europa Mauros Christianorum viribus debellavit.'

Urban's ideas imply a negative judgement on the past. It was because of their sins that the Christians had lost their lands to the Muslims. In the twelfth century, again, defeats in the Holy Land, and finally the loss of Jerusalem, were blamed on the sinfulness of Christendom. An expedition to reverse these losses had to be prefaced by penance and repentance in Christendom, which would ensure that God's help was restored to them. The crusade demonstrated a fresh turning to God. Thus in 1095 Urban called on the knights of Europe to participate in God's plans, which had already been revealed in Spain and Sicily, and extend them to eastern Christendom. For this struggle he promised them the crusading indulgence, which, together with the crusading vow, became one of the main distinguishing marks of the crusades.

Urban laid down precise conditions for the indulgence. It was granted not for warlike deeds in themselves, but for one's personal attitude. Only those who went to Jerusalem 'solely from devotion to God', to liberate the church, would receive it.[59] The same expedition, undertaken for material reasons, earned no reward. According to the traditional definitions, which Ivo of Chartres was currently in process of restating, the struggle to reconquer Jerusalem counted as a just war. Only the attitude of the participants would make this just war into a holy war, in which they could earn spiritual advantages.

The content of the indulgence was just as clearly defined. Participation in the crusade would count as fulfilment of an ecclesiastical penance for previous misdeeds. This transformation of penance into crusade implied a spiritualising of the pending war. Hitherto, penance had meant withdrawing from the 'world'. Since the turn of the millennium, the sinner had been reconciled with the church immediately after confession and before performing his penance. He willingly took upon himself the attendant penance: it was a compensation, a means to salvation, and a self-punishment. Through it, the penitent showed the church that he had turned back to God.[60] He could now demonstrate that same return by going on the crusade. By taking the crusade upon himself as a work of penance, he offered his life for a cause that was pleasing to God. There could be little doubt that the greatness of the work was adequate to the offence.

This turning to God explains why people soon began to speak, albeit vaguely, about the remission of sins (*remissio peccatorum*) earned by the crusader. Urban himself used this vocabulary. One thing was indispensable, both for rightful penance and for the remission of sins: penitent acknowledgement of one's guilt

---

[59] Somerville (1972), p. 74: 'Quicumque pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecunie adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Hierusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni penitentia ei reputetur.' On the indulgence of Clermont as a transformation of penance see Mayer (1995), pp. 28–31; Poschmann (1948), pp. 54–8.

[60] See Anciaux (1949), pp. 29–31, 52–3.

through confession. In it, the sinner's change of attitude was perfected and he was reconciled with God and the church. And then, in the crusade, he worked for God, Who rewarded him by excusing him from the temporal penalties for sin. The theology of the effect of indulgences on the temporal punishment for sin laid down by God was not precisely established until the thirteenth century, but the idea that the crusading indulgence was not merely the transformation of an ecclesiastical penance, but also a transcendental work in the eyes of God, was part of crusading ideology from the beginning. It was linked with the notion that crusaders who were killed passed directly into eternal life, like the martyrs of the early church.

The crusade integrated the traditional chivalric and warlike way of life into the struggle to save one's soul; formerly, entering a monastery had been the surest way to do this. Now, wrote Guibert of Nogent, God had created a new means to salvation: 'holy battles' (*praelia sacra*). No longer was it necessary to turn monk and leave this world; the order of knights (*ordo equestris*) and the common people (*vulgus*) could win God's grace by performing their allotted tasks (*ex suo ipsorum officio*).[61] Even after the failure of the Second Crusade, Otto of Freising, writing his chronicle of the First, continued to use similar categories. In his time (he opined) the world order had turned upside down, and a 'new kind of soldiery' (*novum militiae genus*) had arisen. In the war against the enemies of the cross, these new knights seemed 'from their behaviour and way of life to be monks, rather than soldiers'.[62] Here Otto is referring to the Templars, the oldest military order, for whom Bernard of Clairvaux had coined the expression *nova militia*. But Otto considers that this community effectively came into existence with the First Crusade, at a time when the political disorder in Christendom brought about by the struggle between father and son, between the emperor Henry IV and the rebellious Henry V, was only too apparent. The knights who had banded together in the order of the Templars, in the Holy Land, dissociating themselves from the civil war in the empire, were another sign – together with the contemporary ecclesiastical reforms – that the ideal of the *civitas Dei* was drawing nearer. Those crusaders who, unlike the Templars, had remained in the secular world also bore witness to the fact in their own way. The crusade offered lay people their own way to salvation. It was part of a development which gave them an assured place in the world from a religious point of view. About the middle of the century, Gerhoh of Reichersberg reduced this to a general formula: people from all stations in life could find in Holy Scripture a rule which would lead them to salvation. Therefore it was not necessary to become a monk and renounce the world; one had renounced it already, when

---

[61] *Gesta Dei per Francos*, chap. 2; *RHC Occ.* IV, p. 124.
[62] Otto of Freising, *Chronica* VII.9: 'vita et conversatione non milites, sed monachi videantur': ed. Hofmeister (1912), p. 320.

abjuring the Devil at one's baptism. This also applied to knights who did not go on crusade, but fulfilled their military duties in their own country.[63]

The connection with the indulgence made the war, the Christian response to the oppression of the Holy Land, into a sign of God's grace. He had made the crusade into a means of salvation for sinful man. Bernard of Clairvaux stresses this idea in his crusading appeal (epistle 363). In 1187, after the loss of Jerusalem, Gregory VIII made a crusading appeal, *Audita tremendi*, in which he said that God was putting Christians to the test to see if they were prepared to do penance and risk their lives for their brethren. According to Innocent III, the crusade was God's demand for the service which was owing to him; anyone who refused it would earn damnation at the Day of Judgement (*Reg.* xvi.28).

Thus the crusading movement belonged to a context in which God showed Himself as the Lord of history and offered crusaders the chance to earn salvation in a war authorised by Him. The crusaders' response to this offer from God must be determined by religion. It must consist of repentance, penance and pilgrimage – in a word, following Christ. This would be expressed in a willingness to fight for Christ's cause and the Holy Land, which was seen as Christ's heritage. The crusader must offer his life for his oppressed brethren in the east, as Christ had offered his own for mankind.

It is not solely because of its religious foundations that the crusade conforms only approximately to the criteria for the just war. One motif occurs repeatedly: the injustice which the Muslims have done to Christ must be avenged. The definition of a just war as a punishment for injustice thereby changes its character. The injustice suffered by the living and eternal God through the occupation of His heritage by the Muslims happened afresh each day. The just war hinged no longer on political events, but on a conviction of faith.

One token of this was the persecution of Jews which accompanied the crusades. If the crusade was meant to punish the enemies of Christ, it seemed 'logical' to start by punishing those who were blamed for the death of Christ. The church leadership mostly opposed this, as did Bernard of Claivaux during the Second Crusade (epistle 363). That the Jews had behaved peaceably, which made persecuting them unjust, was of subordinate importance in Bernard's eyes. His arguments were theological. The Bible said that the Jews would be converted before the Last Judgement; until then they must atone for their crimes by their miserable lives, and must witness to biblical truths. Bernard sought to guide the crusaders' zeal for God into sensible channels – and thereby shows the religious impetus behind the persecution of the Jews. Obviously considerations of the just war were not sufficient to curb such excesses.

---

[63] Gerhoh, *De aedificio Dei*, chap. 43; *PL* 194, cols. 1300–4. See Congar (1968), p. 103.

None the less, the idea of the just war remained influential in crusading ideology. After the First Crusade (which, being the first comprehensive war against the heathen, required special religious justification) it gained ground. For the later crusades could be seen as defending or regaining the lands which had been conquered in 1098–9. Those were typical objectives for a just war. Bernard of Clairvaux expressly points out, in his crusading epistle, that the renewed aggression by the heathen must be countered by force of arms: 'Force must be repelled by force.'[64] Seldom is the crusade so explicitly reduced to a juristic concept. Most crusading propaganda is limited to topical descriptions of Muslim atrocities and laments for the lost areas of the Holy Land. It is an appeal for help and a call for punishment and revenge.

That the crusade was a just war was seldom disputed, as is shown by the frequent comparisons made with baronial disputes. The crusade was an opportunity to divert bellicose feelings on to a suitable field, instead of letting them rampage at home. Unlike the crusades, baronial feuds were not licensed as 'just wars'. The crusades propagated the belief that there were differing degrees of legitimacy in warfare. Here, the crusading movement merged with a tendency among theoreticians of the just war to say that only the king could legitimately use force and make war. They found the barons' feudal 'right' to make war morally unacceptable; twelfth-century monarchs confined it within their own peacekeeping schemas.

The idea that the king's wars were just constituted a background against which the crusades could be shown in a yet more positive light. Guibert of Nogent opens his history of the crusades with a retrospect on previous wars. In antiquity they had been characterised by a lust for domination; but there had also been justified wars to defend freedom and the *res publica*, especially against heathen enemies. Apart from these, only wars to protect the church were justifiable, and Guibert fits the crusades into that context. Without the assumption that there is such a thing as a just war there would be no basis on which to justify the crusades. Only on this assumption could the crusade be seen as a chance to earn spiritual rewards. The crusade was a just war which had been elevated to the status of a holy war. One of the consequences of this view of the crusades was that a king's war could no longer be morally condemned. Neither the crusades nor the king's just war were conducted, as were baronial feuds, out of 'self-interest'.

To assist eastern Christendom and reconquer Jerusalem were the objectives of the First Crusade. The Holy Land was also the fulcrum of later crusades in the twelfth century. The crusading indulgence, which characterised this form

---

[64] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Letter* 363: 'oportet vim vi repellere'; *Opera* VIII, ed. Leclercq and Rochais (1977), p. 317.

of holy war, depended on a willingness to enter into the service of God. The mentality of the crusader was crucial here, not the political aim of the war. Hence, the character of the indulgence implied that it would be possible not only to appeal for crusades in the Holy Land, but also to transfer the crusading ideal to other struggles in the service of the church. Such attempts were made immediately after the First Crusade. They did not imply any 'perversion' of the crusading ideal, but sprang from a concept which belonged directly to the crusades: that spiritual advantages could be won from a war on behalf of the church.

Crusades outside the Holy Land

The first area outside the Holy Land to which the crusading ideal was extended was Spain. Urban II himself considered the two theatres of war as one: the Spanish knights ought to fight the Muslims in their own country, not in the Holy Land. Urban's successors continued this policy. Obviously Jerusalem had a great attraction, but the popes unequivocally considered war against the heathen to be as meritorious in Spain as in the Holy Land. Logically, therefore, in the first half of the twelfth century those who fought the heathen in the Iberian peninsula repeatedly obtained the same indulgence as was promised in the struggle for Jerusalem.

   The idea that any war against the heathen, on any of the battle-fronts of western Christendom, was a crusade was expressed most clearly by Eugenius III. When the princes of north Germany planned war on the Wends, with the approval of Bernard of Clairvaux and within the context of the Second Crusade, Eugenius granted the same indulgence as for the expedition to the Holy Land. Thus he inaugurated the concept of an all-embracing war against the heathen. God had willed that the struggle against the unbeliever should be waged in diverse places: in the Holy Land, in Spain, and finally east of the Elbe.[65]

   Eugenius, and with him Bernard of Clairvaux, attributed the extension of the crusades to regions outside the Holy Land to the will of God. They echoed Urban II's idea that times were changing. The personal objective of the crusader, the heavenly Jerusalem, could be reached by fighting for its earthly equivalent – put also in other places. Crusaders from England, Flanders and the lower Rhine, on their way to Palestine for the Second Crusade, took part in the conquest of Lisbon. The bishop of Oporto had convinced them that even if they interrupted their journey to Jerusalem, this would be no interruption to their crusade: 'for it is not praiseworthy to have been in

---

[65] *PL* 180, cols. 1023–4, no. 166.

Jerusalem, but to have lived well in the meantime. For you cannot come to her save through her works. By good works one deserves to win through to one's glorious goal.'[66] The struggle for Jerusalem becomes a metaphor for a struggle to serve God, thus it could be separated from the actual, earthly city of Jerusalem.

Since the time of Jerome it had been a topos to distinguish between the earthly and heavenly Jerusalems. Immediately after the First Crusade, the same distinction helped to transfer the crusading ideal on to other theatres of war. In about 1108 there was an appeal which took up the themes of Urban's preaching and called for people to fight the heathen east of the Elbe and settle their lands. This offered the chance not only to better one's material fortunes, but also to save one's soul. In the east of the German empire, says the author, lies 'our Jerusalem' (*Hierusalem nostra*).[67] The appeal is addressed to one of the leaders of the First Crusade, Robert, count of Flanders. After Robert returned from the Holy Land, he had been appealed to by Paschal II, who asked him, 'for forgiveness of his sins' (*in remissionem peccatorum*), to lead a military expedition against Henry IV, the chief of heretics. The struggle against the heretics was, like the crusade, a way to the heavenly Jerusalem.[68]

It was during the disputes with Henry IV that the reformers had developed the positive view of war in the cause of the church which was part of the assumptions behind the crusade. Thus Paschal could transfer crusading motifs back to the pursuit of the struggles against Henry IV. The war against heretics and other enemies of the church was comparable to a crusade. At the council of Pisa (1135), during the papal schism which had begun in 1130, Innocent II gave to those who would fight 'to free the church' from the antipope Anacletus II and his ally, King Roger II of Sicily, the same indulgence as Urban II had granted those who had 'gone to Jerusalem to liberate the Christians'.[69] Fighting for liberty, whether it was that of Christians in the Holy Land or that of the church in the west, earned the same reward.

Finally, Innocent III extended the crusading ideal to all wars against enemies of the church. From the beginning of his pontificate he planned for a new crusade in the east. However, he promised the crusading indulgence for the war against Markward of Anweiler, who was threatening papal rights in Sicily,

---

[66] Hehl (1980), p. 260: 'quia non Iherosolimis fuisse sed bene interim invixisse laudabile est; non enim ad eam nisi per opera eius pervenire potestis. Ex bono opere vero ut ad finem gloriosum quis perveniat meretur.' With indication of the numerous citations from the canonists in the sermon; *De expugnatione Lixbonensi*, ed. David (1936), pp. 78–84.

[67] Text in Wattenbach 'Handschriftliches', pp. 624–6 (p. 626).   [68] *PL* 163, col. 108.

[69] Girgensohn (1972), pp. 1099–1100, chap. 7: 'Eis autem, qui . . . ad liberationem ecclesiae . . . perrexerint et in eodem servitio fideliter laboraverint, eadem remissio facta est, quam papa Urbanus omnibus proficiscentibus Ierosolimam pro christianorum liberatione in concilio Claremontano constituit.'

and for the struggle against the Albigensians. He retrospectively sanctioned the conquest of Christian Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, considered the war against the heathen in the Iberian peninsula as a crusade, and allowed crusading vows to be fulfilled by fighting in Lithuania.

It was not only the Jerusalem indulgence which linked such crusades with the crusades in the east. Crusades against Christians were also bolstered with ideas drawn from the heathen wars. Innocent III explained the crusade against Markward on the grounds that he was hindering the crusading expedition to the east (*Reg.* I.555/8). He had allied himself with the Sicilian Saracens against the rightful ruler of the island, Frederick II. If Sicily were to fall into Markward's hands, it would end any hopes of regaining Jerusalem (*Reg.* II.212/21). Earlier, during the campaign by Lothar III and Innocent II against Roger II of Sicily, the presence of Muslims among Roger's troops had been exploited for propaganda purposes. Twelfth-century suspicions of the Byzantine empire were based on the accusation that Byzantium was hindering and thwarting the crusades. As early as 1107, Bohemond had been able to mount a campaign against the Christian empire and proclaim it as part of a crusade. The idea of linking a crusade in the east with a war against Byzantium became a familiar one. In 1204 it actually happened.

However, crusades against Christians were not designed exclusively to give military and political protection to crusades in the east. The struggle for Jerusalem depended on the religious transformation of western Christendom, which brought forth the idea that the activities of internal enemies of the faith and the church were no longer to be tolerated. This is why the crusading movement so readily combined with persecution of the Jews as the supposedly 'real' enemies of Christ. After the Second Crusade, Peter the Venerable ranked the struggle against the 'false Christians' who persecuted the church higher than that against the heathen who did not know God. With similar arguments he called on the lord Humbert of Beaujeu to leave the Templar order and devote himself to defending the regional church of Burgundy (epistles 172–3). Thus Humbert would pass from the knighthood of the Templars into a knighthood of equal value. In the same way, instead of crusading against the Muslims in the east, or other pagans, one could crusade against Christians who were seen as enemies of the church: schismatics and heretics. Such undertakings were part of the self-purification of western Christendom.

The crusade in the east was the standard of comparison by which all other crusading expeditions must be measured, if they were to earn the Jerusalem indulgence. Together with the political criteria which always underlay appeals for crusades against Christians, this led in the thirteenth century to loud criticism of such crusades. The core of that criticism was that the papacy was pursuing its own interests, instead of guarding the needs of all of Christendom.

Criticism of the crusade, the knightly orders and the chivalric ethic

Criticism of the crusades in the twelfth century was aimed at the spiritual ideals of the crusading movement. The morality of the crusaders, it was said, did not match their religious objectives. The sins of the crusaders were responsible for the failure of particular crusading endeavours. Such criticism became particularly insistent after the disaster of the Second Crusade. Political accusations could be included in this type of criticism, as when the greed of the Templars was blamed for errors during the Second Crusade. The crusading ideal itself was not attacked by such critics, for they clung to the basic attitude that the crusade meant a turning to God and a change of moral outlook which were shown in the struggle for God's cause. Hence, critical observation of individual events during the crusades, as well as crusading appeals, could supply elements in the formulation of a chivalric ethic. Critics of the crusade did not attack its fundamental principles until they began to cast doubt on the idea that such warlike activity could represent the will and commandment of God.

Some uncertainty as to whether the crusade was really the way to ensure personal salvation was aroused by crusaders who returned from the First Crusade and then entered monasteries. War, as an expression of the religious life, remained problematic. The connection between a monastic existence and warlike activity, as demonstrated by the Templars at the beginning of the twelfth century, met with criticisms and doubts which affected even members of the new community. Warlike activity seemed to be a bar to a higher form of the religious life which was evidenced by monasticism.

The Templars found special encouragement from a letter written by a 'Hugo Peccator' ('Hugh the Sinner'), of uncertain identification,[70] and in Bernard of Clairvaux's 'On the praise of the new soldiery' (De laude novae militiae). Hugh maintains that their struggle against enemies of the faith and the church, their labours in the defence of Christians, are not sinful; nor is there any need to abandon this kind of Christian living in favour of a better one. Peace in the world cannot be achieved by withdrawing from the world instead of trying to influence it. These are the same arguments as Gregory VII and the propagandists of Matilda of Tuscany had used to encourage fighting on the church's behalf. The connection is made even clearer by the fact that Hugh never mentions war against the heathen as the duty of the new community. Only from the rubric of the letter do we realise that the recipients are in Jerusalem.

Similarly, Bernard of Clairvaux in his treatise in praise of the Templars sees as the mark of the new soldiery not that they fight for the holy places, but that

---

[70] Text in Leclercq (1957) and Sclafert (1958). Suggestions as to the author's identity include Hugh of Payens, the founder of the Order, and Hugh of St Victor; or he may be 'unknown'.

they fight for Christ and against the enemies of the church. Thus they have overcome the defects of the old soldiery; they do not fight out of greed, anger or lust for fame. Therefore the older militia has become an evil (*malitia*), whereas the Templars fight with a clear conscience, because they fight in the cause of Christ. The general aim of war is to repel and punish evil, which is at present incarnate in the Muslims. The Templar is 'Christ's avenger against those who do evil, and the defender of the Christian'.[71] Bernard connects the war waged by the Templars against the Muslims in the Holy Land with the rules for the just war to repel attack. But he sees it especially as part of an all-embracing struggle against evil, in which a man can fight in Christ's cause and so become a servant of God. He does not measure the legitimacy of a war according to the identity of the enemy, heathen or otherwise; nor does its character as service of God depend on that point. Thus Bernard's treatise is not only a eulogy of the Templars, it also contains an ethic for the soldier who remains in the world and undertakes, in his own land, the same duties as the Templars perform in the Holy Land. The Templars' rule itself begins with an injunction applicable to all knights: they must defend the poor and the church out of zeal for justice.

The knightly orders of the twelfth century could not have arisen without the assumption that to kill a man in war was compatible with the commands of Christianity, and was no hindrance to a way of life comparable to that of monks or canons. Therefore the apologists of the new chivalric communities had to justify war *per se*. The war against the heathen was merely a special case. When, after the Second Crusade, the patriarch of Jerusalem cast doubt on the idea that it was permissible to kill heathens, he was answered by Peter of Troyes (Petrus Comestor).[72] Peter tries to destroy the patriarch's arguments with copious quotations from the authorities whom Gratian had gathered for his *Decretal* on the problem of war. Warfare is not contrary to God's commands. If it is permissible, according to the church's tradition, to fight against Christian enemies, then it is certainly permissible to fight against the heathens who seek to exterminate Christendom. Peter integrates the struggles to defend the Holy Land into the notion of the just war. They do have a special status, but only because they concern the places where Christ performed his mission on earth, and are conducted at the command of the pope, who is the vicar of Christ: they serve Christ's cause directly. But the religious value which Peter attributes to the wars in the Holy Land is shared by 'other' struggles, for in them men were serving not only the king, but also God, who had ordered, 'render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's' (Matthew 21:22). The religious aura which

---

[71] Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude novae militiae* III.4: 'Christi vindex in his qui male agunt, et defensor christianorum reputatur': *Opera* III, ed. Leclercq and Rochais (1963), p. 217.

[72] Leclercq (1954).

covered the crusade and the war against the heathen could also fall upon the 'normal' wars of a Christian king.

The doubts of the patriarch of Jerusalem reflect the crisis of crusading ideology after the failure of the Second Crusade; even Peter's answer is influenced by it. Formal and juristic considerations replace the conviction that the war was at the direct command of God. Critics of the Second Crusade, such as the Annalist of Würzburg and Gerhoh of Reichersberg, saw its failure as a sign that the undertaking had been prompted not by God, but by false prophets and Antichrist. The crusade lost its uniqueness and its religious basis if it was unclear whether God or the devil had inspired it.

The crusade was widely recognised as a way to individual salvation, but its historical and theological foundation as a war in God's cause became weaker. Its legitimacy was increasingly based on notions of the just war. Just before the Third Crusade, Ralph Niger cast doubt on one of the fundamental convictions of the crusaders: that they were punishing an injustice to God. God could do this for Himself. Ralph even toys with the thought that God might have given the Muslims possession of Palestine. He denies that Muslims ought to be killed out of hand. Killing as penance for sin was, he thought, a questionable procedure. The only justification which Ralph offers for the struggles in the Holy Land is a basic assumption in the theory of the just war: it is permissible to defend one's own property and, if necessary, to use force in order to regain it.[73]

While Ralph reduced the crusade to the requirements of the just war, others used similar notions to explain the exceptional status of the crusade and describe it as a higher form of the just war. Peter of Blois also grappled with the problem of killing unbelievers in his appeal for crusaders and preachers of the crusade. Legal killing was permissible. This principle applied when a secular judge imposed the death penalty; Peter adapts it to the crusade. For what 'higher law' could be pleaded as excuse than 'the common constitution of the church, the command of the pope, zeal for God and love of Christ'?[74] When Innocent III called on the French king Philip II Augustus to help the Holy Land, he reminded him of feudal ideals. If a king were driven from his land and imprisoned, his vassals would offer their goods and their lives for him, lest they become traitors guilty of *lèse-majesté*. Similarly, it was Philip's duty to come to the help of Christ (*Reg.* II.241/51). The pope wrote in similar vein to the English king.

Both Peter of Blois and Innocent III transposed the rules governing contemporary law and society to the 'higher' sphere of the crusade as action for

---

[73] Ralph Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolomitane* III.89–90.
[74] Peter of Blois, *Epistle* 232: 'Et quae major lex excusat, quam communis Ecclesiae constitutio, praeceptum summi pontificis, zelus Domini, amor Christi?' *PL* 207, col. 533.

Christ. Hence, the twelfth-century idea of the crusade also reflects the in-
creasing regulation of society by legal principles. In so far as these principles
related to war, crusading propaganda contributed decisively to their extension
among the chivalric population of western Europe. The ethical problem of
passing judgement on war and warfare had found a basically religious solu-
tion in the crusading movement, whose principles decided the future ethos of
the individual knight. His individual warlike activities could be understood
as the performance of a duty imposed by God, and as such were free from
sin. War itself, however, was conceived more and more as a phenomenon that
must be evaluated according to juristic distinctions. The decisive contributors
to this process were the twelfth-century canon lawyers, who developed and
systematised the theory of the just war.

THE DEFINITIONS OF WAR IN THE CANON LAW OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Clarifications of the idea of warfare in the eleventh century drew on the the-
ology of late antiquity, especially the writings of Augustine. These ideas were
disseminated less by the propaganda directed at day-to-day political events
than by collections of canon law, whose usefulness transcended contemporary
disputes. Most influential of all was the *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres, until
it was superseded in the 1140s by Gratian's *Decretum*. This became the basis
of study and the object of scholarly interpretation. The increase in learning
among the higher clergy and their careers in episcopal and royal courts, as
well as in the Roman curia, led to a relatively homogeneous evaluation of the
problem of war in the twelfth century.

In fact, Gratian has little new to say on the subject. He, too, gathers together
evidence from late antiquity, supplemented especially by papal epistles from
the Carolingian era, already used by Ivo. What is new is that the material is
not only systematically arranged, but also interpreted. Thus Gratian is able to
compare ancient jurisprudence with the legal customs of his own time. Later
commentators did not set out to expound a 'dead' text, but to explain its
contemporary meaning.

Gratian's Decretum

The case with which Gratian opens his discussion of war in Causa 23 of the
Decretum demonstrates the close connections between war by the secular and
the ecclesiastical power. Because some bishops and their dioceses have fallen
into heresy and are trying to force their neighbours into it, the pope has
ordered bishops who have jurisdictional powers conferred by the emperor to

march against the heretics. Thereupon the orthodox bishops make war on the heretics, licensed to do so by the pope's orders and their membership of the imperial jurisdiction. Gratian discusses war not on the basis of purely ecclesiastical wars such as the crusade, but from an example in which the rights of church and state intersect. Hence his solutions apply both to wars waged on the church's orders and to wars by the secular power. They are solutions of principle, although Gratian does not aim at any systematic theory of the just war.

Gratian examines war in relation to the individual morality of the warrior, asking whether warlike activity is sinful; and to its objective justification, defining the just war. Both are connected by the question whether it is right to defend one's neighbours against injustice. War is justified on the basis of the reasons for which it is being waged. The guilt of those who fight wars, or declare them, arises not from the war itself, but from their own motives. Thus it is possible to sin by taking part in a war which is in itself just, if one goes to war out of greed for plunder, or is induced to carry out atrocities. On the other hand, it is conceivable that one could participate without sin in a campaign which was itself unjustifiable, if one were unaware of that fact. In any combination there could be a link between individual attitudes and the justification of war *per se*.

The canonists suggested combinations of this kind, and not for mere intellectual amusement. The crusades fit this schema exactly. Here, most people accepted that the reasons for such wars, and therefore the wars themselves, were broadly just. But this did not in the least imply that all crusaders were justified. The very failures of the crusades were convincing evidence that many people had taken part in them from unsound motives. The jurists went back to an earlier example, that of the late Roman emperor Julian the Apostate, when considering the question whether one could participate without sin in the wars of a sinful ruler. That Julian was sinful did not necessarily imply that his commands were sinful. Even this apostate ruler could demand obedience from his soldiers, if his call to arms had a legitimate aim. The ruler's power to command, and the soldier's duty of obedience, came under discussion. Both ruler and warrior belonged in duty bound to the order and community of the 'state', which was becoming progressively more distinct from the person of the ruler. The discussion of war contributed to the development of an abstract concept of the state. This tended increasingly to justify the king's power to command, although the quarrel between dualistic and hierocratic concepts in twelfth-century canon law tends to disguise the fact. Gratian's discussion of war from a twofold starting point, as a problem of individual morality and a political problem with its own legitimacy, laid the cornerstone for this development.

Gratian makes the question whether war service is sinful such an inseparable part of the attitude of individual soldiers that he does not even mention the prohibition on killing in the Ten Commandments. He is much more inclined to see the aims of a just war, the repulsion and punishment of injustice, in the light of gospel teachings – that injustice must be endured and the punishment left to God. Following this chain of argument, Gratian takes no account of the community, but only of individual reactions to the use of force. At the same time he maintains that God could meet force with force, for He could have sent His legions of angels to deliver Christ. Legitimate force is not unacceptable; it can come from God. Hence, the arguments gathered by Gratian tend to show that the individual should use force within the framework of the God-given order, but not on his own account.

The subordination of the individual to God allows Gratian to resolve the apparent contradiction between war service and the precepts of the gospel, because to him this subordination appears in man's intent rather than in his deeds. The demands of the gospel which apparently tell against war service relate to the 'preparation of the heart' (*praeparatio cordis*; C.23 q.1 *dictum post* c.7). Wrongful individual conduct makes war service into sin: for example, a wrong motive such as hatred, or selfish behaviour arising from greed for booty. Conversely, war service which seeks not personal advantage, but the good of the political community, is deserving of the highest praise.

For wars of this kind Gratian formulated his definition of the just war, drawing on Isidore of Seville and Augustine: it is waged upon command and serves as punishment for injustice (C.23 q.2 *dictum post* c.2). Gratian had already, at the very beginning of the *Decretum*, included the right to defend oneself and meet force with force as one of the fundamental principles of natural law (D.1 c.7). This applied both to individuals and to a politial community. Hence, a just war should assert and enforce the law. It then followed, not only that the church was entitled to ask for military help, but also that there was a duty to use military force to defend one's country. In general, the man who failed to defend his neighbour against injustice was as much to blame as its perpetrator. Gratian formulates this as a principle of individual morality. From this viewpoint, the objective aim of the just war, the service of justice, was echoed by the moral attitude of the warrior.

Gratian's discussion of whether injustice should be punished only serves to clarify this principle. Normally, responsibility for the community will not allow injustice to go unpunished and have free rein. Hence the death penalty is acceptable. Significantly, Gratian here, for the first time, discusses the Old Testament ban on killing and Christ's assertion that he who takes the sword shall perish by the sword. According to Gratian, these biblical citations forbid only unauthorised killing. The holder of a public office may kill on the dictates of

the law (C.23 q.5 *dictum post* c.7). Gratian cites a whole series of canons to show that killing can be ordered and legitimised by the secular power, and does not then lead into guilt and sin. This applies both to the death penalty and to war, which can be seen as a special kind of punitive expedition.

Gratian's doctrine of the just war is slanted towards the secular power. In the twelfth century this had to mean that it focused on the king. Gratian places God near to the secular power. One could wage war upon the authority of God (*deo auctore*) without infringing the ban on killing in the Ten Commandments.[75] Here, Gratian brings the crusade, as a war in the cause of God, into a canonical formula. However, he does not explain his ideas by referring to the crusade; rather, he holds up as an example the wars against Israel when it fell away from God, and the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans as punishment for the crucifixion of Christ. These are the decisive references in his juristic line of argument. Since God is the only true leader of battles, the king has no place in this line of argument – especially as kings had taken no original or essential part in the crusading movement. Gratian is much more concerned to show that even without a secular power such as was represented by the king, war and killing could still be justified. Sins were sometimes punished 'by peoples aroused by the divine command' (*per populos diuino iussu excitatos*), he says (C.23 q.5 c.49), and he tells how some such peoples became tools of God even without their knowledge. Their actual war might not be unjustified, but their leaders might be individually guilty. Israel, on the other hand, had consciously waged its wars of conquest at God's command, and so the lands which it conquered became its legitimate property. Conscious obedience to God justified Israel's wars and turned the conquests into God-given possession of the land.

The wars which Gratian mentions in the concluding *dictum* (C.23 q.5 *dictum post* c.49) in his discussion of the death penalty are wars waged at God's command to punish sins, meaning rebellions against the divine order. Crusading ideology also favoured the idea of punishing an injustice done to God. Moreover, Gratian's distinction between those who wittingly and unwittingly obey God's command counters one of the fundamental motifs of anti-crusade criticism. The chief complaint against the crusaders was that they had intended not to fulfil the will of God, but to pursue their own interests. Thus Gratian offers some consolation for defeats. Peoples who followed God were required to do penance for their own sins so that they could again be victorious. Here, Gratian is fitting war into a historical process conducted by God. This can obviously be extended to include the crusade. As a war on God's authority, the crusade is an integral part of Gratian's teaching on the just war.

[75] For text see note 53 above.

While the crusade was, in theory, under the direct command of God, it was the pope who actually proclaimed these warlike expeditions. The crusade was the church's war. Whether pope and bishops could themselves engage in warlike activities is investigated by Gratian in the final *quaestio* of his Causa on war (C.23 q.8). It is a problem of practical church politics, as is shown immediately by his selection of authorities: for here Gratian depends very little on the theology of late antiquity. His main support comes from the popes up to Alexander II, with his decretals concerning war against the heathen in Spain.[76] On this basis Gratian ascribes to the popes full authority in military matters. They may summon a war, take command of it, and even take part in it.

Bishops, however, have only limited rights in war. They, too, can if necessary call people to the defence of Christendom. In general, however, they should abstain from worldly concerns and military activities. But this applies only to bishops whose income comes from purely ecclesiastical sources such as tithes and oblations. They owe no duty to the king of their country. That is the ideal; but such bishops contrast with others who have received goods, castles and towns from the king and owe him services for them. They must hearken to Christ's words, 'Render unto Caesar those things which are Caesar's.' That includes military allegiance.

Gratian's explanation of the duty owed by bishops to kings echoes the solution which the Concordat of Worms (1122) gave to the problem in the *imperium*. The nature of the bishopric defined whether the bishop must fulfil duties which lay outside his holy office. Gratian grasped the consequences of this development: a bishop who owed service to the king was comparable to a secular baron. The *Summa* 'Elegantius in iure divino', so as to clarify the *persona* of a bishop, also stated: 'In God's affairs they act as bishops, in worldly affairs as dukes.'[77] At the same time, Gratian ranked the king's claim to military obedience rather highly, for it was still recognised even if the ideal episcopal life was opposed to it. However, Gratian says that the pope must agree before a bishop can personally appear upon the battlefield alongside his royal master. In practice this remained a dead letter; one of the commentators on the *Decretum*, Sicard of Cremona, saw it merely as a recommendation.[78]

The Decretists

Gratian's *Decretum* soon became the object of learned interpretation by the 'Decretists'. They continued the process of refining and updating the church's

---

[76] See above, note 31.

[77] Pars XII iterum, c. 15: 'in causis Dei pontificem, in causis seculi ducem implentes': *Summa*, ed. Fransen and Kuttner (1969–84), III, p. 221.

[78] Hehl (1980), p. 221, n. 855.

concept of war. There was no more need to discuss in detail whether military activities could be combined with a Christian lifestyle. Only people – clergy or monks – who had chosen a specifically religious way of life ought to abstain from war, but not because it was intrinsically unjust: it was because such people had a twofold obligation. Instead of defending themselves, they were required to submit patiently to injustice; and they were forbidden to shed human blood. The Decretists admitted exceptions only in the case of defence against an attack on one's own life, or for bishops who exercised public and political functions.

Warlike activity and war were qualitatively and morally neutral. This was a fundamental conviction of the Decretists, as formulated by Sicard of Cremona:

> The performance of war service is indifferent, because in itself it is neither good nor evil. Your motivation decides the character of your war service because fighting for booty is bad, but fighting for justice is good. Therefore it is forbidden not on its own account, but for other reasons.[79]

From this viewpoint the Decretists could treat war as an objective fact of socio-political life, divorced from the problem of individual sin. War was justified on its own grounds; the intentions of the participants served only to gauge whether an individual had sinned. The criteria for individual sinfulness were the same as ever: hatred, greed, lust for domination, etc.

Justice was the measure of war. One party must have a legitimate reason for waging war; the other must have deserved to have war waged upon it. It could happen that neither had just grounds for making war according to the above definition, in which case the war was unjust seen from either side. Could a justified attack meet an equally justified defence? The Decretists were somewhat reluctant to consider such a case. Most of them were caught in a juristic either/or situation: if one party was in the right, the other party was automatically in the wrong. The problem was treated most extensively by Huguccio, the most distinguished of the Decretists. Theoretically he maintained that it was impossible for both sides to be waging a just war. However, he evidently assumed that both commanders would be convinced that they had a just reason for fighting, and did not blame anyone for sinning in an unjust war.[80] This is a turning point in the medieval debate on war. Of course, war could be analysed more objectively, and measured against an absolute definition of justice. But the conflict of subjective notions of justice could not be resolved, and it often seems to have passed quite unnoticed. One apparent (but only apparent) solution was to grant the right to make war only to those who could appeal to

---

[79] 'Militare indifferens est, quia quantum est in se nec bonum nec malum est. Affectus ergo tuus militie tue naturam imponit, nam militare propter predam malum est, militare propter iustitiam bonum est. Prohibetur ergo non propter se, sed propter aliud.' Hehl (1980), p. 188, n. 736.

[80] Hehl 1980, pp. 266–7 (no. II.3.e).

no higher judge in their disputes. As a rule this meant kings, so that the right
to war was confined to the highest level of the socio-political organisation.

The *princeps* had the right to make war: the word denoted God, the church,
the king and the emperor. This right was a sign that one had no secular superior.
Hence the canonists' discussion is part of the prehistory of the modern concept
of sovereignty, though that was only the final outcome of the development.
For the situation in real life tended to encourage the admission of exceptions.
Alanus Anglicus, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, explained that in
certain regions princes, who did have lords over them, could wage war on their
own authority; so could the Italian cities.[81] By waging war independently, one
could free oneself permanently from a superior ruling power.

To what extent the canonists' theories demanded and legitimised the con-
centration of power at the summit of the political organisation is shown by
their discussion of whether, and when, a war commander must be obeyed.
One could not be excused from such obedience by doubt as to the justice of
the command to fight. Only if the command obviously went against God was
its fulfilment forbidden. Without entering into detail, the Decretists meant
by this the absence of any just reasons for fighting, excesses springing from
an obvious desire for revenge, and suchlike. Anything of this nature divorced
the fighting from any established norms relating to the reasons for a war and
participation in it.

The Decretists were anxious to emphasise the giving of military obedience,
rather than the grounds for withholding it. Even a heathen lord could demand
obedience if he summoned a just war; in which case even Christians who were
subject to his rule and jurisdiction must take up arms. John of Salisbury had
already advanced this argument in his *Policraticus* (VI.9). Huguccio reduced it
to the formula that nothing in this case differentiated the heathen lord from
a Christian one. However, Christians who were not subject to the jurisdiction
of a heathen lord could not take part in his war, however just, without sin.
Huguccio names as examples Christians who fought under Saladin. But he
concedes that even this chief enemy of Christian rule in the Holy Land can
wage just wars.[82]

Evidently the Decretists wanted to grant rulers a power of military command
which the church would curb only in exceptional cases. This could extend to the
point where even an excommunicated ruler could demand obedience from his
vassals if he called them to the defence of his country. The ban on dealings with
the excommunicate did not apply in such cases. This remained an exceptional
doctrine, but it reveals a typical trend of the discussion. Thus, a penitent who

[81] Post (1964), p. 465, n. 106.
[82] Cf. text in Russell (1975), p. 121, n. 123; p. 122, n. 124; Hehl (1980), p. 265.

has been forbidden to use weapons can bear them on orders from his feudal lord, as Huguccio explains. For the church, in imposing penance, ought not to deprive a lord of the service of his vassals.[83] The Decretists allowed bishops who were invested with regalian rights (*regalia*) to perform military service for their king. They refined the doctrine developed by Gratian via the contemporary concept of *regalia*. The law of the church and the military organisation of western Christendom were not mutually contradictory.

Whether or not a war was justified depended initially on its motives. The Decretists usually list defence of the internal order (of which religion was a part), the repelling of an attack and the punishment of injustice – i.e. they add nothing to Gratian's catalogue. They derive these motives from the fundamental principle of natural law: that it is permissible to repel force with force. War must be impelled by necessity (*necessitas*). It can be used as a last resort to safeguard justice, after all other means, especially negotiation and legal proceedings, have failed. If war was to be based on adequate motives and *necessitas*, this made the efforts of the *treuga Dei* to confine warfare to certain days obsolete: the just war was permitted at any time: the unjust war was always forbidden.

The aim of war was to defend and safeguard a just political society. The last Merovingian king had rightly lost his crown to Charles Martel, because he had been 'useless to the kingdom' (*regno inutilis*), whereas Charles had fought for it: thus writes Stephen of Tournai.[84] Other Decretists repeated his opinion and added that Charles had laboured for 'the welfare of all' (*communis salus*) and the 'fatherland' (*patria*). The general concepts of 'welfare' (*salus*), 'calm' (*quies*) and 'peace' (*pax*) were used to describe the aims of war, though the Decretists never defined these concepts in detail. They used them to mean, in general, the safe and orderly existence of a political society.

In this way the Decretists integrated the concept of peace into an idea of concrete secular government, taking no account of the wider meaning, embracing the whole of God's created order, which stemmed from Augustine. However, the Augustinian theology of peace was not unknown to the twelfth century. A treatise 'On the goodness of peace' (*De bono pacis*) is attributed to a certain Rufinus.[85] The principle of peace pervades every part of creation: from the peace of God in the Trinity down to peace among men on Earth. Peace among mankind is based on three alternative principles: on the rule of injustice (Saint Augustine had explained this in the light of robbers who too want to live in 'peace')[86], on the rule of justice (*iustitia*) and fairness (*aequitas*),

[83] Hehl (1980), p. 267 (no. ii.3.f).   [84] *Ibid.*, p. 200.
[85] Ed. Brunacci and Catanzaro (1986). In his review of this work in *DA* 45: 246, Martin (1989) doubts the authorship of the canonist Rufinus; cf. the latest edition by Deutinger (1997): the author is archbishop Rufinus of Sorrento (after 1149 to before 1197), not the canonist Rufinus.
[86] Augustine, *De civitate dei* xix. 12.

and, ideally, on Christian brotherhood. The canonists' arguments basically revolved around the question of how peace, as a state of earthly justice and equity – imposed by war if necessary –could be achieved.

Thus, the just war was essentially defensive and restorative. This was also true of wars against the heathen and crusades, which were seldom seen as aggression on the part of Christendom. If Christian aggression was discussed, it was usually in relation to the suppression of heretical movements. However, Christian claims to domination could never lapse with time; and yet regions which had never been in Christian hands ought not to be the subject of Christian wars, unless they were being used as a base for attacks on Christians. This meant that only the lands belonging to the ancient Roman empire were open to Christian reconquest. There were, however, groups who assumed that early Christendom had extended further than this, or that the missionary activities of the apostles, which also gave rise to Christian claims, had been geographically unlimited. Such groups did not influence canonical teaching, nor are they personally known to us. Their programme of universal Christian restoration did not contradict the principles of the just war, and shows that the defensive structure of the just war concept was purely formal.

By the second half of the twelfth century, the idea that the crusade was defensive or restorative was in accordance with reality. In the Holy Land, the main theatre of the war against the heathen, Christendom was under threat. The Decretists conspicuously avoid saying that any particular crusading expedition is war on God's command. This concept from the early crusading movement, which they found as an abstract formula in Gratian, had no meaning for them. That God could authorise a war they saw as a notion which had been outstripped by history. It was indeed a way of justifying the wars of Israel in the Old Testament, but no Decretist related it to the heathen wars of his own time. Even the earlier Decretists, in the 1150s, denied that the circumstances of the Old Testament could be transferred to the problematics of contemporary war. The Fathers had of course been entitled to wage war on those who had shown enmity to them; but nowadays it was forbidden to make war on heathens who had done nothing to harm the Christian religion. Divine inspiration was an excuse, but only for individuals. The Decretists did not apply this principle to mass movements like the crusades. It was not Israel's divinely ordained wars to seize land in Palestine that were the model for contemporary wars against the heathen in the Holy Land, but the struggles of the Maccabbees to defend their faith.

The crisis of crusading ideology after the Second Crusade seems also to have left its mark on the Decretists. The optimistic notion of a historical turning point, which would herald the triumph of Christendom, disappeared. It was no longer possible to fulfil the will of God by 'offensive' war against the heathen.

Rather, the defence of the Holy Land was part of the struggle to ensure that God's church would continue to exist until the end of time, and thus to show the rightness of God's message – or so one of the Decretists explains. This being the task of the church, it was no longer entitled, as in the age of the martyrs, to endure persecution and injustice with evangelical patience.[87]

It was the duty of kings to guarantee the existence, rights and safety of the church in their kingdoms. They could not evade the need to help the church by force of arms. If they refused, they were threatened with excommunication, which meant that their subjects could withdraw their obedience. They would probably be deposed as a result. Protecting the church, like defending the kingdom, was one of the duties of the kingly office. It was that office, and not subjection to the church's power of command, which obliged the ruler to go to war.

Neither was it the church's power of command that lay behind appeals for the crusade. The popes did in such circumstances assume the role of the legitimate power without whose authority no just war could be waged; but nobody was obliged to obey their call. They could only proclaim the crusade and reward it with indulgences. Their authority freed the crusaders from the accusation that they were making war on their own account, and so unjustifiably. Even kings – as Huguccio recommended at the turn of the thirteenth century – should not wage war without ecclesiastical authority. This was obviously meant to prevent a ruler from taking up arms without sufficient reason, or even from reprehensible motives, and thus falling into sin.[88] To an extent the church was responsible *ratione peccati* (by reason of sin), as Innocent III maintained when he sought in 1204 to end the struggle between the French king Philip II Augustus and the English John Lackland.[89] However the Decretists strove to objectify war, it remained a problem for the ruler who commanded it; and if he wished for a solution he must turn to the pope as the supreme authority. Only in the thirteenth century did people begin to consider the problem in purely juristic terms. If the pope was appealed to, it was not as a moral authority with the power to judge sins. Rather he was the proper judge of secular rulers, and therefore responsible for their squabbles. This remained, like the arguments of Huguccio and Innocent III, purely theoretical, but it shows the path that discussion of war had taken through the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

---

[87] *Summa 'Elegantius in iure divino'*, pars XII iterum, c. 10, ed. Fransen and Kuttner (1969–86), III, pp. 217–18.

[88] Text in Hehl (1980), p. 266 (no. II.3.e).

[89] *Reg.* VII.42; *PL* 215, cols. 325–8 = Decretal *Novit (Liber extra* II.1.13), ed. Friedberg (1879), II, cols. 242–4.

The question whether killing in war, and therefore war itself, led one into sin no longer affected the whole structure of society. It only concerned individual behaviour. The ordering of society was more decisively affected by the idea of justice which was increasingly derived from the legitimate position of the ruler and the formal agreement of his commands with contemporary legal theory. Only in exceptional cases was this justice measured, in political debate, against the justice of God, which it was supposed to realise upon earth. In the eleventh century such notions are more clearly detectable, especially in the orbit of Gregory VII. Twelfth-century discussion became more and more concrete; it took account of the actual course of political events and reacted accordingly. The earlier concept of 'peace', meaning the longed-for accord of the earthly and divine orders, has little relevance here.

Thus, the theme of peace and war reflects two fundamental developments during the eleventh and twelfth centuries: on the one side, the rationalisation of socio-political attitudes, which became focused on the juridically based notions of the legitimate ruler and his duties, and of due obedience; on the other, a greater insistence on the individual, perceptible in the way that sin comes to be seen less as an objective action and more as a willed decision by a single person. Both developments related to a society which was becoming more and more diverse, and was evolving towards the concept of the sovereign state.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE CHURCH, 1024–1073

H. E. J. Cowdrey

IT is no coincidence that the terminal dates of this chapter should respectively refer to the promotion of an emperor and of a pope, for they serve to delimit forty-nine years which witnessed a decline in the power and prestige of the German emperors and an energetic and lasting papal revival. In 1024, Conrad II (1024–39) became king of Germany, the first of the Salian house; in 1027 he was crowned emperor at Rome by Pope John XIX, a scion of the local Tusculan family, who had become pope also in 1024. According to his biographer Wipo, the rhetoric at his royal anointing was extravagant: Archbishop Aribo of Mainz declared, 'You have come to the highest office; you are the vicar of Christ.'[1] In 1073, Hildebrand, archdeacon at Rome since 1058, became Pope Gregory VII (1073–85). From Lorraine, Abbot Walo of Metz was prompt in congratulation: 'the Lord had caused one well versed in ecclesiastical duties to sit on St Peter's throne, whence the light of all virtues radiated through the world and where all things converged as, in a circle, the radii meet at the middle point that geometricians call the centre'.[2] In 1024 a king-emperor seemed to be at the world's focal point, but in 1073 the pope. The contrast was a sharp one because of a crisis in papal affairs half-way between these dates. During the winter of 1045–6, Conrad's son and successor Henry III (1039–56) undertook a Roman expedition and set aside three claimants to the papacy who had been contending since 1044. The dominance of local families was effectively broken; the godly reformer Henry instituted a series of reforming popes who during his lifetime came from Germany but thereafter until 1073 mainly from north Italy. Leo IX (1048–54), in particular, demonstrated the new energy of the

---

[1] 'Ad summam dignitatem pervenisti, vicarius es Christi': Wipo *Gesta*, c. 3, pp. 22–3.

[2] 'Quod quidem beneficium nostris Dominum concessisse temporibus, quisquis non invidet, videt, dum te iam olim disciplinis ecclesiasticis eruditum, illius nunc cathedrae fecit esse sessorem, a qua per orbem terrarum omnium virtutum lumina diffunduntur, et ad quam velut in circulo lineae ad illum medium, quod centrum geometrici vocant, universa convergunt': *Pontificum Romanum*, ed. Watterich (1862), I. 740–2; the abbot is correctly Walo, not William.

papacy by holding councils not only at Rome but also in Italy, France and Germany. Contemporaries saw that Henry III's intervention was a turning point: 'The apostolic see has returned from darkness to light', the future Cardinal Peter Damian rhapsodised to Pope Clement II (1046–7).[3] The events of 1024, 1044–8, and 1073 set the scene for a discussion of the structure of the Latin church during the mid-eleventh century.

Nothing too precise and settled by way of structure should as yet be looked for. The very rhetoric of the period – the king as vicar of Christ, the papal throne as the geometrician's point where all things converge, Henry III's intervention as a return from darkness to light – should warn how unstructured the church was. If by structure is understood a hierarchy of government and jurisdiction arising from prerogatives of the Roman church that were clearly formulated and effectively imposed, a clear separation of the spiritual authority (*sacerdotium*) from the royal power (*regnum*) with the former supreme, a formed constitution descending from the pope through archbishops and bishops with diocesan officers like archdeacons and rural deans to priests each with his territorial parish, and a scheme of jurisdiction with spiritual courts and a mature canon law, it must be questioned whether the church had yet achieved a structure. Institutions of Gregory VII's twelfth-century successors must not be read back into his pontificate and those of his predecessors. The period 1024–73 falls between the endeavours of the Carolingian age to establish a unitary Christian order, which had prolongations into the tenth and eleventh centuries,[4] and the achievement of the twelfth century in establishing an effective legal and governmental organisation. The structure, such as it was, of the mid-eleventh-century church must be approached through evidence which is characteristic of the period. It may best be illustrated by examples from the liturgy and from the older canon law.

Since the fourth century, the Christian creeds have proclaimed the communion of saints, and therefore a church of which the church militant upon earth is only part: it is complemented by the church expectant of the faithful departed and the church triumphant of the saints in glory. There is one community of the living and the dead in which, for the eleventh perhaps more vitally than for any other century, the saints were of the utmost significance as intercessors in heaven

---

[3] 'apostolicam sedem de tenebris ad lucem remeasse dicimus': *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* i. 239–42, no. 26, at p. 241.

[4] For Carolingian ideas about ecclesiastical order and structure, see Robinson (1988), pp. 252–64. His opening point, that the period 750–1150 produced no treatise *De ecclesia*, is particularly important; until the fourteenth century no one produced such a work, nor did any thirteenth-century *Summa* contain such a section: Arquillière (1926). Thus, the early and central middle ages were guided by no systematic thought about the subject.

whose relics upon earth were the immediate and tangible evidences of their power. Liturgical and quasi-liturgical devotions brought home to Christians a church whose order comprehended earth and heaven. Such is the perspective of the Litanies of the Saints which proliferated in the Carolingian and post-Carolingian churches.[5] They set the company of heaven in hierarchical rank, as for example in the order for dedicating a church to be found in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical, a compendium of liturgical and catechetical material for bishops which was compiled at Mainz *c.* 960 and by the mid-eleventh century had circulated through western Christendom.

The Litany that it contained began by invoking Christ himself, as saviour of the world. The Virgin came next, supreme among the saints; she was followed by angels and archangels. Then came the saints in five further gradations: John the Baptist, apostles and evangelists, martyrs, confessors and virgins. Widows, innocents and penitents might be added. Pleas for mercy and grace often extended the structure to the church militant, with such prayers as that God would 'keep the lord pope and the whole order of the church in true religion'.[6] Fixed in pattern but adaptable in detail, Litanies could be appropriated to particular churches or occasions by naming saints whose bodies or relics were to hand. For every church there was a place in a structure embracing earth and heaven. *Lex orandi lex credendi*: such was the 'law of believing' which the 'law of praying' implanted in Christian minds.

Especially adept in presenting a divine order of earth and heaven were the so-called *Laudes regiae* texts which originated as a section of the Litany of the Saints but, by the ninth century, became separated. Especially in Germany, the early Salian period saw their widest dissemination, before altered presuppositions in the age of Gregory VII weakened and changed them.[7] Two misconceptions must be avoided. It is misleading to associate them with 'ruler-worship': the recurring cry, 'Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands',[8] establishes the Christocentric character that they shared with Litanies of the Saints. Nor were they mainly to do with coronations and crown-wearings; they were sung in major churches at the principal mass on great festivals, whether the king were present or not. They reached a wide audience. Their intercessory section called down heavenly aid for the powerful upon earth in hierarchical order. A plea for Christ to hearken, *Exaudi Christe*, introduced the acclamation of each social rank, and the choir invoked

---

[5] Coens (1936–44); Kammer (1962); Lapidge (1991).
[6] 'Ut domnum apostolicum et omnem ordinem ecclesiasticum in sancta religione conservare digneris: Te rogamus': *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle* XL. 2, 23. *Ordo* here means 'order of society' rather than hierarchy.
[7] Kantorowicz (1946); Opfermann (1953); Cowdrey (1981).
[8] 'Charistus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.'

a group of saints according to the heavenly gradation in the Litanies of the Saints. There might be variation of the earthly hierarchy, but the basic structure was established: the reigning pope was followed by the emperor or king, then came the bishops, clergy and Christian faithful, and finally the lay princes and perhaps the armies. At least in principle, the ranks of heaven and earth were marshalled in a single, divinely established order of redemption.

Its single and undivided character is apparent. Moreover, it was no abstract theory; it could be adapted to state how particular rulers regarded their authority. Thus, in 1068, William I, the Norman conqueror of England, used the *Laudes regiae* as chanted at his queen's coronation to declare his new regality.[9] He was a little lower than Pope Alexander II, 'supreme pontiff and universal pope', for whom the Persons of the Trinity were invoked. But he was a king 'most serene, crowned by God, great and pacific';[10] for him and his army, 'the army of Christians',[11] was reserved the calling down of 'life and victory', and to him was assigned the invocation of the supreme saints – the Virgin and archangels. The acclamation in turn of the queen, the archbishop and clergy, the bishops and abbots, and the lay princes, followed. The alternation of clerical and lay is a reminder that, as late as the mid-eleventh century, a dissociation of *sacerdotium* and *regnum* is anachronistic.[12]

Yet, in the structure of a unitary society, the functions of kings and bishops were interpenetrating but not confused. Especially instructive is the coronation order of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical – 'the order for blessing a king when a new king is elevated to the kingly office by clergy and people'.[13] King-making was envisaged as a shared function of clergy and people, where by 'people' the princes were particularly intended. The culminating prayer, used when the elected, anointed and crowned king was led by the metropolitan to his throne, ran as follows:

Take and henceforth keep the place which hitherto you have held by paternal succession, and which is now in hereditary right committed to you by authority of Almighty God and our present gift – that is, by all the bishops and other servants of God. And as you see the clergy to stand nearer to the holy altars, so in appropriate places you should remember when it behoves you to grant them the greater honour. Thus may the mediator of God and man [1 Tim. 2:5] strengthen you, the mediator of clergy and people – *at this point the metropolitan causes him to sit upon his chair, saying*: – in this,

---

[9] Cowdrey (1981), pp. 70–1, with comment on pp. 52–5. For German examples from the period under discussion, see Opfermann (1953), pp. 138–48.

[10] 'Wilhelmo serenissimo a Deo coronato magno et pacifico regi vita et victoria.'

[11] 'cuncto exercitui Christianorum.'   [12] Tellenbach (1988), p. 43.

[13] 'Ordo ad regem benedicendum quando novus a clero et populo sublimatur in regnum': *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du Xe Siècle* LXXII.

the throne of royal power. May Jesus Christ our Lord, king of kings and lord of lords, cause you to reign with him in his eternal kingdom.[14]

The king is *mediator cleri et plebis*, with superiority over clergy and people alike. Yet the ambiguity of the phrase must be noticed. On the one hand, the parallel with Christ calls for the translation 'mediator', in recognition that the king's regality set him apart from other men and gave him an authority in and over the church. Hence, Archbishop Aribo of Mainz could remind Conrad II that, as king, he was the vicar of Christ. On the other hand, the prayer inculcated in the king a respect for the clergy whose proximity to the altar, that is, whose sacramental capacities, he did not share. In this respect, *mediator* would better be translated 'governor': the king had a special function to regulate society and bring justice to all its parts. Although society was not divided between *sacerdotium* and *regnum*, there was a functional difference between king and clergy which warns against the phrase 'sacral kingship'. There should be no mistaking the limit set, at least in canon law, to the king's exercise of spiritual functions. Burchard of Worms, a German bishop who compiled his influential *Decretum c.*1010, insisted that 'no capacity in any way to dispose of ecclesiastical matters is granted to laymen, however religious'; for him laymen included emperors and kings.[15] Provided these nuances are observed, the phrase *mediator cleri et plebis* is a good epitome of the royal office in the mid-eleventh century.

Canon law also furnished material for reflection upon the ecclesiastical hierarchy in itself. An excellent model was provided by the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, compiled *c.* 850 in northern France.[16] They were designed to strengthen bishops against metropolitans, and tended further to weaken the latter by magnifying primates and patriarchs (in Pseudo-Isidore these terms were interchangeable).[17] Whereas a metropolitan was head of a province within a single kingdom, a primate had authority, perhaps internationally, over several

---

[14] 'Sta et retine amodo locum quem hucusque paterna successione tenuisti, hereditario iure tibi delegatum per auctoritatem Dei omnipotentis et presentem traditionem nostram, omnium scilicet episcoporum ceterorumque Dei servorum. Et quanto clerum sacris altaribus propinquiorem perspicis, tanto ei potiorem in locis congruis honorem impendere memineris, quatinus, mediator Dei et hominum, te mediatorem cleri et plebis – *Hoc in loco sedere eum faciat domnus metropolitanus super sedem, dicendo:* – in hoc regni solio confirmet et in regno aeterno secum regnare faciat Iesus Christus dominus noster, rex regum et dominus dominantium': *ibid.*, LXXII.25.

[15] *'Ut laici quamvis religiosi ecclesiastica non disponant*. Laicis, quamvis religiosis, nullo modo de ecclesiasticis facultatibus aliquid disponendi unquam attribuatur facultas': Burchard, *Decretum* XV.35; the *Argumentum* of Lib. XV declares that 'Libro hoc de laicis omnis conditionis tractatio instituitur, tam de iis qui praesunt, ut imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, quam his qui horum imperio subiecti sunt.'

[16] The fullest discussions of Pseudo-Isidore are those in Fuhrmann (1953–5) and (1972–4).

[17] Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, p. 79: 'patriarchas vel primates qui unam formam tenent'.

provinces. If, as in sometime Roman Gaul, a record like the *Notitia Gal-liarum* facilitated a comparison with imperial Roman arrangements, the latter could be the basis for eleventh-century claims to superiority: because Trier was in Belgica prima, it might claim superiority to Rheims in Belgica se-cunda; because it was in Lugdunensis prima, Lyons might be envisaged as having a primacy over Rouen, Tours and Sens, respectively in Lugdunensis secunda, tertia and quarta.[18] Pseudo-Isidore thus yielded a model according to which patriarch/primate was superior to metropolitan and metropolitan to bishop.[19]

Within the diocese, it suggested a structure on the analogy of a sea-going ship: God was proprietor (*dominus*) and Christ was pilot (*gubernator*); the bishop was look-out (*prorata*), priests the sailors (*nautae*), deacons the stewards (*dispensatores*), and catechists were like mustermen (*nautologi*); the whole body of Christians were as marines (*ephibati*).[20] At the apex of the church, Pseudo-Isidore suggested for the papacy a positive but not an absolute superiority. By its own form as a collection including many papal decretals, it placarded the authority of the apostolic see, which had sole power to convene synods; no synod had legal validity which was not assembled under and endowed with its authority.[21] Yet order was respected: all bishops shared in St Peter's commission; if Rome was superior in and over the hierarchy, the rights of all grades must be assured.[22]

How the liturgical and canonical ideas that have been indicated came to-gether is nowhere better illustrated than in a letter of 1079 in which Pope Gregory VII informed the archbishops of Rouen, Tours and Sens that he had confirmed the primacy of Lyons:

As you know, my brothers, the apostolic see . . . has established bishops, abbots and primates in various provinces and kingdoms. By its appointment and authority, the church of Lyons is acknowledged for long to have held a primacy over the four provinces of Lyons, Rouen, Tours and Sens. Therefore we . . . wishing to follow the examples of the holy fathers and relying on their power, desire at a due time to confirm the primacy of Lyons that they established and sanctioned by their decrees. To this end divine providence disposed that grades and different orders should be distinct; for, this being so, as long as the lesser revered the greater and the more powerful cared for the lesser, a single concord would arise from diversity. Things would fit together, and the discharge of every office would be duly ensured . . . The pattern of the heavenly hosts tells us that

---

[18] Fuhrmann (1972–4), pp. 146–7, 198, 333–4; see also *Notitia Galliarum, MGH Auctores antiquissimi* IX, pp. 552–612.

[19] Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, pp. 79–80.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 34–5. For another hierarchical model for grades within the church, see the 'Ordinals of Christ' which exhibited Christ during his earthly life as rising up the grades of holy orders: Reynolds (1978).

[21] Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, p. 19.   [22] *Ibid.*, pp. 145–6.

the creation cannot be arranged, nor can it survive, in a single and undifferentiated equality; the fact that there are angels and archangels shows that they are not equal, for as you know the one differs from the other in power and order. If such degree exists among the sinless, what man can refuse to be subject to this dispensation? . . . Each office is healthfully discharged because there is a single superior to whom all may refer.[23]

Such a comprehension of the hierarchy of heaven and earth characterised the mid-eleventh century. But there was little doctrinal heresy or controversy to stir men, and debates about *sacerdotium* and *regnum* largely lay in the future. If conceptually there was an all-pervading sense of vertical structure, in historical actuality such structure as the church possessed is most clearly to be seen in horizontal cross-section, and at the level of bishops and kings. For the situation varied from region to region, according to the character and effectiveness of the royal power. A caveat must here be entered: this chapter is concerned with the secular church – the church of popes, bishops, lesser clergy and laity, not with the monastic order. The restriction is one that the eleventh century would have thought artificial, for in its experience the secular and monastic orders were interconnected. The monks catered for many of the spiritual needs of the secular clergy and laity, especially the aristocracy; they were the intercessors *par excellence* in all contingencies of life and death.[24] Monastic prayers and alms were an indispensable support for a world whose functional structure was often understood in terms of those who pray, those who fight and those who work,

---

[23] Gregory VII *Registrum* VI.35: 'Sicut novit fraternitas vestra, sedes apostolica, cui licet indigni Deo auctore presidemus, divina gratia inspirante Spiritu sancto edocta per diversas provincias et regna presules archiepiscopos et primates ordinavit. Cuius constitutione et auctoritate Lugdunensis ecclesia primatum super quattuor provincias, videlicet Lugdunensem Rotomagensem Turonensem et Senonensem per annorum longa curricula obtinuisse cognoscitur. Sanctorum igitur patrum nos, in quantum Deo favente valemus, exempla sequi cupientes ecclesię memoratę primatum, quem ipsi decretis suis constituerunt atque sanxerunt, eorum freti potestate subinde confirmare studemus. Ad hoc enim divinę dispensationis provisio gradus et diversos constituit ordines esse distinctos, ut, dum reverentiam minores potioribus exhiberent et potiores minoribus dilectionem impenderent, una concordia fieret ex diversitate, contexio et recte officiorum gigneretur administratio singulorum. Neque enim universitas alia poterat ratione subsistere, nisi huiusmodi magnus eam differentię ordo servaret. Quia vero creatura in una eademque ęqualitate gubernari vel vivere non potest, çelestium militiarum exemplar nos instruit, quia, dum sint angeli sint archangeli, liquet, quia non ęquales sunt, sed in potestate et ordine, sicut nosti, differt alter ab altero. Si ergo inter hos, qui sine peccato sunt, ista constat esse distinctio, quis hominum abnuat huic se libenter dispositioni submittere? Hinc etenim pax et caritas mutua se vice complectuntur et manet firma concordie in alterna et Deo placita dilectione sinceritas, quia igitur unumquodque tunc salubriter completur officium, cum fuerit unus, ad quem possit recurri, prepositus.' Gregory followed this by a long citation from Pseudo-Isidore: *Decretales*, p. 79. I am most grateful to Professor D. E. Luscombe for pointing out that from 'Ad hoc enim' to 'possit recurri, prepositus' Gregory was quoting Gregory I, *Registrum* V.59, lines 1–19.
[24] Schmid and Wollasch (1967).

and in which those who pray might include monks and secular clergy – the clerical order as opposed to the lay.[25]

If the monastic order is set aside, the organisational strength of the church was greatest at the level of bishoprics and their association in provinces, and in the regions where royal power was at its most effective.

At the heart of Europe lay the German dominions of the Salian kings. Only after *c.* 1073, at first in sources hostile to the king and in papal letters, did they begin to be often regarded as a German kingdom (*regnum Teutonicum*).[26] Thus, the Salian lands owed much of their coherence to the six church provinces that largely corresponded to them. The most extensive province was that of the Rhineland see of Mainz, comprising sixteen dioceses from Verden in the north to Chur in the south. It included Prague, which reached the River Oder, and covered Bohemia, whose dukes owed services to the Salian kings to whose lordship it belonged. The other provinces encircled Mainz. In the north, that of Bremen included a few German sees. To its south-west, Cologne and Trier, with six and four constituent dioceses respectively, included, but spread beyond, the duchies of Lower and Upper Lorraine. To the south-east, in the Danube region, the province of Salzburg consisted of six German dioceses. Mainz, Bremen, Cologne and Salzburg had all been archbishoprics since Carolingian times, and Trier for much longer; Trier, indeed, cherished claims to a primacy within the Gallic province of Belgica prima.[27] The final province of Magdeburg, which the emperor Otto I established in 967, comprised six dioceses between the Elbe and the Oder.

This compact German church was in all major parts except the province of Bremen familiar with the king as he itinerated his kingdom. It is no longer possible to speak, unless with much qualification, of an 'imperial church system' (*Reichskirchensystem*) of the Ottonians and early Salians: the word 'system' suggests too much structure and organisation; the vicissitudes of personal alliances and conflicts were too complex for there to be a constitutional order with the king using appointments to bishoprics and abbacies to contain the dukes and lay aristocracy.[28] Nevertheless, the bishops owed and discharged services to the king which made them his associates in upholding the kingdom and which often brought them together. The royal itinerary was of major importance. While the early Salian kings did not visit every bishopric, they frequently received

---

[25] Amongst many discussions, see especially Duby (1978) and Flori (1986). For the monastic order see chapter 10 below.

[26] Müller-Mertens (1970). Weinfurter (1991), I, pp. 55–96, is an indispensable work of reference for this and every aspect of the Salian church.

[27] Leo IX, *Ep.* 3, *PL* 143, cols. 594–6, Victor II, *Ep.* 15, *PL* 143, cols. 826–7.

[28] Santifaller (1964); Reuter (1982); Engels (1991), pp. 488, 514–41; Weinfurter (1991), I, pp. 54–8, 78–89.

CITIES VISITED THREE AND MORE TIMES BY CONRAD II AND
HENRY III

Duchy	Episcopal city	Ecclesiastical province	Conrad II (1024–39)	Henry III (1039–56)
Bavaria	Passau	Salzburg	–	3
	Regensburg	Salzburg	4	15
Franconia	Bamberg	Mainz	3	6
	Mainz	Mainz	4	9
	Speyer	Mainz	1	11
	Worms	Mainz	4	7
	Würzburg	Mainz	2	3
Lorraine	Cologne	Cologne	1	6
	Utrecht	Cologne	2	3
Saxony	Magdeburg	Magdeburg	4	–
	Merseburg	Magdeburg	4	6
	Minden	Cologne	2	4
	Münster	Cologne	4	6
	Paderborn	Mainz	8	3
Swabia	Augsburg	Mainz	5	5
	Basel	(Besançon)	5	3
	Strasbourg	Mainz	7	7

Sources: Zielinski (1984), p. 208; cf. Metz (1978), pp. 126–7. Thanks
are due to Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, Stuttgart, for
permission to use the above data.

episcopal hospitality for themselves and their court.[29] The above Table shows
which cities Conrad II and Henry III visited at least three times.

The bishops' hospitality was part of a threefold service (*servitium regis*) which
also required that they attend the king's court at solemn gatherings and that
they provide military contingents for his host, especially upon expeditions to
Italy. Upon such expeditions, especially if an object were imperial coronation
by the pope, many bishops themselves accompanied the king.[30] At all times,
the court mattered greatly to the bishops: there, many of them were elected or
their elections were confirmed, and they were invested with the ring, and under
Henry III and his son the staff, which were the tokens of their office. The nerve-
centre of royal administration, and therefore to a large extent of the church,

[29] Fleckenstein (1966), p. 219; Metz (1978), pp. 87–9, 126–7; Zielinski (1984–), I, pp. 205–9.
[30] Zielinski (1984–), I, pp. 281–3.   [31] Fleckenstein (1966).

was the king's chapel.[31] Staffed by clerks who looked after the king's relics and the divine worship of his household and court, it discharged secretarial and administrative duties. It was at the heart of the personal relationships and loyalties that made up the strength of the kingdom. Its duties included the management of the royal itinerary. Its clerks were recruited widely in Germany and Italy, with many sons of aristocratic families which were thereby bonded with the king. Many bishoprics were filled by its clerks, who provided the king with prelates of proven loyalty and competence. Active royal chaplains were often provided with canonries not only at collegiate churches like St Simon and St Jude at Goslar but also in cathedrals.[32] Serving their canonries and the royal chapel by turns, they both facilitated royal control over the kingdom and made for the unity of the German church. German kings and other royalty were admitted to spiritual confraternity with a number of cathedrals;[33] together with the almsgiving that was a royal public duty, such confraternity served further to draw the church together about the king.[34]

Such manifestations did not give rise to an institutional structure, yet they helped powerful and competent kings like Conrad II and Henry III as *mediatores cleri et plebis* to hold society together and so to give unity and identity to the church which acknowledged their authority. But when the king was a child, as during the long minority (1056–65) of Henry IV, and still more from 1073 when the king was at odds with the princes and from 1080 when ecclesiastical schism supervened, the vulnerability of the German church to discord and division would become tragically apparent.

For most of the period under consideration, the Salians ruled the kingdoms of Burgundy and Italy as well as Germany. Conrad II acquired the kingdom, as distinct from the duchy, of Burgundy in 1032. Ecclesiastically, it comprised the whole or part of seven provinces: Besançon, Lyons, Vienne, Arles, Aix, Tarentaise and Embrun. Especially under Archbishop Hugh (1031–66), Besançon supported the Salians; its proximity to the Great St Bernard Pass made its loyalty critical. But it was remembered that most of the kingdom had belonged to the Roman provinces of Gallia Narbonensis and Gallia Lugdunensis. It was mainly Romance-speaking, and all four suffragan sees of Lyons – Autun, Chalon, Langres and Mâcon – lay outside its boundaries. From the foundation of Cluny in 909/10 to that of Cîteaux in 1098, the province of Lyons was a cradle of monastic reform which was particularly effective in France. Burgundian orientation towards France was illustrated in 1079 by Gregory VII's confirmation to Lyons of primacy over Gallia Lugdunensis.[35] Thus, the church in the kingdom of Burgundy had little coherence as such.

[32] Zielinski (1984–), I, pp. 259–75.   [33] Groten (1983).
[34] For Salian almsgiving, see Schmid (1984), esp. pp. 706–12.
[35] See above, p. 234–5.

The limits of the Italian kingdom followed those of the Lombard, and later Frankish, lordships in northern and central Italy. But royal control of church and lay affairs was not a matter of lines on a map; still less than in Germany was there a settled 'imperial church system'.[36] Royal rights depended upon the consensus with which they could at any time be established and upon the power by which they might be enforced. They shaded off with decreasing intensity from north to south; even in 1073 the oath of fealty to the pope of a Norman prince of Capua referred to the fealty that he also owed to the Salian king, reflecting a papal and royal condominium.[37] Royal claims over churches were often latent but not dead.

The north of the peninsula comprised three large church provinces – Milan in Lombardy and Liguria, Aquileia in Istria and part of Lombardy, and Ravenna mostly in the Romagna. Each metropolis had a proud self-consciousness, and each controlled a province of some fifteen to twenty suffragan sees, usually themselves extensive. Grado retained patriarchal claims in Istria and Venice which Aquileia resisted but the reform popes countenanced. The metropolises assumed attitudes of their own which compounded the lack of cohesion amongst them: by and large, Aquileia gave the German king active support and Ravenna gave him its tacit acceptance; Milan's claim to independence led to such spirited resistance as Archbishop Aribert II (1018–45) put up to Conrad II.[38] Salian descents into Italy were infrequent, but they were occasions for Italian episcopal assemblies; when Henry III held a general synod at Pavia in October 1046, three-quarters of the forty bishops named in its *acta* were north Italians.[39] Many Germans were appointed to bishoprics. But in all normal circumstances, the north Italian church was too distant from the royal presence and power for it to acquire the corporate identity that the church in Germany possessed.

The many central Italian dioceses were ecclesiastically the direct subjects of the Roman church. Most of them were small. They were sometimes said to constitute a *provincia Romana*; however, there was no organised province. But before and after 1046, the bishops' attendance at papal synods in Rome was substantial. Twenty-six attended Leo IX's synod in April 1050, and some forty-five attested the Election Decree of 1059.[40] Their value in providing a forum at papal synods should not be underestimated. Over bishoprics in the

---

[36] For the background, see Pauler (1982), esp. pp. 164–73.

[37] Gregory VII, *Registrum* I.21a; for south Italy in general, see Deér (1972).

[38] For the north Italian provinces, see Schwartz (1913); for Aribert, Cowdrey (1966). For the position of Ravenna, over which the papacy had ecclesiastical and political claims arising from the ancient exarchate, see Ziese (1991), pp. 26–35.

[39] *MGH Constitutiones* I. 94–5, no. 48.

[40] For attendance in general, see Tangl (1932); for the Election Decree, Jasper (1986), pp. 109–19.

margraviate of Tuscany, Liguria and the duchy of Spoleto, the Salian king could claim a right of appointment and investiture. Thus, when in 1075 Henry IV nominated bishops of Fermo and Spoleto without consulting Gregory VII, the latter's objection turned upon the king's giving the sees to clerks unknown to himself, not on the king's claim to appoint.[41] Over the densely concentrated sees of the Pentapolis, Roman Tuscany and the Roman Campagna, the pope had direct authority.[42]

In the south, the organisation and structure of the church were even less settled, largely on account of political factors such as the vicissitudes of the Lombard principalities, the Norman incursions and settlement, and the existence until the fall of Bari in 1071 of a Byzantine catapanate. Dioceses were numerous and usually small. An older archbishopric like Benevento had a provincial organisation in its region. But from the mid-tenth century a number of sees burgeoned into archbishoprics merely to satisfy urban pride. Not until the early twelfth century can there be said to have been a metropolitan structure in south Italy.[43] There is no sense in which one can speak of an Italian church; ecclesiastically as politically, Italy was a land of regions and of complexities.

The diocesan and provincial structure of the French church in general followed the organisation of Roman Gaul. To western Belgica there corresponded the province of Rheims; to Gallia Lugdunensis the provinces of Rouen, Tours, Sens and most of Lyons; to Aquitania those of Bourges, Bordeaux and Auch; and to Gallia Narbonensis west of the River Rhône that of Narbonne. Since the mid-ninth century, the see of Dol had claimed metropolitan authority over Brittany. Within the nine established provinces, episcopal sees usually represented Roman *civitates*. They were numerous and small in the south, fewer and larger in the central provinces of Bordeaux, Bourges and Lyons, and of middling size and number between the Loire and the Somme. Thus, the province of Rouen comprised seven dioceses of comparable and manageable size. Many sees had lists of bishops beginning in or soon after Roman times which were headed by saints whose relics and legends were preserved and cherished. Such continuity brought strength and cohesion to a France whose political structure was weak and fragmented through a thoroughgoing *morcellement* since Carolingian times. Whereas in Germany the kings brought unity to the church, in France the church gained a measure of unity by supporting the kings.

---

[41] Gregory VII, *Registrum* III. 10.

[42] e.g. *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* I.153–4, no. 16, cf. III. 543–4, no. 147. Toubert (1973) is fundamental for Latium, as well as for many wider matters. Canon 6 of the council of Nicaea (325), on the bishop of Rome's power over the surrounding region, should be recalled.

[43] Klewitz (1932–3).

For politically, and therefore in terms of what royal power could bring to the church, France stood in contrast to Germany. The Salian kings had no true demesne but in their itineraries ranged widely throughout their kingdom; the Capetians seldom travelled outside the small but compact demesne which formed a narrow principality from Compiègne in the north to Orléans in the south. Beyond the River Loire they had meagre authority. Nevertheless, an adjunct to their power was the so-called ecclesiastical demesne which complemented their temporal lands and rights. Its principal constituents were the 'royal' sees where the king had the rights of nominating bishops and of administration during vacancies. As precisely as can be determined, the first Capetian, Hugh Capet (987–96), in this sense controlled the archbishoprics of Rheims (which claimed a primacy in Gallia)[44] and Sens, and the bishoprics of Beauvais, Chartres, Laon, Langres, Le Mans, Le Puy, Meaux, Orléans, Paris, Senlis, Soissons and Tournai. Robert the Pious (996–1031) gained the archbishopric of Bourges and the bishoprics of Auxerre, Châlons-sur-Marne, Mâcon and Troyes. Henry I (1031–60) lost Le Mans, but Philip I (1060–1108) added the archbishopric of Tours and the bishoprics of Amiens, Chalon-sur-Saône and Thérouanne. Thus, except for the Norman see of Rouen, all the archbishoprics north of the Loire became royal, as well as Bourges to the south. If such royal links with the church augmented Capetian authority, they also promoted a sense of identity in the church itself. The holders of royal bishoprics attended the king's court, and so came together in ways that offset the infrequency of major church councils.[45] The sacral character of Capetian kingship and its association with Rheims as the place of coronation also consolidated the church about the king.[46] Even in places remote from the royal demesne and bishoprics, churchmen dated their charters by the king's regnal year. *Laudes regiae* texts show that a sense of the unity of the realm could temper diocesan particularism;[47] it also offset the close identity of church provinces with principalities where the Capetian writ ran seldom if at all – Rouen with Normandy, Bordeaux and Auch with Aquitaine, the aspiring province of Dol with Brittany. The mid-eleventh century saw no French equivalent to the serviceable German church; yet there was a common loyalty to the Capetian king which should not be underestimated in political or ecclesiastical terms.

Germany, Burgundy, Italy and France were the heartlands of Latin Christendom. The framework of dioceses and provinces was even there not everywhere settled; ancient dioceses were sometimes combined or new ones established. By and large, however, it was mapped out; customs and loyalties were deep-rooted

---

[44] Anselmus *Historia dedicationis*.
[45] Lemarignier (1965), pp. 51–5, 111–19, and the relevant maps and tables.
[46] Schramm (1960), i, pp. 112–16.
[47] See esp. the texts in Cowdrey (1981), pp. 68–9, 74–6.

and strong. Around the heartlands lay peripheral regions where ecclesiastical organisation was more tentative, even missionary. From the heartlands, bishops, kings and not least popes increasingly manifested their concern. There was often a genuine desire that, in fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies,[48] all peoples should come to Christian obedience within the church. Politically, too, the popes became aware that Christian kingdoms on the periphery might check and balance intractable rulers in France and Germany.[49]

To begin in the south, the Norman conquest of Sicily from the Muslims started only in 1061, though in 1050 Leo IX had ordained Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida to be its archbishop.[50] Most of Spain, too, remained Muslim. But above a frontier zone running south of the River Douro to its source and then north of the River Ebro to near Barcelona, there were organised Christian kingdoms and principalities with bishops who depended upon their rulers. The bishoprics were mainly in the north-west and north-east: two each in Galicia and Castile and three in León; east of Oca-Burgos there was only Pamplona in Navarre until the four bishoprics of Catalonia. The memory of the five provinces of Visigothic times remained, but as yet there was no revival of provincial organisation. Such common action as there was took the form of councils summoned by kings (Coyanza, *c.* 1055, Jaca, *c.* 1063), or by a papal legate (Gerona, *c.* 1068).[51]

The British Isles must be regarded as on the periphery of Latin Christendom.[52] Like Gaul, Britain south of Hadrian's Wall and east of the Welsh Marches had been Romanised, but unlike Gaul the Germanic settlements largely obliterated Romanisation. By contrast with the duchy of Normandy with a single province of Rouen divided into seven ancient and manageable dioceses, organised Latin Christianity in England began only with Pope Gregory the Great's mission in 597 of St Augustine of Canterbury. Gregory's neat plan for two equipollent provinces centred upon the Roman cities of London and York, each with twelve suffragan dioceses,[53] had no relation to reality. Augustine established the southern metropolis where it has always remained, in the then paramount kingdom of Kent. Over the centuries, the church developed piecemeal, in response to the vicissitudes of war, politics and royal power.

Thus, between 1024 and 1073, the English church comprised the two provinces of Canterbury and York, which became an archbishopric in 735. Approximately, they divided England at the River Humber. Canterbury included

---

[48] E.g. Psalms 19(18): 1–6, Isaiah 60: 1–14.   [49] Cowdrey (1989).

[50] Richer, *Gesta Senoniensis ecclesiae* II.18; Leo IX, *Ep.* 38, *PL* 143, col. 646D.

[51] O'Callaghan (1975), pp. 306–8.

[52] Cowdrey (1989); Brett (1975) has important material on the eleventh century.

[53] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* I.29.

a maximum of fifteen dioceses, though when the Normans arrived in 1066 the combining of sees had reduced the number of bishops to twelve. Some bishoprics were excessively large, for example Dorchester/Lincoln, which sprawled across England from the Thames to the Humber; in this form it orginated in a late tenth-century agglomeration, in face of Viking invasions, of the dioceses of Lindsey, Leicester and Dorchester. York had only the one suffragan see of Durham, and could not from its province muster the three bishops who were needed at episcopal ordinations.[54] Over-large and, except for the city of York, thinly populated, the see of York had since the late tenth century sometimes been held by the bishops of Worcester. Even Archbishop Aldred (1044–69) intended to hold both sees, although after Pope Nicholas II's veto upon this he resigned from Worcester. The first Norman archbishop, Thomas, claimed that the sees of Dorchester, Worcester and Lichfield belonged to his province. In 1072, the council of Winchester confirmed that its boundary was the Humber, but it awarded York metropolitan authority 'up to the furthest limits of Scotland'.[55]

Although York's claim to such authority was not finally abandoned until 1192 when the Scottish church was organised as an independent province, it was never for long made good. Scotland itself had a number of bishops, but no episcopal organisation. Its bishoprics were poorly endowed, had fluctuating areas of authority, and were entirely at the disposal of the Scottish kings, who were responsible for long vacancies. Wales and Ireland, too, experienced systematic ecclesiastical organisation only in the twelfth century. The most striking feature of the mid-eleventh-century Welsh church was its isolation; even the thorough Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury seems to have had no plans for it. It had no kind of unity; there was only a number of bishops in undefined areas that were themselves familial or tribal. Ireland had no vestige of imperial Romanisation to recall. Politically it was divided amongst contending dynasties. Only at Dublin was there a bishop with some claim to territorial authority. Church life usually centred upon larger monastic churches whose abbots might or might not be bishops; not seldom they were laymen.[56] (The term 'monastic' loosely describes mother churches of regions, with no necessary implication of regular life.)

In Scandinavia, the mid-eleventh century saw the apogee and frustration, but not the end, of persistent endeavours by the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen, especially Adalbert (1043–72), to make good an authority based upon its missionary past and upon its papal privileges over still rudimentarily organised churches in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. One of Adalbert's plans was

[54] Barlow (1979), pp. 208–31.   [55] *Councils and Synods* I/2, no. 91/III.
[56] Duncan (1975), pp. 257–9; Davies (1987), pp. 172–9; Watt (1970), pp. 1–9.

to develop his German province of Hamburg-Bremen and a Danish province with its own archbishop, so that he would be in a position, on Pseudo-Isidorian assumptions, to establish a northern patriarchate. Pope Leo IX gave his plan some countenance, but his non-German successors were cautious. The ambitions of the archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen were also regarded askance by the Scandinavian kings, who wished to use the church to fortify their own domestic position. When Cnut the Great of Denmark and England (1016–35) in 1022 appointed bishops of Roskilde, Schonen and Fünen, he turned to Canterbury for their consecration. His nephew Svein Estridson (1047–74/6) hindered Danish bishops from attending Adalbert's proposed synods, and in his reign the number of Danish bishops increased to nine. By 1073, Svein was looking for guidance in church matters to Rome, where Pope Gregory VII was more than willing to provide it. But, like his Norwegian and Swedish neighbours, his wish was to be master of his national church.[57] There were Scandinavian bishops, but little church organisation.

In the east, the years 1024–73 saw irreversible if sometimes troubled development in Poland and Hungary towards settled church provinces in independent monarchical states; Bohemia fared differently. When the emperor Otto I at last set up the archbishopric of Magdeburg, he intended it to be the metropolis of the Slav lands. However, in 1000 Otto III, in collaboration with Pope Silvester II and Duke Boleslav Chrobry (996–1025), founded the Polish metropolis of Gniezo with four suffragan sees, three of which – Cracow, Wrocław and Poznań – proved viable. In the same year the name Poland made its historical appearance, and in 1025 Boleslav took the title of king. A time of troubles followed his death, but in the mid-1070s Pope Gregory VII and Boleslav II rehabilitated the provincial organisation of the Polish church. Ecclesiastically as politically, Poland would not belong to the German empire. Bohemia eluded Boleslav I's designs of bringing it under Polish control; however, the see of Prague, founded in 973, remained in the province of Mainz, to become an archbishopric only in the mid-fourteenth century. The critical period in the Christianisation of Hungary was the reign of King Stephen I (1000–38). He proceeded slowly with its ecclesiastical organisation. His model seems to have been a decimal one, with ten dioceses, ten monasteries, and a church for every ten villages. The archbishop eventually settled at Gran (Esztergom).[58]

The final peripheral region of Latin Christendom is Dalmatia and Croatia, where Byzantine weakness allowed the popes and their legates increasing scope for intervention. The archbishop of Spalato (Split) had some nine suffragans,

---

[57] Hauck (1913–20), III, pp. 634–64; Fuhrmann (1953–5), III, pp. 120–70; Seegrün (1967), pp. 48–87; Cowdrey (1989); Johanek (1991).

[58] For eastern Europe, see esp. Dvornik (1949) and Vlasto (1970). On Poland, see esp. Kłoczowski (1974), and on Hungary, Waldmüller (1987), esp. p. 107.

and a series of synods was held at the metropolis. In 1022, Pope Benedict VIII sent a pallium, the token of metropolitan authority, to an archbishop of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). But the popes gained most advantage from the establishment of an independent principality of Zeta under Stephen Vojislav (*c.* 1040–51) and Michael (1051–81). Its metropolis was at Antivari (Bar); in 1067 Pope Alexander II sent a pallium to its archbishop, with permission to carry his cross 'through Dalmatia and Slavonia.'[59]

All round Latin Christendom, kingdoms and principalities were in process of formation. Their rulers needed organised churches to reinforce their lordship and leadership. Thus, their lands tended to become coextensive with one or more ecclesiastical provinces with enough dioceses to make them viable. The bids of sees like Bremen and Magdeburg to extend their authority into Scandinavian and Slav regions did not prevail. The popes were active in confirming the ecclesiastical arrangements that were thus emerging, to secure their loyalty by their dealings with archbishops, and above all to maintain good relations with the kings upon whom the organisation and welfare of the churches largely depended. The papacy's dealings with the peripheral regions of Christendom were a major factor in its own assertion of leadership in the church.

If the structure of the church was most evident in a horizontal section across it at the level of diocese and province, there was also a pervasive sense of unity and universality which favoured the emergence of an ever firmer hierarchy.[60] The long shadow of Carolingian reforms remained.[61] From 869 to 1123 there were no ecumenical or similar councils which, if they demonstrated the unity of the church, also highlighted its schisms, parties and controversies. Instead, homiletic and liturgical traditions instilled a sense of one faith and one church. To cite only examples, the Romano-Germanic Pontifical disseminated and expounded the universal faith of the *Quicumque vult* and the Apostles' Creed;[62] the book called *Speculator* (The Watchman) with which Burchard of Worms ended his *Decretum* promoted a common understanding of providence, predestination and the last things;[63] whenever a Litany of the Saints was recited, the single fellowship of heaven and earth was invoked; above all, every celebration of mass reminded congregations in cathedrals as in manorial chapels that the church was Christ's true body which was mystically present in the sacrament;

---

[59] Ragusa: *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, no. 541; Antivari: *PL* 146, cols. 1323–4. For Dalmatia, see Waldmüller (1987), pp. 49–92.

[60] For this paragraph, see J.-F. Lemarignier in Lot and Fawtier (1962), pp. 7–48; Tellenbach (1988), pp. 31–4.

[61] Robinson (1988).   [62] *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle* CXII–CXIII.

[63] *PL* 140, cols. 1017–58. For the term *speculator*, see Isaiah 52:8, Jeremiah 6:17, Ezekiel 3:17, 33:2, 6–7.

it was more than the sum of its constituent congregations, but complete in each of them and in every Christian.

As clergy and people went about their lives, the church was, in practice, centred upon their diocese, with its saints, bishop, cathedral and organisation. There was nothing monolithic about the eleventh-century church: the apostolic see of Rome was, and became ever more effectively, the focus of unity; yet the church is still best regarded as a federation of dioceses within provinces. Parishes found their life and meaning within the diocese, as symbolised by the need to collect holy oil for baptism from the bishop each Maundy Thursday. To study the as yet only partially settled vertical structure of the church, it is best to begin with the diocese, then move downwards towards the parish, and finally upwards to the papacy.

Dioceses showed much variety, from the often shapeless tribal bishoprics of the fringes of Europe, through the small urban dioceses of southern Italy, the ancient and manageable dioceses of France and the less ancient but still manageable dioceses of Germany, to great and proud metropolitan or primatial sees like Milan or Ravenna, Rheims or Mainz, Bremen or Canterbury. The common feature almost everywhere was the rule of a bishop who was the 'ordinary' of his diocese, with extensive rights and duties permanently and ir-removably annexed to his office. They were in essence threefold: sacramentally, he had power to confer holy orders and to administer confirmation, as well as to bless holy oils, churches, altars and sacred vessels; as a teacher with an official *magisterium*, he instructed and admonished clergy and laity; he exer-cised a jurisdiction that enabled and required him to govern and legislate for his diocese.[64] With due allowance for the gaps between precept and everyday reality, it is instructive to see how the office of bishop was presented in the Romano-Germanic Pontifical.[65] In the 'first feudal age', the emphasis lay on the person of the bishop rather than his office, important though that was. The clergy and people petitioned their metropolitan for the bishop's ordination; the lack as yet of reference to a cathedral chapter is significant. The bishop's duty was immediately to all in his diocese: 'that in conformity with the rules of disci-pline he may order and help us, and that under his guidance we may profitably serve the Lord'[66]. He was pastor, teacher and giver of penance, according to the bishop's role in Burchard's *Decretum*, rather than administrator or executive; the diocese was a family rather than a hierarchy. To his see, his relationship was

[64] Le Bras (1959–64), pp. 366–8; Feine (1964), pp. 213–14.

[65] *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle* LVI–LXX.

[66] 'Quem nobis quantotius petimus ordinari pontificem, quatinus auctore domino regulariter nobis praeesse valeat et prodesse et nos sub eius regimine salubriter domino militare possimus, quia integritas praesidentium salus est subditorum et ubi est incolumitas obedientiae, ibi sana est forma doctrinae': *ibid.*, LVI. 4.

no less personal: he stood as its husband, and upon his death it was widowed.[67] No century insisted more than the eleventh upon the marital symbolism of the ring that the bishop received at his ordination. He was committed like a husband to his church, whose rights and interests he must before all else cherish and vindicate.

Especially in larger dioceses north of the Alps, the two centers of activity were the bishop with his household (*familia*) which was often itinerating, and the cathedral, where the bishop had his throne (*cathedra*) but where he spent only a limited time, even when present in his diocese. The bishop's incentive to itinerate was one shared with lay magnates: the need to move from manor to manor in order to make the best use of material resources. But the itinerary was pastorally beneficial, for it brought the bishop into regular touch with the people and localities of his diocese. No bishop for whom evidence has survived provides a better example than the Englishman Wulfstan II of Worcester (1062–95). A Life by William of Malmesbury is supplemented by his *Portiforium*, or pocket breviary, containing the liturgical material that, as monk-bishop and pastor, he needed upon his travels.[68] The directness of his ministrations in each of the aspects of a bishop's duties is striking. He acted throughout in his capacity as bishop; the age of the bishop as papal judge-delegate had not arrived. Nor did diocesan officials stand between him and his subjects, great or small; his archdeacon prepared his way but was not his surrogate or substitute. He assiduously visited his whole diocese, confirming, preaching, reconciling, and consecrating churches.

The frequently itinerant bishop was complemented by his cathedral, rooted at a known locality which canon law demanded should be a *civitas*. Wulfstan built a new cathedral at Worcester with a magnificent shrine for St Oswald and other saints of the see. He fostered and shared when at Worcester the liturgical life of its monastic chapter. It was in Germany that the development of cathedral chapters was perhaps most remarkable, particularly because of the revival of Carolingian reforms.[69] From the early eleventh century there was a widespread adoption of the *Institutio canonicorum* of the council of Aachen (816–17)[70] which imposed on communities of clergy a rule requiring common property, refectories and dormitories, and which interposed a provost between the bishop and his cathedral clergy. The emperor Henry III's benefactions in

---

[67] *Ibid.*, LVI. 2.

[68] William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* (the *Life*, translated from a vernacular original written by Coleman, a monk of Worcester, between 1095 and 1113); Wulstan, *Portiforium*; Mason (1990), esp. pp. 94–6, 156–95. Wulfstan's diocesan administration may profitably be compared with the more structured order of a century later as described in Cheney (1980), pp. 56–165.

[69] Schieffer (1976), pp. 255–89. For chapters in the longer term, see Le Bras (1959–64), II, pp. 376–90.

[70] *MGH Concilia*. II/1, no. 39A.

1046 to the cathedral of Speyer were a landmark in the material endowment of cathedrals.[71] In north Italy, a common and regulated life was similarly and widely required. In France, such a development came later and then mainly in cathedrals south of a line from Bordeaux to Belley. In pre-Norman Conquest England, bishops from or familiar with Lotharingian cathedrals introduced the canonical life at Exeter, Wells, Hereford and York. Under the Normans, this development was abandoned in favour of the insular peculiarity of the monastic chapter, which was eventually introduced in nine English cathedrals. In the remainder, there were moves towards a prebendal system, already developing on the continent, whereby secular canons were individually supported by parcels of estates or prebends. Whether through regular or secular canons or, in England, by cathedral monasteries, cathedral chapters were widely being organised and endowed as corporations. They were distanced from their bishops, and the functions of their individual members could be developed and diversified. By the 1070s, for example, Bayeux cathedral had a dean, a cantor and a treasurer but not yet a chancellor; German cathedrals like Worms, Bamberg and Hildesheim had for some decades had their schools under a *scholasticus*.[72] From *c.* 1050 the cathedral clergy found a new solidarity and purpose which marked them off from their parochial brethren. The time was approaching when the formal election of bishops, and aspirations for freedom of election, could centre upon the cathedral chapter. As undying corporations, chapters were on their way to providing the continuity of diocesan life: bishops were transient figures and of differing personal qualities; chapters had a continuous life and became jealous guardians of rights and traditions. Less beneficially, the way was prepared for tensions and conflicts between bishops and their chapters, as at Bamberg and elsewhere in the Germany of the Investiture Contest.

This picture of tentative steps towards the organisation of cathedral chapters must be qualified by referring to the proud and elaborate structures of some greater cathedrals. The Ambrosian church of Milan was lovingly described, perhaps *c.* 1075, by its chronicler Landulf Senior. He set out its ranks of clergy – twenty-four priests of superior rank, seven deacons and as many subdeacons, and numerous *notarii* and *lectores*, together with twelve priests called *decumani* who officiated in the winter church. A *primicerius* oversaw the external clergy. Landulf described at length the schools and hostels for pilgrims and the poor

---

[71] *MGH DDHIII*, nos. 167–74. The development of the chapter at Speyer up to its 'Magna Carta' of 1101 (*MGH DDHIV* 466) is discussed by Heidrich (1991).

[72] Many examples in *MCSM* 3, 8, esp. Violante (1977). For France, see Becquet (1977). Toubert (1973), II, pp. 840–54 is excellent on Latium. For German cathedrals, see Wattenbach and Holtzmann (1967–71), II., pp. 426–8. For England, Edwards (1967), pp. 1–19; Barlow (1979), pp. 239–42; Brooke (1985), pp. 9–11.

which were attached to the cathedral.[73] Both north and south of the Alps, a number of cathedrals had their *cardinales*, or establishment of clerks who represented the cathedral as the 'hinge' (*cardo*) of the diocese and maintained its liturgical and other functions.[74]

Prescriptions for how bishops and archbishops should rule their dioceses and provinces made much of the councils and synods – in the eleventh century the terms were interchangeable – which brought rulers and subjects face to face. Many texts of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decrees included near their beginning an *Ordo de celebrando concilio*, and the Romano-Germanic Pontifical gave detailed directions for holding councils; if, upon early Spanish models, provincial assemblies were mainly envisaged, they could be readily adapted for the diocese.[75] Synods were occasions when a metropolitan or bishop exercised his authority in all its aspects – sacramental, magisterial and jurisdictional. There was liturgical observance and homiletic instruction, as well as the disclosure and correction of faults of all kinds among the clergy. Lay attendance, especially by magnates and the bishop's officials and vassals, was frequent, but the most solemn and important sessions were for the clergy alone. This marked an increasing division of society into clergy and laity which would be intensified in the age of the reform papacy.

It is hard to know how fully the prescriptions of lawbooks and pontificals were implemented. But in 1070, the legatine councils of Winchester and Windsor sought to introduce the best continental practice into an England which of late had not followed it; they prescribed regular episcopal synods, but left ambiguity as to whether they should occur twice yearly or only once, for canonical tradition was uncertain.[76] As regards procedure, there survives from Limoges some forty-five years earlier a prescription for such synods. They were to last for three days and to be held twice a year – at Pentecost and All Saintside. All priests and clergy were to attend, save that one priest in each parish was excused for essential ministrations. Laity were excluded. On the first day the bishop solemnly celebrated mass and delivered a homily on the service of the altar, on priestly duties in general and on the cure of souls. There followed the correction of faults both disciplinary and doctrinal, and clerical disputes were composed. The remaining days were devoted to ensuring right teaching about the Trinity, especially in view of the Pseudo-Manichean errors that were a bugbear in Aquitaine. Invaders of churches were excommunicated,

---

[73] Landulf, *Historia Mediolanensis* II.35–6; for the date, see Busch (1989).

[74] Fürst (1967), pp. 119–91.

[75] Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, pp. 22–4, cf. 364–5 (can. 3); *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle* LXXIX–LXXX.

[76] *Councils and Synods* I/2, nos. 86/IX (can. 13, yearly), 87/III (can. 4, twice yearly). For differing ancient precedents, see Gregory VII, *Registrum*, p. 66 n. 14.

penitents reconciled and ecclesiastical ordinances issued. The synod concluded
with prayers for kings and those in authority, and for the peace and safety of
the whole church. Attendance throughout the three days was rigorously en-
forced, and the clergy were dismissed only after the bishop's solemn blessing.
His synod was thus an occasion for the bishop to gather his clergy around him
for six days in each year. He exercised his authority directly and in detail for
the good of his diocese, and reminded his clergy of their place in the universal
church and in the realm.[77]

Perhaps only in a few dioceses and for limited periods was such fervour to
be found, for Limoges in the days of the monk Adhemar who recorded its
synodal practice was the centre of intense religious activity.[78] But in Germany,
episcopal synods are well attested, even if they were held only once a year.[79]
Moreover, Burchard of Worms envisaged an itinerating bishop as holding lo-
cal synodal assemblies of clergy and laity which would act with immediacy
and rigour.[80] At Worcester, Bishop Wulfstan acted similarly,[81] though in pre-
Conquest England regular diocesan synods were unknown except perhaps in
Northumbria. However, from early in the eleventh century there survives a
body of prescriptions similar to those of the synodal tradition on the conti-
nent.[82] More importantly, hundred or wapentake courts, and shire courts where
the bishop presided together with the ealdorman, pre-empted much synodal
business, while a powerful king like Cnut issued ecclesiastical as well as lay
laws.[83] There is no record of a post-Conquest episcopal synod until Wulfstan's
in 1092.[84] But between 1072 and 1085, King William I issued a writ requiring
bishops and archdeacons no longer to hear pleas arising from the 'episcopal
laws' in the hundred; those cited should come to the place appointed by the
bishop, who should see that canonically appropriate justice was done.[85] The

---

[77] Delisle (1896), pp. 269–72, cf. Aubrun (1981), pp. 405–6. For other French examples, see Lot and
Fawtier (1962), pp. 16–17.

[78] For Adhemar, see Landes (1990), esp. pp. 155–7, and the literature there cited.

[79] Hauck (1913–20), IV, pp. 6–9.   [80] Burchard, *Decretum* I.90–4.

[81] William of Malmesbury *Vita Wulfstani* III.10.

[82] *Councils and Synods* I/1, no. 63 (The Northumbrian Priests' Law, *c.* 1008 × 1023, can. 44), cf.
nos. 48 (The So-called 'Canons of Edgar', 1005 × 1008), 53 (Some Decisions at a Bishops' Synod,
early eleventh century), 54 (Injunctions on the Behaviour of Bishops, early eleventh century), 56
(The Bishop's Duties, early eleventh century).

[83] *Ibid.*, I/1, no. 64 (I, II Cnut, Christmas 1020 × 1022).

[84] *Ibid.*, I/2, no. 100; the authenticity of this document is not certain.

[85] *Ibid.*, I/2, no. 94: 'Sed quicumque secundum episcopales leges de quacumque causa vel culpa inter-
pellatus fuerit ad locum quem ad hoc episcopus elegerit et nominaverit veniat, ibique de causa vel
culpa sua respondeat, et non secundum hundret sed secundum canones et episcopales leges rectum
Deo et episcopo suo faciat.' The heading 'Ordinance of William I on Church Courts' should not
conceal that the writ did not use the word *curia* of an ecclesiastical tribunal. It makes no mention
of the shire, and it must be presumed that no area so large as the shire or diocese was envisaged.

writ may best be understood as seeking to restore to the church spiritual ju-
risdiction which had become confused with secular business by promoting in
England something like the itinerant episcopal justice for which Burchard of
Worms had provided.[86] To this extent at least, ecclesiastical and lay pleas were
to be separated in England, although at shire level bishops for long kept their
place in the customary courts.[87]

Especially in major dioceses, the bishop needed agents at large to comple-
ment, or if he were for long absent on political or other business, to deputise
for, his own routine activities. In 1070 the English council of Windsor required
bishops to appoint 'archdeacons and other ministers of holy order'.[88] Except
in Northumbria, archdeacons were few in late Anglo-Saxon England; under
Archbishop Lanfranc, most if not all bishops appointed at least one; by the
end of the century archdeacons were acquiring areas of territorial responsibil-
ity.[89] In much of Europe, there had long been archdeacons.[90] Their origins
were twofold. Originally, they had been a leading member of the bishop's
household with liturgical and administrative duties; in Norman Worcester,
Wulfstan's archdeacon thus functioned.[91] As cathedral chapters became dis-
tinct from bishops' households, the archdeacon often functioned similarly
within them. Secondly, from Carolingian times, archdeacons served as in-
termediaries within territorial areas between the bishop and the clergy and
laity. Performing the deacon's established role as 'the eye of the bishop', they
displaced the *chorepiscopi*, or subordinate rural bishops who tended towards
dangerous independence; by *c.* 1050 *chorepiscopi* had long been eliminated
in France and Germany but might still reappear in England.[92] By a long and
piecemeal process, first household and then territorial archdeacons were widely
established in the church; in 1066, for example, every diocese in Normandy had
them.

They could be supplemented by what the Windsor canon of 1070 called
'other ministers of holy order', under such names as archpriests and rural deans.
In post-Conquest England, there gradually emerged 'rural chapters' in which
bishops, archdeacons and rural deans dealt with spiritual matters as foreshad-
owed in the Conqueror's writ of 1072 × 85.[93] On the continent, archpriests

---

[86] Burchard, *Decretum* I. 90–4; cf. canons 5–7 of the council of Windsor (1070) for a possible incentive:
Councils and Synods I/2, no. 87/III.

[87] *Leges Henrici Primi*, cap. 7.   [88] *Councils and Synods* I/2, no. 87/III (can. 5).

[89] Barlow (1979), pp. 247–9; Brooke (1985).

[90] Hauck (1913–20), IV, pp. 10–19; Hamilton Thompson (1943); Lemarignier (1965), pp. 19–22.

[91] As note 68.

[92] Barlow (1979), pp. 246–7. For the deacon as the *oculus episcopi*, see Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, pp.
34, 70, 87. Developments in Germany are well illustrated by Erkens (1991), with emphasis upon the
differences between the dioceses of Trier and Cologne.

[93] Scammell (1971).

could be predominant within the diocese; in the vast diocese of Lyons, for example, there was only the archdeacon of the cathedral, but the diocese was divided into twenty-four *archprêtrés*. Similar arrangements were common in Italy. Only in such distant regions as Scandinavia were archdeacons never established.[94] Despite their jurisdictional superiority, archdeacons were seldom, if ever, in priest's orders; this may serve as a reminder that, in the eleventh century, the existence of archdeacons and rural deans should be understood in terms of the performance of complementary functions within the diocese, not of a settled hierarchy. The diocese was the basic, and essentially integrated, unit.

A parochial system, as a network of circumscribed territorial areas generally corresponding to villages or urban wards within which a parish priest had sole responsibility for ministrations to all the inhabitants, was everywhere far from complete. Even Domesday Book (1086) recorded churches rather than parishes. Nevertheless, in most parts of Latin Christendom there was a drive towards the territorial parish. Everywhere, the chronicler Radulf Glaber remarked in the 1030s, the millennium had seen the world bestirring itself and donning a white mantle of churches from cathedrals to village chapels.[95] There was much reflection about the status and duties of the clergy; traditions of the Carolingian and the more distant past were searched, and the outcome was models that called for a diligent priest who lived close to a flock which he knew intimately.[96] Precepts about pastoralia envisaged an intimate locality within which most people were born, grew up, married, sinned, did good works, and eventually died.

On the ground, the evolution of the medieval parochial system was prolonged.[97] From the sixth century, bishops found it necessary to provide for regular divine service in major churches (*ecclesiae baptismales, plebes*) as well as in their cathedral; there was also a complement of regional and village churches or oratories. This pattern originated in Spain, Gaul and north Italy; in Italy it persisted through the Carolingian age. But on both sides of the Alps, baptismal churches commonly passed into lay hands or became episcopal proprietary churches. In Germany, England and eventually Scandinavia,

---

[94] Dahlerup (1967).

[95] 'Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet, reiecta uetustate, passim candidam ęcclesiarum uestem indueret. Tunc denique episcopalium sedium ęcclesias pene uniuersas ac cetera quęque diuersorum sanctorum monasteria seu minora uillarum oratoria in meliora quique permutauere fideles': Radolf Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque* III.iv.13.

[96] For example, the discussion of baptism and holy communion in Burchard, *Decretum* IV–V, and the early eleventh-century regulations for the clergy in *Councils and Synods* I/1, nos. 46–8, 64.

[97] Feine (1964), pp. 147–213 gives a comprehensive discussion of the developments referred to in this paragraph.

the spread of Christianity saw the foundation of churches similar to the southern baptismal churches, with responsibilities over large areas; the old minsters of Anglo-Saxon England are an example. Especially in the ninth and tenth centuries, kings and lords provided further places of worship by establishing upon their lands so-called 'proprietary churches' (*Eigenkirchen*), which they treated together with their clergy much as their secular possession and dependants.[98] In the eleventh century, features of the 'public' system of baptismal churches with dependent chapels and of the 'private' system of proprietary churches persisted. But almost everywhere there was profound and strong movement towards the establishment of territorial parishes.

It was in parts of Italy that the system of baptismal churches was most tenacious.[99] Especially in the north, dioceses were divided into *plebes* (Italian: *pievi*), which were large districts with a 'pieval' church where baptisms were performed and tithes paid, with a small or large complement of local chapels (*oratoria*) for Sunday mass.[100] There were also many proprietary churches (*ecclesiae propriae*). Churches of all kinds had been widely feudalised, a circumstance that excited the fulminations of a reformer like Peter Damian.[101] Only in the twelfth century did the *pievi* crumble, to be replaced by parish churches that, within limited boundaries, provided a full range of parochial ministrations, including baptism. Yet social changes in Italy were also stimulating more rapid developments. Some of the most far-reaching were in Latium.[102] There, the golden age of *plebes cum oraculis* had been the eighth and ninth centuries. They had been made obsolete by the phenomenon, widespread in Italy, of *incastellamento*: by deliberate seigneurial action, populations were concentrated in fortified settlements, usually upon hilltops. The castral church which was often part of the fortification became the main religious centre. Dioceses assumed the aspect of groups of castral churches; castral archpriests were, under the bishop, the key figures. The older *pievi* withered away; however, despite the depopulation of the open countryside local churches and oratories survived as hermitages or as places for the occasional celebration of their patron saints. By one means or another, the ground for a parochial network was being prepared. Especially when churches passed into monastic hands – and the eleventh century witnessed such monastic accumulations as Monte Cassino's *terra sancti Benedicti*[103] – the more efficient organisation of ecclesiastical revenues and the dissemination of

---

[98] Stutz (1895) remains a classic discussion of the 'proprietary church system'.
[99] See esp. Boyd (1952), pp. 47–128; Violante (1977).
[100] Wickham (1988), esp. pp. xxxii, 32–5, 87–110, 171–3, and Maps 2 and 6, provides illustrations from Tuscany.
[101] E.g. *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* II.369–75, no. 74.
[102] Toubert (1973), esp. II, pp. 789–933.
[103] Cowdrey (1983), pp. 2–7; Bloch (1986), II, pp. 632–940.

canon law as a guide to parochial life strengthened local churches materially and pastorally at the lowest level.[104]

In France, the transition to a territorial parochial system was farther advanced than in Italy, yet there were common features.[105] The consequences of *incastellamento* had their parallel through the foundation within the *enceintes* of French castles of churches which became parochial centres to the detriment of adjacent major churches from which populations and revenues were drawn away. More important, since Carolingian times there had been a crescendo of reaction against 'private' churches.[106] What contemporaries deemed a rightful mode of lordship was restored by transferring proprietorship to monasteries and collegiate churches. The mid-eleventh century has illuminatingly, if with exaggeration, been dubbed an age of 'the church in the power of the monks'[107]. In France as in Italy, monastic control fostered parochial consolidation; for example, it became common to divide revenues between those of the church which accrued to the proprietor and those of the altar which accrued to the priest, thus settling his income and, indirectly, his duties. For the time being, the effect of monastic proprietorship was drastically to reduce episcopal control. By the end of the eleventh century, a move to curb the power of monks over the secular church enabled bishops imbued with the standards of the papal reforms to reassert their authority and headship of their dioceses.[108] Such was the French way towards structured dioceses.

Though internally showing regional differences, parochial development in England was remarkably similar.[109] There was an extensive survival of 'old minsters' (*monasteria*) or baptismal churches staffed by groups of clergy who also served outlying chapels throughout an extensive area of jurisdiction (*hyrnesse*) which modern historians sometimes anachronistically call a parish (*parochia*). (The eleventh century still used the term *parochia* of the diocese.) There had also been a proliferation of 'local' or 'private' churches with priests of their own; the 'parishes' of the old minsters were undergoing division amongst comparable local churches. Anglo-Saxon laws and homilies were already envisaging as standard the parishes with one priest exercising the full range of duties that

---

[104] Cowdrey (1983), pp. 26–7, 43–4. The part played by monasteries, especially in Italy, in disseminating canon law would repay fuller study.

[105] Lemarignier, in Lot and Fawtier (1962), pp. 3–139, and Aubrun (1986), pp. 69–105, offer general discussions; Aubrun (1981) includes a detailed study of the diocese of Limoges in the mid-eleventh century.

[106] Mollat (1949).

[107] Aubrun (1981), part 1, chap. 3: 'L' église au pouvoir des moines'.

[108] For the new episcopal model in Italy, see Toubert (1973), II, pp. 806–40; a French example is Bishop Hugh of Grenoble (1080–1132) whose *Life* was written by Prior Guigo I of la Grande Chartreuse: *PL* 153, cols. 761–84.

[109] Barlow (1979), pp. 183–208; Blair (1988a); Blair (1988b) includes a number of regional studies.

was elaborated in the early twelfth century by Gilbert of Limerick's *De statu ecclesiae*.[110]

Two further comments may be added about developments at parochial level. First, the division of cities into a definitive pattern of territorial parishes was far from universally established. In Trier and Cologne, for example, it was well advanced during the eleventh century, whereas in Paris it had to await the twelfth century;[111] a document forged at Worcester in the mid-twelfth century which purported to record a synod of Bishop Wulfstan II in 1092 could represent the city as then still comprising the single parish of the cathedral as the mother church.[112] Secondly, however they were constituted, urban and rural parishes were often complemented and reinforced in their work by local guilds with their own statutes; in them, clergy and laity collaborated in pursuance of spiritual, charitable and social ends. By, for example, promoting the building of churches, guilds could assist towards the establishment of a territorial parochial system. But by their nature they stood, and remained, alongside the developing structure of bishop, archdeacon, rural dean and parish priest. Religious organisation was never unitary or tidy. Spiritual and social self-help, and the institutions which they generated, were an essential ingredient of medieval church life that could not be reduced to order or control.[113]

If the structure of the church is considered from the diocese upwards to the papacy, the mid-eleventh century was a time of tentativeness and questioning; there was much thrusting and competition amongst dioceses and metropolises. The structure of the church was shifting and unformed; where there seems to be rigidity, it was the outcome of insecurity, not confidence. Much energy was expended in establishing the relative position of churches by developing the claims of their patron saints, in terms both of their rank in the heavenly hierarchy and of their prerogatives upon earth. In Italy, for example, Archbishop Alfanus of Salerno (1058–85) and other writers associated with Monte Cassino promoted the saints of particular sees and churches. At Salerno itself, the century between the discovery there in 954 of the relics of the apostle St Matthew and their rediscovery in 1080 saw the establishment of his cult; nearby, Amalfi followed suit with the cult of the apostle St Andrew.[114] Such local cults could lead to the narrowing of horizons that Italians call *campanilismo*; but

---

[110] Gilbert of Limerick, *De statu ecclesiae*, PL 159, cols. 1000A–1002A.

[111] Erkens (1991); Aubrun (1986), pp. 111–12.

[112] 'reversi in sanctam synodum affirmaverunt nullam esse parrochiam in tota urbe Wigrac' nisi tantum matris ecclesie': *Councils and Synods* I/2, no. 100. The document has been shown by Dr Julia Barrow to be forged.

[113] Meersseman (1977); for England, see also Rosser (1988).

[114] Cowdrey (1983), pp. 39–42.

when, as at Salerno, the cults of minor patrons like Saints Fortunatus, Gaius and
Anthes became subordinate to that of an apostle and evangelist, the standing
of the see was correspondingly raised.

One of the most striking examples of the promotion of a patron saint as part
of a bid to reshape the pattern of ecclesiastical power in a region is that of St
Martial at Limoges as attempted in the copious writings of the monk Adhemar
of Chabannes (died 1034).[115] Martial was the first bishop of Limoges, probably
in the third century. But according to the legends which Adhemar propagated,
he had been a disciple of Jesus Christ and one of the seventy whom he sent
out to preach (Luke 10:1–12); he was an eyewitness of the risen Christ, and
St Peter sent him to evangelise Aquitaine.[116] Thus, he enjoyed the rank and
status of an apostle. The vindication of Martial's apostolicity was, in the first
instance, intended to assist the monks of St Martial against the canons of a
cathedral dedicated to the martyr St Stephen: an apostle trumped a martyr.[117]
But it also brought the see of Limoges the cachet of apostolic foundation, and
so of being 'first and mother of the churches of Gaul',[118] where church life was
being renewed according to the pattern of apostolic times. If Adhemar thus
created a legend for the see of Limoges, he also brought to bear the province of
Bourges to which it belonged; according to him, it fell to a provincial council
in 1031 to rule that Martial's name should be enrolled among the apostles.[119]
In 1031, Adhemar also brought the prestige of the papacy to bear by forging
a letter of Pope John XIX, addressed to Bishop Jordan of Limoges with his
clergy and to all the bishops of Gaul.[120] Fantastic though it was, the cult of
St Martial enlarged horizons. It made clergy and laity alike look to the ascent of
authority from the diocese through the province to Rome itself. In such ways,

---

[115] For Adhemar, see esp. Aubrun (1981), pp. 202–17, Landes (1990), Callahan (1991). Especially sig-
nificant sources for the present purpose are Adhemar's *Epistola de apostolatu Martialis*, PL 141, cols.
89–112 and the account of the council of Limoges (1031), Mansi, 19, cols. 507–48.

[116] 'Illis temporibus civitas Lemovica ante omnes et super omnes Galliarum urbes eminebat, arcem
regni Aquitanici tenens; et pervenit ad eam beatus Martialis, qui a Domino per legationem beati
Petri gentibus Aquitanicis est destinatus apostolus': Mansi 19, col. 518B.

[117] Hence the monks' concern to establish about Martial that 'potius est apostolico de agmine, quam
de confessorum, qui post martyres sunt, serie': Mansi 19, col. 511E.

[118] Paris, Bibl. nat. MS lat. 2469, f. 90, cited by Herrmann (1973), p. 123 n. 43.

[119] Canon 1: 'ut per omnes suarum dioeseseon ecclesias sancti Martialis doctoris Aquitaniae momen et
memoria, non inter confessores, sicut inter nos negligenter a nonnullis fieri solitum erat, sed inter
apostolos proponatur, sicut a Romana sede, et a pluribus antiquis patribus, secundum veritatem
Spiritus sancti definitum est': Mansi 19, col. 503AB.

[120] *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, no. † 591: 'Nos vero in petra firma educati, hunc, de quo loquimur
Marcialem, utrum inter confessores an inter apostolos Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, cui corporaliter
adhaesit et cuius gloriam vidit et benedictione est usus, annumeret, apostolum nominari posse
diffinimus et aeque apostolica officia in divinis misteriis exhiberi sibi censemus.'

eleventh-century legend-building prepared men's minds for the more firmly structured church of the centuries to come.

All over Latin Christendom, leading sees were vying to claim their place in the ecclesiastical structure. Often, as in Italy and at Limoges, the primary means was to press the claims of patron saints and the traditions that gathered about them. A see which went to great lengths was Milan, which boasted foundation by St Barnabas, an apostle though not of the twelve, who was supposedly its first bishop, and by his disciple St Anatalon; Milan also made much of its fourth-century bishop and doctor St Ambrose, pressing its privileges to the extent of claiming that the Ambrosian church should not be subject to Roman laws and that the pope had no authority over its affairs. Milan had to contend with the claims that Ravenna established upon legends about St Apollinaris, believed to be its first bishop and martyr whom St Peter himself had sent there. Another rival was Aquileia, where it was believed that, when St Peter sent St Mark to establish Christianity in north Italy, Mark appointed St Hermagoras, its first bishop and martyr.[121] The eleventh century saw the apogee of such legend-weaving, and squabbles over precedence on its basis punctuate the century. In 1027, Pope John XIX confirmed to Poppo of Aquileia and his successors that his see was 'the head and metropolis of all the churches of Italy'.[122] But in 1047, when the archibishops of Milan, Ravenna and Aquileia were at loggerheads over who should sit in councils at the pope's right hand, Pope Clement II decided in Ravenna's favour. Clement significantly took the opinion of the Roman bishops and clergy, 'whose authority is the greater'.[123] Such rivalries not only heightened the self-awareness and claims of the sees in question, but also helped the papacy towards a comparable self-awareness and towards the greater exercise of its authority. The papal revival was itself, from one point of view, an intensification of the claims of St Peter, who with St Paul was prince of the apostles and martyr-patron of the Roman see. The eleventh-century papacy was called the apostolic see not the holy see, and the pope was the vicar of St Peter rather than the vicar of Christ. It built upon its Petrine credentials.

North of the Alps, there was exploration of ideas about relations within the upper ranks of the church which could be extracted from the Pseudo-Isidorian Decrees. Partly on account of King Henry IV's minority and difficult early years of personal rule, the German archbishops vied in seeking the advantage of their own metropolises. Siegfried of Mainz (1060–84) cherished aspirations for the primacy of his see which the circumstances of his time did not allow

---

[121] Cowdrey (1966) and (1968). See also the legends about Trier in its papal privileges: as note 27.
[122] *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, no. 578: 'caput et metropolim super omnes Italiae ecclesias'.
[123] *Ep*. 3, *PL* 142, cols. 581–2: 'quibus auctoritas est maior' (582B).

him to implement. Adalbert of Bremen tried but failed to establish a northern patriarchate. In 1074, Pope Gregory VII thought it necessary to remind Anno of Cologne (1056–74) that, if the see of Cologne was dedicated to St Peter, this called for due obedience to the see of Rome.[124] In France, primatial aspirations tended to develop later than in Germany, to recall the *Notitia Galliarum*, and to follow Pseudo-Isidore by invoking papal authority; Pope Gregory VII's confirmation of the primacy of Lyons provides an illustration.[125] Between the mid-eleventh and the mid-twelfth centuries, claims were also advanced in favour of Narbonne, Bourges, Vienne and Rheims; they provide an example of the long-term elaboration of French ecclesiastical structures which, as the Capetian kings imitated them, prepared the way for a strong Capetian kingdom.[126] In the eleventh century, the advantage was still to papal authority. More directly decisive in determining the ecclesiastical structure of a region was Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury's largely successful bid to secure the primacy of his see over that of York. He was able to hold effective primatial councils in the 1070s and 1080s. His primacy was ambiguous in its significance: his councils were held under royal authority, and as he and his successor Anselm understood it the primacy was not entirely consonant with the ideas of the Gregorian papacy;[127] but in 1071–2, Lanfranc's endeavours to secure the primacy led him to visit the Rome of Pope Alexander II, and in the long term his organisation of the English church prepared it for effective inclusion in the papally ruled western church of the rest of the middle ages.[128]

What did the hierarchical structure of diocese, province, primacy and papacy to which the Pseudo-Isidorian Decrees directed attention amount to in practice? The degree and force of its realisation should not be exaggerated. Theoretical models were not all that influential: as H. Fuhrmann has well put it, 'It was not Pseudo-Isidore but the church that was being discovered.'[129] Churchmen were exploring their authority through the everyday ups and downs of its exercise and in response to political and social circumstances. They had no blueprint for a renewed and restructured church. With only a few exceptions like Lanfranc's England,[130] provincial and primatial councils were infrequent, although some were of major importance. Examples are Archbishop Aribo of

---

[124] For Mainz, Thomas (1970); for Cologne, Gregory VII, *Registrum* 1. 79, of 18 April 1074: 'Si enim honorem beati PETRI non in totum sed in partem, Coloniȩ et non Rome probaverimus te diligere, tu nos neque in totum neque in partem poteris habere.'

[125] Above, pp. 234–5.   [126] Lemarignier (1957).

[127] Southern (1963), pp. 127–32.

[128] For Lanfranc and the papacy, see Cowdrey (1994).

[129] Fuhrmann (1972–4), II, pp. 346–53; particular instances are discussed in Herrmann (1973), pp. 74–108.

[130] *Acta Lanfranci*; *Councils and Synods* I/2, nos. 91–3, 95, 97–8. For Norman councils under William the Conqueror, see Foreville (1976).

Mainz's general synod of 1027 at Frankfurt, the records of which well illustrate current ideas of ecclesiastical order and precedence,[131] and Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz's primatial council at Mainz (1071) which dealt with the simoniacal Charles, bishop-elect of Constance.

Siegfried's experiences between 1071 and 1074 are illuminating. After the council of Mainz, he fulsomely acknowledged papal authority: 'Christ', he wrote to Pope Alexander II, 'has conquered in Peter, Peter in you, and you in me.'[132] Such rhetoric barely concealed how fast the sand was slipping under his feet as popes took their stand upon St Peter's authority. Before Alexander died in 1073, Duke Wratislav of Bohemia asked for papal legates to settle a controversy involving two Bohemian dioceses, Prague and Olmütz, belonging to the province of Mainz. Next spring, Siegfried wrote to the new pope, Gregory VII, with studied deference to defend the rights of his see. In view of the ancient mother-and-daughter relationship between Rome and Mainz, Siegfried approached Gregory as the members of the body look to its head, and complained that, under Alexander, Mainz had been denied its canonical rights. With no reference to Siegfried as archbishop, Alexander had listened to accusations against the bishop of Prague, and had suspended him. Siegfried argued that the canonically correct course was for such a matter first to come before him as metropolitan for trial within the province. Only if it were insoluble there should Siegfried himself have referred it to Rome 'as to the head of us all'.[133] Such a graded conception of jurisdiction, with a hearing first within the province and by fellow bishops, and with an appeal to Rome only at the metropolitan's discretion and as a last resort, was widely held.[134] But besides offering it much support, the Pseudo-Isidorian Decrees had also defended bishops against their metropolitans by offering them the protection of papal authority.[135] Gregory was anything but disposed to admit Siegfried's opinion about a metropolitan's role. In a devastating letter, he rebuked him for seeking to attract a Bohemian bishop's case from papal judgement to his own. Those who had thus advised him knew nothing about canonical traditions and the decrees of the Fathers. No patriarch or primate could reverse papal decisions; Siegfried should not strive against the Roman church, for, as he well knew,

---

[131] *MGH Constitutiones*, 1, pp. 85–6, nos. 40–2; Wolfhere of Hildesheim, *Vita Godehardi*, caps. 31–4.
[132] Ulrich of Bamberg, *Udalrici Codex*, nos. 36–8. Mainz was described as 'metropolim totius Franciae, principalem vero pontificii sedem tocius Germaniae Cisalpinae' (p. 70); Siegfried's words were: 'Vicit tamen Christus in Petro, et Petrus in vobis, et vos in nobis' (p. 79).
[133] *Udalrici Codex*, no. 40 (to 'oramus et obsecramus': p. 86).
[134] *Diversorum patrum sententie*, caps. 6–7.
[135] Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, pp. 243–4; cf. the assertion that no bishop should suffer condemnation except by papal authority in Bishop Theoduin of Liège's letter to King Henry I of France: *PL* 146, cols. 1439–42, at cols. 1439C, 1440B.

without its clemency he could not retain his position. Gregory would himself settle the Bohemian matter.[136]

When Siegfried's neat view of a graded hierarchy of jurisdiction encountered Gregory's reliance upon the prerogatives of the apostolic see, it was a house of cards.

The developments in the papacy between 1024 and 1073 are the subject of another chapter (part 2, chapter 1). But something may be said in conclusion about the way in which an ever-growing insistence upon papal prerogatives, such as Gregory's rebuking of Siegfried illustrates, was affecting the structure of the church. At Rome, there was insistence upon the centrality and uniqueness of the apostolic see, upon which the whole church depended. As early as 1054, Pope Leo IX could write to the patriarch of Constantinople:

As the whole door is governed by its hinge, so the well-being of the whole church is procured by Peter and his successors. And as a hinge remains still while the door is opening and closing, so Peter and his successors have unhampered judgement over the whole church, for the highest see can be judged by no one.[137]

The concentration of authority upon Rome was helped by the widening in 1054 of the breach between Rome and Constantinople, which was one of five patriarchates in a different sense from that hitherto discussed.[138] Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem were from ancient times the chief sees of all Christendom which should agree together. But the last three of them were under the reality or the threat of Muslim domination. As the breach with Constantinople widened, it too became of less account at Rome, where ecclesiastical authority was increasingly concentrated.[139] It made possible the unprecedented role that, in 1063, Peter Damian proposed for the Roman see in and through the cardinal bishops:

Now the Roman church, the see of the apostles, should imitate the ancient court of the Romans. Just as of old the earthly senate strove to subdue the whole multitude of

---

[136] Gregory VII, *Registrum* I. 60.

[137] *Ep.* 100, *PL* 143, col. 765B: 'sicut cardine totum regitur ostium, ita Petro et successoribus eius totius ecclesiae disponitur emolumentum. Et sicut cardo immobilis permanens ducit et reducit ostium, sic Petrus et sui successores liberum de omni ecclesia habent iudicium, quia summa sedes a nemine iudicatur.' For 'Petrine' interpretations of papal authority, see Maccarrone (1989).

[138] Fuhrmann (1953–5), I, pp. 112–13.

[139] For Leo IX's view, see *Ep.* 100, *PL* 143, col. 763BCD. For continuing contact between Rome and Constantinople, see Cowdrey (1988). The five patriarchates receded only temporarily in western awareness, partly on account of the Latin capture of them in the crusading period: Antioch (1098), Jerusalem (1099), Constantinople (1204); thus, for example, canon 5 of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) renewed the privileges of the ancient patriarchal sees and confirmed their order of precedence: *COD*, p. 236.

peoples to the Roman empire, so now the ministers of the apostolic see, the spiritual senators of the church universal, should make it their sole business by their laws to subdue the human race to God, the true emperor.[140]

For Peter, the cardinal bishops were the eyes by which the apostolic see watched and guarded the world.[141] The apostolic see ruled uniquely and alone.

It was against such pressures that a metropolitan like Siegfried of Mainz was concerned to plug the dykes; others, like Abbot Walo of Metz, rejoiced that Rome was the point at which all the radii of a circle converged. [142]

In practice, the papacy grew in effectiveness as head of the ecclesiastical structure fairly gradually; there were limited but real steps under the Tusculans, but even by 1100 there was a long way to go before the organisation of the later twelfth century was in place. In 1024, the papacy was weak and subject to Roman factions, and the Tusculan popes were not considerable men. Yet Rome's prestige as the see of St Peter stood high. As a place of pilgrimage, and especially penitential pilgrimage which proclaimed the power of the keys, it was widely sought.[143] Archbishops, and some bishops, received from the pope, often personally, the pallium which declared their share in the apostolic office.[144] Nor should the range of the papacy's business be underestimated, now that its correspondence has been meticulously edited.[145] But the range should not be exaggerated: the papacy was the universal giver of penance to grave sinners and of protection to monasteries; it was not yet the universal judicial ordinary, in practice as in theory, of later medieval centuries.

The papal entourage in the Lateran palace, which began to be called the curia only at the end of the eleventh century, became equipped but slowly to deal with matters that were wider than the Roman liturgical round.[146] Under the Tusculans, papyrus was finally discarded in favour of more durable parchment, and the older Roman cursive script gave way to a more generally legible minuscule. As early as 1044, Peter, deacon of the Roman church, combined the offices of librarian and chancellor, thus assuming a key role in the papal secretariat that he fulfilled until 1050, when Leo IX was pope.[147] Leo's election heralded farther-reaching changes. Papal business greatly increased both in

---

[140] *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* III. 64–83, no. 97, at p. 80: 'Nunc preterea Romana aecclesia, quae sedes est apostolorum, antiquam debet imitari curiam Romanorum. Sicut enim tunc terrenus ille senatus ad hoc communicabant omne consilium, in hoc dirigebant et suptiliter exercebant communis industriae studium, ut cunctarum gentium multitudo Romano subderetur imperio, ita nunc apostolicae sedis editui, qui spiritales sunt universalis aecclesiae senatores, huic soli studio debent sollerter insistere, ut humanum genus veri imperatoris Christi valeant legibus subiugare.'

[141] *Ibid.*, II. 55–6, 204–5, 516–17, nos. 48, 60, 68.   [142] As note 2.

[143] Vogel (1963), pp. 73, 76–82. For papal absolutions, see *Councils and Synods* I/1, no. 43.

[144] Barlow (1979), pp. 298–300.   [145] *Papsturkunden 896–1046.*

[146] For a fuller summary of developments in Rome, see Cowdrey (1983), pp. 48–56.

[147] Santifaller (1940), pp. 140–2 and (1953), pp. 40–4, 51–2.

Rome and during his many itineraries in Italy, France and Germany. Cardi-
nals of the three principal orders – bishops, priests and deacons – began to be
imported to Rome from distant reforming circles; for example, Leo recruited
Humbert of Moyenmoutier to be cardinal bishop of Silva Candida.[148] There
were also appointed so-called 'external' cardinals, like the successive abbots
of Monte Cassino Frederick of Lorraine and Desiderius, who combined their
Roman cardinalates with high office elsewhere.[149] Such men often served as
papal legates whom the popes ever more frequently dispatched upon important
business to distant parts. The papacy was becoming better equipped to govern
the church at large.

　　Throughout the eleventh century, ambiguity persisted about the designa-
tion and functions of the Roman cardinals; only in the next century can one
confidently speak of a 'college' of cardinals.[150] Thus, the papal Election Decree
of 1059 was a milestone, but far from the end of the journey, as the papacy
advanced towards liberty, autonomy and a settled procedure about how a pope
should be chosen.[151] It bears the mark of a compromise, not only in its drafting,
but also in its character as a hurried reaction to a crisis and in the freedom with
which it was interpreted or ignored in subsequent eleventh-century elections.
It was promulgated at Nicholas II's Roman council, three years after the acces-
sion in Germany of the boy-king Henry IV. It reacted to a local Roman
situation –the upsurge at Rome of a faction of 'simoniacal heretics and
moneychangers' who, after Pope Stephen IX's death in 1058, put forward their
own candidate, Benedict X. To avoid a repetition, 'religious men' were to take
the lead in papal elections.[152] When the pope 'of this Roman and universal
church' died, the cardinal bishops would lead, and the cardinal clerks and other
clergy and laity straightway follow, in making an election. The prominence of
the cardinal bishops was said to be requisite because of the universal authority of
the apostolic see, which could have no metropolitan; in effect, they supplied the
lack of one.[153] If Roman factions were rebuffed, the place of the German king
was recognised but reduced; in a much-debated clause that is added without
clear syntax, the young Henry's due honour and reverence were safeguarded,
with those of his successors who might severally receive such a right from the

---

[148] For the history and biography of the cardinals, see Hüls (1977).

[149] Ganzer (1963).

[150] For further discussion, see Cowdrey (1983), pp. 48–56.

[151] Jasper (1986); the Decree is edited, together with the later imperial version, at pp. 98–119.

[152] 'Ut, nimirum ne venalitatis morbus qualibet occasione subripiat, religiosi viri praeduces sint in
　　promovendi pontificis electione, reliqui autem sequaces': lines 57–63. *Religiosi* here means 'free
　　from the sectarianism and venality of simony', rather than 'clerical' as opposed to 'lay'.

[153] 'Quia vero sedes apostolica cunctis in orbe terrarum praefertur ęcclesiis atque ideo super se
　　metropolitanum habere non potest, cardinales episcopi proculdubio metropolitani vice funguntur,
　　qui videlicet electum antistitem ad apostolici culminis apicem provehunt': lines 73–80.

apostolic see. The Decree was feeling its way towards an electoral arrangement whereby the pope might be elected inside an acknowledged structure of authority within the apostolic see; thus, the apostolic see might exercise an assured supremacy over the universal church, unhindered by the Roman aristocracy and, if possible, assisted by a serviceable king and emperor.

Two further documents illustrate, respectively at a distance from Rome and at Rome itself, the unresolved questions of the period 1024–73 about the structure of higher authority in the church and how it was hoped that searching the precedents of history and canon law might yield an answer. The unhappily entitled fragment *De ordinando pontifice* was written early in 1048 to answer the question, 'What then must we do?' in face of the papal crisis of the previous four years.[154] Some months earlier, an archbishop or leading bishop, evidently from a region subject to Capetian authority, wrote on behalf of a number of brother bishops to someone learned in canon law, perhaps a bishop, elsewhere in France. The bishops had drawn up a plan (*inceptum*) against three figures whose conduct outraged them – the simoniacal popes Benedict IX and Gregory VI, and the emperor Henry III, who in their eyes was morally tainted by an incestuous marriage to Agnes of Poitou. Yet Henry had presumed to judge the two popes and to appoint Clement II in their place and during their lifetime. Benedict's temporary return to office in Rome during November 1047 added urgency to their plan. In the *De ordinando pontifice* there is a little about the election of a pope and more about judgement upon him; what matters most is its disclosure of serious discussion about how to justify in law and to get right in practice a plan to rectify scandals at the highest levels of the church.[155] To explore the issues involved, the author drew heavily upon Pseudo-Isidore.

His complex and sometimes idiosyncratic thought cannot be fully analysed here, but four main lines of argument, which are not fully harmonised, may be indicated. First, he insisted upon the solidarity of the episcopal order. His test of a pope was whether the will of the church truly rested upon him; therefore bishops universally should signify their acceptance of him by their presence at, or at least their explicit consent to, his ordination.[156] But, secondly, the author had a strong sense of hierarchy: the greater should not be reproved by the lesser, and the pope's authority was set over every church.[157] Thirdly, claims based upon hierarchical superiority were not absolute: those who set

---

[154] Anton (1982) offers the best text (pp. 75–83) and discussion. The title *De ordinando pontifice* was introduced by E. Dümmler in his edition in *MGH Libelli* 1, pp. 8–14. The *terminus a quo* for the date is set by the circulation of news of the death of Pope Gregory VI, referred to in line 178, which occurred on 19 Dec. 1047: see the calendar printed in Zaccaria (1755), pp. 181–6.

[155] 'cum res, unde quaeritur, generalem statum in perturbatione aecclesiae cupiat reformari': lines 2–3.

[156] Lines 60–1, 123–4, 142–5.   [157] Lines 11, 66–7.

a bad example must be punished; proceedings against any unworthy bishop could be justified if by his conduct he had forfeited his standing as a bishop. Accordingly, the author arraigned Popes Benedict IX and Gregory VI and made it clear that a wicked pope would forfeit his see; he also argued that, although a pope was elected by other men, he could not be ejected by them.[158] This was because, fourthly, a righteous emperor might, like Constantine, sit in a church council, but he might never judge a priest; in the church there was a strict hierarchy of answerability, which ascended exclusively within the clerical order.[159] In such a way an acute French commentator, in dialogue with a circle of bishops, sought to argue from concrete events towards a clearer picture of how the ecclesiastical structure should be constituted and should operate. The very idiosyncrasy of his argument shows how few guidelines there were, and how earnest could be the search for them.

The second document, of December 1059, shows that a similar quest for clarification was under way at Rome itself. Peter Damian wrote to Archdeacon Hildebrand about his recent visit to Milan where he was confronted with the question of the subordination of its church to Rome and with the abuses of simony and clerical marriage.[160] Peter's mission put him in mind of the prerogative of the Roman church (*privilegium Romanae aecclesiae*) to uphold righteousness and to settle the constitution of the church.[161] He recalled how often Hildebrand had urged him to search the decrees and acts of the Roman pontiffs and to excerpt in a small book whatever demonstrated the authority of the apostolic see.[162] His practical experience at Milan had brought him up with a salutary jolt: like the author of the *De ordinando pontifice*, he realised that events had outrun men's grasp of how papal authority, weighty and traditional though it was, should be defined in principle and exercised in practice. The surprising thing is that it took so long for anything substantial to be done. So

---

[158] Lines 18–19, 25–37, 116–19, 226–30.

[159] A typical passage runs: 'Cui erat confessionem reddere, cuius erat exigere? Quo loco, quo ordine? In aecclesia populus sacerdoti sacerdos episcopo potest confiteri, episcopus summo et universali pontiffici, ille autem soli Deo, qui eum suo iuditio reservavit . . . Qui vero caput est, a cauda referiendum non est; imperatorem autem episcopis subditos esse': from lines 253–81, cf. 179–80.

[160] *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* II. 228–47, no. 65.

[161] 'Privilegium Romanae aecclesiae quantas habeat vires ad servandam canonicae aequitatis et iustitiae regulam, quantumque vigorem ad disponendam aecclesiastici status contineat disciplinam, solus ille dilucide comprehendit, qui aecclesiasticis consuevit insudare negotiis': *ibid.*, p. 228.

[162] 'frequenter a me karitate, quae superat omnia, postulasti, ut Romanorum pontificum decreta vel gesta percurrens quicquid apostolicae sedis auctoritati spetialiter competere videretur, hinc inde curiosus exceperem, atque in parvi voluminis unionem nova compilationis arte conflarem. Hanc itaque tuae petitionis instantiam cum ego neglegens floctipenderem, magisque superstitioni quam necessitati obnoxiam iudicarem, divinitus, ut reor, actum est, ut Mediolanensem urbem beatissimi Nicholai papae legatione functus adirem': *ibid.*, pp. 229–30.

far as is known, Peter still did nothing to answer Hildebrand's request; that was left to canon lawyers, like Bishop Anselm II of Lucca and Bishop Ivo of Chartres (it is noteworthy that both were experienced bishops), who in the last decades of the eleventh century prepared the way for Gratian's *Decretum* of *c.* 1140 and for the *ius novum* that would follow.[163] Even the pontificate of Gregory VII saw only limited advance in institutional terms towards establishing the prerogatives of the apostolic see that he strongly proclaimed and embodied in his person.[164]

Of the institutional advances that took place at Rome before 1073, the one which did most in practice to advance papal prerogatives was undoubtedly the enhanced frequency and authority of papal councils.[165] Popes had for long held assemblies at Rome which were attended mainly by bishops of central Italian sees. The Tusculan popes, like their predecessors, had also taken part in imperial councils at which emperor and pope jointly presided, such as the Roman council of 1027 under Conrad II and John XIX.[166] Perhaps, when he left Germany in 1046, Henry III hoped to hold such a council with Gregory VI;[167] he certainly held councils with German reforming popes after he had reordered the papacy.[168] But Leo IX broke the mould of both of these kinds of council in the gathering over which he presided at Rheims in October 1049.[169] It was held outside the limits of the empire of Henry III; it was attended by many bishops from many parts of Latin Christendom; and, most important, it saw the pope deliberately exercising his jurisdiction as 'sole primate and pope of the universal church'.[170] If, as is possible, the bishops of the *De ordinando pontifice* were present, they must have been well pleased. The achievement of the council was impressive: not only were many reforming canons passed, but numerous bishops and abbots were deposed, excommunicated or otherwise disciplined. The archbishop of Rheims was ordered to present himself at Leo's Roman council of the following April to purge himself of simony.

The council of Rheims had itself been in the line of Leo's Roman council of the following spring. Henceforth, Leo's model for papal councils was copied by the reform popes who held such gatherings as regularly as they could, usually in the Lateran basilica which was associated with the name of Constantine;

---

[163] Robinson (1988).   [164] Cowdrey (1991).

[165] Robinson (1990), pp. 121–4.

[166] *MGH Constitutiones*, I, pp. 82–4, no. 38.   [167] Schmid (1975).

[168] With Clement II at Rome (1047), Leo IX at Mainz (1049) and Victor II at Florence (1055): *MGH Constitutiones* I, pp. 95, 97–100, nos. 49, 51, *MGH DDHIII*, no. 341, *Annales Altahenses maiores, a.* 1055.

[169] Anselmus, *Historia dedicationis.*

[170] 'declaratum est quod solus Romanae sedis pontifex universalis ecclesiae primas esset et apostolicus': *ibid.*, col. 1432D.

it was a reminder that papal authority subsumed that of the emperors. At such a council in 1059 Nicholas II promoted the Election Decree, and in this and the following year he added a weight of reforming legislation.[171] It was communicated to leading churchmen elsewhere in a synodal letter which began and ended with a ringing assertion of papal authority over all the churches;[172] probably in 1063 it was reissued by Alexander II whose annual synods, at first during Eastertide but latterly in Lent, handed on the tradition that Leo IX and Nicholas II had established to Gregory VII. Gregory raised these occasions to fresh heights, not only for their judicial and legislative activity in which their authority was used to reinforce his own, but also as demonstrations of papal honour and majesty which were comparable to the crown-wearings of contemporary kings.

Despite this papal activity, in 1073 the structure of the church remained remarkably unformed. There were hierarchical models in everyday liturgical and devotional representations of the order of redemption in heaven and earth, and others derived from the study of canon law reinforced them in the minds of the powerful and learned. But for all the awesome resources stored up in the papacy as the apostolic see under the patronage of the princes of the apostles, Saints Peter and Paul, the prerogative of the Roman see and the nature of its exercise remained uncertain and ill defined. Nevertheless, as seen in the zeal of Archdeacon Hildebrand, the future Pope Gregory VII, an indomitable purpose to assert and secure the prerogative of the apostolic see was already at work. In the twelfth century its exercise would converge with the developments which, throughout the eleventh century, worked from below, with a high degree of similarity in most parts of Latin Christendom, to form territorial parishes, to consolidate an internal hierarchy within dioceses involving archdeacons and archpriests who had areas accredited to them in which they were the bishops' 'eyes', and to foster collective action through councils and synods at all levels to order and reform the church. With the territorialisation of offices came the development of church courts which were themselves a hierarchy with what was now called the papal curia as its apex, and of a mature canon law as a papal law which was binding upon the church in all places and at all levels. Then the pope could emerge as universal ordinary, and what has been well described

---

[171] *MGH Constitutiones* I. pp. 546–51, nos. 384–6; Schieffer (1981), pp. 209–25.

[172] 'Vigilantia universalis regiminis assiduam sollicitudinem omnibus debentes saluti quoque vestre spetialiter providentes, que in Romana sinodo nuper cęlebrata quoram CIII[bus] episcopis nobis licet immeritis presidentibus sunt chanonice constituta, vobis notificare curamus, quia ad salutem vestram executores eorum vos esse obtamus et apostolica auctoritate iubendo mandamus . . . Vos ergo hec at alia sanctorum patrum statuta fideliter et Christiana reverentia observate, si vultis de sancte Romane ecclesie et apostolice sedis pace et comunione atque benedictione gaudere': Schieffer (1981), pp. 212–14, 224.

as the 'papal monarchy' could find the ways and means to be a source of right order.[173] In the twelfth century, but only then, there emerged the structured and centralised church that reached its apogee in Pope Innocent III's Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. The corollary was the supersession of the unitary society of 1024 in which the king was *mediator cleri et plebis* by a dualist society, increasingly reached after 1073 in theory and in practice, in which *sacerdotium* and *regnum* were always distinct and often in conflict. The period 1024–73 was one of mental and institutional preparation for this change.

[173] Morris (1989), esp. the general observations on pp. 1–6.

REFORM AND THE CHURCH,

1073–1122

I. S. Robinson

'WE hope through [God's] serenity to renew the lost light of truth and justice; to restore the health of the whole church, weakened to the point of ruin; to reform this iron age to one of gold with the hammer of just government.' So Abbot William of Hirsau, the trusted adherent of Pope Gregory VII, described that pope's reform programme in a letter to Hermann of Salm, who had been elected to the German kingship by the enemies of King Henry IV in 1081. 'Above all you can begin to make a sacrifice of obedience most pleasing to the Lord by this means: if you labour to eradicate entirely the simoniac heresy, damned from eternity to all eternity; if you persevere in rooting out the deadly unchastity of clerks; and if you yourself avoid the transgression of conferring investitures of ecclesiastical offices.' The duty of purifying the church of these evils belonged to the king; but it could be fulfilled only by a king who showed total obedience to the pope. As for Abbot William himself, his role in this work of reform was to pray every morning for the king's success and to continue to 'exhort and admonish' him until the reform had been accomplished.[1] This letter of William of Hirsau (whom Gregory VII regarded as a crucial figure in his reforming strategy in Germany) provides a useful introduction to the language of reform and renewal in the later eleventh century.

William's terms *reparare*, *redintegrare*, *reformare* belong to an extensive vocabulary of synonyms for the reforming process, including (to cite only the most frequent) *renovare*, *innovare*, *restaurare*, *instaurare*, *corrigere*, *emendare*.

---

[1] William of Hirsau to the anti-king Hermann of Salm (1082–5): Hildesheimer Briefe 18 in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, pp. 41–2: 'cuius serenitate amissum veritatis et iustitię lumen speramus reparari, labefactatam usque in finem totius ecclesiastici status salutem redintegrari, ferreum istud sęculum iusti quasi malleo regiminis in aureum reformari...Sed maxime potestis acceptissimum Domino obędientię sacrificium per hoc exordiri, si damnatam ab ęterno et usque in ęternum hęresin simoniacam laboratis funditus extirpari, si exitiabilem clericorum incontinentiam persequendo radicitus facietis evelli, si et vos ipse in dandis ecclesiasticarum potestatum investituris devitatis pręvaricari.' On William of Hirsau and Gregory VII see Cowdrey (1970), pp. 199–203, 207–10.

268

William's idea of the return to the golden age recalls the words in which Peter Damian had described the reform of the papacy forty years before: 'the golden age of the apostles is now restored'; 'the golden age of David is renewed'.[2] To supporters of the reform papacy the golden age of the church was that ancient period in which the faithful had built and endowed churches and showered their wealth on the clergy, a period which had been succeeded by the current 'iron age' in which the laity destroyed God's houses and stole the property of His servants.[3] Hence the language of reform was often used in the double sense of restoring to a church its lost prestige and independence and of making material reparation to a church for the damage caused by neglect and oppression. When, for example, Pope Urban II undertook the reform of the church of Tarragona in 1089, as part of the reconstruction of the Spanish church, the process had two distinct elements. The pope restored Tarragona to her ancient dignity (*ad antiquam dignitatem restituere*) by re-establishing her as the metropolitan church of Catalonia (an office exercised since the ninth century by the archbishop of Narbonne). Simultaneously Urban called on the secular princes of the province of Tarragona to assist in the rebuilding of the forsaken city (*statum reparare*), an enterprise as meritorious as the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[4] The historian Eadmer used the term *renovare* to describe both the moral and the material reforms accomplished by Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury. The archbishop strove 'to renew religion and morality among all orders of men throughout the kingdom; nor was he disappointed of his desire. For through his persuasion and teaching religion was increased throughout that country and everywhere new monastic buildings were constructed, as appears today.'[5] Similarly the historian Leo of Ostia described Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino as the *restaurator ac renovator* of his abbey because 500 years after St Benedict had founded Monte Cassino, Desiderius 'renewed, adorned and enlarged it'. 'Almighty God held him so very dear that He deigned to bring to fruition in our time through him what he had once promised to His faithful servant Benedict, that this place, which He had then resolved to surrender to the

---

[2] *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* 13: 'Reparetur nunc aureum apostolorum saeculum'; 20: 'aureum David saeculum renovatur', pp. 144, 201. See Miccoli (1966a), pp. 257–8.

[3] E.g. *Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis* c. 6, *MGH SS* XII, p. 131 (a biography of an adherent of Gregory VII composed *c.* 1200 but drawing on earlier material): the author used the description of the decline of the golden age in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I. See also Autenrieth (1956), p. 87 (the clerk Wolferad of Constance on 'this iron age').

[4] Urban II, JL 5401, *PL* 151, cols. 303B, 303C. See Becker (1964), pp. 244, 252; Servatius (1979), pp. 23–5.

[5] Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia* I, p. 12: 'religionem morum bonorum in cunctis ordinibus hominum per totum regnum renovare. Nec privatus est desiderio suo. Multum enim illius instantia atque doctrina per totam terram illam religio aucta est et ubique nova monasteriorum aedificia, sicut hodie apparet, constructa.'

heathen to be destroyed and plundered, would come to far greater prosperity, fame and glory than it then enjoyed.' Desiderius' grandiose building projects seemed to Leo of Ostia to have brought about a *renovatio* of the golden age of St Benedict.[6] Given this emphasis on the material restoration of the churches as part of the reform process, it is no surprise to find that process described in terms of building. Gregory VII, for example, announced that his aim was 'to rebuild God's righteousness with new counsels'; but he warned his overzealous legate, Bishop Hugh of Die, that 'lofty buildings are built little by little'.[7] The biographer of Abbot William of Hirsau described the abbot's work of disseminating the Hirsau model of monastic reform as 'repairing the monastic life, which had formerly fallen into ruins'. 'A most enthusiastic founder of new monasteries and restorer of old ones', William chose only saintly candidates to rule the houses of the Hirsau reform, like a 'wise architect' choosing suitable stones for a 'spiritual edifice'.[8]

In William of Hirsau's letter to King Hermann, as we have seen, the image of repairing a flawed world is accompanied by that of healing a sick church. The image of the physician was a traditional part of ecclesiastical rhetoric; but the reformers of the later eleventh century gave this image a new emphasis when they represented the offences of simony and clerical marriage as diseases afflicting the body of the church. Gregory VII's mentor, Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, described unrepentant simoniacs as 'resisting the physician and denying their infirmity'.[9] Gregory VII warned the faithful against the 'heresies which are seen to spread like the plague in holy church'. He wrote of Simon Magus infecting the church of Milan with the poison of his venality and of the election of an abbot of St Laumer, Blois, as 'polluted by simoniacal filth'; he described clerical marriage as 'the inveterate disease of fornication of the clergy' and 'the foul pollution of contaminating lust'.[10] The chronicler

---

[6] *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* III, *prologus, MGH SS* XXXIV, p. 362: 'Quem videlicet omnipotens Deus adeo carissimum habuit, ut illud, quod suo fideli famulo Benedicto olim promiserat, locum utique istum, quem tunc gentibus destruendum diripiendumque tradere censuerat, in maiorem longe, quam tunc erat, statum, famam et gloriam fore venturum, per ipsum nostro hoc tempore dignatus sit, ut cernitur, ad effectum perducere.' III.33, p. 408: 'Hoc Desiderius post centum lustra vetustum/Parvumque evertit, renovavit, compsit et auxit' (quoting the verses of Archbishop Alfano I of Salerno).

[7] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.45, p. 184: 'iustitiam Dei vel novis reędificare consiliis'; *Registrum* II.43, p. 180: 'alta ędificia paulatim ędificantur'.

[8] Haimo, prior of Hirsau, *Vita Willihelmi abbatis Hirsaugiensis*, c. 22, *MGH SS* XII, p. 218: 'Erat enim studiosissimus cenobiorum novorum fundator ac veterum instaurator'; p. 219: 'eos ille sapiens architectus studuit quasi quadratos lapides ubi apparerent in aedificio spiritali promovere'. Concluding verses of the *Vita*, p. 225: 'Collapsam dudum vitam reparans monachorum.'

[9] Humbert, *Adversus simoniacos* III.1, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 198: 'medico repugnantem et infirmitatem suam negantum'.

[10] *Registrum* I.28, p. 45: 'heresibus, quę in sancta ecclesia pestifere videntur pululare'; I.27, p. 44: 'Symonem magum, qui ecclesiam beati Ambrosii venalitatis suę miserabiliter veneno infecit'; I.32,

Hugh of Flavigny (writing in the entourage of Archbishop Hugh of Lyons, the permanent papal legate in France) recorded that 'the evil plague of simony spread very widely' throughout Gaul: the reforming decrees of Gregory VII, however, were a 'defensive medicine' against it.[11] The distinguished canonist Bishop Ivo of Chartres in a letter to Archbishop Hugh of Lyons commented on the duty of papal legates: 'the servants of the Roman church, like proven physicians, should strive to heal the more serious diseases'.[12] Closely linked with the image of healing is that of resuscitating a moribund institution, which is found especially in texts concerning monastic reform. William of Hirsau's biographer, for example, wrote that 'monastic religion, which had almost grown cold among those who laid claim to the monastic habit in the provinces of Germany, began to grow warm again and to recover through the zeal of this blessed father'.[13] In his privilege of 1092 for the regular canons of Rottenbuch, Urban II rejoiced that the brethren had 'renewed the life approved by the holy Fathers and by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit revived the ordinances of the apostolic discipline, which originated in the earliest times of holy Church but, as the church grew, were almost destroyed'.[14] Giles, monk of Cluny (later cardinal bishop of Tusculum), biographer of the great Abbot Hugh, described how the latter 'carefully resuscitated by means of regular ordinances many [congregations] which had been drowned in the Scyllean whirlpool'.[15] Similarly William of St Thierry, the biographer of Bernard of Clairvaux, wrote that the saint 'dedicated the first-fruits of his youth to resuscitating the fervour of ancient religion in the monastic order'.[16]

What all these images have in common is the idea of the spiritual and material restoration of the church to an ideal earlier condition from which

---

p. 53: 'illius promotio symoniaca sorde invenitur fęData': II.30, p. 163: 'inveteratum morbum fornicationis clericorum'; JL 4931, *Epistolae vagantes* VI, p. 14: 'fedam libidinosae contagionis pollutionem'.

[11] Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon* II, *MGH SS* VIII, p. 412: 'in Gallia, ubi plurimum symoniae serpebat pestis iniqua'; p. 429: 'medicinalis defensio'.

[12] Ivo of Charles, *Epistola ad Hugonem, MGH Libelli* II, p. 646: 'ut Romanae aecclesiae ministri tamquam probati medici maioribus morbis sanandis intenderent'. On Ivo's predilection for medical terminology see Sprandel (1962), pp. 20–4.

[13] Haimo, *Vita Willihelmi*, c. 21, p. 218: 'Religio quoque monastica, quae paene in provinciis Teutonicis refrixerat in eis qui habitum religionis praetendebant, huius beati patris studio cepit recalescere et recuperari.'

[14] Urban II, JL 5459, *PL* 151, col. 338B; also Moïs (1953), p. 76: 'gratias agimus, quia vos estis qui sanctorum patrum vitam probabilem renovatis et apostolicae instituta disciplinae, in primordiis ecclesiae sanctae exorta, sed crescente ecclesia iam pene deleta, instinctu sancti Spiritus suscitatis'. On the language of this much discussed letter see, for example, Dereine (1951), pp. 549–50, 557–8; Miccoli (1966a), pp. 275–6.

[15] Gilo, *Vita sancti Hugonis abbatis* II.5 ed. Cowdrey (1978), p. 95: 'multas scillea voragine submersas regularibus institutis provide suscitavit'.

[16] William of St Thierry, *Vita prima sancti Bernardi*, c. 8 (42), *PL* 185, col. 251C: 'circa resuscitandum in monastico ordine antiquae religionis fervorem, primitias iuventutis suae dedicavit'. See Constable (1982), p. 56.

it had since declined. The reformers wished to 'tear out long-established and deeply rooted custom and reform a world which was now growing old according to the principles of the church's infancy'.[17] The terms *reformare, renovare, reparare, restaurare* and their many synonyms described a backward-looking process, in which the church was to be rejuvenated through the imitation of the attitudes and institutions of a more glorious past.[18] This idea of the rejuvenating influence of antiquity is constantly encountered in the literature of the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries and is by no means restricted to ecclesiastical institutions.[19] It was assumed that no enterprise could be a success unless it followed an antique model. 'The whole world will be reformed by ancient laws', wrote an Italian poet to his countrymen, prophesying the future greatness of the young Henry IV.[20] A panegyrist informed the successful warlord William I of England: 'another Julius [Caesar], you compel an unbridled nation to love the yoke by renewing his triumph'.[21] A Pisan poet considered that to record the deeds of his fellow-citizens on the Mahdia expedition of 1087 was to 'renew the memory of the ancient Romans'. Their attack on the north African Muslims earned for the Pisans the same praise 'that Rome once received by conquering Carthage'.[22] The participants in the First Crusade relived the biblical rather than the Roman past. Pope Paschal II, congratulating the crusaders in 1100, declared that 'the Lord has renewed the ancient miracles' of the fall of Jericho (Joshua 6:2–20), so that 'we see that the eastern church after a long period of captivity has largely returned to the ancient glory of her liberty'.[23]

The Christian terminology of reform and renewal is already found in the letters of St Paul, where it denoted the transformation of an individual personality in the likeness of God: 'be transformed by the renewal of your mind'

---

[17] Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, 1074, *MGH SRG* (1894), p. 199: 'ut tanto tempore inolitam consuetudinem revelleret atque ad rudimenta nascentis aecclesiae senescentem iam mundum reformaret'. The *consuetudo* in question was that of clerical marriage.

[18] On the 'Gregorian reform' as a restoration see especially the contribution of C. Dereine to the discussion following the conference paper of Maccarrone (1962), p. 407. See also Constable (1964), pp. 330–43.

[19] The *renovatio* idea was first studied in this context by Schramm (1962), pp. 188–305. See also Ladner (1982), pp. 1–33.

[20] *Exhortatio ad proceres regni*, ed. Dümmler, in Dümmler (1876), p. 177: 'Legibus antiquis totus reparabitur orbis'. On this and similar texts see Schramm (1962), pp. 257–74.

[21] *Carmen de Hastingae proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens*, p. 4: 'Iulius alter enim, cuius renovando triumphum/Effrenem gentem cogis amare iugum.' On the problem of authorship see Davis (1978).

[22] *Carmen in victoriam Pisanorum* 1, ed. Cowdrey, in Cowdrey (1977), p. 24: 'antiquorum Romanorum renovo memoriam; nam extendit modo Pisa laudem admirabilem, quam olim recepit Roma vincendo Cartaginem'.

[23] Paschal II, JL 5835, *PL* 163, col. 42CD: 'Renovavit enim Dominus antiqua miracula'; 'videmus orientalem ecclesiam, post longa captivitatis tempora, magna ex parte ad antiquam libertatis gloriam rediisse'.

(Romans 12:2); 'the inward man is renewed day by day' (II Corinthians 4:16). In patristic writings the language of reform and renewal continued to be used mainly in the sense of personal spiritual development. The Pauline idea of reform also influenced the early medieval monastic 'conversion to religion'[24] and played a significant part in the monastic reform movements of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Hence the idea of personal reform survived in the writings of the monastic theologians of the central middle ages. Anselm of Bec, for example, in the prayer which opens the *Proslogion*, confessed that the image of God dwelling within him 'cannot do that for which it was made unless You renew and reform it'.[25] Bernard of Clairvaux used the language of reform and renewal in a similar sense, writing that the image of God is 're-stored' and 'reformed' in us by Christ through a process of 'interior renewal' (*interior renovatio*).[26] The literature of the monastic reform movement often adhered in this way to traditional Pauline terminology, while that of the papal reform movement emphasised a non-traditional idea of reform and renewal. The reformers of the later eleventh century applied the language of reform to particular churches (a usage for which there were occasional precedents in the writings of Pope Gregory I and of Carolingian and later authors) and – unprecedentedly – to the reform of the church as a whole. Gregory VII himself never used the term *reformatio*. In the approximately 350 letters surviving from his pontificate the verb *reformare* occurs four times, referring to the reform of individual churches: the spiritual and material restoration of the archbishoprics of Dol (in Brittany) and Ravenna to their former glory; the enforcement of the proper observance of the Benedictine Rule in the southern French monasteries of Montmajour and Sainte-Marie-de-Grasse.[27] Elsewhere in Gregory's letters the terms *renovare (innovare), restaurare* and their synonyms are used to des-cribe the renewal of the whole church. 'Whatever has been long neglected in the church through sin and whatever has been and continues to be corrupted through evil custom, we desire to renew and restore for the honour of God and the salvation of all Christendom.' 'We desire one thing: namely that holy church, who throughout the world has been trodden underfoot, thrown into disorder and divided into conflicting parties, may return to her former beauty and stability.'[28]

---

[24] Ladner (1959) and (1966), pp. 252–75.
[25] Anselm, *Proslogion* 1, ed. Schmitt (1946), p. 100: 'ut non possit facere ad quod facta est, nisi tu renoves et reformes eam'.
[26] E. g. Bernard, *Tractatus de gratia et libero arbitrio*, VIII, 27; X, 32; XIV, 49, *Sancti Bernardi opera*, III pp. 185, 188–9, 201.
[27] Gregory VII, *Registrum* IV.4, 5, VIII.12, IX.6, pp. 300–3, 531–2, 581–3. See Ladner (1973), pp. 17–19; Tellenbach (1985), p. 99.
[28] *Registrum* V.5, p. 353: 'quod in ecclesia diu peccatis facientibus neglectum et nefanda consuetudine corruptum fuit et est, nos ad honorem Dei et salutem totius christianitatis innovare et restaurare

Linked with this image of renewal in Gregory's letters is that of uprooting and replanting. He wrote, for example, that he was sending his legate to Narbonne, Gascony and Spain 'so that, once the vices which are in need of eradication there have been torn up by the roots, he may, under God's guidance, attend with careful vigilance to cultivating the plantations of virtues'.[29] In other letters the source of this image is made explicit: 'See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant.' This text, Jeremiah 1:10, first used as a delineation of papal authority in the pontificate of Leo IX, became in the letters of Gregory VII a statement of the pope's duty to reform the church.[30] In the course of Gregory's pontificate the pope's role as the principal reformer of the church began to be recorded in the arengas of papal letters and privileges. 'The office of apostolic authority admonishes us to watch over all the churches in general and to be responsible for their condition and for the reform of them all.'[31] The papal privileges of Urban II and Paschal II regularly contain 'primacy arengas' – introductory protocols reminding the recipient of the privilege of the unique authority of the papacy – which were probably influenced by the first chancellor of the reorganised papal chancery, John of Gaeta, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin (1089–1118). John's 'primacy arengas' were imitated in the privileges which he himself issued during his short pontificate as Gelasius II and in the privileges of his successor, Calixtus II. The theme of John's 'primacy arengas' was the right and the obligation of the pope to reform the church. 'We who, although unworthy, sit in Peter's seat, must correct what is crooked, confirm what is straight and throughout the whole church set in order what is in need of setting in order.'[32] It was the pope's responsibility not only to initiate his own reforms but also to investigate and approve those attempted by other reformers. No reform initiative was lawful unless it had received papal approval, as is made clear in the letter of Calixtus II to Abbot Stephen of

---

cupimus'; IX.21, p. 602: 'unum desideramus, scilicet ut sancta ecclesia per totum orbem conculcata et confusa et per diversas partes discissa ad pristinum decorem et soliditatem redeat'.

[29] Gregory VII, JL 5042, *Epistolae vagantes* 21, p. 56: 'ut, quae ibi vicia eradicanda sunt a fundamento evulsis, plantaria virtutum Deo auctore sollerti vigilantia plantare procuret'.

[30] Leo IX, JL 4276, *PL* 143, col. 692B; Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.68, V.2, VI.12, pp. 226, 350, 415. See Congar (1957), pp. 679–82 (see also pp. 675–8 on the different use of these texts made by Gregory I, Nicholas I and John VIII).

[31] *Registrum* IX.6, p. 581: 'apostolici nos apicis cura pro cunctis generaliter ecclesiis vigilare ac pro omnium statu vel reparatione sollicitos esse admoneat'.

[32] Urban II, JL 5415, *PL* 151, col. 310A: (following the gospel texts defining Peter's authority, Matthew 16:19 and Luke 22:32): 'Oportet ergo nos, qui, licet indigni, Petri residemus in loco, prava corrigere, recta firmare et in omni ecclesia . . . disponenda disponere.' Cf. JL 5431, 5459, 5461, 5569, 5688 (PL 151, cols. 320CD, 337B, 341BC, 421AB, 495BC); Paschal II, JL 6088, 6596, *PL* 163, cols. 194AB, 434D; Calixtus II, JL 7160, *PL* 163, cols. 1321D–1322A. On John of Gaeta see Santifaller (1940), pp. 436–73; Lohrmann (1967), pp. 355–445. On 'primacy arengas' see Fichtenau (1957), pp. 101–12.

Cîteaux, approving the Cistercian *Charter of Charity* (23 December 1119). 'It is known that we were raised up, as the Lord directed, to govern the apostolic see so that with His help we should increase religion and strengthen by the authority of our office those ordinances which are righteous and promote the salvation of souls.'[33]

The application of St Paul's language of reform and renewal to the church rather than to the transformation of an individual personality marked a considerable intellectual breakthrough. The idea of bettering the condition of the whole church by human efforts would not have been easily comprehensible to an earlier generation whose ecclesiology accentuated the image of the church as the mystical body of Christ, the visible, terrestrial part of the City of God, of which the greater part was in heaven. Such a structure could surely only be changed by direct divine intervention.[34] Eleventh-century ideas of reform originated in a new historical outlook, which emphasised the mutability of all terrestrial institutions. The papacy in particular came to cite this state of flux in human affairs as a justification of its reforming role. 'The kingdoms of the earth are transformed with the changing times and therefore it is expedient for the boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdictions in most provinces to be transformed . . . [The pope] ought to support this divine mutation and to set in order whatever is in disarray, according to the needs of the times.' 'Times change and kingdoms are transformed by the command of the Almighty. Hence we read of nations which were once of great repute being diminished and laid low and of little nations being exalted . . . In this mutation, according to the customary stewardship of the apostolic see, [the pope is] led to make provision for the honour of God and the salvation of souls.'[35] The eleventh-century discovery that the church was as mutable as all terrestrial institutions originated in the conviction that the church was currently in decline, having been at some earlier period in a state of perfection. The many authors of our period who wrote of the need to reform the church had a clear vision of this lost state of perfection;

---

[33] Calixtus II, JL 6795, *PL* 163, col. 1147B: 'Ad hoc in apostolicae sedis regimen, Domino disponente, promoti conspicimur, ut ipso praestante religionem augere et quae recta atque ad salutem animarum statuta sunt nostri debeamus auctoritate officii stabilire.' See also, for example, Paschal II, JL 6532, 6534, *PL* 163, cols. 413A, 414C; Gelasius II, JL 6671, *PL* 163, col. 512D.

[34] Congar (1968), pp. 73–127.

[35] Paschal II, JL 6298, *PL* 163, col. 289CD (to Gibelin, patriarch of Jerusalem): 'Secundum mutationes temporum transferuntur etiam regna terrarum. Unde etiam ecclesiasticarum parochiarum fines in plerisque provinciis mutari expedit et transferri . . . Unde oportet nos divinae mutationi et translationi manum apponere et secundum tempus quae sunt disponenda disponere.' Calixtus II, JL 6823, *PL* 163, cols. 1168D–1169A (to Diego Gelmírez, archbishop of Compostela): 'Omnipotentis dispositione mutantur tempora et transferuntur regna. Hinc est quod magni quondam nominis nationes detritas et depressas, exiguas vero quandoque legimus exaltatas . . . Caeterum in mutatione hac nos ex consueta sedis apostolicae dispensatione . . . et honori Dei et animarum saluti duximus providendum.'

but they did not agree on the precise historical period of the church's golden age to which they wished to return.

It is instructive to begin with the vision of a learned critic of Gregory VII and his successors, Sigebert, master of the school in the abbey of St Vincent of Metz and subsequently monk of Gembloux (*c.* 1030–1112). Poet, chronicler, hagiographer, computist, biblical exegete, bibliographer, polemicist, Sigebert was the most influential intellectual in Lower Lorraine during the Investiture Contest. Like the adherents of Gregory VII, Sigebert was an opponent of simony and clerical unchastity and he supported the enforcement of monastic discipline. How his view of reform differed from that of the reform papacy is spelled out in the three or perhaps four polemics in which he attacked the most controversial measures of Gregory VII. His 'apology against those who slander the masses of married priests' was not a defence of clerical marriage but a criticism of Gregory VII's campaign of 1074–5 to persuade the laity to boycott the masses of married priests. His reply 'with powerful arguments from the Fathers' (no longer extant) 'to the letter of Pope Hildebrand to Bishop Hermann of Metz, slandering royal power' was provoked by the widely disseminated papal letter of 1081 which contains Gregory VII's most extreme statement on kingship, claiming that all secular authority had a diabolic origin. Sigebert's third polemic was his reply 'to the letter of Pope Paschal [II] commanding the church of Liège and that of Cambrai to be destroyed by Count Robert of Flanders', composed in 1103.[36] Here he attacked the reform papacy's practice of using military force to compel obedience to Rome. This method of imposing reform by resorting to holy war originated, Sigebert believed, with Gregory VII: 'all [the popes] from Gregory I onwards were content to use only the spiritual sword, until the last Gregory, that is Hildebrand, who first girded himself – and by his example, other popes – with the sword of war against the emperor'.[37] A fourth polemic which may also be the work of Sigebert is the treatise of 1109 which argued against the validity of the decrees of Gregory VII

---

[36] Sigebert listed his writings at the end of his bibliographical work, *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi de viris illustribus*, c. 172 ed. Witte (1974), pp. 103–6. The polemics are described thus (p. 104): 'validis patrum argumentis respondi epistule Hildebrandi papae, quam scripsit ad Herimannum Mettensem episcopum in potestatis regie calumpniam. Scripsi . . . apologiam contra eos, qui calumpniantur missas coniugatorum sacerdotum [*MGH Libelli* II, pp. 437–48] . . . respondi epistule Paschalis pape, qui Leodiensem ecclesiam eque ut Cameracensem a Roberto Flandrensium comite iubebat perditum iri [*MGH Libelli* II, pp. 451–64].' To the list of modern editions of Sigebert's works supplied by Witte (1974), p. 147, should now be added the *Liber Decennalis*, *MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* XII (1986). See Robinson (1978a), pp. 175–81.

[37] Sigebert, *Epistola Leodiciensium adversus Paschalem papam* 10, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 462: 'omnes a primo Gregorio contenti utebantur solo gladio spirituali usque ad ultimum Gregorium, id est ad Hildebrandum, qui primus se et suo exemplo alios pontifices contra imperatorem accinxit gladio belli'.

and his successors forbidding kings to invest bishops with their offices. (This *Treatise concerning the Investiture of Bishops* was commissioned by King Henry V of Germany and played a significant part in the negotiations with the papacy which were intended to settle the investiture dispute.)[38]

While Sigebert's polemics reveal his negative attitude to Gregorian reform strategy, his hagiographical writings contain his personal vision of the lost golden age of the church. In his *Life* of the later tenth-century Bishop Theoderic I of Metz he wrote: 'I call the times of Otto [I] happy and rightly so; for the commonwealth was reformed, the peace of the churches restored and the integrity of religion renewed by famous bishops and wise men.' In the reign of Emperor Otto I the bishops of Lorraine were 'fellow-workers for good, excellent soldiers in the vanguard and comrades-in-arms in the camp of the Lord of Sabaoth, all lieutenants in the king's affairs, whether at war or at leisure'. Elsewhere Sigebert described a specific instance of the reforming activity of an Ottonian bishop in his diocese: Adalbero of Metz 'laboured to restore monastic discipline to the model of the apostolic life'.[39] 'The times of the Ottonians', which seemed to Sigebert a golden age of ecclesiastical prosperity, appeared to the Roman reform party to be the period when 'the madness of simoniacal transactions spread through Germany, Gaul and the whole of Italy'. This was the period, according to Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida (writing in 1057/8), when kings and princes 'devoted all their power, all their terror, all their ingenuity, all their efforts to attacking and claiming for themselves the ecclesiastical property which they were assigned [by God] to protect'. 'The Ottonians who, more than all the kings who preceded them, were usurpers of the priestly office', were punished by God with the extinction of their dynasty in the male line after only three generations. For the same reason Emperor Henry II was denied any issue.[40] Gregory VII juxtaposed this 'time in which the government of our church was granted to the Germans' with

---

[38] *Tractatus de investitura episcoporum, MGH Libelli* II, pp. 498–504 and ed. Krimm-Beumann (1977), pp. 37–83. On Sigebert's authorship see Beumann (1976).

[39] Sigebert, *Vita Deoderici episcopi Mettensis*, c. 7, *PL* 160, col. 700C: 'Iure felicia dixerim Ottonis tempora, cum claris praesulibus et sapientibus viris respublica sit reformata, pax aecclesiarum restaurata, honestas religionis redintegrata'; 701A: [the archbishop of Trier and the bishops of Metz, Verdun and Liège as the allies of Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, the king's brother] 'hi inquam eius in bonum cooperatores, hi in castris domini Sabaoth huius egregii antesignani fuere commilitones, hi omnes succenturiati, in otio et in negotio causis regis aderant'. *Vita Wicberti, MGH SS* VIII, p. 511: 'monasticam disciplinam elaborabat . . . ad apostolicae vitae redigere normam'.

[40] Humbert, *Adversus simoniacos* III.7, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 206: 'hanc reciprocatae venditionis rabiem grassatam per Germaniam et Gallias totamque Italiam a temporibus Ottonum'; III.5, p. 204: 'reges saeculi et principes . . . omnem suam potestatem, omnem terrorem, omne ingenium, omne studium ad expugnandum et sibi penitus vendicandum res ecclesiasticas, quibus tutores dati fuerant, transferunt"'; III.15, p. 217: 'Ottones, prae omnibus ante se regibus sacerdotalis officii praesumptores, vix attigere tertiam [generationem]. Post quos primus Heinricus [i.e. Henry II] nullam'.

the age of 'the ancient Fathers' which he wished to restore.[41] Sigebert's golden age was the Gregorians' iron age; yet Sigebert applauded much of Gregory VII's reform programme. 'If you return to the principles, what is more lovely and more profitable to Christianity than to make holy orders subject to the laws of chastity, to determine ecclesiastical promotions not by a financial arrangement but by personal merit, to correct the life and morals of a young king for his own and his subjects' advantage, to free the office of bishop from every obligation of secular service?' Sigebert entirely approved of these Gregorian 'principles': he deplored the methods by which Gregory intended to enforce them, the use of 'tyrannical violence' rather than 'pious and ecclesiastical admonitions'.[42] Sigebert's main objection to the Gregorian reform was that the pope, in order to enforce the purity of the priesthood, 'brought down the swords of laymen upon the necks of clerks'.[43]

This was indeed the central theme of all the criticisms directed against Gregory VII, beginning with the synods of Worms (1076) and Brixen (1080) and continuing in the polemical literature of the Investiture Contest: that he 'ruled over the apostolic see not with the care of a pastor but with the violence of an intruder'.[44] He was 'the standard-bearer of schism', who 'overturned ecclesiastical order, disturbed the government of the Christian empire' and 'sowed discord among those who were in harmony'.[45] The polemicist Bishop Wido of Ferrara, writing in the entourage of Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna, Henry IV's antipope 'Clement III', declared that 'the pre-eminent and most important question which all are unanimously asking themselves is: "what Christian ever caused so many wars and killed so many men?" '[46] Wido had no doubt of Gregory VII's sincerity: he knew that the pope was 'attentive

---

[41] Gregory VII, liturgical text *In die resurrectionis*, ed. Morin, in Morin (1901), p. 179: 'a tempore quo teutonicis concessum est regimen nostrae aecclesiae'. Dereine (1961), pp. 108–18 attributes this liturgical text to Gregory, while denying his authorship of the accompanying rule.

[42] Sigebert, *Apologia* 2, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 438: 'Si enim ad principia redeas, quid pulchrius, quid christianitati conducibilius, quam sacros ordines castitatis legibus subicere, promotiones ecclesiasticas, non pecuniae pacto sed vitae merito aestimare, iuvenis regis vitam et mores ad suam et subditorum utilitatem corrigere, episcopalem dignitatem ab omni saecularis servitii necessitate absolvere?' On Gregorian methods: 'non piis et ecclesiasticis ammonitionibus devocati sed tyrannicae violentiae impetu non parumper absterriti'.

[43] Sigebert, *Epistola Leodicensium* 2, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 453: 'distrinxit gladios laicorum in cervices clericorum'.

[44] Henry IV, *Epistola* 13, ed. Erdmann (1937) in *MGH Deutsches Mittelalter* I, pp. 17–18: 'non pastoris cura sed invasoris violentia apostolicę sedis presidentem'. The emphasis in the polemical literature on Gregory VII as a 'Kriegsmann' was first studied by Erdmann (1935), pp. 212–49.

[45] Letter of the Worms synod to Hildebrand (1076), *MGH Deutsches Mittelalter* I, p. 66: 'signifer scismatis'; Decree of the Brixen synod (1080), *ibid.*, p. 71: 'qui ecclesiasticum subvertit ordinem, qui cristiani imperii perturbavit regimen . . . qui inter concordes seminavit discordiam'.

[46] Wido of Ferrara, *De scismate Hildebrandi* I.15, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 545: 'illud, quod praecipuum videtur et maximum, in quo sibi solent omnes applaudere dicentes: 'Quis umquam christianorum tot bella

to fasts, occupied in prayers, devoted to study and had made his body the temple of Christ'. Wido had lived in Rome during the early years of Gregory's pontificate; he had seen the pope suffused with tears as he celebrated mass each day and noted how he rejected the delicacies of the papal table and ate only wild herbs, beans and pulses, living a monastic life amidst the splendour and clamour of the papal court. Like Sigebert of Gembloux, Wido of Ferrara saw the need to 'confound simoniacal heresy' and 'restrain sacrilegious and adulterous priests with the sword of the spirit'. It was not Gregory's reforming aims but his methods – notably the lay boycott of guilty priests – which had brought disorder to the church. 'He was a schismatic in that he taught that the sacraments of unworthy ministers and of excommunicates were polluted, commanded that they were not to be received and indeed forbade them to be called sacraments; in which he differed entirely from the rules of the holy Fathers.'[47] The most vituperative of Gregory VII's critics, Bishop Benzo of Alba, was also devoted to the eradication of simony and clerical marriage. Benzo is usually regarded merely as a scurrilous pamphleteer and fulsome panegyrist of the emperor and his antipope; but the advice which he addressed to Henry IV in his polemics included exhortations to reform. He urged the emperor to be 'very discerning in creating bishops', 'lest perhaps you draw disgrace upon yourself from the vice of a new incumbent: let his life, morals and condition first be inquired into'. Henry must take care not to mistake a Cupid for an angel or to elevate a Priapus to episcopal office.[48] Benzo's assumption that bishops should be appointed by the emperor was, of course, the target of the most innovatory Gregorian reform legislation, the decrees against lay investiture; but Benzo undoubtedly shared his opponents' preoccupation with the purity of the episcopate.

The attempt to reconcile the emperor's authority in ecclesiastical affairs with the eradication of abuses from the church is especially apparent in the career of Wibert of Ravenna, who, after his election as antipope in the synod of Brixen,

---

movit, tot homines interimet?' 'On Wido of Ferrara see Fliche (1916) and (1918). On Wido's work as evidence of the views of Wibert of Ravenna see most recently Jordan (1954), pp. 159–64; Krause (1960), p. 200.

[47] Wido, *De scismate* I.2, p. 534: 'Ieiuniis intentus, orationibus occupatus, legendi studiis deditus, corpus suum templum fecerat Christi.' Gregory's reforms (p. 535): 'symoniacam heresim viva voce confundere . . . sacrilegos et adulteros sacerdotes gladio spiritus . . . confutare'. II, p. 567: 'In eo etiam scismaticus extitit, quod indignorum ministrorum et excommunicatorum sacramenta polluta docuit, non recipienda mandavit, nec sacramenta quidem dici debere perhibuit, in quibus a sanctorum patrum regulis omnino dissensit.'

[48] Benzo, *Ad Heinricum imperatorem* v.3, *MGH SS* XI, pp. 650–1: 'In episcopis creandis si es discretissimus . . . Sit discreta, rex o bone, manus impositio, / Ne fortasse labem trahas ex tyronis vicio, / Vita prius requiratur, mores et conditio . . . Nec pro Iovis ave summas nocturnum aligerum, / Nec constituas Priapum in numero syderum.' On Benzo see Schramm (1962), pp. 258–74; Fliche (1924–37), III, pp. 216–49; Ullmann (1970), pp. 387–93; Koch (1972), pp. 115–18.

became the symbol of the imperial church's opposition to Gregory VII. Wibert appears in the writings of pro-Gregorian polemicists as heresiarch, apostate, 'the new Simon Magus', the beast with seven heads and ten horns (Revelation 13:1–4), 'mad Wibert' (*Guibertus demens*, with a play on his pontifical name, *Clemens*), 'a wicked bishop [who] preaches and orders fornication and simony'.[49] In fact he was a zealous opponent of simony and clerical marriage and shared at least one other reforming preoccupation of the Gregorian party. In his concern for 'the restoration of the offices of the holy church of God' as archbishop of Ravenna, Wibert promoted the *vita communis*, the 'common life' of regular canons.[50] The ideal of the regular canonical life for the secular clergy was championed by many of the principal figures of the papal reform movement, notably Peter Damian, Gregory VII and the latter's confidant and legate in Lombardy, the canonist Bishop Anselm II of Lucca.[51] While Wibert was successful in encouraging some members of the Ravennese clergy to volunteer for the 'common life', the more radical experiments of his enemies ended in violent resistance and failure. Gregory VII's attempt to impose the 'common life' on the whole Roman clergy was unavailing: only in the pontificate of Calixtus II (1121) were regular canons permanently established in the Lateran.[52] When Anselm of Lucca attempted to enforce the 'common life' in his cathedral chapter, he was driven out of his diocese.[53] Anselm was the author of the most important Gregorian refutation of Wibert's claim to be the lawful pope, the *Book against Wibert and His Followers*, in which he characterised 'Clement III' as the leader of the party of the simoniacs.[54] Wibert's response to such a charge is found in the encyclical in which he published the decrees of his synod of 1091. 'Following the documents of the holy Fathers', the synod had 'attacked the simoniacs, who make the Church of God a den of thieves' (Matthew 21:13) and strove to 'lop off with the sword of St Peter the head of that heresy, which had come to life again after being cut off so many times by the holy Fathers'. The Wibertine synod believed, therefore, like the Gregorians, that simony was a heresy; and the synod also admonished the clergy 'to preserve

---

[49] Wibert as heresiarch: Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon*, 1080, *MGH SS* V, p. 436; Urban II, Council of Piacenza (1095), c. 8, *MGH Constitutiones* I, p. 562; Urban II, JL 5393, *PL* 151, col. 297C; Godfrey of Vendôme, *Epistolae* I.8, *PL* 157, col. 47C; as apostate: Bernold, *Chronicon*, 1081, 1082, p. 437; 'novo Simone mago': Deusdedit, *Libellus contra invasores et symoniacos* II.11, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 329; as beast: Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* IX, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 613. Cf. Pseudo-Haimo, *Explanatio in Psalmum XC, PL* 116, col. 510B: 'si aliquis nefandus episcopus praedicaret et praeciperet fornicationem vel simoniam, sicut Guibertus demens'.

[50] Wibert of Ravenna, Diploma of 8 May 1081, cited by Ziese (1982), pp. 70–3: 'restaurationem officiorum sanctae Dei Ecclesiae'.

[51] Dereine (1946), pp. 365–406 and (1953), pp. 353–405.

[52] Schmidt (1972), pp. 219–21.   [53] Kittel (1931).

[54] Anselm of Lucca, *Liber contra Wibertum et sequaces eius, MGH Libelli* I, p. 526.

the purity of chastity, without which, as the apostle bears witness, they cannot please God'. Wibert's reform programme of 1091 differed from that of his rival, Urban II, in two significant respects. First, Wibert refused to include the lay investiture of bishops in his definition of simony. Second, while championing the ideal of clerical chastity, Wibert's synod of 1091 excommunicated those who (obeying the command of Gregory VII) 'reject the masses of sinful priests'.[55]

For Wibert, as for his adherents Wido of Ferrara and Sigebert of Gembloux, the hallmark of the Gregorian reform was violence: 'how great is the bloodshed perpetrated in the Italian and German kingdom occasioned by their preaching!'[56] The reason why the Gregorian reform had deteriorated into assaults on simoniac and married clergy and had provoked civil war in the empire was that the reformers had abandoned the partnership with the emperor which had characterised the first decade of the papal reform movement (1046–56). The necessity of such a partnership is the theme of Sigebert's polemic on behalf of the church of Liège (1103). 'Who can separate the cause of the kingship from the cause of the priesthood? Unless the peace of God . . . joins kingship and priesthood in the one cornerstone of harmony, the building of the church will totter on the foundation of faith.' Without the sanction of imperial power to enforce their reform programme, the Gregorians had been obliged to resort to random acts of violence, usurping the authority of the divinely ordained emperor. Yet the lessons of history showed that even Rome herself could only be effectively reformed by imperial intervention. Let the Gregorian party 'consider how popes obtained the Roman see from the time of St Silvester to that of Hildebrand; how many unheard-of crimes were committed out of ambition for that see and how they were checked by kings and emperors, and false popes condemned and deposed. Imperial might was worth more there than the excommunications of Hildebrand, Odo [Urban II] and Paschal [II]'.[57] Sigebert's models of correct papal conduct were Gregory I, who respected the

---

[55] Wibert of Ravenna ['Clement III'], *Decretum, MGH Libelli* i, pp. 625–6: 'placuit sancto conventui, ut in symoniacos, qui ecclesiam Dei latronum speluncam faciunt . . . inveheremur et redivivum caput illius hereseos, totiens a sanctis patribus abscissum, gladio beati Petri amputaremus'; 'ministros altaris . . . mundiciam castitatis, sine qua teste apostolo placere Deo non possunt, irreprehensibiliter custodire commoneatis'. 'Hi vero, qui missas peccatorum sacerdotum respuunt . . . communione sanctae ecclesiae usque ad emendationem priventur.' On the date of Wibert's synod see Ziese (1982), pp. 191–2 n. 11. For Urban II's legislation on these themes see his synod of Melfi (1089), c. 2, 3, 12, ed. Mansi, 20, cols. 723–4.

[56] Wibert, *Decretum*, p. 625: 'Quanta enim humani sanguinis effusiones in Ytalico et Teutonico regno occasione predicationis eorum factae sint.'

[57] Sigebert, *Epistola Leodicensium* 11, p. 462: 'Quis poterit discernere causam regni a causa sacerdotii? Nisi pax Dei . . . copulet regnum et sacerdotium uno angulari lapide concordiae, vacillabit structura ecclesiae super fidei fundamentum.' *Ibid.*, 8, pp. 459–60: 'recolligat quomodo a beato Silvestro usque ad Hildebrandum sedem Romanam papae obtinuerint; et quot et quanta inaudita ex ambitione illius

authority of Emperor Maurice, and Leo IX, who cooperated in the reform of the church with his kinsman, Emperor Henry III.[58] This was the model imitated by Wibert of Ravenna who, having risen to prominence by faithful service to the imperial court and the favour of Empress Agnes (the widow of Henry III), devoted himself as pope to cooperation with Henry IV. He provided the emperor with the means to conduct his Italian campaigns, used his spiritual authority to defend the emperor against rebels and lawbreakers and issued joint papal–imperial privileges of protection for religious foundations.[59]

Such harmonious cooperation could only be assured, so the adherents of Henry IV and the antipope believed, if the emperor played the foremost role in the election of the pope, as of the imperial episcopate. 'The pope is consecrated at the command of Caesar', wrote Benzo of Alba, who also reminded the bishops that they were 'planted in the house of the Lord by the hands of the king'. It was the king's duty to 'choose bishops whose teaching would recall the languid world to salvation and rid the church of pestilential disease'.[60] Defenders of the status quo emphasised the antiquity of the emperor's rights and the fact that holy men had recognised them for centuries. 'We read in the *Life* of St Gregory [I] that when he had been elected to the government of the apostolic see and was reluctant, the Romans sought the consent of Emperor Maurice and raised the elect through his means to the papal see . . . And although the same thing is also read in many other places, that holy men were raised to the episcopy by kings, lo! suddenly in the time of the elder Henry [IV] the Roman pope . . . Gregory VII forbade anyone to be elected or appointed by him.'[61] Sigebert of Gembloux likewise underlined the example of 'the holy and reverend bishops who rendered to Caesar what was Caesar's and to God

sedis perpetrata sint; et quomodo per reges et inperatores diffinita sint et pseudopapae dampnati et abdicati sint. Et ibi plus valuit virtus imperialis, quam excommunicatio Hildebrandi, Odardi, Pascasii.'

[58] *Ibid.*, 10, 13, pp. 461–2, 463; Sigebert, *Catalogus* 41, 150, ed. Witte (1974), pp. 64–5, 93–5.

[59] Ziese (1982), pp. 13–19, 26–30 (career in the imperial government); 74–6, 81, 87–8, 184, 190, 211 (Henry IV's Italian expeditions); 193–4, 260–1 (spiritual support for Henry IV); 207–9, 232–3 (privileges).

[60] Benzo, *Ad Heinricum imperatorem* VI.6, *MGH SS* XI, p. 666: 'Caesare praecipiente papa benedicitur'; IV, prologus, p. 634: 'In domo etenim Domini estis plantati manibus regis'; VII.2, p. 671: 'eligat pontifices, quorum doctrina revocetur ad salutem languidus orbis, evulsis ab aecclesia pestilentiae morbis'.

[61] Hermann of Tournai, *Liber de restauratione monasterii sancti Martini Tornacensis* 83, *MGH SS* XIV, p. 314: 'In Vita beati Gregorii legitur, quod, cum ad apostolice sedis regimen fuisset electus et reluctaretur, Romani assensum Mauricii imperatoris petierunt et per eum in sede pontificali electum levaverunt. . . . Cumque idem etiam multis aliis in locis legatur, sanctos scilicet viros a regibus ad pontificatum fuisse promotos, ecce subito Henrici senioris imperatoris temporibus papa Romanus . . . Gregorius septimus prohibet, ne quisquam ab eo eligatur vel promoveatur.' On this source see Wattenbach and Holtzmann, ed. Schmale (1967), II, p. 754.

what was God's' (Matthew 22:21).[62] Sigebert believed (as we have already seen) that such 'holy and reverend bishops' flourished in the Ottonian age. Similarly Benzo of Alba, panegyrist of 'Charles [the Great] and three Ottos', especially commended to Henry IV the model of Emperor Otto III, who 'restored the monarchy of the whole empire', thanks to the support of the bishops. The lifetime of these bishops 'witnessed a golden age', when 'there was no disturbance anywhere, reason reigned everywhere; the earth enjoyed tranquillity like the heavens; the clergy showed themselves as pious as the choirs of angels'.[63] The historian Lampert of Hersfeld located the golden age of church and empire in the reign of Charlemagne, the protector and benefactor of his abbey. Lampert believed that the Carolingian age had temporarily been restored by Henry III, who was 'like another Charles' in his virtues and achievements.[64] The anonymous monk of Hersfeld who composed the most learned extant defence of Wibert of Ravenna (1091–93) likewise celebrated the achievements of Charlemagne as defender of the papacy and of his father, Pippin III, whose purpose had been 'to reform the kingdom of the Franks to its former dignity'.[65] Both the Carolingian and the Ottonian ages were evoked in the earliest justifications of the imperial right of investiture: the forged investiture privileges of Pope Adrian I for Charlemagne and Pope Leo VIII for Otto I which were to play so influential a role in the debate about the emperor's rights over the church.[66] The defence of the claims of Henry IV and Henry V was inspired by a vision of the early middle ages in which 'kings and emperors followed the example of Charlemagne by devoutly striving to protect the Roman church and the other churches in the fear of God and love of St Peter and practised the investiture of bishops'.[67]

---

[62] Sigebert, *Epistola Leodicensium* 7, p. 459: 'sub hac consuetudine migraverunt a seculo sancti et reverentes episcopi, reddentes caesari que erant cesaris et Deo quae erant Dei'.

[63] Benzo, *Ad Heinricum imperatorem* III.6, p. 624: 'reparavit monarchiam tocius imperii'; IV.6, p. 642: 'vita presulum aureum vidit seculum . . . Nusquam erat turbatio, totum regebat ratio,/Quiescebant terrestria, veluti coelestia,/Devote stabant clerici, ut chori angelici.'

[64] Lampert of Hersfeld, *Vita Lulli* 14, *MGH SRG* XXXVIII, p. 326; Lampert, *Libellus de institutione Herveldensis ecclesiae, ibid.*, p. 351: Henry III 'velut alter Karolus'. See Struve (1969), pp. 44–51; (1970), p. 34.

[65] *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* I.2, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 186: 'reformare regnum Francorum in pristinae dignitatis statum'; II.15, p. 229 (Charlemagne). The Anonymous was responding to the Gregorian interpretation of Carolingian history: see Affeldt (1969). See also Zafarana (1966a), p. 633.

[66] The recent edition by C. Märtl, *Die falschen Investiturprivilegien, MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui* XIII (1986), especially pp. 9–15, 52–95, 125–30, deals fully with the debate on the character and influence of these forgeries, the *Hadrianum, Privilegium minus Leonis VIII, Cessio donationum* and *Privilegium maius Leonis VIII.*

[67] *Tractatus de investitura episcoporum, MGH Libelli* II, pp. 498–9, and ed. Krimm-Beumann (1977), p. 69: 'reges et imperatores, succedentes exemplo Karoli magni defensionem Romanę ecclesię et aliarum

The polemics of the Gregorian papacy hark back to an idealised past very different in character from that of the Wibertine and Henrician polemicists. It was a past in which 'the most Christian emperors . . . did not wish to claim for themselves any jurisdiction or lordship over the clergy and the property of the churches'.[68] This was the golden age which the reform papacy wished to restore: an age beginning with the conversion of the Roman empire in the reign of Constantine I and the pontificate of Sylvester I; an age which fell into decline after the sixth century (although the emperors Charlemagne and Louis the Pious strove to restore it). It was the age which included the pontificates of Leo I and Gregory I, the great popes whose memory was evoked in the papal names of two of the leading figures of the reform papacy, Leo IX and Gregory VII. When, for example, Gregory VII wished to define Catholic orthodoxy, he spoke of 'the faith of the four [ecumenical] councils, which was approved by the holy Fathers and confirmed by the apostolic authority of the Roman pontiffs Sylvester, Leo and others', 'not the least of whom [was] the most blessed Pope Gregory, the excellent doctor'.[69] In the letters of Gregory VII and the writings of his adherents there is a constant appeal to the authority of Gregory I (Leo I being the second most frequently quoted pope). Gregory VII's reiterated claim to base his reforms on the teachings of 'St Gregory, the holy and most humble doctor' was particularly resented by his critics: 'you have laid parricidal hands on the most blessed Gregory, who withdraws far from your understanding, and you have done as much violence to him as you could'.[70] What critics deplored in the Hildebrandine version of Gregory I's teaching was the claim that 'Pope Gregory decreed that kings who presumed to violate the decrees of the apostolic see should lose their offices.'[71] Opponents of the reform papacy could easily demonstrate that the saint 'neither resisted the [secular] powers nor taught that they were to be resisted'.[72]

---

ecclesiarum timore Dei et caritate sancti Petri devote prosecuti sunt, investituras episcoporum facientes'.

[68] Deusdedit, *Libellus contra invasores et symoniacos* I.2, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 302: 'christianissimi imperatores . . . in clero et in rebus ecclesiarum nullum sibi iudicium vel dominium vendicare voluerunt'.

[69] Gregory VII, *Registrum* VIII.1, p. 511: 'fidem scilicet IIII conciliorum, quę a sanctis patribus comprobata a Romanis pontificibus Silvestro Leone aliisque apostolica sunt auctoritate firmata. Inter quos nichilominus beatissimus Gregorius papa doctor egregius.'

[70] *Cardinalium schismaticorum scripta* III, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 392: 'beatissimo Gregorio, longe ab intellectu tuo recedenti, manus parricidales iniecisti et, quantum in te fuit, ei vim fecisti'. Cf. *Registrum* IV.23, p. 336: 'beatus Gregorius doctor sanctus et humillimus'; VI.2, VIII.1, 21, pp. 393, 511, 550.

[71] *Registrum* VIII.21, p. 550: 'Beatus quoque Gregorius papa reges a sua dignitate cadere statuit, qui apostolicę sedis decreta violare presumpserint.' Cf. *Registrum* IV.2, p. 294.

[72] *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* I.11, p. 199: 'cum nihil tale in scriptis illius eximii doctoris Gregorii adhuc legerimus . . . qui non resistebat nec resistendum docebat potestatibus'. Cf. Peter

While Gregory VII's conception of Gregory I was that of a pope who threatened to depose secular rulers, his conception of Constantine I was of an emperor who deferred to the church. 'Emperor Constantine the Great, the lord of all the kings and princes of almost the whole world . . . in the holy synod of Nicaea, seated in the lowest place after all the bishops, did not presume to pronounce judgement on them; he called them gods, who must not be subject to his jurisdiction and he judged that he himself should depend on their authority.' Urban II urged King Alfonso VI of León-Castile to 'remember the religious prince Constantine, who would not judge priests, considering it unworthy that gods should be judged by men'.[73] The most detailed exposition of Gregorian historiography is Bonizo of Sutri's history of the church, the *Liber ad amicum* (1085), with its vigorous celebration of the 'golden age'.

From the reign of the pious Constantine until the cruel reigns of the Lombards those princes of the Roman empire who ruled according to the fear of God and the advice of the bishops and who above all obeyed the Roman pontiff – protecting the churches, esteeming the clerks and honouring the priests – as long as they lived, governed the commonwealth in great peace and exchanged death for eternal life.

The virtuous emperors, Constantine, Jovinian and Valentinian, 'most obedient to the priests of God', are sharply contrasted with the 'disobedient' secular rulers. Significantly Bonizo included in the latter category Benzo of Alba's model emperor, Otto III. According to Bonzio's inaccurate account, Otto III blinded and mutilated the intruder Pope John XVI, 'which so displeased God and St Peter' that within three months 'the [emperor] hateful to God perished without viaticum' and the Romans refused him burial.[74]

The virtuous emperors of the golden age not only obeyed the priesthood but also 'endowed with the most magnificent gifts the churches built either

---

Crassus, *Defensio Heinrici IV regis* 7, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 449; Wenrich of Trier, *Epistola* 4, *ibid.*, p. 291. See Robinson (1978a), pp. 139–42.

[73] *Registrum* VIII.21, p. 553: 'Constantinus Magnus imperator, omnium regum et principum fere totius orbis dominus . . . in sancta Nycena synodo post omnes episcopos ultimus residens nullam iudicii sententiam supra eos dare presumpsit, sed illos etiam deos vocans non suo debere subesse iudicio, verum se ad illorum pendere arbitrium iudicavit'. Cf. *Registrum* IV.2, p. 296. Urban II, JL 5367, *PL* 151, col. 290B: 'Memento religiosi principis Constantini, qui sacerdotum iudicia nec audire voluit, indignum iudicans deos ab hominibus iudicari.' This anecdote was also cited by Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* II, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 574; Deusdedit, *Libellus contra invasores et symoniacos* v.10, *ibid.* II, pp. 350–1; Placidus of Nonantola, *Liber de honore ecclesiae* 90, *ibid.*, II, p. 613.

[74] Bonizo, *Liber ad amicum* II, p. 575: 'Sed a pii Constantini [regno] usque ad Longobardorum crudelia regna, quiqui Romani imperii principes secundum Dei timorem et episcoporum consilia et precipue sub Romano episcopo obedientes extitere ęcclesias colendo, clericos diligendo, sacerdotes honorando, dum vixere, alta pace rem publicam gubernavere et mortem vita ęterna commutavere.' Otto III's conduct: IV, pp. 582–3: 'Quod factum in tantum Deo et beato Petro apostolorum principi displicuit, ut . . . Deo odibilis sine viatico vitam finivit.'

by themselves or by others'.[75] Bonizo applauded the generosity of Constantine I, 'the greatest propagator of the name of Christ, the founder of the bountiful new Rome, the foremost builder of basilicas'. Bruno of Segni wrote that Constantine had carried stones on his own shoulders for the construction of his basilicas.[76] We have already seen that the building and repairing of churches was regarded as an essential part of the programme of ecclesiastical reform and renewal in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The building operations of the reform papacy and some of its closest associates took the form of an 'early Christian revival in architecture and art': that is, the re-creation of the ecclesiastical architecture of the three centuries beginning with the reign of Constantine.[77] The 'Gregorian reform' was an attempt to restore not only the spirituality and standards of conduct of that golden age but also the material conditions and even the physical appearance of the churches. The first sign of this 'early Christian revival' is the architecture of the churches of S. Felicità and S. Lorenzo in Florence, built in the time of Bishop Gerard (1045–61), subsequently Pope Nicholas II.[78] When on 20 January 1060 Nicholas II (who retained the office of bishop of Florence) dedicated the church of S. Lorenzo, the illustrious congregation included two reformers who were to be closely associated with the imitation of the architecture and art of the golden age: Archdeacon Hildebrand and Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino and cardinal priest of S. Cecilia (later Pope Victor III, 1086–7).[79] Archdeacon Hildebrand, acting as the administrator of the Roman abbey of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, in 1070 ordered from Constantinople a set of bronze doors for the abbey. Other Italian churches (Amalfi, Monte Cassino, St Michael in Monte S. Angelo) acquired Byzantine bronze doors in the later eleventh century as part of the attempt to recreate the appearance of an early Christian basilica.[80]

The projects of Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino for his abbey constituted the most ambitious and influential example of this *renovatio*. Desiderius summoned from Constantinople 'artists who were skilled in the art of laying mosaics and pavements' because 'Latin mastery of these arts had lapsed for five hundred years and more' – that is, since the end of the church's golden age. In search of authentic relics of that age Desiderius went to Rome

---

[75] Deusdedit, *Libellus contra invasores* I.2, p. 302: 'vel a se vel ab aliis aedificatas ecclesias amplissimis donis ditaverunt'.

[76] Bonizo, *Liber ad amicum* II, pp. 573–4: 'Christi nominis maximus propagator, almę novę Romę fundator, basilicarum precipuus fabricator'. Bruno of Segni, *In Isaiam* LX.10, ed. Amelli (1897), p. 181.

[77] Kitzinger (1972), p. 98.   [78] Paatz (1941); Horn (1943).

[79] Nicholas II, JL 4429, *PL* 143, cols. 1334D–1336C.

[80] Bloch (1986), I, pp. 137–66, 487–94, and (1971), pp. 267–81.

and 'spent a large sum of money on [ancient] columns, bases, epistyles and marbles of various colours in great numbers'.[81] The resultant basilica, completed in 1071, influenced the architecture and decoration of churches in southern Italy (notably S. Angelo in Formis near Capua, S. Mennas and S. Agata de' Goti in the province of Benevento and S. Vincenzo al Volturno) and also in Rome.[82] Cassinese influence has likewise been detected in the great abbey church built between 1088 and 1109 by Abbot Hugh I ('the Great'), who had visited Monte Cassino in 1083.[83] The spirit of the 'early Christian revival' is equally apparent in the early twelfth-century Roman churches of S. Clemente, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Nicola in Carcere and S. Maria in Cosmedin. In particular their wall-paintings, carefully imitating fifth- and sixth-century models, illustrate the antiquarianism – the 'pédanterie archéologique'[84] – expected of artists by their reforming patrons. The most striking example of the use of a wall-painting to convey reforming ideas was that placed in the apse of the St Nicholas chapel of the Lateran in the 1130s. Here the seven reforming popes of the period 1061–1124 appear in the company of the popes of the golden age on whom they sought to model themselves, Sylvester I, Leo I and Gregory I. The design is dominated by a representation of the coronation of the Virgin Mary, copied from an early medieval icon in S. Maria in Trastevere.[85]

The 'early Christian revival in architecture and art' is a reminder of how literally the reformers interpreted their task of restoring the age of 'the most Christian emperors'. An equally important aspect of the 'Gregorian reform' was the restoration of the wealth of the church. According to Gregorian historiography, the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries were the age in which the church was at its wealthiest. After the cessation of the persecution of Christianity in the reign of Constantine 'the multitude of the faithful began to endow the churches of God with a great abundance of possessions'. At first the laws of the Catholic emperors protected this property from the avarice of the laity; but when the Catholic emperors were no more, ecclesiastical property was at the mercy of simoniacs and secular authorities claiming the right of investiture. According to the canonist Cardinal Deusdedit, ecclesiastical reform meant 'that the clerk

[81] *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* III.27, *MGH SS* XXXIV, p. 396: 'Legatos interea Constantinopolim ad locandos artifices destinat peritos utique in arte musiaria et quadrataria . . . quoniam artium istarum ingenium a quingentis et ultra iam annis magistra Latinitas intermiserat.' III.26, p. 394: 'larga manu pecunias oportune dispensans columnas, bases ac lilia nec non et diversorum colorum marmora abundanter coemit'. See Esch (1969), pp. 21–2.

[82] Bloch (1986), I, pp. 49–51, 61–5, 231–4.

[83] Conant (1968), pp. 16, 73 n. 8; Conant and Willard (1971).

[84] Toubert (1970) (for the term 'pédanterie archéologique' see p. 105), and (1976).

[85] The painting was commissioned by Anacletus II and is known only from copies made in the early modern period: Ladner (1941), pp. 192–218; Walter (1971); Bloch (1986), II, pp. 965–6 (and fig. 288).

must be nourished and honoured by secular men, not defamed or judged or persecuted'. The laity must provide the clergy with the necessities of life and the means to conduct Christian worship.[86] This was especially the duty of the king or emperor: as 'head of the laymen', wrote Gregory VII, he must 'increase and defend the property of the churches'.[87]

The model of correct imperial conduct was once again Constantine I. The 'Donation of Constantine' (the *Constitutum Constantini*, forged in the later eighth or early ninth century) had conferred on the Roman church, among various imperial rights, the territories usually known as 'the Patrimony of St Peter': that is, Roman Tuscany, Sabina, the county of Tivoli, the Roman Campagna and the Maritime Province. Gregory VII fought energetically to maintain control of the papal patrimony: 'the faithful servant and careful steward of ecclesiastical property commanded all cities, villages, towns and castles to be defended, he arranged for all properties to be guarded and he strove to recover what had been lost or seized by violence'.[88] While Gregory VII sought to recover (*recuperare*) the lands granted by the 'Donation' in the neighbourhood of Rome, Urban II in 1091 cited other clauses of the spurious donation in an attempt to 'regain' the islands of Lipari and Corsica for the papacy. 'It is certain that by the privilege of the religious Emperor Constantine all western islands – especially those situated near the coast of Italy – were surrendered to the proprietorship of St Peter and his successors.'[89] A consistent objective of the reform papacy from its earliest days had been 'to recover the patrimonies in the territories under [Byzantine] rule':[90] that is, the rich papal possessions in southern Italy and Sicily which were confiscated by the Byzantine emperor during the iconoclastic dispute in the early eighth century. The reform papacy had not forgotten that (as Paschal II wrote in 1107) 'before the invasion of the Saracens the island of Sicily was so closely linked with the Roman church that the Roman pontiffs always had guardians of their patrimonies and

---

[86] Deusdedit, *Libellus contra invasores* I.2, pp. 301–2: 'fidelium multitudo Dei ecclesias amplissimis possessionibus ditare coepit'; I.1, p. 300: 'quod clerus a saecularibus pasci debet atque honorari, non infamari vel iudicari aut persequi'. Cf. III.3, pp. 343–4.

[87] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.20, p. 33: 'qui laicorum est caput ... res ecclesiarum augmentare et defendere'.

[88] Wido of Ferrara, *De scismate Hildebrandi* I.2, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 534: 'rerum ecclesiasticarum fidelis minister et providus dispensator civitates omnes et vicos, municipia et castella custodiri mandavit, habita servari constituit, amissa vero et violenter ablata recuperari sategit'.

[89] Urban II, JL 5448, *PL* 151, col. 329C: 'constat profecto quia religiosi imperatoris Constantini privilegio in ius proprium beato Petro eiusque successoribus occidentales omnes insulae condonatae sunt, maxime quae circa Italiae oram habentur' (Lipari). Cf. JL 5449, *PL*, 151, cols. 330D–331A (Corsica). The reference is to *Constitutum Constantini* 13, 17, *MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui* 10, 86, 94. See Laehr (1926), p. 34.

[90] Leo IX, JL 4333, ed. in Will (1861), p. 88: 'patrimonia recuperanda in tuae ditionis partibus'. See Deér (1972), pp. 81–4.

representatives of their authority on [the island]'.[91] It was for this reason that the Norman conquest of southern Italy and Sicily and the creation of a feudal bond between the Normans and the papacy (1059) were so momentous for the reform papacy: these events seemed to portend the restoration of the great wealth which had been lost by the Roman church in 733.

The way in which the Gregorian idea of the reform of the church involved a preoccupation with the church's wealth is best illustrated by the canon law collections compiled by adherents of Gregory VII. The canonical collections which pre-dated the papal reform had, of course, included canons on the subject of ecclesiastical property; and the most influential of these works, the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms (compiled at the beginning of the eleventh century), had stated the fundamental principle that the church's possessions were offerings to God and therefore sacred and inviolable.[92] However, the collections compiled by the supporters of the Gregorian papacy from the 1080s onwards gave a different emphasis to the subject: first, they gave detailed attention to the proprietary rights of the Roman church; and second, they denied the emperor and the rest of the laity any right in the administration of the property of any church. Both Bishop Anselm II of Lucca and Cardinal Deusdedit included in their canonical collections a series of imperial privileges augmenting or confirming the territorial possessions of the Roman church, beginning with the *Constitutum Constantini*. The obvious parallels between these two series of documents have suggested that the two canonists had a common source, a 'privilege collection' compiled in Rome before 1083 at the instigation of Gregory VII. The novel concern of the 'Gregorian' canonists with the possessions of the Roman church, therefore, may well have been inspired by Gregory himself.[93]

Of the canonical collections of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, Deusdedit's collection (completed in 1087) provides the most detailed account both of the possessions of the papacy and of the economic problems of the church.[94] Book III includes a list of the properties and revenues of the Roman church and must count as the earliest of the attempts to draw up a register of papal financial claims (culminating in the *Liber Censuum* of 1192). Book III also states the principle that the pope was the supreme administrator of the property of all the churches, just as he was the supreme guarantor of their

[91] Paschal II, JL 6562, *PL* 163, col. 425D: 'Ante Sarracenorum invasionem Siciliae insula Romanae ecclesiae adeo familiaris fuit, ut semper in ea Romani pontifices et patrimoniorum suorum curatores et suae vicis repraesentatores habuerint.'

[92] Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* III.15, p. 129; XI.7, *PL* 140, cols. 676AB, 698D, 860B.

[93] Sickel (1883), p. 77; Fuhrmann (1972–4), II, pp. 517–18, 524.

[94] Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum*, ed. Wolf von Glanvell (1905): III. 1, 8, 14–15, 21–2, 36, 73 (pope and bishops as administrators); III.8, 10, 12–19, 21, 23–7, 29, 30, 32–6, 39, 40–53, 55–9, 61, 99, 125, 167, 171 (alienation); III.10, 15, 17, 41, 46 (poor and captives); III.59–65, 179–83 (tithes); III. 111–13, 128–9, 150, 177–8 (lay benefactors). See the analyses of Zema (1941–2), pp. 27–37; Gilchrist (1972), p. 403.

privileges, although the ordinary administration of ecclesiastical property was in the hands of the bishops. The alienation of church property, whether by gift, sale or lease, was a crime; and the usurpation of the possessions of the church was sacrilege, tantamount to 'selling the blood of the Saviour'. Only the relief of the poor and the ransoming of Christian prisoners could justify a bishop in selling the treasures of his church, after consultation with the clergy. (This was the canonical principle cited by the cardinals against Gregory VII, when in May 1082 he proposed to mortgage the property of the Roman church to pay for the defence of Rome against Henry IV.)[95] The laity's role in the economic life of the church was solely that of benefactors and protectors. Laymen must pay tithes to the church of their baptism: to withhold, usurp or traffic in tithes was punishable by excommunication. Laymen who founded or endowed churches must realise that their benefaction was an irrevocable gift. They must surrender to the bishop all rights over the donated property: all that remained to the benefactor was the right to attend divine service. The canonical materials in Deusdedit's collection served to justify the current conciliar legislation on the subject of proprietary churches. The reform papacy challenged the assumption inherited from the Carolingian period, that churches could belong simultaneously to two separate jurisdictions: that of a lay proprietor as well as that of the diocesan bishop. Gregory VII's Roman synod of autumn 1078, for example, 'announced to laymen how dangerous it was for their souls if they hold tithes and possess churches'.[96] The synodal legislation of Urban II specified that 'no altars, no tithes, no church at all should remain in the hands of laymen', on pain of excommunication.[97] The effect of such prohibitions on the consciences of the devout secular aristocracy can be estimated by the growing number of proprietary churches which were donated to monasteries in the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the abbeys of Cluny and Monte Cassino attracting many such donations from lay benefactors.[98]

 The third and fourth books of Deusdedit's canonical collection are above all concerned with threats to the independence of ecclesiastical property. As the author explained in his prologue: 'the church cannot exist without clergy nor the clergy without property, by which it subsists in its temporal state . . . Because the power of this world seeks to subject to itself the church of God,

---

[95] Zafarana (1966b), pp. 399–403.

[96] Gregory VII, *Registrum* VI.5b, p. 402: 'Ut annuntietur laicis, cum quanto periculo animę suę decimas detinent et ecclesias possident.' On the subject of proprietary churches (*Eigenkirchen*) see Tellenbach (1988), pp. 73–6, 225–30, with full bibliography.

[97] Urban II, council of Clermont (1095), in Somerville (1972), p. 109 (version of Florence, Codex Laurentianus XVI.15, c. 12): 'Nulla altaria, nulle decime, nulle prorsus ecclesie remaneant in manibus laicorum.' (For other versions of this canon see pp. 78, 115.)

[98] Schreiber (1948), pp. 81–138; Tellenbach (1975), pp. 396–7; Dormeier (1979), pp. 27–106.

[the Church's] freedom and that of her clergy and her property is clearly demonstrated in the third and especially the fourth book.'[99] To Deusdedit it seemed that the 726 documents in these two books – concerning the possessions and revenues of the churches and the correct way to administer them – comprised a record of the 'freedom of the church' (*libertas ecclesiae*) for which the reform papacy was striving. The church had flourished between the fourth and sixth centuries not only because it had been magnificently endowed with property but also because 'the Christian emperors decreed that the property of the church should be free'. This was the rubric which Deusdedit gave to his extract from Justinian's *Institutes* II. 1, c. 7: 'sacred and religious property belongs to no man. For what belongs to divine law is not part of the possessions of any man.' Both in his canonical collection and in his polemic *Against intruders and simoniacs and other schismatics* (1097) Deusdedit laid particular emphasis on the legislation of the emperors Valentinian, Arcadius, Theodosius, Honorius and Justinian which freed ecclesiastical property from all secular impositions and jurisdiction. The Catholic emperors had granted the church immunity from every kind of secular interference; but their unworthy successors introduced new and illegal impositions. They strove 'to impose on [the church] such pastors as they pleased, either by simony or free of charge, and to transfer [the church's] possessions to their own jurisdiction or to that of whomsoever they please'. Only when simony and investiture were eradicated could the churches enjoy true independence, in the shape of full control of their own property. 'This is the honour, this the freedom of holy church: namely, that her clergy and people choose their own bishop.'[100]

By the time that Deusdedit composed this polemic, the debate about 'the freedom of the church' had come to focus on the issue of whether the office of bishop and the property of a bishopric comprised a single, indivisible unit. It was an issue as old as the papal reform movement itself. In the 1050s the reformers had been faced with churchmen who answered accusations of

[99] Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum*, ed. Wolf von Glanvell (1905): *prologus*, pp. 2–3: 'ecclesia sine clero suo esse non potest nec clerus absque rebus, quibus temporaliter subsistat . . . Quia vero seculi potestas dei ecclesiam sibi subiugare nititur, libertas ipsius et cleri et rerum eius tertio et maxime IIII libro evidenter ostenditur.'

[100] Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum* IV.279: 'Quod christiani imperatores res ecclesię liberas esse statuerunt', commenting on *Corpus iuris civilis, Institutiones* II.1, cc. 7–10, 'Nullius autem sunt res sacrae et religiosae. Quod enim divini iuris est, id nullius in bonis est' (cf. Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum* V.55). Deusdedit, *Libellus contra invasores et symoniacos, prologus, MGH Libelli* II, p. 300: 'ut ei pro suo libitu vel prece vel precio vel gratis liceat pastores inponere, eiusque possessiones vel in sua vel in cuius libuerit iura transferre'; imperial legislation: III.10–12, IV.7, pp. 350–3, 360; I.16, pp. 315–16: 'hunc esse honorem, hanc esse libertatem sanctae ecclesiae: clerum scilicet eiusdem populumque sibimet pontificem eligere'. On Deusdedit and 'libertas ecclesiae' see Szabó-Bechstein (1985), pp. 199–201.

simony with the defence that, although money had indeed changed hands, they had paid not for the ecclesiastical office itself but for the material possessions attached to that office.[101] Cardinal Humbert had responded to this argument with a vigorous defence of the unity of the office and the property which supported it. 'The episcopal dignity contains the property consecrated to God and is also contained by [the property], or rather in it, as something which is itself consecrated by God.' Peter Damian similarly denounced as 'schismatical and sacrilegious' this attempt to 'divide the property of the church from the church'.[102] The most influential refutation of the simoniacs' defence in this period was a polemic against simony which circulated under the name of Pope Paschal I, but which was evidently the work of an eleventh-century reformer.[103] The authority of 'the blessed Pope Paschal' was cited, for example, by Urban II and Cardinal Deusdedit, by the pro-papal polemicists Bernard of Hildesheim and Placidus of Nonantola and by the canonist Ivo of Chartres, in defence of the principle that an ecclesiastical office and the property attached to it constituted a single entity.[104]

In the later eleventh century the opponents of the reform papacy began to use the theory of a distinction between the spiritual functions of a cleric and the material possessions of his church in order to defend not simony but the royal right of investiture. The earliest extant presentation of this defence is found in the passage of Wido of Ferrara's polemic *On the Schism of Hildebrand* (1086), in which the author questioned the legality of Gregory VII's investiture decrees.

Two jurisdictions are granted to all bishops, one of which is spiritual and divine, the other is secular; one belongs to heaven, the other relates to public affairs. For all things that belong to a bishop's office are spiritual, are divine, because . . . they are conferred by the Holy Spirit. But the secular rights and all the things which were conferred on churches by the princes of this world and by secular men – such as manors and estates and all royal rights (*regalia*) – although they pass under divine jurisdiction, are nevertheless known as *secularia*, having been conferred by secular men. It is agreed that those divine things granted by the Holy Spirit are not subject to imperial power. But

---

[101] E.g. the anonymous treatise printed by Hellmann (1904), pp. 27–8 (no. 3), dated after 1072 by Hoffmann (1959), p. 396 n. 14. See Benson (1968), pp. 204–17.

[102] Humbert, *Adversus simoniacos* III.2, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 200: 'Continet autem episcopalis dignitas res Deo sacratas, continetur quoque ab eis, immo in eis, utputa et ipsa a Deo consecrata.' *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani* 14, p. 482: 'Quod si bona aecclesiae suscepisti, scismaticus es atque sacrilegus, qui bona aecclesiae ab aecclesia dividis.'

[103] The *epistola* is edited as the work of Wido of Arezzo (*c.* 1030) in *MGH Libelli* I, pp. 5–7, on the authority of Bernold of Constance, *De sacramentis excommunicatorum, MGH Libelli* II, p. 92. New edition: Gilchrist (1981), pp. 576–604. See also Gilchrist (1980), pp. 49–58.

[104] Urban II, JL 5743, *PL* 151, col. 530C; Deusdedit, *Libellus contra invasores et symoniacos* II.2, p. 318; Bernard of Hildesheim, *De damnatione scismaticorum* II, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 42; Placidus of Nonantola, *Liber de honore ecclesiae* 82, 101, *ibid.*, pp. 605, 618; Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum* II.84, *Panormia* III.123, *PL* 161, cols. 179C–181A, 1156D–1157A.

those things which were granted by the emperors – because they are not the permanent possessions of the church by perpetual right, unless they are regranted by succeeding emperors and kings – are certainly said to be subject in some measure to kings and emperors; because unless they have been confirmed to the churches by successive emperors and kings, they revert to imperial jurisdiction . . . Hence it was conceded to emperors that they should possess the investitures of churches: I do not mean of sacred edifices and altars, which do not belong to them, but of ecclesiastical property.[105]

This became the central argument of the early twelfth-century polemics defending the imperial right of investiture. An anonymous monk of Farfa, for example, in a polemic defending the rights of Henry V (the *Orthodox Imperial Defence* of 1111) wrote that when emperors performed investiture with staff and ring, they conferred 'not the office of holy prelacy, not the spiritual ministry, not the consecration of churches and clerks, no divine sacrament of any kind, but rather the defence of [the bishop's] office, the confirmation of secular property, the temporal and corporeal possessions and of all the goods in the jurisdiction of the church'.[106] This distinction between the spiritual and the temporal aspects of the episcopal office was also made by polemicists in France. Hugh de Sancta Maria, monk of Fleury, made the distinction in the *Treatise concerning the Royal Power and the Priestly Dignity* which he addressed to King Henry I of England (between 1102 and 1104): the bishop receives 'the investiture of secular property' from the king and 'the cure of souls from his archbishop.'[107] The argument recurs in one of the polemical

[105] Wido of Ferrara, *De scismate Hildebrandi* II, pp. 564–5: 'Duo siquidem iura conceduntur episcopis omnibus, spirituale vel divinum unum, aliud seculare; et aliud quidem caeli, aliud vero fori. Nam omnia quae sunt episcopalis officii spiritualia sunt, divina sunt, quia . . . a sancto Spiritu conceduntur. At vero iudicia secularia et omnia, quae a mundi principibus et secularibus hominibus aecclesiis conceduntur, sicut sunt curtes et praedia omniaque regalia, licet in ius divinum transeant, dicuntur tamen secularia, quasi a secularibus concessa. Itaque divina illa a sancto Spiritu tradita imperatoriae potestati constat non esse subiecta. Quae vero sunt ab imperatoribus tradita, quia non sunt aecclesiis perpetuo iure manentia, nisi succedentium imperatorum et regum fuerint iteratione concessa, dicuntur profecto quodammodo regibus et imperatoribus subdita, quia nisi per succedentes imperatores et reges fuerint aecclesiis confirmata, revertuntur ad imperialia iura . . . Unde . . . est . . . imperatoribus concessum, ut aecclesiarum investituras habeant, non dico parietum sacrorum et altarium, quae non sunt eorum, sed aecclesiasticarum rerum.' On Wido's defence of investitures see Scharnagl (1908), pp. 48–53; Benson (1968), pp. 225–8.

[106] *Orthodoxa defensio imperialis* 5, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 538: 'non munus praelacionis sanctae, non ministerium spirituale, non ecclesiarum vel clericorum consecrationes, nec aliquod divinum sacramentum, sed potius sui defensionem tribuunt officii, secularium rerum seu temporalium atque corporalium possessionum omniumque eclesiae eiusdem bonorum iuris confirmationem'. This work is sometimes attributed to Gregory of Catino; but see Scharnagl (1908), pp. 101–3; Heinzelmann (1904), p. 113.

[107] Hugh of Fleury, *Tractatus de regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate* I.5, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 472: 'investituram rerum secularium electus antistes debet suscipere et . . . animarum curam ab archiepiscopo suo'. See Scharnagl (1908), pp. 90–3; Cantor (1958), pp. 226–34; Benson (1968), pp. 241–2.

treatises found in the famous codex Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 415 (the codex of the so-called 'Anonymous of York'). The king 'confers neither orders nor the rights of the priesthood on [the bishop], but what belongs to his jurisdiction and to the earthly kingship, namely the lordship of property and the guardianship of the church and the power of ruling the people of God'.[108]

Such a defence of investiture carried the obvious implication that the property of a church was a feudal tenure, held at the pleasure of the secular ruler. We have seen that Wido of Ferrara claimed that ecclesiastical properties were 'not the permanent possessions of the church by perpetual right unless they are regranted by succeeding emperors and kings'. Sigebert of Gembloux likewise gave a feudal interpretation to ecclesiastical property-holding. Bishops swear fealty when they receive their temporalities (*regalia*), he wrote in 1103. They 'are to consider themselves bound to the kings and emperors from whom they have received temporalities, lest [the secular rulers] cut them off with their special sword: that is, [deprive them of] their benefices'.[109] The *Treatise concerning the Investiture of Bishops* (which was perhaps also the work of Sigebert) presents the feudal argument even more emphatically. Since secular rulers have delegated to bishops so much property and so many governmental responsibilities, 'it is fitting and logical that the king, who is unique among the people and the head of the people, should invest and enthrone a bishop and, so as to secure himself against the attacks of enemies, that he should know to whom he entrusts his territory'.[110] This feudal argument was the target of the papal legislation against investiture in the pontificates of Urban II, Paschal II and Calixtus II. Urban II's council of Clermont (1095) issued a prohibition not only of investiture but also of the performance to the secular ruler of homage by bishops and abbots, so that the church would 'be free from every worldly power'.[111] Paschal II reported the legislation of his Roman council of March 1102 in language which repudiated the distinction between ecclesiastical office and property. The conciliar decree

---

[108] Anonymous of York, *De consecratione pontificum et regum, MGH Libelli*, III, p. 667 and ed. Pellens (1966), p. 135 (Text J24/11): 'neque ordinem, neque ius sacerdotii confert illi, sed quod sui iuris est et regni terręnarum, videlicet rerum dominationem et tutelam ęcclesię, et potestatem regendi populum Dei'. On the character of these polemics see Hartmann (1975), with a discussion of earlier literature.

[109] Sigebert, *Epistola Leodicensium 7, MGH Libelli* II, p. 459: 'episcopi regibus et imperatoribus obnoxii ex eorum regalibus acceptis; ne proprio gladio, id est eorum beneficiis, eos interficiant'.

[110] *Tractatus de investitura episcoporum, MGH Libelli* II, p. 502 and ed. Krimm-Beumann (1977), p. 79: 'congruum fuit et consequens, ut rex, qui est unus in populo et caput populi, investiat et intronizet episcopum et contra irruptionem hostium sciat, cui civitatem suam credat'. See Servatius (1979), pp. 228–30.

[111] Urban II, council of Clermont (1095) in Somerville (1972), p. 90: 'libera ab omni saeculari potestate'. The council permitted a priest to hold a fief from a layman, provided that the fief was not ecclesiastical property. See Minninger (1978), p. 84.

forbade 'any clerk to do homage to a layman and to receive from the hands of a layman either churches or ecclesiastical property. For this is the root of simoniacal wickedness.' His Roman council of 1110 decreed that 'any prince or other layman who claims for himself the disposal or donation of ecclesiastical property or possessions is to be judged sacrilegious'.[112]

The arguments of the apologists of Henry IV and Henry V did not, however, elicit a single, agreed response from the papal party. One response was the reiteration of the argument used by the reformers of the 1050s against the simoniacs, that a church's possessions were sacred and inalienable. So Bishop Ranger of Lucca in his metrical *Book of the Ring and the Staff* (1110) ridiculed the idea that a churchman had no claim to the property of his church unless he received investiture from the secular ruler, and refuted the imperialists' analogy between ecclesiastical property and feudal tenure. 'If any king grants castles and lands to a church, he also grants them to the Lord. If he then requires service, he is seeking to subject Christ to himself.'[113] But for other reformers the logic of the distinction between the sacred office and the material possessions proved difficult to resist. The most famous example is that of the canonist Bishop Ivo of Chartres, who argued in 1097 that when they conferred investitures, 'kings do not maintain that they give anything spiritual' but rather 'grant the elect ecclesiastical estates and other material possessions which the churches obtain from the munificence of kings'.[114] Ivo of Chartres was no 'Gregorian' in the sense of an uncritical supporter of the measures of Gregory VII, but he was certainly a reform-minded intellectual of distinguished reputation. ('No man in France in his days was more learned or better versed in divinity nor more catholic in faith and doctrine than he', wrote an English historian in 1127.[115])

What prompted Ivo to accept the distinction between office and property was his discovery of a passage in Augustine's commentary on St John's Gospel: the statement that the material possessions of a church were held according

---

[112] Paschal II, JL 5908, *PL* 163, col. 91B: 'interdicentes, ne quis omnino clericus hominum faciat laico aut de manu laici ecclesias aut ecclesiastica bona suscipiat. Hoc est enim simoniacae pravitatis radix.' Roman council, 7 March 1110, *MGH Constitutiones* I, p. 568: 'Si quis ergo principum vel aliorum laicorum disposicionem seu donationem rerum sive possessionem aecclesiasticarum sibi vendicaverit, ut sacrilegus iudicetur.'

[113] Ranger of Lucca, *Liber de anulo et baculo*, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 527: 'si rex aliquis castella vel agros/Contulit aecclesiae, contulit et Domino./Si vult servitium, Christum sibi subdere querit.' See Scharnagl (1908), pp. 97–9; Servatius (1979), pp. 221–3.

[114] Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola ad Hugonem archiepiscopum Lugdunensem*, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 645: 'reges nichil spirituale se dare intendant, sed tantum . . . villas ecclesiasticas et alia bona exteriora, quae de munificentia regum optinent aecclesiae, ipsis electis concedere.'

[115] Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066–1127*, ed. and trans. Johnson (1961), p. 14: 'venerabilem Ivonem Carnotensem episcopum, quo nec alter in Gallis tempore suo melius in divinis eruditus et exercitatus nec fide et doctrina magis catholicus extitit'.

to 'human law' (*ius humanum*), not according to 'divine law' (*ius divinum*), and that 'human law' was embodied in 'the laws of kings' (*leges regum*).[116] If kings were indeed the sole guarantors of ecclesiastical property, it seemed to Ivo impossible to escape the logic of their claim to invest churchmen with that property. How persuasive was Ivo's argument and how compelling his Augustinian authority appears from its adoption by his diocesan, the influential Abbot Godfrey of Vendôme. A passionate Gregorian and a trusted confidant of Urban II (who may have promoted him to the cardinalate) and also of Paschal II and Calixtus II, Godfrey was nevertheless converted, albeit reluctantly, to the 'théorie chartraine'. He wrote that 'neither in the laws nor in the canons' was there any authority for lay investiture, and that kings no longer had the disposal of property, once it was given to the church. But having stated these Gregorian principles, Godfrey changed tack. Citing Ivo's Augustinian authority, he conceded that kings could invest bishops with their property, provided that the symbols of ring and staff were not used, because 'a church would have no possessions unless they were donated to her by kings'.[117] Ivo of Chartres has sometimes been credited by historians with having provided a solution to the problem of investiture. This, however, was not his purpose: all that he attempted in 1097 was to make the imperialist argument more acceptable to Gregorians by giving it Augustinian backing.[118]

No polemicist of our period tackled the fundamental problem posed by the investiture debate: namely the conflicting views of the nature of church property presented in the imperialist and papalist literature. According to the imperialists' view of 'ancient custom', on which Ivo of Chartres conferred patristic respectability, church property was subject to 'the laws of kings' and could be regarded as quasi-feudal in character. According to the view of Humbert and Peter Damian, stated more recently in the canonical collections of Anselm of Lucca and Cardinal Deusdedit – whose opinion was based above all on the legislation of the 'Catholic emperors' – church property was subject only to divine law and 'what belongs to divine law is not part of the possessions of any man'.[119] The only attempt to resolve this contradiction during the Investiture

---

[116] Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* VI.26, CCSL 36, pp. 66–7. See Hoffmann (1959), pp. 406–9.

[117] Godfrey of Vendôme, *Libellus* IV, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 691: 'Non enim possessiones haberet aecclesia, nisi sibi a regibus donarentur.' See Becker (1955), pp. 153–7; Hoffmann (1959), pp. 416–17. For the possibility that he was cardinal priest of S. Prisca see Hüls (1977), pp. 198–9.

[118] Hoffmann (1959), pp. 393–4, 405–17, presents a critical assessment of the literature concerning Ivo. See also Becker (1955), pp. 143–51; Cantor (1958), pp. 202–16; Sprandel (1962), pp. 163–8.

[119] *Corpus iuris civilis, Institutiones* II.1, c. 7: see above note 100. Ivo of Chartres himself knew this text (*Epistolae* III, 184, *PL* 162, cols. 129D, 185B), but he did not comment on the fact that it contradicted his Augustinian authority.

Contest was that of Paschal II and his advisers, notably the chancellor, John of Gaeta (the future Pope Gelasius II), in the agreement of S. Maria in Turri (4 February 1111). This was the papal attempt to reach agreement on the issue of investiture with Henry V on the latter's arrival in Rome for the imperial corona- tion. The novelty of the proposed agreement was that it distinguished between two sorts of ecclesiastical property: *regalia* and *ecclesiastica*. *Regalia* were 'cities, duchies, marches, counties, mints, tolls, markets, advowries belonging to the kingdom . . . together with their property, knight-service and castles belonging to the kingdom'. *Ecclesiastica* were 'the offerings and hereditary possessions which manifestly did not belong to the kingdom'. The pope proposed that bishops should renounce all *regalia* so that the emperor would no longer have any motive for controlling episcopal appointments; in his turn the emperor should renounce investiture and guarantee the freedom of the *ecclesiastica*.[120] By distinguishing the 'hereditary possessions' of the church from the feudal property held by churchmen, the *regalia*, the agreement of S. Maria in Turri reconciled the Gregorian canonists' principle that ecclesiastical property is sub- ject only to divine law with the imperialist theory (and the 'théorie chartraine') that churches hold possessions from kings which remain subject to 'the laws of kings'.

Paschal II's attempt at compromise was rejected by Henry V, who proceeded to kidnap the pope and his advisers and to extort from his captives a privilege acknowledging the imperial right of investiture with ring and staff. The issuing of this *pravilegium* ('evil privilege') of 12/13 April 1111[121] and the subsequent decade of inconclusive negotiations between pope and emperor inspired a series of polemics restating the Gregorian view of ecclesiastical property. The most learned of these was the *Book concerning the Honour of the Church* of the monk Placidus of Nonantola. Placidus attacked the imperialist view, that 'no one can have an ecclesiastical office and the earthly possessions of a church without investiture'; but he also denounced the distinction between *regalia* and *ecclesiastica* which Paschal II had made in the agreement of S. Maria in Turri.

---

[120] Treaty of S. Maria in Turri, *MGH Constitutiones* I, pp. 137–8: 'ecclesias . . . cum oblationibus et pos- sessionibus quae ad regnum manifeste non pertinebant . . . civitates, ducatus, marchias, comitatus, monetas, teloneum, mercatum, advocatias regni . . . quae manifeste regni erant, cum pertinentiis suis, militiam et castra regni'. See Wilks (1971), with a discussion of the earlier literature; Fried (1973), pp. 466–83; Blumenthal (1977); Servatius (1979), pp. 238–41, 264–78. Hoffmann (1959), pp. 399–400, traces two earlier references to this distinction between *regalia* and other church property in south-west Germany in the late eleventh century: Berthold of Reichenau, *Annales*, 1078, *MGH SS*, V, p. 310; Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber ad Gebehardum* 50, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 399.

[121] *Pravilegium*: Treaty of Ponte Mammolo, *MGH Constitutiones* I, pp. 144–5. See Servatius (1979), pp. 241–52.

There are some who say that churches possess only tithes, first-fruits and offerings: that is, only in movable goods. For non-movable goods, namely castles, estates and fields, do not belong to [a church] unless the pastor receives them from the hand of the emperor. That they who say this are wrong we have already demonstrated in many ways and with various statements of the saints.

Placidus applied both to *ecclesiastica* and *regalia* the principle which the Gregorian canonists had derived from the legislation of the 'Catholic emperors'. 'What is once given to the church belongs in perpetuity to Christ and it can in no way be alienated from the possession of the church.'[122] One of the most outspoken critics of Paschal II's surrender to imperial pressure in April 1111 was Archbishop Guido of Vienne. After he became pope, as Calixtus II, his conciliar legislation conveyed a view of the nature of ecclesiastical property similar to that of Placidus and Cardinal Deusdedit. 'We decree that all the possessions of the churches, which were granted to them by the generosity of kings, the gift of princes and the offering of the faithful, shall remain undisturbed and inviolate in perpetuity.' A secular ruler who tried 'by tyrannical power' to treat such lands in a feudal manner was perpetually anathema.[123]

When, however, Calixtus finally made peace with Henry V (at the second attempt) in the Concordat of Worms (23 September 1122), this settlement owed more to the 'théorie chartraine' than to the principles stated by the Gregorian canonists. The emperor renounced investiture with ring and staff, in return for a papal concession that the elections of German bishops and abbots should take place, 'without simony or any violence', in the emperor's presence. The emperor could then confer the *regalia* on the elect with a touch of his sceptre: a secular ceremony of investiture replaced the ecclesiastical ceremony. The pope also conceded that the elect 'shall perform what he owes to [the emperor] by right in respect of [the *regalia*]'. Calixtus avoided here the hated term 'homage' but there is no doubt that he was now lifting the prohibition on homage which the papacy had imposed since 1095. The Concordat of Worms abandoned the Gregorian principle that the *regalia* were part of the ecclesiastical property

---

[122] Placidus, *Liber de honore ecclesiae* 85, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 610: 'ut nemo sine investitura praesulatum aecclesiasticum et terrenas res aecclesiae habere praevaleat' (so also c. 151, p. 634); c. 43, p. 587: 'Sunt autem qui dicant aecclesiis non competere nisi decimas, primitias et oblationes, in mobilibus tantum scilicet rebus. Nam immobilia, videlicet castra, villae vel rura ei non pertinent, nisi de manu imperatoris pastor susceperit. Quod male eos dicere multis modis et diversis sanctorum sententiis supra docuimus'; c. 7, p. 577: 'Quod semel aecclesiae datum est in perpetuum Christi est, nec aliquo modo alienari a possessione aecclesiae potest' (see also c. 56, p. 591). See Scharnagl (1908), pp. 103–10; Benson (1968), pp. 247–50; Servatius (1979), pp. 285, 293.

[123] Council of Rheims (1119): Hesso of Strasbourg, *Relatio de concilio Remensi, MGH Libelli* III, p. 27: 'Universas aecclesiarum possessiones, quae liberalitate regum, largitione principum vel oblatione quorumlibet fidelium eis concessae sunt, inconcussas in perpetuum et inviolatas permanere decernimus.'

belonging 'in perpetuity to Christ' and admitted the feudal character of the *regalia*.[124] It was for this reason that the concordat aroused fierce opposition in the First Lateran Council of 1123, 'many shouting out repeatedly *non placet, non placet!*'. Calixtus 'was able with difficulty to appease [his critics] by explaining that in order to restore peace it was necessary not to approve but to tolerate [the concordat]'.[125] The papal concessions were made to Henry V alone and not to his successors: they were only a temporary expedient to be renegotiated on the emperor's death. The Investiture Contest ended in an opportunistic peace, Calixtus seizing the chance of the emperor's political weakness in Germany to bring an end to the damaging conflict. That peace, however, fulfilled none of the aspirations of the papal party except the abolition of the ceremony of lay investiture with ring and staff.

In the period from the promulgation of Gregory VII's investiture decrees until the Concordat of Worms the conflict between the papal and imperial parties came to be dominated by the subject of ecclesiastical property and especially of the *regalia* held by the imperial bishops. Already in the twelfth century contemporaries who had seen that conflict laid to rest at the First Lateran Council began to call it 'the Investiture Contest'.[126] The label is a useful and accurate one. In the opinion of the papal party, the church could only be 'reformed' – that is, restored to its pristine liberty – if the secular ruler was deprived of the right of investiture, so freeing churchmen and church property from all external controls. This was how Abbot William of Hirsau viewed the problem in the early 1080s. 'It is for this reason that the Christian religion has fluctuated for so long: that in the appointment of bishops either vain considerations of family connection have prevailed or abundance of riches has intervened. The spiritual quality of the candidates has never been taken into account.'[127] The theologian Bruno of Segni, writing in 1083, expressed the objectives of the papal reform in similar terms. 'Let elections be made in the church with such discretion that they are determined not by power and

---

[124] Concordat of Worms: Papal privilege, *MGH Constitutiones* I, p. 161: 'electiones . . . in praesentia tua fieri, absque simonia et aliqua violentia . . . Electus autem regalia per sceptrum a te recipiat et quae ex his iure tibi debet faciat.' See Benson (1968), pp. 228–32; Classen (1973), pp. 411–22, 453–60.

[125] Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Libelli de ordine donorum Sancti Spiritus*, *MGH Libelli* III, p. 280: 'fuit multorum reclamatio dicentium: "Non placet, non placet", quae vix potuerit mitigari causa reddita, quod propter pacem reformandam talia essent non approbanda, sed toleranda'.

[126] Suger of St Denis, *Vita Ludovici grossi regis* 27, ed. Waquet (1929), p. 214: 'querela investiturarum'; Gerhoch of Reichersberg, *Commentarius in Psalmum CXXXIII*, *MGH Libelli* III, p. 498: 'contentione investiture'. The earliest extant use of such a term seems to be that of William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum* v.435, RS 90/2, 508: 'investiturae controversia'. See Schieffer (1981), pp. 1–6.

[127] William of Hirsau: Hildesheimer Briefe 18 in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, p. 42: 'Per hoc enim vacillabat iam diu christiana religiositas, quia in constitutione episcoporum vel vana considerabatur nobilitas vel divitiarum irrumpebat copiositas, nullo modo spiritualium virorum admittebatur venerabilitas.'

nobility, not by gifts and promises, but rather let the people turn to the person who seems suitable in terms of religion and wisdom.'[128] This Gregorian ideal of the 'carrière ouverte aux talents' could be realised only if churchmen were freed from the feudal expectations of secular rulers and churches given economic and political independence. This was the crucial difference between the Gregorian idea of reform and that of the supporters of the emperor and of the antipope Wibert of Ravenna. For the imperialists there was no 'economic problem of the church': the integrity of ecclesiastical property, like the provision of suitable candidates for ecclesiastical office, was in the safe hands of the emperor, the principal guarantor of the reform movement. All that was necessary to ensure the reform of the church, thought the imperialist Benzo of Alba, was to exhort Henry IV to be 'very discerning in creating bishops'.[129] It is often forgotten that Henry IV learned to heed such advice. During the second half of his reign, in sharp contrast to the 1060s and 1070s, he appointed reform-minded bishops whose erudition and piety were acknowledged even by their papalist enemies.[130]

The most perceptive contemporary comment of the fundamental difference between the rival parties in the Investiture Contest was that of Bruno of Segni, writing from the unique vantage-point of cardinal bishop, abbot of Monte Cassino and confidant of Urban II and Paschal II. Bruno wrote in 1111 that the sole aim of Henry IV had been to secure control of 'investiture and ecclesiastical appointments' and that he had elevated Wibert as his antipope so that the latter could legalise his claim to invest bishops.

It was in this respect that they most differed from us. For in other ways they do not seem to have differed from us: they also condemned simoniacs and rejected other vices, as we did. But they wished for the servitude of the church, we sought her freedom . . . The issue between us was that – by no means small – of investiture. As we have already said, there was no quarrel between us and them about simoniacal heresy, since that heresy was equally condemned by us and by them. Moreover the king himself wished to give us his full guarantee that churches or ecclesiastical dignities would never be sold by his advice or with his consent, if we would only grant him investiture . . . We, however, replied with the canons and even with the ordinances of the emperors, according to which all the secular powers and all the laymen, however religious they may be, are barred from the ordering and administration of churches. For why do the Roman laws say that churches are the property of no one, unless we are to understand by this that

---

[128] Bruno of Segni, *In Isaiam* III.7, ed. Amelli (1897), p. 11: 'tanta cum discretione in Ecclesia electio fiet, ut non ad potentiam et nobilitatem, non ad munera et promissa, sed ad personam quae religione et sapientia idonea videatur totus populus convertatur'. For the date see Grégoire (1965), pp. 30–1.

[129] See above note 48.

[130] Fleckenstein (1968), pp. 235–6, and (1973), pp. 135–8.

holy church is to be ordered, administered and ruled, not by the secular powers nor by laymen, but by God alone and His vicars?'[131]

The conflict between empire and papacy was, therefore, in Bruno's view truly an 'Investiture Contest'. The crucial issue was whether the property of a church belonged to that church as an inalienable possession or whether after every vacancy the property had to be conferred on the new prelate by the secular ruler: the 'freedom of the church' versus 'servitude'. On other questions concerning reform the two parties were in agreement. For both were the heirs of the 'German papacy' of 1046–57 and of the subsequent 'Lotharingian-Burgundian popes' of 1057–73, whose legislation against simony and clerical marriage they restated and regarded as essential for the reform of the church. The election of Wibert as the antipope 'Clement III' was an attempt to restore the papal–imperial cooperation in ecclesiastical reform which had characterised the reign of Henry III. In 1105, in the penultimate year of his regin, Henry IV looked back nostalgically to 'the peace and harmony' which had existed between the empire and 'the Catholic men and pious Roman pontiffs' who had reigned until 1073: after that date the papacy had begun to persecute the empire 'out of hatred and anger rather than from zeal for righteousness'.[132] After 1073 the Gregorian papacy rejected the papal–imperial partnership as 'servitude' and began to fight against the empire for 'the freedom of the church'. The pontificate of Gregory VII was the turning point in the history of the reform movement, the moment at which 'papalists' and 'imperialists' diverged to form two rival reforming parties.

In the opinion of its opponents, the papal reform of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries was a 'Gregorian' reform: Gregory VII was responsible for the distinctive reforming measures which had led to confrontation with the

---

[131] Bruno of Segni, letter to the cardinals ed. Fransen (1972), pp. 529–30 (the complete text of *Epistola* 4, partially edited in *MGH Libelli* II, p. 565): 'hoc erat in quo ipsi a nobis maxime differebant. In aliis enim non multum a nobis differre videbantur. Dampnabant et ipsi simoniacos et alia vitia aspernabantur sicut et nos. Sed ipsi servitutem, nos ecclesie libertatem querebamus . . . Erat inter nos et illos de investitura questio non parva. De simoniaca namque heresi, ut iam superius diximus, nulla inter nos et illos questio erat, quoniam et a nobis et ab ipsis pariter illa heresis dampnabatur. Insuper et rex ipse plenam nobis securitatem facere volebat quod numquam suo consilio vel consensu ecclesie vel ecclesiastice dignitates venderentur, si sola investitura sibi a nobis concederetur . . . Nos econtra canones opponebamus et ipsas imperatorum constitutiones quibus ecclesiarum ordinatione et dispositione removentur omnes seculares potestates omnesque laici quamvis religiosi. Quare enim in Romanis legibus dicitur quod ecclesie in nullius bonis sunt, nisi ut nos intelligamus quia sancta ecclesia non a secularibus potestatibus neque a laicis hominibus, sed a solo Deo et vicariis eius ordinanda, disponenda et regenda sit?' The allusion is once again to Justinian, *Institutiones* II.1, c. 7 (see above notes 100 and 119).

[132] Henry IV, *Epistola* 34, *MGH Deutsches Mittelalter* I, p. 43: 'pax . . . et concordia . . . quae inter nos eciam et Nicolaum [II] et Alexandrum [II], viros catholicos et religiosos Romanos pontifices'. Gregory VII and Urban II 'magis videbantur nos persequi odio et indignatione quam zelo iusticię'.

secular power. It was 'Hildebrand who first girded himself – and by his example, other popes – with the sword of war against the emperor'.[133] The centrality of the role of Gregory VII has been assumed by historians since the Reformation, when the judgement of Protestant polemicists, that 'Gregory VII, the most lauded of popes, [was] far more cruel and wicked than Nero', sparked off the long and fierce debate about Gregory's character and influence.[134] This assumption of Gregory's pre-eminence in the papal reform movement is symbolised in the term 'Réforme grégorienne' coined by Augustin Fliche as the title of his influential three-volume study of Gregory VII, of his predecessors, the 'prégrégoriens' and of his opponents, 'l'opposition antigrégorienne'. In Fliche's learned volumes something of the spirit of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century debate seems to survive, prompting the author to celebrate Gregory's 'faith, his humility, his resignation, his charity, his love of peace and justice'.[135] Fliche's 'Gregorian reform' was a movement for the spiritual renewal of the whole of western Christendom, directed by the papacy. The historiography of the later twentieth century has criticised this model of 'a 'Gregorian' reform as conceived by Fliche, a 'programme' elaborated by one man at the top of the hierarchy and spread right down to the bottom of the ladder by technocrats of theocracy'.[136] This revision has taken the form, first, of questioning whether Gregory VII can be regarded as an innovator. It is suggested, for example, that there was too great a continuity in reforming ideas before and after 1073 to justify the use of the labels 'pre-Gregorian' and 'Gregorian', except as chronological terms. Second, scholars have objected to the term 'Gregorian reform' as a misleading *reductio ad unum* of various different reform movements, none of which was actually inspired by Gregory VII. It is argued that Gregory's influence on the ecclesiastical reform movement has been greatly exaggerated: 'the only real Gregorian age [was] the pontificate of Gregory VII' and perhaps Gregory himself was the only true Gregorian.[137] As for his influence in the long term, the only objective means of measurement – the survival of papal letters and decrees in canonical collections – indicates that Gregory VII's influence was less significant than that of Urban II.[138]

Certainly Gregory VII was not an original thinker: it would be difficult to identify a reforming idea of which he was the sole originator. He was the

---

[133] Sigebert of Gembloux, *Epistola Leodicensium* 10, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 462: see above note 37.

[134] Bibliander (1553), p. 59. On the reputation of Gregory VII in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see Miccoli (1966a), pp. 363–9.

[135] Fliche (1924–37), II. p. 71.   [136] Toubert (1973), p. 791.

[137] Capitani (1965), p. 481. See also Capitani (1962–3); for a detailed study of one aspect of continuity, Capitani (1966). For a similar view see Gilchrist (1970).

[138] Gilchrist (1973).

continuator of the papal reform which had been inaugurated in 1046 and in the work of which he himself had of course participated for a quarter of a century. Gregory emphasised the continuity between his decrees against simony and clerical marriage and the synodal legislation of the Roman church 'from the time of the blessed Pope Leo [IX]'.[139] 'Our father Pope Leo', who had brought the young Hildebrand back to Rome from his German exile (1049), was a particularly important model.[140] (Gregory's private conversation was full of anecdotes of Leo IX; he once rebuked the members of his entourage for their failure to record Leo's achievements and he supplied both Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino and Bishop Bruno of Segni with information when they undertook to write about the saintly pope.[141]) Continuity with the reforming ideas of the 1050s is also apparent in Gregory's idea of the primacy of the Roman church, the central fact of the Gregorian ideology. The Gregorian vision of the papacy as 'the head of holy church' ruling over 'the whole body', as 'the mother and mistress of all churches', developed the idea of the Roman primacy found in the letters issued in the name of Leo IX and probably composed by Humbert of Silva Candida.[142] (Papal letters throughout our period continued to use this Leonine-Humbertine formulation of the Roman primacy.[143]) Gregory VII's most detailed survey of the powers of the pope is found in the *Dictatus papae*, the twenty-seven sentences concerning papal authority which are found in his *Register* among the papal letters of March 1075. Here again the main impression is not of originality of thought but rather of the 'misrepresentation and exaggeration' of canonical sources: that is, by paraphrasing texts or quoting passages out of context, the pope or his advisers produced statements which exalted papal authority.[144] The *Dictatus papae* seems to contain echoes of a central event of the pontificate of Leo IX: the negotiations with Constantinople about Byzantine recognition of the Roman primacy (involving the legation of Cardinal Humbert in 1053). One of the papal sentences is indeed a summary of parts of a document which influenced these negotiations, the *Constitutum*

[139] Gregory VII, *Registrum* ii.45, p. 184: 'a tempore beati Leonis papę'.

[140] *Registrum* ii.14, p. 147: 'patris nostri Leonis papę'. On the events of 1049 see *Registrum* vii.14a, p. 483; Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* v, *MGH Libelli*, i, p. 587.

[141] Desiderius, *Dialogi de miraculis sancti Benedicti* iii.1, *MGH SS* xxx.2, 1143; Bruno of Segni, *Libellus de symoniacis* 3, 4, *MGH Libelli*, ii, pp. 548, 549.

[142] E.g. *Registrum* ix.29, p. 613: 'sanctę ecclesię caput totumque corpus'; Gregory VII, JL 5271, *Epistolae vagantes* 54, p. 134: 'sanctamque Romanam aecclesiam omnium aecclesiarum matrem et magistram'. See especially Congar (1961); Meulenberg (1965); Miccoli (1966a), pp. 169–201; Maccarrone (1974).

[143] Some random examples: Urban II, JL 5371, 5412, *PL* 151, cols. 291B, 308B; Paschal II, JL 5873, 6307, *PL* 163, cols. 74D, 293B; Calixtus II, JL 6886, 6890, *PL* 163, cols. 1192B, 1196A.

[144] E. Caspar thus characterised an instance of Gregory VII's use of canonical sources in his edition of *Registrum*, p. 551 n. 1 (see also above p. 284 and note 71). See Fuhrmann (1977).

Constantini; another appropriates to the pope the Byzantine imperial ceremony of proskynesis, the kissing of the feet.[145]

The prohibition of lay investiture – Gregory's most radical legislation and that which came to dominate papal–imperial relations for over forty years – might seem to support the claim that he was a great innovator. In fact Gregory's investiture decrees implemented a reform which had been demanded nearly a generation before by Cardinal Humbert in his *Three Books against the Simoniacs*: Gregory adopted Humbert's view that lay investiture constituted simony.[146] Like his investiture decrees, Gregory's ideas of kingship showed that he had broken away from the assumptions of the Ottonian and Salian imperial church. Gregory saw in a king not a sacral ruler with divinely ordained authority over the church, but a mere layman. 'The letter of Pope Hildebrand to Bishop Hermann of Metz, slandering royal power' provoked Sigebert of Gembloux and other imperialists to denounce Gregory's 'innovations'; but the opinion was not truly innovatory. Gregory was simply giving a wider circulation to a view found in Humbert's treatise against simoniacs.[147] Another aspect of Gregory's 'political thought' has in recent times been judged to be innovatory: namely, 'the construction of a curial feudal system'. Gregory is alleged to have systematised the feudal claims of the papacy and devised a theory of papal feudal suzerainty throughout Christendom.[148] Gregory's 'curial feudal system' proves, however, on closer inspection to be another instance of the 'misrepresentation and exaggeration' which produced the papal claims of the *Dictatus papae*. The pope or his advisers used late eleventh-century feudal language to describe papal political relationships of an earlier date (for example with Spain and Hungary) which were not feudal in character. It is this terminology which has created the illusion of a 'curial feudal system'.[149] Equally illusory is Gregory's reputation in early twentieth-century historiography as a reformer of the papal finances, an administrator almost of the stature of the great Cardinal Cencius Savelli (Pope Honorius III). Historians noted that the period of the reform papacy

[145] In particular *Dictatus papae* 2 (*Registrum* II.55a, p. 202) on the pope as *universalis* is directed against Constantinople. Cf. *Dictatus papae* 8 (*Constitutum Constantini* 14), *Dictatus papae* 9 (proskynesis). Gauss (1940) interpreted *Dictatus papae* as a draft of the conditions for the union of the Roman and Byzantine churches planned by Gregory VII: see also Gauss (1967), pp. 41–68. For the view that *Dictatus papae* is concerned retrospectively with the negotiations of 1053 see Hofmann (1933), pp. 18–19; Szabó-Bechstein (1985), pp. 141–2.

[146] Schieffer (1981), pp. 36–47. On the alleged investiture decree of 1059 and the alleged decree of Alexander II see *ibid.*, pp. 48–95.

[147] The crucial Gregorian passage is in *Registrum* VIII.21, p. 548 (to Hermann of Metz): 'Nunquid sunt hic reges excepti . . . ?' Cf. Humbert, *Adversus simoniacos* III.6, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 205. See most recently Szabó-Bechstein (1985), pp. 132–4, 137, 143. On the imperialist reaction see above p. 278.

[148] Jordan (1932), pp. 68–71. The argument is summarised in Jordan (1958), p. 130.

[149] Verhein (1951), pp. 30–2; Llorca (1954), pp. 79–105; Ullmann (1972). See also the case of England, discussed most recently by Cowdrey (1972), pp. 89–94.

witnessed the complete restructuring of the papal government and assumed that Hildebrand, as archdeacon and subsequently as pope, was responsible for these innovations.[150] In fact the reorganisation which produced the new-style papal curia of the twelfth century occurred a short time after Gregory's death. The conflicts of Gregory's pontificate – culminating in the desertion of the pope by the Roman archdeacon and eleven other cardinals (1084) and the papal exile – left the papacy without an effective government. It was the achievement of Urban II and his advisers, who were without access to the traditions of the previous administration, to create a new papal government.[151]

Gregory VII was not an innovator in the field of reforming ideas nor in that of institutions: the term 'Gregorian reform' is certainly misleading if it conveys the idea of Gregory's intellectual or institutional creativity. It was as a man of action that Gregory was important. He translated the reforming ideas of the 1050s and 1060s into resolute action against simoniacs, married clergy and the champions of investiture. His reforming measures – he himself called them 'new counsels' (*nova consilia*) – pursued to their extreme conclusions the views expressed in the writings of Humbert and Peter Damian. Gregory did not flinch from the conflict with the episcopate and the secular power which, as he foresaw, would be provoked by his 'new counsels'.[152] To his opponents it seemed that his reforming measures were neither more nor less than a violent assault on the traditional power-holders of Christian society. This charge is most succinctly stated in the earliest polemic against Gregory VII, that of the imperial chaplain Gottschalk of Aachen, writing in the name of Henry IV (January 1076). 'You have armed subjects against prelates; while as for our bishops . . . you have taught that they must be held in contempt and you have unlawfully conferred their authority over priests upon laymen . . . You have also touched me, who . . . have been anointed to the kingship.'[153] It was indeed the experience of these two conflicts, that with the episcopate and that with the crown, which gave Gregory VII's reform programme its definitive character. The term 'Gregorian reform' is most usefully applied to the series of emergency measures devised by Gregory to achieve ecclesiastical reform despite the opposition of bishops and kings, measures which continued to be used by the reform papacy until Calixtus II made peace with the emperor and the episcopate.

Gregory VII believed – like his opponents, the adherents of Henry IV and his antipope – that the reform of the church was the duty in the first instance

---

[150] Fabre (1892), pp. 151–2, 155; Zema (1947).   [151] Jordan (1933–4); Sydow (1955).

[152] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.45, p. 184. See below pp. 306–7.

[153] Henry IV, *Epistola* 12, *MGH Deutsches Mittelalter* I, p. 16: 'subditos in prelatos armasti, dum episcopos nostros . . . spernendos docuisti, dum laicis ministerium eorum super sacerdotes usurpasti . . . Me quoque, qui . . . ad regnum sum unctus, tetigisti.'

of the traditional rulers of the Christian people, the bishops and kings. 'The order and careful management of the Christian religion', he wrote, 'depends very much, after God, upon these: the men who are seen to be the pastors and rulers of the Lord's flock.'[154] At the beginning of his pontificate Gregory instructed Henry IV about the king's duty as a reformer. 'You rightly hold the royal power if you incline your high authority to Christ, the king of kings, for the restoration and defence of his churches.'[155] By 1075, however, Gregory was fully convinced that both bishops and kings were failing to perform their reforming duties. 'When in my mind's eye I look over the western lands, whether to north or south, I find hardly any bishops who conform to the law either in their appointment or in their way of life, and who rule the Christian people in the love of Christ and not for worldly ambition. Among all the secular princes I know of none who place the honour of God before their own and righteousness before gain.' It was the vacuum caused by the indolence or obstructiveness of those responsible for the reform of the church which necessitated the emergency measures of the 'Gregorian reform'. 'Since there is no prince who troubles himself about such things, *we* must protect the lives of religious men.'[156] 'Since we know that the people are being led astray by [bishops] who despise apostolic commands . . . it is fitting that we (on whom, before all others, falls the care of the Lord's flock) should guard against these evils by some other method.'[157]

The 'other method', the 'new counsels' which Gregory devised, appears first in a letter of January 1075 to the pope's most prominent secular allies in the German kingdom, the dukes Rudolf of Swabia, Berthold of Carinthia and Welf IV of Bavaria. The south German princes were instructed not to recognise the holy orders of simoniac and married priests and to pay no attention to the opinions of bishops on this subject. 'You are bound by your obedience [to St Peter] to make known and urge these [commands] both in the king's court and elsewhere, in the diets of the kingdom; and to the utmost of your power

---

[154] *Registrum* II.73, p. 234 (to Duke Boleslaw II of Poland): 'christianę religionis ordo et provida dispensatio ab his permaxime post Deum pendet, qui Dominici gregis pastores et rectores esse videntur'.

[155] *Registrum* II.30, p. 164: 'regiam potestatem recte te obtinere cognoscas, si regi regum Christo ad restaurationem defensionemque ecclesiarum suarum faciendam dominationis tuę altitudinem inclinas'.

[156] *Registrum* II.49, p. 189: 'cum mentis intuitu partes occidentis sive meridiei aut septemtrionis video, vix legales episcopos introitu et vita, qui christianum populum Christi amore et non seculari ambitione regant, invenio. Et inter omnes seculares principes, qui preponant Dei honorem suo et iustitiam lucro, non cognosco'; 'oportet nos, quandoquidem non est princeps qui talia curet, religiosorum tueri vitam'.

[157] *Registrum* II.45, p. 184: 'Cum igitur illis apostolica . . . mandata spernentibus . . . alio quolibet modo contra hęc vigilare nos convenit, quibus cura Dominici gregis pre cunctis incumbit.'

you are to prevent such men from administering the sacred mysteries – even, if necessary, by violence.'[158] (It was perhaps this letter – one of the most widely disseminated of Gregory's letters – which provoked Henry IV's accusation a year later that the pope had 'taught that [bishops] must be held in contempt' and had 'unlawfully conferred their authority over priests upon laymen, so that laymen may depose and condemn those to whom they themselves have been committed by the hand of the Lord'.)[159] In a letter addressed to all the clergy and laity of the German kingdom late in 1075, attention is shifted from the simoniac and married priests to the bishops who tolerate them: the faithful were 'in no way to obey [such bishops] or to consent to their commands'.[160] More specific instructions were simultaneously issued to the clergy and people of the diocese of Constance, whose bishop had failed to enforce the recent papal decree against clerical marriage. The command 'to show him none of the reverence of obedience' meant that the bishop's subjects were absolved 'totally from the yoke of subordination to him' and in particular his vassals were 'bound to pay him no fealty' as long as he refused to obey the pope.[161]

The Gregorian intensification of the papal campaign against simony and clerical marriage – the lay boycott of the masses of guilty priests and their removal from their altars 'if necessary, by violence' – had been anticipated during the previous decade by the Milanese reform movement of the Pataria. It is likely that, before he became pope, Hildebrand had been the leading Roman supporter of the radical Patarine movement, which used lay violence to expel simoniacal and married priests from their churches and to depose the simoniac archbishop of Milan. After his accession to the papacy Gregory was the champion of the Patarine rebels and of their leader, the 'most energetic Christian knight' Erlembald: the pope commended Erlembald's 'pious solicitude in defence of the faith and for the restoration of holy religion'. Hence Gregory's northern Italian opponents denounced him as 'the pope of the Patarines'.[162] The

---

[158] *Ibid.*: 'hęc eadem astricti per obędientiam tam in curia regis quam per alia loca et conventus regni notificantes ac persuadentes quantum potestis tales sacrosanctis deservire mysteriis, etiam vi si oportuerit, prohibeatis'. For Welf IV as a recipient of this letter see Robinson (1978a), pp. 75–7.

[159] Henry IV, *Epistola* 12: see above note 153. The passage concludes: 'ut ipsi [laici] deponant vel condempnant, qui ipsos a manu Domini per impositionem manuum episcoporum docendos acceperant'. On the dissemination of *Registrum* II.45 see Robinson (1983), pp. 179 n. 17, 190.

[160] Gregory VII, JL 4902, *Epistolae vagantes* 11, p. 26: 'His precipimus vos nullomodo obedire vel illorum preceptis consentire.'

[161] Gregory VII, JL 4971, *ibid.*, p. 24: 'nullam ei obedientie reverentiam exhibeatis'; 'ab omni illius subiectionis iugo … absolvimus ita ut, si etiam sacramenti obligatione quilibet ei fuerit obstrictus … nulla ei fidelitatis exhibitione fiat obnoxius'.

[162] Hildebrand and the Patarini: Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* VI, *MGH Libelli* I. p. 599; Arnulf of Milan, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium* III.25, *MGH SS*. VIII, p. 25; Landulf Senior, *Historia Mediolanensis* III.15, *ibid.*, pp. 83–4. Erlembald: *Registrum* I.27, p. 45: 'Herlembaldo strenuissimo

reform movement in Milan provided Gregory with a working model of the principle that priests 'who are not corrected through the love of God and the dignity of their office may be brought to their senses through the shame of the world and the rebuke of the people'.[163] The Gregorian principle that the faithful laity were justified in expelling simoniac and unchaste priests from their churches was also anticipated in Cardinal Humbert's treatise against simoniacs. Humbert had written that in the last resort 'secular princes and faithful laymen, for the sake of the defence and reform which they owe their mother church', must 'arm themselves to avenge' an assault on their 'dear and free mother'.[164] A theological argument for the lay boycott of the masses of erring priests can also be found in Humbert's treatise; for this work contains the most extreme eleventh-century statement of the theory that the sacraments conferred by simoniacs were invalid.

The question of the efficacy of the sacraments of unworthy priests provoked the most prolonged theological debate of the later eleventh century. Some authors restated the 'rigorist' opinion of Cyprian, that such sacraments were invalid because conferred 'outside the church'; others restated the view of Augustine, that the sacraments of unworthy ministers were valid, but illicit. When this debate began in the 1050s, the central issue was the sacraments of simoniacs. The Augustinian view was held by Peter Damian and the 'rigorist' view by Humbert and Leo IX, who considered it necessary to reordain clergy who had received their orders from simoniac bishops. During the last two decades of the century the emphasis shifted to the sacraments of 'schismatics', that is, those excommunicated by Gregory VII or his successors for their support of the emperor and his antipope. In this later phase of the debate the imperialist party, led by Wibert of Ravenna, adopted the sacramental theory of Augustine and denied that the sacraments of 'schismatics' were invalid. Their Gregorian opponents presented no such united front but adopted various shades of 'rigorist' or Augustinian opinion.[165] Gregory VII's own attitude towards the sacraments of simoniac and excommunicate clergy is far from clear. His

Christi militi'; 1.26, p. 43: 'Pię sollicitudinis studio in defensione fidei sanctęque religionis restauratione'. Gregory as the 'Patarines' pope': Peter Crassus, *Defensio Heinrici IV regis* 3, *MGH Libelli* 1, pp. 437, 438 (for this author 'Patarine' and 'Gregorian' were synonymous terms); Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum imperatorem* v.1, vi.2, *MGH SS* xi, pp. 648, 659. For the Patarine reform movement see especially Miccoli (1966a), pp. 101–60; Cowdrey (1968); Keller (1973).

[163] Gregory VII, JL 4931, *Epistolae vagantes* 6, p. 14: 'qui pro amore Dei et officii dignitate non corriguntur verecundia saeculi et obiurgatione populi resipiscant'. Cf. *Registrum* II.66, p. 222.

[164] Humbert, *Adversus simoniacos* III.11, *MGH Libelli* 1, p. 212: 'demum saeculares principes et fideles laici pro defensione et recuperatione, quam matri suae ecclesiae debent . . . quod liberae et dilectae matris non degeneres filii, cuius si pudicitiam cognoverint ab adulteris captivari, nec mora accinguntur vindicaturi'.

[165] Saltet (1907), pp. 182–96 (pontificate of Leo IX), 205–17 (pontificate of Gregory VII), 218–54 (pontificate of Urban II); Schebler (1936), pp. 229–81; Gilchrist (1965).

command to the faithful not to receive such sacraments seems to imply a 'rigorist' position. But while on the one hand he informed his adherents that it was contrary to Christian tradition 'that accursed and excommunicated men could bless and confer divine grace upon anyone', he also ruled that priests ordained by simoniacs 'unknowingly and without payment' could be confirmed in their orders.[166] Gregory's apparently contradictory statements suggest that he took a practical rather than a theological view of the sacramental question. A priest's orders could be regarded as valid if he was prepared to obey the pope, invalid if he proved disobedient. In practice the principle of obedience to Rome determined the legitimacy of the priesthood.[167] The lay boycott, like the command to disobey unworthy bishops, was a disciplinary measure intended to enforce obedience to the papacy rather than an expression of Gregorian sacramental theology.

The command to subjects to disobey their lord and the absolution of vassals from their oaths of fealty were the Gregorian 'new counsels' devised initially to compel reluctant bishops to accept reform and subsequently used in attempts to depose recalcitrant bishops. Precisely the same method was used to coerce or depose secular rulers who had proved hostile to reform. When in 1074 King Philip I of France behaved like 'a rapacious wolf, an iniquitous tyrant, an enemy of God, of religion and of holy church', the pope wrote to one of the most powerful French princes, the duke of Aquitaine, admonishing him 'to join with some of the greater nobles of France and make [the king's] iniquities known to him . . . If he acquiesces in your counsels, we shall treat him with that charity which we ought; but if he continues in his perverse practices . . . we shall doubtless separate him from the body and communion of holy church, together with anyone who shows him royal honour and obedience'.[168] The secular princes were to act as a pressure-group for reform, in the same manner as the clergy and people in the diocese of a disobedient bishop. In the case of Germany, the pope commanded the south German princes to campaign for reform 'both in the king's court and elsewhere, in the diets of the kingdom'. When Henry IV did not give way, the pope's response was to

---

[166] *Registrum* IV.2, pp. 296–7: 'Ut autem maledicti et excommunicati possint benedicere et divinam gratiam . . . alicui largiri in nullis sanctorum patrum precepto potest inveniri'. Cf. *Registrum* VI.39, p. 457: 'nescienter et sine pretio'. See also *Registrum* V.5b, c. 5, pp. 403–4.

[167] So argues Miccoli (1966a), pp. 169–201. See also Borino (1956), p. 412 (arguing that Gregory recognised the validity of simoniacs' and excommunicates' orders); Nitschke (1956), p. 154 (arguing that Gregory considered such orders absolutely invalid).

[168] *Registrum* II.32, p. 168: 'lupus rapax tyrannus iniquus Dei et religionis sanctę ecclesię inimicus'; II.8, pp. 150–1: 'nobilioribus Francię melioribus quibusdam adhibitis iniquitates suas sibi notificetis . . . Qui si consiliis vestris adquieverit, nos eum qua debemus caritate tractabimus; alioquin si in perversitate studiorum suorum perduraverit . . . a corpore et communione sanctę ecclesię ipsum et quicunque sibi regalem honorem vel obędientiam exhibuerit, sine dubio sequestrabimus'.

excommunicate him and 'deny [him] the government of the whole kingdom of the Germans and of Italy and absolve all Christians from the bond of the oath which they have taken or shall take to him and forbid any to serve him as king'.[169]

These were the measures which caused Wibert of Ravenna and his adherents to denounce the 'tyrannical violence' of the Gregorian model of reform; and it was because of these measures that the unprecedentedly abundant polemical literature of the years 1085–6 focused especially on the character and methods of Gregory VII. Since the 'Wibertists' adopted the Augustinian view of the sacraments of unworthy priests, they considered Gregory's attitude towards simoniac, married or excommunicate priests to be sacrilegious. Wido of Ferrara recalled having seen an unchaste priest subjected by the mob to an unseemly charivari in the streets of Cremona. Such were the consequences of Gregorian teaching, a degradation of the ecclesiastical order 'astonishing and unheard-of in all past generations'. Wido concluded his treatise *On the Schism of Hildebrand* with a summary of Gregory's offences. First, in his conduct towards Henry IV:

he did not forbid the waging of the German war in which the blood of 8000 men was spilled. In this he also incurred the charge of perjury because he caused the Germans, who were bound by the bonds of an oath, to violate that oath. He was moreover a schismatic because he taught that the sacraments of unworthy and excommunicate ministers were polluted, commanded that they were not to be received and indeed forbade them to be called sacraments. In this he differed completely from the rules of the holy Fathers.[170]

This last was the charge that Gregory was always most anxious to refute, declaring: 'we resort to the decrees and doctrine of the holy Fathers, establishing nothing new and nothing of our own invention. We have determined that error should be abandoned and the first and only rule of ecclesiastical discipline and the beaten track of the saints must be renewed and sought after.'[171]

---

[169] *Registrum* III.10a, p. 270: 'totius regni Teutonicorum et Italię gubernacula contradico et omnes christianos a vinculo iuramenti, quod sibi fecerunt vel facient, absolvo et, ut nullus ei sicut regi serviat, interdico'.

[170] Wido of Ferrara, *De scismate Hildebrandi* I.10, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 543: 'Stupenda sunt haec et vere omnibus retro generationibus inaudita'; II, p. 567: 'Teutonicum bellum fieri non prohibuit, in quo sanguis octo milium hominum fusus fuit. In eo etiam periurii reatum incurrit, quod iuramenti vinculis obligatos Teutonicos sacramenti religionem violare fecit. In eo etiam scismaticus extitit, quod indignorum ministrorum et excommunicatorum sacramenta polluta docuit, non recipienda mandavit, nec sacramenta quidem dici debere perhibuit, in quibus a sanctorum patrum regulis omnino dissensit'.

[171] *Registrum* III.10, p. 266: 'ad sanctorum patrum decreta doctrinamque recurrimus nichil novi, nichil adinventione nostra statuentes, sed primam et unicam ecclesiasticę disciplinę regulam et tritam sanctorum viam relicto errore repetendam et sectandam esse censuimus'.

Some of Gregory's letters quote canonical materials in justification of his reform methods, 'authorities' provided by the pope's legal advisers.[172] More frequently, however, Gregory dispensed with canonical 'authorities' and simply relied on the authority of St Peter, of whom he was the vicar on earth. Historians have rightly stressed the importance of Gregory's cult of St Peter: he 'identified himself with the apostle, who spoke, legislated, judged and condemned through his mouth'.[173] The corollary of this was Gregory's conviction that his actions, being inspired by the saint, required no further justification: the conviction expressed most famously when he deposed Henry IV from the kingship and absolved his vassals from their oaths of obedience.[174] When Gregory's adherents witnessed a spectacular event like the sudden death of Bishop Henry of Speyer on the very day on which Gregory excommunicated him (1075), many doubtless felt that this was justification enough of Gregory's claims. Bernold of Constance, the pope's most learned defender in Germany, used the incident as an 'authority' in defence of Gregory's reforming measures: 'Do not doubt that our pope's condemnations are equal in their efficacy to that pronounced by the prince of the apostles on Ananias and Sapphira.'[175] The canonists of the papal party, however, sought the additional sanction of documentary authority – 'the decrees and doctrine of the holy Fathers' – for Gregory's measures. Frequently, however, the canonists (like Gregory's own legal advisers) proved unable to produce the *pièces justificatives* to support the pope's 'new counsels'.[176]

The canonists drew a blank, for example, when they sought 'authorities' to defend the measures announced in Gregory's letter of January 1075 to the south German dukes. It was possible to cite 'authorities' supporting the 'Cyprianic' view of the invalidity of the sacraments of unworthy priests; but the lay boycott and the use of secular violence to remove unworthy ministers from their altars were essentially 'lawless' proceedings. Both Cardinal Deusdedit in his canonical collection and Urban II in a letter on the treatment of simoniacs could find no other 'authority' to cite except 'Gregory to Dukes Rudolf and Berthold'.[177]

---

[172] E.g. *Registrum* VII.2, p. 461: 'auctoritas beatorum martyrum atque pontificum Fabiani et Stephani coram nobis allata est, quam nos per omnia huic negotio convenire cernentes'. See Gilchrist (1962), p. 24, and (1967), p. 7.

[173] Fliche (1924–37), II, p. 194. See also, for example, Erdmann (1935), pp. 185–211; Ullmann (1959–61).

[174] *Registrum* III.10a, VII.14a, pp. 270, 486.

[175] Bernold, *De incontinentia sacerdotum* V, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 25–6: 'damnatorias sententias nostri apostolici et ipsius principis apostolorum super Ananiam et Saphiram pari efficacia pollere non dubites'.

[176] On the 'Gregorian' canonical collections see most recently Fuhrmann (1973); Mordek (1985); Hartmann (1991).

[177] Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum* IV.186, ed. Wolf von Glanvell (1905), p. 491; Urban II, JL 5743, *PL* 151, col. 532B.

There was no difficulty, on the other hand, in finding canonical texts which contradicted the Gregorian 'new counsels' and outlawed conspiracies against bishops by their subjects. Gregory's advisers supplied him with two such texts from the collection of Pseudo-Isidore, 'the authority of the blessed martyrs and popes Fabian and Stephen', when the pope wished to condemn the canons of Lucca for their rebellion against their bishop, who was the pope's confidant and legate, Anselm II.[178] Since it appeared to be an authentic record of the constitution of the early church, the Pseudo-Isidorian collection was the single most important quarry of materials for the 'Gregorian' collections. But the primary purpose of Pseudo-Isidore, the anonymous ninth-century forger, had been to defend the rights of bishops against superior ecclesiastical authority and against the secular power.[179] This prestigious source had little to offer, therefore, to canonists wishing to justify the measures taken by Gregory VII to curtail the rights of bishops who were reluctant or hostile in their attitude towards reform. Two characteristic measures that ran exactly counter to Pseudo-Isidore were those summarised in the *Dictatus papae* in the words, 'That the pope can depose men in their absence' and 'That by [the pope's] command and permission subjects are allowed to bring accusations [against superiors].'[180]

Similarly Gregory's claim in the *Dictatus papae* 'that [the pope] can absolve subjects from fealty to wicked men' contradicted traditional canon law.[181] Wido of Ferrara declared this to be the most dangerous Gregorian violation of Christian tradition. 'Hitherto knights were bound by the covenant of the oath . . . and it seemed equal to sacrilege if they rebelled against their vassalduty. Now, on the contrary, knights are armed against their lords, children rise against their parents, subjects are set in motion against kings, right and wrong are confounded, the sanctity of the oath is violated.'[182] The imperialist party claimed that all oaths were sacrosanct, even those sworn to wicked men. The efforts of canonists to justify Gregory's view are illustrated by the sentence collection on the theme of perjury, compiled perhaps by Bernold of Constance or by a colleague in the cathedral school of Constance, which was

---

[178] Gregory VII, *Registrum* VII.2, p. 461: 'auctoritas beatorum martyrum atque pontificum Fabiani et Stephani', citing Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, pp. 165, 186.

[179] Fuhrmann (1972–4), I, pp. 141–50.

[180] *Registrum* II.55a, c. 5, 24, pp. 203, 207: 'Quod absentes papa possit deponere'; 'Quod illius precepto et licentia subiectis liceat accusare.'

[181] *Registrum* II.55a, c. 27, p. 208: 'Quod a fidelitate iniquorum subiectos potest absolvere.'

[182] Wido of Ferrara, *De scismate Hildebrandi* 1.7, pp. 539–40: 'Hactenus milites sacramenti foedere tenebantur . . . et par sacrilegio videbatur, si in honorem quippiam molirentur. Nunc autem versa vice milites armantur in dominos, insurgunt filii in parentes, subdi cti commoventur in reges, fasque nefasque confunditur, sacramenti religio violatur.'

incorporated in four different German polemics.[183] A similar collection on the equally controversial subject of the papal deposition of kings was compiled by Gregory VII's own advisers so as to furnish the faithful with a detailed justification of the deposition of Henry IV. An expanded version of this collection subsequently circulated in the German kingdom.[184] In order to make their 'authorities' and *exempla* conform to Gregory's innovatory actions, the compilers were obliged to distort the sense of their materials, cite them out of context or give a generalised interpretation of a particular case. Hence the accusations of their opponents that the Gregorian canonists were 'perverters of the scriptures' and their works 'fraudulent compilations'.[185]

Gregory VII himself explained the conflict between his 'new counsels' and the ecclesiastical tradition cited by his opponents, by referring to a favourite dictum of the African Fathers: namely, that Christ said, 'I am the truth and the life' (John 14:6). 'He did not say, "I am custom", but "truth"'. 'Any custom, however old, however widespread, must give way entirely to truth; and a custom which is contrary to truth must be abolished.'[186] Gregory came to believe that 'the Christian religion and the true faith . . . have been turned into the wicked custom of this world':[187] the purpose of his 'new counsels' was to reverse this process. This is the context in which we should place the most striking statement of the *Dictatus papae*, 'that [the pope] alone has the right to make new laws according to the needs of the times'.[188] This famous statement of the

---

[183] Gebhard of Salzburg, *Epistola* 30, *MGH Libelli* I, pp. 276–7; Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber ad Gebehardum* 49, *ibid.*, pp. 396–7; Bernard of Hildesheim, *Liber canonum contra Heinricum* IV 38, *ibid.*, p. 508; Anonymous polemicist of Hirsau, fragment cited in *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* II.34, *ibid.*, II, p. 261. See Robinson (1978b), pp. 103–12.

[184] Gregory VII, *Registrum* IV.2, VIII.21, pp. 294, 553–4; *sententiae* in Göttweig, codex 56 ed. Sdralek (1890), pp. 173–5 (appendix III); Berthold of Reichenau, *Annales*, 1077, *MGH SS* V, p. 296; Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon* II, *MGH SS* 8, p. 438; Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber ad Gebehardum* 29, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 362; Bernard of Hildesheim, *Liber canonum contra Heinricum* IV, 25, *ibid.*, pp. 496–7; Bernold of Constance, *Apologeticae rationes contra scismaticorum obiectiones, ibid.*, II, p. 97; Anonymous polemicist of Hirsau, fragment cited in *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* II.15, *ibid.*, p. 229.

[185] *Cardinalium schismaticorum scripta* III.13, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 399: 'Hildebrandus, Turbanus [Urban II], Anselmus Lucensis episcopus, Deusdedit in compilationibus suis fraudulentis'; III.15, p. 400: 'Titulus iste Hildebrandum et discipulos eius scripturarum perversores manifeste detegit.' See also the criticisms of the anonymous polemicist of Hersfeld: *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* I.10–17, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 198–211.

[186] Gregory VII, JL 5277; *Epistolae vagantes* 67, p. 151: 'Dominus dicit: "Ego sum veritas et vita." Non ait: "Ego sum consuetudo", sed "veritas" '; 'quaelibet consuetudo, quamvis vetusta, quamvis vulgata, veritati est omnino postponenda et usus qui veritati est contrarius abolendus'. See Ladner (1956).

[187] Gregory VII, JL 5271; *Epistolae vagantes* 54, p. 132: 'christiana religio et vera fides . . . in secularem versa pravam consuetudinem'.

[188] *Registrum* II.55a, c. 7, p. 203: 'Quod illi soli licet pro temporis necessitate novas leges condere'.

pope's legislative authority constituted Gregory's most important departure from the traditional view of the papal relationship with ecclesiastical law. The mid-seventh-century Roman formulary, *Liber Diurnus*, had required of a newly elected pope an oath 'to diminish or change nothing of the tradition of my most virtuous predecessors nor to admit any novelty'.[189] Gregory's claim that, on the contrary, the pope can 'make new laws', together with his readiness to alter or cancel the privileges issued by his predecessors, has been interpreted by historians as a turning point in western intellectual history. The most significant innovation of the Gregorian reform was that 'law shifted from the divine sphere into that of human control'.[190]

It is clear, however, from Gregory's juxtaposition of 'truth' and 'custom', of 'true faith' and 'the wicked custom of this world', that his conception of papal legislative authority was not as sweeping as twentieth-century commentators have supposed. The purpose of papal legislation was not to introduce innovations but 'to *rebuild* God's justice', to restore the true religion which had been overlaid by false customs.[191] When, for example, Archbishop Manasses I of Rheims complained that the activities of Gregory's legate in France were infringing the privilege of the church of Rheims, the pope replied:

As to what you say concerning a privilege, we briefly reply that certain things can be granted in privileges according to the case, the person, the time and the place, which again for the same circumstances may lawfully be altered, if a greater necessity or utility demands it. For privileges must not infringe the authority of the holy Fathers, but provide for the utility of holy church.

Investigation of 'the sayings and deeds of the holy Fathers' revealed that, in the time of Pope Gregory I, Rheims had been subject to the authority of the church of Arles. Manasses' current status of metropolitan was a more recent development: it lacked the sanction of antiquity and could be cancelled if (as Gregory firmly believed) it no longer served the interests of the church.[192] The key word in the Gregorian conception of legislation was *necessitas*: it was a power which was only to be invoked in a state of emergency. Bernold of Constance (who was the earliest polemicist to write in support of the pope's legislative authority) explained: 'It must be noted that Roman pontiffs have always been accustomed to observe and implement the ancient laws rather than to create new ones – unless some reasonable cause compels them to do so.' As

---

[189] *Liber diurnus*, ed. von Sickel (1889), p. 92: 'Nihil de traditione quae a probatissimis praedecessoribus meis servatum repperi, diminuere vel mutare aut aliquam novitatem admittere.'
[190] Klinkenberg (1969), p. 157.   [191] *Registrum* II.45, p. 184: 'iustitiam Dei . . . reędificare'.
[192] *Registrum* VI.2, p. 393: 'Ad id autem, quod de privilegio dicitis, breviter interim respondemus, quod possunt quędam in privilegiis pro re pro persona pro tempore pro loco concedi, quę iterum pro eisdem, si necessitas vel utilitas maior exegerit, licenter valent commutari. Privilegia siquidem non debent sanctorum patrum auctoritatem infringere, sed utilitati sanctę ecclesię prospicere.'

for the papal power of dispensation: 'It is certainly the privilege of the apostolic see to be the judge of the canons or the decrees and sometimes to enforce them and sometimes to relax them, as may seem most useful to the church at the time.'[193] Similarly Bonizo of Sutri declared that 'it was lawful and always will be lawful for Roman pontiffs to make new canons and to change old ones, according to the needs of the times'.[194] These ideas reached a wider audience in the version of Ivo of Chartres, whose canonical collections were much more widely disseminated than those of his 'Gregorian' contemporaries.[195]

The pope's legislative authority was to be used, according to Gregory VII and his adherents, for those emergencies for which the ancient canons gave no specific guidance. The Roman church must 'provide new decrees and remedies against the new abuses which spring up'.[196] This argument was developed more fully by the monk Placidus of Nonantola in his defence of the papal legislation against lay investiture (1111). 'Many wonder why no clear prohibition of investitures of churches is found in the canons of the ancient holy Fathers; but there is nothing to wonder at in this. For how were they to forbid what had never been done or heard of? This we must know: that it seemed so absurd to them that they would never believe that so great a sin could arise in holy church.' Alternatively the Fathers were silent on the subject of investiture because they remembered the promise of the Lord, 'lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age' (Matthew 28:20). 'The holy Fathers knew, therefore, that if any new emergency occurred, God, who would be in the hearts of His chosen ones, would Himself give counsel.' Sure enough, when the emergency of investiture arose in the church, Gregory VII was prompted by the Holy Spirit to hold his reforming council of 1078 and to issue the decree against lay investiture.[197] Already in 1111 Placidus had formulated that justification of papal

---

[193] Bernold, *De excommunicatis vitandis, MGH Libelli* II, p. 141: 'Sciendum sane, quod Romani pontifices semper magis antiqua exequi et observare, quam nova instituere, nisi aliqua rationabilis causa perurgeret, consueverunt.' Bernold, *De statutis ecclesiasticis sobrie legendis, ibid.*, p. 157: 'Est utique sedis apostolicae privilegium, ut iudex sit canonum sive decretorum et ipsa pro tempore nunc intendat, nunc remittat, sicuti ad presens ecclesiasticae utilitati magis competere videat.'

[194] Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana* 1.44, ed. Perels (1930), p. 33: 'licuit semperque licebit Romanis pontificibus novos canones cudere et veteres pro consideratione temporum immutare'.

[195] Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum: Prologus, PL* 161, cols. 57A, 58B. On the dissemination of Ivo's collections see Mordek (1985), pp. 70–1.

[196] *Registrum* II.67, p. 224: 'huic sanctę Romanę ecclesię semper licuit semperque licebit contra noviter increscentes excessus nova quoque decreta atque remedia procurare'.

[197] Placidus of Nonantola, *Liber de honore ecclesiae* 53, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 589–90 'Multi mirantur, quare in antiquorum sanctorum patrum canonibus prohiberi investituras aecclesiarum aperte non invenitur. Sed hac pro re mirandum non est. Quomodo enim prohiberent quod nunquam vel factum vel auditum fuerat? Sed et hoc sciendum, quia tam absurdum eis visum est, ut nunquam crederent in sancta aecclesia tantum nefas posse insurgere.' 'Sciebant itaque sancti patres, quia, si novi aliquid emergeret, Deus, qui in cordibus electorum esset suorum, ipse consilium daret.'

legislation which is best known from the dictum of Master Gratian of Bologna a generation later: the pope can make new laws wherever the evangelists have made no pronouncement. Papal law-making served to fill in the lacunae in Christian tradition.[198]

The Gregorian reform successfully established the principle that the pope was 'the judge of the canons', the maker and dispenser of ecclesiastical law. Simultaneously Gregory VII and his adherents established definitively that 'the bishop of the [Roman] see is the judge of the whole church'.[199] Gregory's *Dictatus papae* declared that the apostolic see possessed supreme judicial authority over the church and that the pope, as supreme judge, was responsible to no one on earth. Drawing partly on authentic materials of the fourth and fifth centuries, partly on Pseudo-Isidorian and other spuria, the *Dictatus papae* claimed 'that [the pope's] sentence must be retracted by no one and he alone of all can retract it' and 'that [the pope] himself must be judged by no one'.[200] The Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries contributed two further ideas to the Gregorian conception of papal judicial supremacy: 'that no one may dare to condemn someone appealing to the apostolic see' and 'that the greater causes (*maiores causae*) of any church must be referred to [the apostolic see]'.[201] Pseudo-Isidore's preoccupation with defending the rights of bishops against their metropolitans and secular overlords had prompted him to exalt the judicial authority of the papacy. He had exploited the bishops' right of appeal to Rome and the principle that the *maiores causae* must be settled by the Roman church as delaying tactics for bishops threatened with deposition.[202] The Gregorian canonists transformed the Pseudo-Isidorian claims into 'authorities' for their conception of the pope as 'judge of the whole church' and lord of the episcopate. The pope 'alone can depose or reconcile bishops' without reference to a synod, declared the *Dictatus papae*, itemising the 'greater causes' which were reserved to the judgement of the apostolic see. He alone can 'divide a rich bishopric and unite

---

[198] Gratian, *Decretum* C.25 q.1 c.16.

[199] Bernold of Constance, *De excommunicatis vitandis, MGH Libelli* II, p. 126: 'Nam illius sedis episcopus iudex est totius ecclesiae.'

[200] *Registrum* II.55a, cc. 18, 19, p. 206: 'Quod sententia illius a nullo debeat retractari et ipse omnium solus retractare possit' (based on the council of Sardica of 343 and Gelasius I, JL, 664, CSEL 35, 779–80). 'Quod a nemine ipse iudicari debeat' (based on *Constitutum Silvestri* 27, ed. Coustant (1721), appendix 52A; Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, p. 449. See also Nicholas I, JL 2796, 2897, *MGH Epistolae* VI, pp. 466, 600).

[201] *Registrum* II.55a, cc. 20, 21, p. 206: 'Quod nullus audeat condemnare apostolicam sedem appellantem' (based on Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, p. 228; cf. Innocent I, JL 286, *PL* 20, col. 473A). 'Quod maiores causę cuiuscunque ecclesię ad eam referri debeant' (based on Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, pp. 459, 712).

[202] Fuhrmann (1972–4), I, p. 146.

poor ones' and 'he is permitted, if necessity compels, to translate bishops from see to see'.[203]

Of all the statements of the *Dictatus papae* it was these judicial claims which were most frequently reiterated in the letters of Gregory's successors. 'No one is ever permitted to retract the judgement of the apostolic see', wrote Urban II to Archbishop Rainald of Rheims, who had unwittingly broken this regulation. Elsewhere Urban reiterated the Gregorian claim that 'it is the responsibility of the pope alone to join bishoprics, to separate those that have been joined or to construct new ones'.[204] 'The more serious business of the churches throughout the provinces is handled and reviewed' by the pope, Paschal II reminded King Henry I of England. He rebuked the king for denying churchmen the right of appeal to Rome, 'although it is ordained by the councils and decrees of the holy Fathers that all the oppressed are to appeal to the Roman church', and for translating Ralph d'Escures from Rochester to Canterbury, which 'we know to be entirely forbidden without the authority and permission of the holy Roman see'.[205] During the early twelfth century the theory of papal judicial supremacy began to meet with a positive response throughout the western church. The intermittent exile of the reforming popes from Rome as a result of the conflict of empire and papacy, far from inhibiting the expansion of papal judicial activity, accelerated the process by bringing the curia into closer touch with litigants. Urban II's journey to France in 1095–6 was a key moment in the transition from Gregorian theory to practice. By the end of his visit Urban was complaining that not only the greater causes but even the most trivial quarrels between rival religious houses were being referred to the pope.[206] During the pontificate of Paschal II the pressure of judicial business was already forcing the pope to delegate the examination of cases to members of the curia.[207] From Paschal's pontificate comes a further indication that papal justice was

---

[203] *Registrum* II.55a, cc. 3, 7, 13, pp. 202–4: 'Quod ille solus possit deponere episcopos vel reconciliare'; 'Quod illi soli licet . . . divitem episcopatum dividere et inopes unire'; 'Quod illi liceat de sede ad sedem necessitate cogente episcopos transmutare.'

[204] Urban II, JL 5522, *PL* 151, col. 388C: 'nemini unquam apostolicae sedis liceat retractare iudicium'; JL 5473, *PL* 151, col. 357C: 'Solius etenim apostolici est episcopatus coniungere, coniunctos disiungere aut etiam novos construere'.

[205] Paschal II, JL 6453: Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia* v, RS 81, pp. 232–3: 'haec consuetudo pervenit; ut per nostrae sedis vicarios graviora ecclesiarum per provincias negotia pertractentur seu retractentur . . . Vos oppressis apostolicae sedis appellationem subtrahitis, cum sanctorum patrum conciliis decretisque sancitum sit ab omnibus oppressis ad Romanam ecclesiam appellandum . . . Vos praeter auctoritatem nostram episcoporum quoque mutationes praesumitis, quod sine sacrosanctae Romanae sedis auctoritate ac licentia fieri novimus omnino prohibitum.' See Brett (1975), pp. 36–7.

[206] Urban II, JL 5642: Becker (1964), p. 219.   [207] Servatius (1979), p. 68.

flourishing: the earliest rumour of a litigant bribing the pope's advisers to recommend a favourable judgement.[208]

By pressing the pope's claims as 'judge of the canons' and 'judge of the whole church', the Gregorian papacy constructed that papal monarchy which had been envisaged by Leo IX and Cardinal Humbert in their negotiations with Constantinople in 1053–4. The monarchical role of the papacy was most clearly demonstrated by the papal council, which was one of the most characteristic institutions of the reform papacy.[209] The papal council was a hybrid institution, which developed during the pontificate of Leo IX from two earlier types of assembly. The first of these was the papal synod of the pre-reform period, the provincial synod of the bishop of Rome, attended by the bishops of the Roman ecclesiastical province and concerned with the local affairs of the Roman church. The second was the imperial council of the early eleventh century, in which the emperor (sometimes accompanied by the pope) regulated the ecclesiastical affairs of the empire. The papal councils of Leo IX combined elements of these earlier assemblies, to produce an institution under papal presidency which promulgated reforming decrees which were binding on the whole of western Christendom.[210] Leo IX's councils provided the model for those papal councils of the last quarter of the eleventh century which witnessed the formulation and elaboration of the Gregorian reform programme, the Lenten synods of Gregory VII in Rome and the well-attended and influential councils of Urban II's wandering pontificate. The Gregorian canonists considered that these reforming councils – like their predecessors, the 'general' or 'ecumenical' councils of the early church – derived their authority from the fact that they were summoned and presided over by the pope. Pseudo-Isidore's statement, that no synod could be regarded as valid unless it was assembled and confirmed by papal authority, provided the canonists with their principal authority. Bernold of Constance, the scholar most preoccupied with the relationship of pope and council, wrote: 'We read that no councils are valid if they are not supported by apostolic authority . . . For the bishop of that see is judge of the whole church.'[211]

According to Gregory VII, attendance at a papal council was part of the obedience which every bishop owed the pope: he represented the pope as *lord* of the council in an entirely literal sense. 'Every year', Gregory informed the

---

[208] Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 87, *PL* 162, col. 108B.   [209] Fransen (1974); Schmale (1974) and (1976).
[210] Boye (1929); Schmale (1976), pp. 81–4.
[211] Bernold of Constance, *De excommunicatis vitandis, MGH Libelli* II p. 126: 'Nam nulla concilia rata leguntur, quae apostolica auctoritate fulta non fuerint . . . Nam illius sedis episcopus iudex est totius ecclesiae.' See Sieben (1979). For the Pseudo-Isidorian 'authorities' see Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, pp. 19, 224, 228, 459, 465, 471, 479, 503, 721. For Gregorian use of this principle see, for example, Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.55a, c. 16, p. 205; Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum* I.52, ed. Thaner (1906–15), p. 27.

suffragans of the archdiocese of Milan in 1074, 'a general council must be held in the apostolic see for the honour and utility of holy church.' It was their duty to pay heed to the papal summons to this year's council, 'since if any knight abandons his lord when the latter is hastening to battle, not only does he lose [his lord's] grace, but we know that he also rightly loses the reward of a benefice which he had received'. Let the bishops learn from this example to be 'faithful knights of Christ'.[212] Here Gregory applied the feudal language which he so often used in the context of secular affairs, to the relations of pope and bishops: a bishop's attendance at a papal council was the equivalent of a vassal's attendance at his lord's court for the purpose of giving his 'counsel' to his lord. Gregory clearly felt that if a bishop failed in this duty, his office was at stake.[213] The Gregorian notion of papal lordship over the council was intensified by procedural developments in the councils of Urban II. Whereas in Gregory VII's Lenten synods the reforming decrees seem to have been formulated by all the participants before being ratified by the pope, in Urban II's councils a new division of labour emerged: the pope promulgated decrees and the bishops acclaimed them.[214] A French polemic of *c.* 1090, which enjoyed an unusually wide circulation, suggested that the papal schism could be settled by convoking a council of bishops who would judge the titles of the rival popes.[215] Such a subordination of the pope to a council was totally unacceptable to the adherents of Urban II. Events in the pontificate of Paschal II, however, conspired to challenge the papal lordship over the council. After Paschal had been forced in April 1111 to concede the right of investiture to Emperor Henry V, the Lateran synod of March 1112 compelled the pope to renounce this 'evil privilege' (*pravilegium*). It was rumoured indeed that the synod intended to depose Paschal and elect a new pope who would rescind the concessions of 1111;[216] but Paschal's readiness to comply with the synod's demands rendered this proceeding unnecessary. These proceedings of 1112 reveal the adherents of the Gregorian reform using the council to protect the papal reform movement from the actions of the pope.

---

[212] *Registrum* i.43, pp. 66–7: 'per singulos annos ad decorem et utilitatem sanctę ecclesię generale concilium apud sedem apostolicam sit tenendum . . . Intueri autem et diligenter vos oportet adtendere, quoniam quicunque miles domino suo in prelio properante se subtraxerit, non modo gratiam sibi labefactare, sed accepti beneficii commodum merito sibi corruisse dinoscitur. Hoc igitur exemplo appareat, qui ex vobis immo quam omnes sitis fideles Christi milites.'

[213] For a similar use of feudal terminology in the context of a papal council see the sermon attributed to Innocent II on the opening day of the Second Lateran Council (1139) in *Historia Mauriniacensis monasterii, MGH SS* xxvi, p. 44.

[214] Robinson (1990), pp. 125–7.

[215] *Altercatio inter Urbanum et Clementem, MGH Libelli* ii, pp. 169–72.

[216] Azo of Aqui, letter to Henry V: *Codex Udalrici* 161, ed. Jaffé (1869), p. 288. See Blumenthal (1978); Servatius (1979), pp. 309–25.

The rationale of the synod of 1112 can be found in the *Book concerning the Honour of the Church* by Placidus of Nonantola, composed on the eve of the synod to urge the cancellation of Paschal's 'evil privilege'. While Placidus had the greatest reverence for St Peter, 'the first pastor', he avoided giving a conventional Gregorian definition of the church, according to which membership of the church hinged on obedience to Rome. Instead he wrote: 'It is well known that the church is the congregation, or rather the convocation, of the faithful.' His treatise on the ills of the church was addressed to the episcopate in general and his solution to the problem of the investiture privilege was a conciliar one. Instead of invoking the apostolic authority, he drew an analogy with the council of Nicaea. 'What is to be done when the church is thrown into disorder? In a case concerning the faith there ought to be a conference of priests, as was done under Emperor Constantine of pious memory.'[217] Such 'conciliarist' ideas were, however, shortlived: after the end of the crisis of 1111–12 they are found no more in reforming literature. Calixtus II assumed firm control of the council, as is revealed in particular by an incident during his council of Rheims (October 1119). The first attempt of the papal advisers to formulate an investiture decree was rejected by members of the council. Before presenting the revised text of the decree, Calixtus admonished the council in the words of John 6:53.

We know that when the lord Jesus said to His disciples, 'unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, you have no life in you', many were offended and turned back and no longer followed Him. Likewise, when yesterday we made proposals for the sake of the freedom of the church, certain unfaithful men were offended. Therefore we say with apostolic authority: whoever is unfaithful, let him depart and go and make room for the faithful to study what is necessary for the freedom of the church.

The pope's admonition quelled any further resistance.[218] According to Calixtus, therefore, any member of the council who challenged a decree promulgated by the pope was to be regarded as *infidelis* and to be excluded from the council's deliberations. Calixtus applied to a conciliar context the favourite principle of Gregory VII, 'that he who does not agree with the Roman church is not to

---

[217] Placidus, *Liber de honore ecclesiae* 2, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 575: 'Aecclesiam esse congregationem fidelium vel potius convocationem notissimum est.' On the bishops, prologue, p. 569: 'sanctis praesentis temporis praesulibus et omnibus orthodoxis'. On the council, c. 136, p. 629: 'Quid agendum sit, quando turbatur aecclesia. In causa fidei sacerdotum debet esse collatio, sicut factum est sub Constantino augusto piae memoriae'. On Peter as 'first pastor', c. 169, p. 638.

[218] Hesso of Strasbourg *Relatio de concilio Remensi, MGH Libelli* III p. 28: 'Scimus etiam quia dominus Iesus cum proposuisset discipulis: 'Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem. non habebitis vitam in vobis', scandalizati sunt multi et abierunt retrorsum nec postea sequebantur eum. Sic et nos cum heri proposuissemus quaedam pro libertate ęcclesiae, scandalizati sunt quidam infideles. Unde et nos cum auctoritate apostolica dicimus: Qui infidelis est, discedat et exeat et det locum fidelibus, quae ecclesiastica sunt et libertati ecclesiae necessaria, pertractare'.

be considered a Catholic'.[219] As the experience of the twelfth century was to confirm, the pope was at his most monarchical when presiding over a council.

The image of monarchy dominates the ecclesiology of the Gregorian period. 'The apostolic pontiff, although he has divided up his charge among the individual bishops, has in no way deprived himself of his universal and ruling power; just as the king does not diminish his royal power, although he has divided up his kingdom among different dukes, counts and judges.' So Bernold of Constance interpreted Gregory VII's idea of the papal primacy in the earliest of his treatises defending Gregory's reform programme.[220] The source of this monarchical conception of the papacy was the description of the pope in the Donation of Constantine as 'prince over all the priests of the whole world', the description which had played so important a role in Leo IX's negotiations with Constantinople.[221] The image of St Peter, the *prince* of the apostles, becomes overwhelmingly monarchical in the literature of our period. In the letters of Gregory VII he appears as 'prince of the heavens', 'master of the universal church', to whom 'God gave the power of binding and loosing in heaven and on earth, as the prince' (Matthew 16:19).[222] In a hymn of Archbishop Alfanus of Salerno Peter is 'the consul and emperor' of Rome, whom 'the whole sublunary world serves'.[223] Late eleventh-century hymn-writers described the saint as 'prince of all the faithful of the church', 'imposing laws on the peoples like an arch-senator, upholding the rights of the world, removing the diadems of kings', ruling 'the whole creation which God the author made'.[224]

No less monarchical was the imagery of body and members which the reform papacy regularly used to describe the relationship of the Roman church with

---

[219] *Registrum* II.55a, c. 26, p. 207: 'Quod catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romane ecclesie.' See Fuhrmann (1977).

[220] Bernold, *Apologeticus* 23, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 88: 'praesul apostolicus, qui licet curam suam in singulos episcopos diviserit, nullomodo tamen se ipsum sua universali et principali potestate privavit, sicut nec rex suam regalem potentian diminuit, licet regnum suum in diversos duces, comites sive iudices diviserit'. He was responding to Gregory VII, JL 4933: *Epistolae vagantes* 8, pp. 16–18. On the date of Bernold's *Apologeticus* see Robinson (1978b), pp. 69–74.

[221] *Constitutum Constantini* 12, *MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui* X, p. 83: 'princeps cunctis sacerdotibus totius mundi'. See Leo IX, JL 4302, ed. Will (1861), p. 70.

[222] See the Namenregister of E. Caspar's edition of Gregory VII's *Registrum*, p. 666: 'apostolorum princeps', 'princeps celestis', 'princeps celorum', 'universalis ecclesie magister'; and especially *Registrum* IV.2, p. 295: 'Deus beato Petro *principaliter* dedit potestatem ligandi et solvendi in cęlo et in terra.' Cf. *Registrum* II.70, 72, pp. 230, 233.

[223] Alfano of Salerno, *Carmina* 16, *De sancto Petro apostolo*, *PL* 147, col. 1231C: 'Iam cape Romanum consul Caesarque senatum/Ecce, tibi cunctus servit sub sidere mundus.'

[224] *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* 37, 238: 'Princeps cunctorum ecclesiae exstat Petrus fidelium'; *ibid.*, 45a, 169: 'leges in populos statuens velut archisenator, saecli iura tenens, regum diademata solvens'; *ibid.*, 37, 243: 'Tu imperas machinae cunctae quam Deus auctor condidit.' See Szövérffy (1957) and (1954), pp. 303–11.

the other churches.[225] The favourite Gregorian image of the Roman church as 'mother' was given a monarchical edge in the formula of Gregory VII, 'mother and mistress (*magistra*) of all Christendom', and that of Urban II, 'mother and prince of the churches'.[226] The consequences of such a conception of papal authority are made explicit in Gregory's letters, concerning the duties of a bishop towards the holy see. A bishop ought 'to be an impregnable wall in defence of the Roman church . . . and of us; [he] ought, if necessary, to take up the shield of the faith and the sword of Christ on our behalf and on behalf of our successors, by virtue both of [his] office and of [his] debt to the holy Roman church'.[227] The recipient of this particular description of the bishop's role, Archbishop Liemar of Bremen, reinterpreted it for his colleagues in less exalted language. 'The dangerous man wishes to order bishops about as if they were his bailiffs; and if they do not perform all his demands, they are to come to Rome or they are suspended without judgement.'[228] This image of bishops degraded to servitude by a power-mad tyrant reappeared in the accusations against the 'false monk Hildebrand' in the synod of Worms (January 1076). Hildebrand had treated 'the rulers of holy church' 'like servants who know not what their lord does' (John 15:15).[229] In Gregory VII's calls for obedience from bishops and in his opponents' accusations of 'tyranny' we can identify a clash between two rival ecclesiologies: the centralising, monarchical ecclesiology of the reform papacy and the ecclesiology which the eleventh-century episcopate had inherited from the Carolingian and Ottonian ages. Theirs was a Christendom composed of autonomous 'territorial churches' (*Landeskirchen*), governed by bishops meeting frequently in provincial or national synods, collaborating closely with kings in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs.[230] The ecclesiology which inspired the reforming activities of Gregory VII envisaged the universal church as a single unified institution directed by Rome. The central fact of the church's life, according to this vision, was the papal primacy, 'which embraced the whole church like a single diocese, gathering to itself the fullness of power

---

[225] E.g. Gregory VII, *Registrum* IV.16, IX.29, pp. 321, 613. See Congar (1961), pp. 199–200, 202, 205.

[226] E.g. Gregory VII, *Registrum* I.15, p. 24: 'sancta Romana ęcclesia, mater vestra et totius christianitatis . . . magistra': see Congar (1961), p. 203 n. 23. Urban II, JL 5375, *PL* 151, col. 293C: 'Dominus Romanam ecclesiam ecclesiarum matrem principemque constituit'.

[227] *Registrum* II.28, pp. 160–1: 'Quem murum inexpugnabilem pro sancta Romana ecclesia . . . pro nobis . . . quem scutum fidei, quem gladium Christi sumere debere, si oporteret, tum officio tuo tum predicto debito pro sancta Romana ecclesia, pro nobis etiam nostrisque successoribus'.

[228] Archbishop Liemar of Bremen to Bishop Hezilo of Hildesheim (1075): Hildesheimer Briefe 15 in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, p. 34: 'Periculosus homo vult iubere, quę vult, episcopis ut villicis suis'.

[229] Henry IV, *Epistola* 12, *MGH Deutsches Mittelalter* I, p. 15: 'rectores sanctę ecclesię . . . sicut servos, nescientes quid faciat domnus eorum, sub pedibus tuis calcasti'.

[230] Congar (1968), pp. 131–51.

of the whole hierarchy, from the power of binding and loosing to the pastoral duty of preaching'.[231]

Three institutions in particular serve to illustrate how Gregory VII and his immediate successors strove to centralise and unify the church. The dignity of metropolitan, the office of papal legate and the institution of monastic exemption were all used to enhance papal influence throughout the church and to undermine the independence of the bishops. The Gregorian concern, first, to reinforce the authority of the metropolitan over his suffragans is an instance of the efforts of the reform papacy to restore the ancient structure of the church. The emphasis on 'ancient authority' is apparent, for example, in Gregory VII's judgement on the dispute between Dol and Tours concerning the latter's metropolitan status. Archbishop Rudolf, 'complaining that the church of Tours had lost her rights over Brittany, produced the authority of the Roman pontiffs, which clearly proves that Brittany owes subjection and reverence to the church of Tours as spiritual mother and metropolis'.[232] Investigation of the 'pure and authentic authority of the holy Fathers' (in this case, the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals) similarly prompted Gregory to confer on the archbishopric of Lyons the primacy over the provinces of Sens, Tours and Rouen.[233] Urban II strove 'to preserve all the ancient dignity' of the church of Rheims, in conformity with the privilege which Pope Hormisdas had conferred on St Remigius.[234] The opening phase of the *reconquista* of Spain gave the papacy the opportunity to reconstruct the Spanish church. Urban II proceeded 'to restore the Christian authority of the church of Toledo' according to the ancient model.[235] Subsequently Paschal II raised the bishop of Braga to the rank of archbishop and metropolitan and Calixtus II conferred the same dignity on the ambitious Diego Gelmírez of Compostela.[236]

While this reinforcement of the authority of metropolitans and primates reflected the central Gregorian theme of 'restoration', it also undoubtedly had a disciplinary and a centralising function. The metropolitan's responsibility for imposing order on his suffragans was emphasised, for example, by Gregory VII, when he deplored the fact that the bishops of Poland had no metropolitan and consequently were 'not placed under any tutelage, each wandering hither

---

[231] Miccoli (1966a), p. 187. See also Congar (1961); Ullmann (1970), pp. 272–99.

[232] *Registrum* VII.15, pp. 488–9: 'Archiepiscopus siquidem vester ecclesiam Turonensem ius suum in Britannia perdidisse conquerens Romanorum pontificum auctoritatem in medium duxit, quę perspicue probat Britanniam Turonensi ecclesię quemadmodum spirituali matri et metropoli suę subiectionem et reverentiam debere.'

[233] *Registrum* VI.34, pp. 447–9. See Fuhrmann (1954), pp. 61–84.

[234] Urban II, JL 5415, *PL* 151, col. 310C: 'antiquam omnem vestrae ecclesiae dignitatem servare'.

[235] Urban II, JL 5366, *PL* 151, col. 288C: 'auctoritatem Christianam Toletanae ecclesiae restituere'.

[236] Paschal II, JL 5854, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* I, 707; Calixtus II, JL 6823, *PL* 163, col. 1168D–1169D.

and thither to obtain ordination, free and unrestricted, contrary to the rules and decrees of the holy Fathers'.[237] The disciplinary role of the metropolitan is apparent in Gregory's letter rebuking a bishop of Poitiers for disobedience towards his 'master' (*magister*), the archbishop of Bordeaux.[238] In the final version of Gregory's reform programme, promulgated in the Roman synod of Lent 1080, the metropolitan was given a crucial role in the process of ecclesiastical reform. In the decree concerning episcopal elections the metropolitan shared with the pope the duty of ensuring that elections were free and canonical. On the death of a bishop, 'at the instance of the bishop who is sent as visitor by the apostolic or the metropolitan see, the clergy and people – setting aside all worldly ambition, fear or favour – shall, with the consent of the apostolic see or their metropolitan, elect for themselves a pastor according to God'.[239] In the new ecclesiastical regime envisaged by the Gregorian papacy after the prohibition of lay investiture, the metropolitan was to assume the role in episcopal elections formerly usurped by the secular ruler. The metropolitan was entrusted with this responsibility because of his close relationship with the papacy.

According to tradition, a new archbishop must receive from the pope the ceremonial garment of his office, the *pallium*. In the particular case of the archbishops of Ravenna, the papacy had since the ninth century demanded on such occasions an oath confirming the archbishop's conformity with the Roman church in faith and morals. From 1053 onwards the reform papacy had demanded an oath from *all* archbishops, while vigorously insisting that archbishops come in person to receive the *pallium*. They perceived in this tradition a means of investigating the reforming credentials of new archbishops and of forging a personal bond with them.[240] The surviving examples of the oaths administered to archbishops in the later eleventh century reveal how the reform papacy exploited this tradition in the interests of the papal primacy. The earliest extant oath, that sworn by Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna to Pope Alexander II in 1073, contained – beside the traditional promise to be faithful to the pope and to protect the property of the Roman church – two novel elements. The archbishop must assist papal legates who were sent to

---

[237] *Registrum* II.73, p. 234: 'episcopi terrę vestre non habentes certum metropolitanę sedis locum nec sub aliquo positi magisterio huc et illuc pro sua quisque ordinatione vagantes ultra regulas et decreta sanctorum patrum liberi sunt et absoluti'.

[238] *Registrum* II.2, pp. 125–6.

[239] *Registrum* VII.14a, p. 482: 'instantia visitatoris episcopi, qui ei ab apostolica vel metropolitana sede directus est, clerus et populus remota omni seculari ambitione, timore atque gratia, apostolicę sedis vel metropolitani sui consensu pastorem sibi secundum Deum eligat'.

[240] E.g. Gregory VII, *Registrum* I.24, p. 41. See von Hacke (1898), p. 131. On the original character of the oath see Gottlob (1936), pp. 21–4.

his archdiocese and must attend papal synods.[241] A comparison with the next extant oath – that sworn by Patriarch Henry of Aquileia to Gregory VII in 1079 – reveals the rapid escalation of papal demands. The key word in the oath of 1079 is 'obedient': Henry swore to be 'faithful and obedient to St Peter and Pope Gregory' and 'to show canonical obedience' when summoned to a papal synod. In addition he swore not to communicate with those excommunicated by the pope and to give military help to the Roman church when called upon to do so.[242] The consequence of taking such an oath was, as Urban II pointed out to Archbishop Rainald of Rheims, that the archbishop owed 'subjection and obedience to no one, save only the Roman pontiff'.[243] The papacy clearly expected that this close relationship with the Roman church would inspire metropolitans and primates to act as agents of Roman centralisation. Their role in the Gregorian reform strategy was to break down the provincial attitudes of the *Landeskirche*, to ensure that their suffragans were aware of reforming legislation and to punish bishops who disobeyed the papal decrees.

This was also the function of papal legates. Gregory VII claimed that the legatine office was an institution as ancient as that of metropolitan or primate. 'The Roman church had this custom from the earliest days of her foundation, that she sent her legates to all the lands known to be Christian and conferred her authority on the legates to do whatever the governor and ruler of the Roman church could not perform in person.'[244] The early medieval papacy had indeed sent envoys to the Byzantine and later to the Frankish court; but the papal legation as Gregory VII knew it was an innovation of the reform papacy. He himself during the 1050s had been one of the early legates whose activities had shaped and extended the legatine office, deposing bishops guilty of simony in France and seeking to inculcate respect for the Roman primacy in the proudly independent church of Milan. A famous anecdote, recorded in the table-talk of Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, describes how Abbot Hugh of Cluny encountered Hildebrand on such a legatine journey and wondered at the authority which the office of legate had conferred on a man of such

---

[241] Oath of Wibert of Ravenna: Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum* IV.423, ed. Wolf von Glanvell (1905), p. 599. See Gottlob (1936), pp. 40–4.

[242] *Registrum* VI.17a, c. 4, pp. 428–9: 'fidelis ero et oboediens beato Petro et papaę Gregorio ... Ad synodum, ad quam me vocabunt ... veniam et canonice oboediam.' See Gottlob (1936), p. 45.

[243] Urban II, JL 5415, *PL* 151, col. 310B: 'ut nulli, nisi solummodo Romano pontifici, subiectionem et obedientiam debeas'.

[244] Gregory VII, JL 5042, *Epistolae vagantes* 21, p. 56: 'Romana ecclesia hanc consuetudinem habuit ab ipsis suae fundacionis primordiis, ut ad omnes partes quae christianae religionis titulo praenotantur suos legatos mitteret; quatinus ea quae gubernator et rector eiusdem Romanae ecclesiae per suam praesentiam expedire non praevalet, vice sua legatis concessa.'

obscure origin.[245] As pope, Gregory emphasised the legate's authority in one of the statements of the *Dictatus papae*: '[The pope's] legate takes precedence over all bishops in a council, even [if he is] of inferior rank, and he can give sentence of deposition against them.'[246] This was certainly a power that the subdeacon Hildebrand had assumed on his French legation (1056); but the 'Gregorian' canonists who restated this principle in the 1080s had difficulty in justifying it from their ancient sources. Anselm II of Lucca and Cardinal Deusdedit included in their canonical collections a single case in the *Register* of Pope Gregory I, which they cited out of context and to which they gave a generalised, 'Gregorian' interpretation.[247] Attempts by Gregory VII's legates to assume the status ascribed to them in the *Dictatus papae* provoked fierce opposition. Archbishop Liemar of Bremen complained of the German legation of 1074: 'Like reckless madmen [the legates] adjured us by our obedience to the apostolic see either to do their bidding and summon a synod or to come to Rome and explain ourselves.'[248]

The Gregorian legation was clearly perceived by some contemporaries as an instrument of aggression against the episcopate; and certainly the conduct of the most energetic Gregorian legate, Bishop Hugh of Die – who in a single council in 1077 suspended five archbishops and one bishop from their offices – supports this interpretation.[249] The legatine office as developed by Hugh of Die, later archbishop of Lyons, was an innovatory and unprecedentedly powerful reforming institution: a permanent legation entrusted to a churchman who was a native of his legatine province and who combined the office of legate with that of bishop or archbishop. The permanent legation originated in France with the appointment of Hugh of Die in the northern and central regions and Amatus of Oloron, later archbishop of Bordeaux, in Aquitaine. The circumstances of the Investiture Contest and of the wandering pontificate of Urban II, which increased the difficulties of communication between the curia and the western church, promoted the wider use of the permanent legation. Bishop Gebhard III of Constance became Urban's permanent legate in Germany in 1089 and remained the leader of the papal party until his death in 1110. Urban introduced

---

[245] *Memorials of St Anselm*, ed. Southern and Schmitt (1969), pp. 211–12. Cf. Paul of Bernried, *Vita sancti Gregorii VII*, c. 12, ed. Watterich (1862), p. 481.

[246] *Registrum* II.55a, c. 4, p. 203: 'Quod legatus eius omnibus episcopis presit in concilio etiam inferioris gradus et adversus eos sententiam depositionis possit dare'.

[247] Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum* I.25, ed. Thaner (1915), p. 17; Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum* 1.206, ed. Wolf von Glanvell (1905), p. 121. On Hildebrand's legation see Schieffer (1935), p. 57.

[248] Archbishop Liemar of Bremen to Bishop Hezilo of Hildesheim (1075): Hildesheimer Briefe 15, p. 34: 'Illi velut inconsiderati homines et furiosi sub obędientia sedis apostolicę iniunxerunt, ut aut hanc eorum voluntatem de synodo laudanda faceremus aut Romam rationem reddituri veniremus'.

[249] *Registrum* v.17, pp. 378–80. See Schieffer (1935), p. 237. Gregory VII reversed his legate's decisions in these cases.

the institution into Spain in the person of Archbishop Bernard of Toledo (1096), whom he had already raised to the rank of primate of the Spanish church.[250] The permanent 'native' legation was a characteristic Gregorian institution, in that it was shaped by the innovatory actions of the zealous adherents of the papacy who were appointed to the office, while the theoretical justification of the institution lagged far behind the practice. We must wait until the pontificate of Paschal II for a detailed account of the status and functions of a permanent 'native' legate, in the form of a letter of 1108 to local metropolitans, announcing the appointment of a permanent legate in Aquitaine.

To lighten your task, so that you have someone near you to whom you can bring requests and difficulties – someone who by his counsels and his encouragement assists you in accomplishing the work of salvation – we delegate our own authority for the duration of our pontificate to our dearly beloved brother, Gerard of Angoulême, who will share our responsibilities among you. For the honour of God and the salvation of your souls, faithfully obey him who will be our vicar and the vicar of the apostles in your lands, so that with your collaboration, by God's grace, whatever needs to be destroyed may be rooted out, whatever needs to be confirmed may be strengthened. Do not disdain, beloved brethren, to hold synods with him when they are needed for the good of the church. For this purpose we grant him the power to summon [synods] in our place.[251]

The Gregorian permanent legate was the pope's *vicarius*, appointed to act for the pope's lifetime as vice-pontiff within his province. The instrument by means of which he reformed the church and settled judicial cases ('requests and difficulties') was the legatine synod, in which (as the *Dictatus papae* had already emphasised) he presided over all the churchmen of the province, however exalted their rank. But in the course of the career of Gerard of Angoulême the attitude of the papacy towards this uniquely powerful office changed. In 1123, for example, Gerard was summoned to Rome to answer a complaint made against him by the archbishop of Bordeaux. Here he was admonished by Calixtus II to show more condescension towards the churchmen of his province and to examine cases with more care and courtesy.[252] Calixtus (who had, as

[250] Becker (1973), pp. 245, 267–8; Säbekow (1931), pp. 28–32, 71–2; Robinson (1990), pp. 152–5.

[251] Paschal II, JL 6262, *PL* 163, col. 241BC: 'Ut autem penes vos habeatis, apud quem querelas vestras et negotia, cum opportunum fuerit, referatis, cuiusque consilio et hortatu, quae ad salutem attinent, peragatis: vices nostras fratri charissimo Girardo Engolismensi episcopo commisimus, in partes eum nostrae sollicitudinis asciscentes. Huic vice nostra, ut nostro apostolorumque in partibus vestris vicario, ad Dei honorem et ad salutem animarum vestrarum fideliter obedite: ut vobis per Dei gratiam collaborantibus, quae exstirpanda sunt, exstirpare: quae corroboranda sunt, corroborare praevaleat. Nec sollicitudinem, fratres charissimi, pigeat, cum necessitas ecclesiasticae utilitatis exegerit, synodales cum eo celebrare conventus: quos nimirum convocandi, nos ei vice nostra potestatem indulsimus'. See Claude (1968).

[252] Calixtus II, JL – (21 November 1123): ed. Mauteyer (1898), pp. 17–36. Cf. JL 7031: *Gallia Christiana* 2 (1720), 312, *Instrumenta* 51; JL 7034, *PL* 163, col. 1276C–1277B.

Archbishop Guido of Vienne, himself enjoyed the authority of a permanent native legate) also curtailed the legatine authority which his predecessors had conferred on the archbishop of Toledo, by conferring legatine powers on the archbishop of Compostela (1120).[253] By the 1120s there was no longer the same need for a *vicarius*, a vice-pontiff, as had existed a generation earlier. The creation of the Gregorian permanent legation had been an emergency measure of the Investiture Contest, but that emergency was now over. The papal curia was well aware of the justification for papal innovations presented by the canonists: that the popes made new laws only in a case of *necessitas*, and that (citing a dictum of Pope Innocent I) when the necessity ceased the law which it had inspired must cease also.[254]

A further emergency measure – the exemption of monasteries from the spiritual authority of bishops – illustrates the fundamental Gregorian conviction that reform and ecclesiastical liberty could only be achieved by the direct subordination of a church to the papacy. Gregory VII explained the papal role of protector of monasteries in a letter to Bishop Cunibert of Turin, who was accused of harassing the monastery of S. Michele della Chiusa.

> Surely you do not think that bishops have received, as part of their pastoral jurisdiction, the power and licence to oppress the monasteries in their dioceses as much as they wish . . . ? Or do you not know that the holy Fathers have often freed monasteries from subjection to their diocesan bishop and bishops from the authority of the metropolitan see in order to deliver them from the tyranny of their superiors; they have decreed that they should be permanently free and be attached to the apostolic see as the chief members to their head?

Since the later tenth century S. Michele della Chiusa had been exempted from secular jurisdiction and placed under the protection of the Roman church. Gregory warned Cunibert that any further episcopal harassment of the monastery would force the pope to extend that exemption, 'so that that monastery together with all its possessions may be in perpetual liberty and subject to the authority or judgement of no one except the holy Roman church'.[255] S. Michele della Chiusa would be granted exemption from the bishop's

---

[253] Säbekow (1931), p. 72.

[254] E.g. Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana* 1.44, ed. Perels (1930), p. 33. See Krause (1960). See also above p. 314.

[255] Gregory VII, *Registrum* 11.69, pp. 227–8: 'Nunquidne existimas episcopos hanc in pastorali regimine potestatem atque licentiam suscepisse, ut monasteria, quę in suis parroechiis consistunt, quantum velint opprimant . . . ? An ignoras, quod sancti patres plerumque et religiosa monasteria de subiectione episcoporum et episcopatus de parroechia metropolitanę sedis propter infestationem presidentium diviserunt et perpetua libertate donantes apostolicę sedi velut principalia capiti suo membra adhęrere sanxerunt?' 'ut monasterium illud cum omnibus suis pertinentiis imperpetua libertate consistat et nullius magisterio vel iudicio post Deum nisi sanctę Romanę ecclesię subditum'. See Szabó-Bechstein (1985), pp. 180–1.

spiritual jurisdiction and Cunibert would lose that authority which the council of Chalcedon (451) had given to the diocesan.[256] In the event Gregory's threat was carried out by Urban II, who issued a privilege exempting S. Michele from the spiritual authority of the bishop of Turin in 1095, confirmed by Calixtus II in 1123.[257] The model for Gregorian 'monastic policy' was the 'Roman liberty' (*Romana libertas*) enjoyed by Cluny. The great Burgundian abbey had been freed from secular control and placed under the protection of the Roman church by its founder (910). A series of late tenth-century and eleventh-century papal privileges exempted the abbey from the spiritual authority of its diocesan, the bishop of Mâcon, so that Cluny was free from every authority save that of the pope. This Cluniac freedom was regarded by Gregory VII as a microcosm of 'the freedom of the church' which his reforms were intended to promote. He attributed the extraordinary sanctity and spiritual fervour of Cluny to the abbey's special relationship with St Peter and the abbots' and monks' 'imitation of the freedom and dignity of this holy Roman see'.[258]

The Gregorian papacy regarded monastic exemption as a defensive weapon to protect religious houses against diocesans hostile to monastic reform. To many observers, however, exemption seemed to be yet another Gregorian device for undermining the authority of the episcopate. Opponents of the reform papacy noted that German monasteries which received 'Roman liberty' became centres of Gregorian propaganda and political opposition to the emperor. The anonymous monk of Hersfeld who defended the traditional *ordo* of the imperial church in his learned treatise *On the Necessity of Preserving the Unity of the Church* identified the abbey of Hirsau as a principal source of disorder in the church. Hirsau monks were 'the authors of schisms' who, ignoring the decrees of the council of Chalcedon, disobeyed their bishop and wandered abroad, disseminating Gregorian ideas.

They who ought to be contained within the solitude of their monasteries have gone out beyond the bounds and the constitutions of the Fathers, usurping for themselves, against the divine ordination, the disposition – or rather, the destruction – of kingship and priesthood; and they send everywhere messengers of their word, preaching that God's church, God's righteousness and God's priesthood exist only among them and their supporters.[259]

---

[256] Council of Chalcedon c. 4, 8, ed. Mansi 7, cols. 374–5. See Cowdrey (1970), p. 24.

[257] Urban II, JL 5554, ed. J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita* 2 (Tübingen and Stuttgart, 1880), p. 158; Calixtus II, JL 7043, *ibid.* 2, p. 237. See Schreiber (1910), 1, pp. 41, 154, 199, 221.

[258] Gregory VII, JL – (7 March 1080), *Epistolae vagantes* 39, p. 98: 'Qui abbates et monachi . . . huius sanctae Romanae sedis libertatem dignitatemque imitantes'.

[259] *Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda* II, *MGH Libelli* II p. 266: 'auctores scismatum . . . Qui enim debuerant se continere intra solitudines monasteriorum, egressi sunt ultra terminos et constitutiones

Such criticisms were answered by the staunch papalist Bernold of Constance (who in later life was a monk successively in two reformed houses enjoying 'Roman liberty', St Blaise and Schaffhausen). Bernold argued that the council of Chalcedon did not prohibit the pope from placing monasteries directly under his own authority, 'so that they are especially subject, not to the bishop of the diocese, but to the apostolic see'.[260]

The principal reason why 'Roman liberty' became so contentious an issue between the episcopate and the Gregorian papacy was the rapid proliferation of spiritual exemption in the last quarter of the eleventh century. This proliferation was not, however, planned by the papacy with the purpose of undermining episcopal authority. It arose incidentally from the disciplinary measures adopted during the Investiture Contest. The process is illustrated by the protection which Gregory VII conferred on the monastery of Schaffhausen (1080).

So as to confirm the gift of Roman liberty we have added [to the privilege] that, if at any time the bishop of Constance [the diocesan of Schaffhausen] is not in accord with the holy see and is disobedient . . . the abbot is permitted to seek for himself and his [brethren] ordinations, consecrations and whatever belongs to the episcopal office, and receive them from any religious bishop or to have recourse to the apostolic see.[261]

The majority of the papal privileges for monasteries issued in the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries conferred simply the protection of St Peter rather than the full 'Roman liberty', including exemption from the spiritual authority of the diocesan. After the outbreak of the Investiture Contest, however, when bishops were increasingly 'not in accord with the holy see and disobedient', the papal privilege of protection dropped the conventional formula reminding monks of the 'canonical jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop' and substituted the requirement that the monks should obey their bishop only if he was in communion with the Roman see.[262] The numerous papal excommunications

patrum, usurpantes sibi contra divinam ordinationem disponere, immo destruere regnum et sacerdotium; qui mittunt circumquaque angelos verbi sui praedicantes, apud se suosque sectatores esse tantum ecclesiam Dei et iustitiam Dei et sancta sacerdotia Dei'.

[260] Bernold, *Apologeticae rationes*, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 98: 'ut non episcopo civitatis, sed apostolicae sedi specialiter subiaceant'.

[261] *Registrum* VII.24, pp. 504–5: 'Illud etiam ad Romanę libertatis munus confirmandum subiungentes adiecimus, ut, si aliquo tempore Constantiensi ecclesię presidens ab apostolica sede discordaverit eique inobediens fuerit . . . liceat abbati sibi suisque a quocunque religioso episcopo placuerit ordinationes consecrationes et, quę ad episcopale officium pertinent, expetere atque suscipere vel ad apostolicam sedem recurrere'.

[262] Fabre (1892), p. 93. See also pp. 94–5 on the way in which the census formula in the privileges of Urban II – 'as proof of this liberty received from the Roman church' (*ad indicium perceptae huius a Romana ecclesia libertatis*) – blurred the distinction between exemption from secular and spiritual authority and exemption from secular jurisdiction alone.

of bishops during the Wibertine schism gave many monasteries a temporary exemption from the authority of their diocesan, which some sought to convert into a perpetual privilege.

Once again an emergency measure of the Gregorian papacy served to enhance the Roman primacy over the church at the expense of the episcopate; and, as in the case of the permanent 'native' legations, the ending of the Investiture Contest meant that the emergency measure was no longer necessary. With the end of the schism the papacy no longer had any reason to command monks to disobey their bishop. The councils of Calixtus II's pontificate heard repeated episcopal attacks on the principle of the spiritual exemption of monasteries. Cluny was the special target in the council of Rheims (1119), Monte Cassino in the First Lateran Council (1123). The Chronicle of Monte Cassino records the denunciation of the monks by the bishops and archbishops in the latter assembly: 'Those to whom St Benedict offered a place of rest away from worldly cares, instead exert themselves in and out of season to destroy whatever belongs to bishops.'[263] The council responded to these episcopal complaints by restating the decree of the council of Chalcedon. Monks were 'to be subject to their own bishops with all humility' and must obey them 'as masters and pastors of the church of God'.[264] This decree was addressed to those monasteries falsely claiming spiritual exemption: it did not affect the interests of those monasteries with a genuine claim to 'Roman liberty'. As Cardinal John of S. Grisogono, Cluny's advocate in the debate in the council of Rheims, had pointed out, the abbey's special status was guaranteed by the pope, 'who by God's command is over all men on earth'. Cluny's liberty was an expression of the 'Roman authority' which governed the whole church: the diminution of her privileges would diminish the papal primacy.[265]

It was as protector and guarantor of 'Roman liberty' that the Gregorian papacy figured in the history of the monastic reform movement of the late eleventh century. Twentieth-century historians have been much preoccupied with the 'synchronism' of monastic reform and the development of the Gregorian papacy in the central middle ages[266] and have speculated on the relationship between the two reform movements. Faced with these simultaneous and

---

[263] *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* IV.78. *MGH SS* XXXIV, p. 542: 'Et quibus per beatum Benedictum a curis mundialibus ultro quiescendi locus offertur, ad tollenda ea, que episcoporum sunt, oportune, inportune fatigantur'.

[264] *Concilium Lateranense I*, c. 16 in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, p. 195: 'Sanctorum etiam patrum vestigiis inhaerentes generali decreto sancimus, ut monachi propriis episcopis cum omni humilitate subiecti existant et eis uti magistris et ecclesiae Dei pastoribus debitam obedientiam et devotam in omnibus subiectorum exhibeant'.

[265] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* XII.21, ed. Chibnall VI, p. 272: 'ille qui precipiente Deo in terris super omnes est ipsam patrocinetur'.

[266] Hourlier (1974), p. 425.

apparently similar movements for monastic freedom and for 'the freedom of the church', and faced by a series of monk-popes – Gregory VII, Victor III, Urban II, Paschal II, Gelasius II – advised by a college of cardinals, many of whom came from a monastic background,[267] historians have often concluded that the papal reform movement was inspired by the monastic reform movement.[268] In some textbooks indeed the terms 'Cluniac' and 'Gregorian' are used as synonyms. This misconception has been corrected in H. E. J. Cowdrey's studies of the two monasteries most closely associated with the Gregorian papacy, Cluny and Monte Cassino. The monastic and papal reform movements were quite distinct in their objectives and their conceptions of 'reform'. They 'developed together and reacted upon each other as an older and a younger contemporary, exercising a reciprocal influence on each other's growth'.[269] Each benefited from the other's support. The monasteries had need of papal support, in the form of privileges and of legatine intervention, to protect them from local secular and ecclesiastical authorities hostile to monastic reform. In return, monks entered the service of the papacy and assisted in the reform of the secular church. During the last quarter of the eleventh century all the cardinal bishops whose former careers are recorded were monks.[270] Some of the most important papal legations were entrusted to monks: for example, the German legation of Bernard, abbot of St Victor in Marseilles, and the Spanish legation of his brother and successor, Richard.[271] Monte Cassino, 'the spiritual armoury of the reform papacy',[272] which produced two popes during our period, Victor III and Gelasius II, revitalised the chancery of the reform papacy.[273] Cluny provided the model for the reorganisation of the papal financial administration during the pontificate of the Cluniac pope, Urban II.[274]

The papal relationship with the reformed monasteries is the most striking example of the improvisation that was the hallmark of the Gregorian reform. A famous anecdote in the *History of Tournai* captures this spirit of improvisation. 'When . . . the lord Pope Gregory VII had commissioned Hugh [abbot of Cluny] to send him some wise men from among his monks, suitable for him to appoint as bishops, [Hugh] sent among others Odo [of Châtillon]', who

---

[267] On the monastic backgrounds of the reforming popes and cardinals see Hüls (1977), pp. 88–91, 100–6, 111–13, 129–30, 131–6, 141–2, 153, 154–7, 160–1, 166, 168–70, 172–4, 193–4, 203–4, 207–9, 216, 217–18, 221–3, 225, 227–8, 231–2, 233–4, 248, 251–2, 254.

[268] On the twentieth-century debate about the relationship between the two reform movements see Cowdrey (1970), pp. xiii–xxvii.

[269] Cowdrey (1970), pp. xxv, 121–87. See also Cowdrey (1983), pp. 46–106.

[270] Hüls (1977), pp. 90–2, 100–5, 110–12, 118–19, 125–7, 129–30, 134–7, 139–40.

[271] Robinson (1990), pp. 155, 408.   [272] Klewitz (1957), p. 103.

[273] Klewitz (1937–8); Cowdrey (1983), pp. 69–70.   [274] Sydow (1951).

became cardinal bishop of Ostia and subsequently pope.[275] This papal request is not extant; but in a letter of 1078 Gregory informed Abbot Hugh that he had consecrated and was sending to a bishopric in Spain an abbot whom Hugh had recommended for episcopal office.[276] Three years earlier Gregory had sent a more general request to Abbot Hugh to recommend helpers in the work of reform. Since both bishops and secular rulers were neglecting their duty towards the church, the pope must seek alternative allies in the work of reform. 'I wish to know more precisely who are truly faithful to [St Peter] and who love that heavenly prince for the sake of heavenly glory no less than they love those to whom they are subject for the sake of miserable earthly rewards.'[277] In the same month in which Gregory made this request to Hugh of Cluny, he sent to the south German dukes the letter outlining his 'new counsels' for the reform of the church, enlisting their support in publicising reforming decrees and removing unworthy priests from their altars.[278] Gregory's belief that in the last resort errant churchmen should be 'brought to their senses by the shame of the world and the reproof of the people'[279] also led him to support the Patarine reform movement in Milan and elsewhere in Lombardy. A letter of 1073 to the monastery of Vallombrosa in Tuscany shows Gregory encouraging the alliance between the reforming monks and the Patarini.[280] Scattered references in the papal correspondence show Gregory making contact with groups of reformers in cathedral chapters or monasteries with the intention of forcing a suspect prelate to embrace reform or even of deposing him.[281]

There is no question here of 'a "Gregorian" reform as conceived by Fliche, a "programme" elaborated by one man at the top of the hierarchy and spread right down to the bottom of the ladder by technocrats of theocracy'.[282] Instead we find the Gregorian papacy seeking to ally itself with princes sympathetic to

---

[275] *Historiae Tornacenses* IV.11, *MGH SS* XIV, p. 341: 'Cumque . . . dominus papa Gregorius VII eidem Hugoni mandasset, ut sibi aliquos de monachis suis viros sapientes transmitteret, quos competenter episcopos ordinare posset, ei inter ceteros praefatum Odonem transmisit, quem papa in urbe Hostiensi episcopum consecravit'. See Hüls (1977), pp. 100–5; Cowdrey (1970), pp. 170–1.

[276] Gregory VII, *Registrum* V.21, p. 384.

[277] *Registrum* II.49, p. 190: 'Volo quidem luce clarius intelligere, qui re vera sint illi fideles et qui eundem cęlestem principem non minus pro cęlesti gloria diligunt quam eos, quibus pro spe terrena et misera subiciuntur'.

[278] *Registrum* II.45, p. 184. See above pp. 306–7.

[279] Gregory VII, JL 4931, *Epistolae vagantes* 6, p. 14: 'verecundia saeculi et obiurgatione populi resipiscant'. Cf. *Registrum* II.66, p. 222.

[280] Gregory VII, JL 4814, *Epistolae vagantes* 2, p. 6 with n. 3. On Gregory's links with Vallombrosa see Goez (1973), pp. 237–9. On Gregory and the Pataria see above p. 307.

[281] Robinson (1978c), pp. 15–21, deals with the cases of Chartres, Orléans, Rheims, Thérouanne and Constance.

[282] Toubert (1973), p. 791. See above p. 302.

reform, with monasteries and with other local reform movements which had originated independently of Rome. Such movements and individuals readily accepted the powerful patronage and sanction of St Peter and his vicar. In Gregory VII's search for adherents of St Peter, in his contacts with monastic reformers and other reforming groups, and in his successors' drawing on monastic contacts to reconstruct the shattered papal government, there was no single coherent plan of reform but a series of desperate expedients, intended 'to rebuild God's righteousness with new counsels'. The methods of the Gregorian papacy were as improvised as the theory of papal monarchy which they were intended to implement.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES,
1024–1215

Giles Constable

THE religious life of contemplation, said a medieval homilist, is 'of the few, that is, of monks, hermits, recluses, and some clerics and laymen whose mind is so fixed on the Lord that it wants nothing else in the world. They are on the earth only in body; in thought and desire they are already in heaven.'[1] Although their numbers were small in relation to the population as a whole, more people – probably in absolute as well as in relative terms – were attracted to the life of religion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries than at any other time in the history of Europe, and most of them lived in some sort of community. Monks and nuns lived in monasteries; groups of clerics adopted a common life and were called regular (as distinct from secular) canons, because they followed a rule (*regula*); hermits often lived in small groups; and recluses or anchorites, who were walled into their dwellings, were inevitably dependent on a religious house, parish church or lay community. Lay men and women also lived a life dedicated to God either in groups or in their own homes.

It is impossible to give exact figures for the number of religious men and women in medieval Europe, especially in view of the overall increase in population, but some regional estimates have been made. The number of monks, nuns and canons in England grew from fewer than 1000 to over 10,000 between the Norman Conquest and the thirteenth century, and the number of anchorites to about 300, of whom at least half were women.[2] Some eighty monasteries were founded in Saxony between 1100 and 1300,[3] and the number of nunneries in Germany grew from about seventy in 900 to 150 in 1100 and 500 in 1250, with a total of between 25,000 and 30,000 nuns.[4] Comparable figures can be cited for houses of canons. The order of St Rufus near Avignon, which was founded in 1039, had 108 dependencies by 1154.[5] In the old kingdom

---

[1] Theodulf of Orleans, ed. Moricca, p. 255.   [2] Russell (1944); Warren (1985), p. 20.

[3] Schlesinger (1962), II, p. 165.

[4] Bernards (1955), p. 1; Tüchle (1950–4), I, p. 344.

[5] Dereine (1949), pp. 162–3; Bligny (1960), p. 223.

of Burgundy, between the Alps and the River Rhône, there were some 1500 to 1700 religious houses by the year 1200, of which about 65 per cent followed the rule of Benedict, 25 per cent were canons and 10 per cent either belonged to other orders or were hermits.[6] Individual houses likewise increased in size, though precise figures are again hard to establish. The community at Cluny quadrupled in size between the tenth and the middle of the twelfth century,[7] and the number of monks who subscribed to the election charters for St Albinus at Angers grew from 11 in 970, to 15 in 977, 57 in 1038, 78 in 1060 and 105 in 1082.[8]

Contemporaries were fully aware of this situation. The spread of religious houses in Swabia was described in the *Life* of Paulina, the founder of Paulinzelle, who devoted herself to pious works and went three times to Rome and as a widow retired to a chapel in the woods until her death in 1107.

In the whole Roman world at that time there was no place so terrible for its vast solitude, where so great a spiritual growth (*proventus . . . spiritualis*) of men and women serving God arose, as in Swabia, where so many gardens of delights blossomed in the darkness of the forests and terror of the locations, so many rose-beds of virtues arose in the monastic institution.[9]

Guibert of Nogent, Otto of Freising and Hugh of Fouilloy, writing respectively in the early, middle and late twelfth century, all remarked on the increase of religious men and women. According to Hugh, the confusion grew with the crowd of religious (*cum turba crevit turbatio*).[10]

Some questions about the growing number of monks were raised throughout this period. Bishop Burchard of Worms, the canon lawyer who died in 1025, was concerned at how many people had entered monasteries. Where would the laity be, he asked, if all men were monks or canons?[11] At about the same time, Bishop Adalbero of Laon criticised the public activities of monks, calling Odilo of Cluny the ruler of a monastic army, and when the clergy and people of Mainz urged their archbishop Siegfried, who had become a monk, to return, they praised the dignity of bishops and said that monks lived only for themselves: 'Did Peter and Paul and the other apostles . . . follow the Lord and bear His cross in such a way that in leaving the world they also left the care of souls?'[12] New areas of controversy developed as more monks were ordained, and the concept of the *vita apostolica*, which had long been considered a life of withdrawal

---

[6] Bligny (1960), pp. 163, 200, 229.   [7] Peter the Venerable, *Statuta* 55 (p. 85).

[8] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers* I, 39, 40–1, 47, 52, 54–5, nos. 21, 22, 27, 30, 31.

[9] Sigiboto, *Vita Paulinae*, c. 29 (p. 923).

[10] Guibert, *De vita sua* I.8 and 11 (ed. Bourgin, pp. 23 and 35); Otto, *Historia* VII.35 (pp. 369–74); Simons (1980), p. 243.

[11] *Vita Burchardi*, c. 17 (*MGH SS* IV, p. 840).

[12] Adalbero, *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem* I.156 (p. 12); Ulrich of Bamberg, *Ep.* 39 (pp. 82–3).

modelled on the members of the primitive church who had 'but one heart and one soul' and had all things in common (Acts 4:32), expanded to include the functions of preaching and pastoral work.[13]

No one seriously questioned the value of a life of dedication to God and withdrawal from the world, however. Bishop Fulbert of Chartres saw monastic life as a citadel amid the ruins of the church in France.[14] Cluny was 'the treasury of the entire Christian republic (*res publica christiana*) from which all people draw forth'; and Bernard of Clairvaux called monasteries cities of refuge (*urbes refugii*), where sinners could do penance, win grace and prepare themselves for the future life.[15] The canonist Bishop Stephen of Tournai stressed how many benefits flowed from the Cistercians to the people: 'They confer more on the whole than the whole [confers] on them (*plura conferunt universitati, quam universitas ipsis*).'[16]

Religious communities were considered a necessary and active part of Christian society. In addition to praying on behalf of individuals and of society as a whole, they performed many functions which are now the responsibility of public institutions. All the popes from 1073 until 1119, and a quarter of the cardinals, were monks at one time in their lives. Bishops, teachers and lawyers (including the canonist Gratian) came from the monastic order. Abbots like Suger of St Denis and Wibald of Stavelot served as counsellors to rulers; Hildegard of Bingen was widely admired and consulted; and even hermits and recluses like Christina of Markyate and Joachim of Fiore gave advice on worldly affairs. Henry II attributed his success to the presence and prayers of Gilbert of Sempringham, the founder of the only English religious order.[17] Guibert of Nogent told of a knight who became a monk at Flay and was sent to a cell in the Vexin, where he asked his prior's permission to repair the public road, which was in bad condition.[18] Much of the work of education and increasingly, in spite of some opposition, of preaching and pastoral care was done by monks and regular canons. They helped travellers, pilgrims, and the poor and aged. Laypeople attended their services, participated in their processions, and were linked to them in confraternities and prayer associations.

Religious communities embodied the highest ideals of medieval society, and their members must be seen in relation to the hopes and needs of people living in the world. They were not outsiders or adherents of a sect or of a counter-society or church within the church, and religious life was not, as is sometimes said, liminal in the anthropological sense of being a threshold from one stage

---

[13] Chenu (1954); Vicaire (1963); Miccoli (1966). [14] Fulbert, *Ep.* 1 (p. 8).

[15] Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 102 (I, p. 264); Bernard, *Sermones* XXI (37) (*Sancti Bernardi opera* IV, p. 113).

[16] Stephen of Tournai, *Ep.* 1 (ed. Desilve, p. 6). [17] *Vita Gileberti*, p. 176.

[18] Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua* I.21 (p. 81).

of life to another, except perhaps from this world to the next. Monastic values and practices permeated both lay and ecclesiastical society. The imposition of celibacy and common life on the lower clergy, upon which Bonizo of Sutri remarked in his *Book on the Christian Life*,[19] written about 1090, was largely owing to the example of monks. The pervasive influence of monasticism later gave rise to the hostility against which William James warned in *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. 'Taking refuge in monasteries was as much an idol of the tribe in the middle ages, as bearing a hand in the world's work is today', he said. 'Saint Francis or Saint Bernard, were they living today, would undoubtedly be leading consecrated lives of some sort, but quite as undoubtedly they would not lead them in retirement.'[20]

Bernard in fact lived a less retired life than he would have liked. He complained to the Carthusians of Portes that his 'monstrous life' and 'wretched conscience' cried out to them. 'For I am a sort of chimaera of my age, neither a cleric nor a layman. For long ago I gave up the way of life (*conversatio*) of a monk, but not the habit.'[21] This cry reflected the split in contemporary religious life, which was torn between a reassertion of the traditional monastic value of withdrawal and the new emphasis on apostolic and evangelical activity. Many of the religious leaders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries sought to be in and yet not of this world. They saw and sympathised with the needs of people living in the world, and of society generally, but they also wanted to recover the isolation, poverty and austerity of the primitive church and the desert fathers and to return to a strict and unadorned obedience to the rule of Benedict. They admired the austerity and humility of the Greek monks who moved north from southern Italy, and their stress on prayer and manual labour.[22] They wanted simple churches in remote places, without decorations or bell-towers to attract the laity. Above all they wanted to avoid worldly involvements and possessions, while still serving the poor and unfortunate. A servant of God, wrote Peter Damian, should be afraid to receive anything temporal and be glad to lose it.[23] Stephen of Grandmont told his followers to rely only on God and to have no charters, no land outside the boundaries of their communities, no churches, no law-suits, and no animals, since their love for their animals would reduce their love for God.[24] This tension, and the controversies to which it gave rise, led to what has been called a crisis or turning point in the history of medieval religious life.[25]

---

[19] Bonizo, *Liber de vita christiana* v.77 (p. 204).   [20] James (1902), p. 371.
[21] Bernard, *Ep.* 250.4 (*Sancti Bernardi opera* VIII, p. 147).
[22] Huyghebaert (1951); McNulty and Hamilton (1963).
[23] Peter Damian, *Op.* 53.4 (*PL* 145, col. 796A).
[24] Stephen of Grandmont, *Regula* 7 (CCCM VIII, p. 74).
[25] Morin (1928); Leclercq (1958); Van Engen (1986), who questioned the concept of a crisis.

The new forms of religious life and types of religious communities must be seen against a broader background of changes, which contributed to the atmosphere of personal isolation and uncertainty. The reform programme associated with the name of Gregory VII and the so-called Investiture Contest sought to free the church from lay control and to assert the universal authority of the pope over it. The growth of population and towns and the developing commercial economy promoted social and physical mobility, new problems of poverty, and the emergence of associations which replaced the old rural and familial patterns. 'Medieval men came to an enhanced awareness of their individual selves precisely through interaction with their fellow-men in tightly knit communal groups.'[26] The development of national states and administrative bureaucracies, and the accompanying legal changes, led to new relationships between society and religious institutions. Bernard's sense of disorientation was characteristic, as was Stephen of Grandmont's reply to the question of whether he was a canon, a monk or a hermit, that his glory was nothing and that he laid no claim to 'names of such sanctity'.[27]

People came to rely on their own resources both in this world and in their efforts to gain entry to the next. There was a sharper distinction between inner and outer in public as well as private life. Fulbert of Chartres in the early eleventh century comforted the archbishop of Rouen for the loss of his outward possessions (*exteriora*) by saying he still had the inner powers (*interiora*) of his love, canonical authority and pastoral staff.[28] Bishops and abbots might receive their temporal power or *dominium exterius* from a layman, but not their spiritual authority. Individuals also felt that they were responsible to God alone for their spiritual welfare and put less confidence in external actions and intercessionary prayer. Although Francis of Assisi condemned self-will and enjoined obedience, he recognised that a subject might see 'better and more useful things for his soul' than his superior, and he forbade either the ministers to give, or the friars to obey, an order 'against their soul or our rule'.[29] No such licence for independent judgement is found in earlier rules. According to the rule of Benedict, monks lived by another's judgement and rule, and Paschal II told the monks of St Giles that neither their bodies nor their wills were 'in their own power (*in propria potestate*)'.[30]

The beginning of the breakdown of the old monastic order can be seen already in the tenth century, when strict monasticism still adhered to the standards set by the Carolingian reformers, who stressed an extensive liturgy,

---

[26] Tierney (1973), p. 296.
[27] *Vita Stephani Muretensis*, c. 32 (CCCM VIII, pp. 121–2).
[28] Fulbert, *Ep.* 126 (pp. 226–8).
[29] Francis of Assisi, *Regula bullata*, c. 10 (p. 23); *Verba admonitionis*, c. 3 (p. 28).
[30] Benedict, *Rule*, c. 5; *PL* 163, col. 416CD (JL 6540).

economic independence, and freedom from interference in internal monastic affairs. 'The monastic order desires the greatest immunity', said Pope Agapitus II in a privilege for Cluny.[31] As the last remnants of Carolingian political or-ganisation disappeared in the eleventh century, the watchwords of *libertas* and *immunitas* were joined by *exemptio*, or freedom from episcopal control, and individual houses began to write down their customs or *consuetudines*, which could be followed in other houses. These privileges and customs formed the basis of congregations which originated as loosely affiliated groupings of in-dividual houses ruled over by a single abbot and later developed into highly organised religious orders. William of Volpiano or Dijon worked in Burgundy, Lorraine, Italy and Normandy, and Richard of St Vanne ruled twenty-one monasteries in north-western France and modern Belgium. Abbot Hugh ruled Cluny for sixty years and saw the expansion of Cluniac influence into almost every corner of Europe. At first there was no clear distinction between a monas-tic order and a monastery with dependencies, and the concept of a unified order with common customs and privileges emerged only at the end of the eleventh century. Urban II in 1090 granted the privileges of Vallombrosa to all the houses, present and future, that persisted 'in the same unity of religious life and custom' and established the position of Vallombrosa as 'head of them all'.[32] At about the same time the Cluniac order came to be seen as a single *ecclesia* or *corpus* of which all the members made their professions to a single abbot and followed the same customs, though it is uncertain whether the privileges of Cluny or, later, those of Cîteaux extended automatically to all houses in the order.[33] The idea of an order was clearly embodied in Paschal's bull of 1113 for Camaldoli, of which the religion had grown so greatly, he said, 'that various congregations come together by the grace of God into one congregation and many places keep one discipline, one order, one rule as with one heart and soul'.[34]

New religious congregations and professions multiplied in the twelfth cen-tury and the acceptance of their novelty was a distinctive aspect of the re-ligious attitude of the age. Bernard of Clairvaux praised the 'new army' of the Templars, who combined the meekness of monks with the strength of soldiers, and in 1131/2 he listed the Camaldolese, Vallombrosans, Carthusians, Cluniacs, and the monks of Marmoutier, Caen, Tiron and Savigny, in addition to his own Cistercians, among the supporters of Innocent II against his rival Anacletus II.[35] The Premonstratensian bishop Anselm of Havelberg stressed

---

[31] *Papsturkunden 896–1046* I.231, no. 130 (see also II.678, no. 348).
[32] *PL* 151, col. 323A (JL 5433).
[33] See Schreiber (1910), I, pp. 76 and 177–8; Lemarignier (1950), esp. pp. 322–3; Hourlier (1974), pp. 53–60.
[34] *PL* 163, col. 330D (JL 6357).
[35] Bernard, *De laude* IV.8 (*Sancti Bernardi opera* III, p. 221) and *Ep.* 126 (VIII, p. 317).

the novelty of various types of religious life in the first book of his *Dialogues*, where he used the image of the seven seals of the Apocalypse to explain the unfolding of God's plan for the church. Among the followers of St Augustine he discussed the order of St Rufus and his own order of Prémontré, whose founder Norbert led many houses 'to the perfection of the apostolic life'. Among the followers of St Benedict, Romuald established 'a new habit with a new fervour' at Camaldoli; Vallombrosans differed from other monks 'by a new order and new habit'; and Cîteaux was 'another new congregation of monks, differing in order and in habit from all who are called and are monks' and marked by patience, humility, observance of the rule, love of poverty, and religion.[36] James of Vitry in the chapter 'On the renovation of the western church' in his *History of the Western Church*, which was written about 1220, described the orders of Cîteaux, Calatrava, Val-des-Choux, Chartreuse, Grandmont and Tiron; the black monks of Cluny, Canterbury and Afflighem; the black nuns of Fontevrault; the Augustinian canons, and orders of Prémontré, Arrouaise, St Victor and the Holy Trinity (Trinitarians); the canons of Bologna (Dominicans), the Humiliati, the hospitals for the poor and lepers, secular canons and the friars minor (Franciscans). He then went on to 'the various orders of secular people', including priests, married people, widows, virgins, soldiers, merchants, peasants and artisans, since, he said, 'We do consider to be regulars not only those who renounce the world and transfer to a religious life, but we can also call regulars all of Christ's faithful who serve the Lord under the rule of the Gospel and who live in an orderly way under the one highest and supreme Abbot.'[37]

This development was threatening not only to the traditional religious communities and the reformers who sought to assert the distinctiveness of religious life but also to churchmen and administrators who feared the challenge that some of these groups presented to good order and their own authority. There was a growing fear of heresy in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Beyond the poverty, austerity and self-imposed sufferings of orthodox religious life lay dualism, with its rejection of the material world and assertion of the reality of evil; and beyond the independence of the reformers, and their refusal to fit into established types of religious life or to do anything 'against their soul', lay disobedience and rejection of the sacraments and priestly authority.[38] The ecclesiastical authorities had always been nervous of the self-will and popular appeal of hermits and wandering preachers, and it is a measure of their

---

[36] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi* I.7 (ed. Salet, pp. 92–106).
[37] James of Vitry, *Historia occidentalis*, c. 34 (p. 165).
[38] Grundmann (1935); Nelson (1972); Brown (1981), p. 74, who described heresies as 'statements . . . of the unexpressed assumptions and tensions of contemporary belief'.

tolerance and basic agreement with the purposes of the reformers that they
accepted so many changes and innovations, above all orders like the Mendi-
cants, who included service to men in service to God and practised collective as
well as individual poverty, refusing all property and supporting themselves by
manual labour and from alms. No one aspect of the Mendicants' programme
was radically new, but together they went beyond any of the reforms of the
preceding age, and it was a stroke of genius on the part of Innocent III and
his advisers to see (as in the dream depicted by Giotto and other painters) that
without the support of Francis and his followers the church of Rome would
fall.

Enough was enough, however, and by the time the Fourth Lateran Council
met at Rome in 1215 there was a widespread fear that 'the excessive diversity' of
forms of religious life would introduce 'serious confusion into the church of
God'. The council therefore decreed that henceforth no one should make up
(*inveniat*) a new religion and that anyone who wanted to lead a religious life
or establish a new religious house must adopt a rule and institution from the
approved religions (*de religionibus approbatis*). It further decreed that no one
should have 'the place of a monk in different monasteries' and 'that one abbot
should not preside over many monasteries'.[39] The council thus attempted to
put a cap on the developments of the two previous centuries and effectively
brought to a close the great age of expansion and diversification of types of
religious communities.

The men and women who entered religious communities in the eleventh and
twelfth centuries came from all walks of life. The reformers liked to emphasise
the breadth of their appeal. William of Hirsau, who died in 1091, was said to
have 'roused nobles and non-nobles, rich men and poor men, men and women'
to spurn the world and to love the heavenly life.[40] Bernold of St Blaise drew
attention in his chronicle under the year 1083 to 'the marvellous multitude
of nobles and prudent men' who entered St Blaise, Hirsau and Schaffhausen
and, under the year 1091, to the flowering of common life in Germany 'not
only among clerics and monks . . . but also among laymen who most devotedly
offered themselves and their possessions for the same common life and who,
although they were not clerics or monks in habit, were considered not unequal
to them in merit'.[41] A convert from Judaism to Christianity named Hermann
wrote that Cappenberg attracted 'prudent and uneducated, strong and weak,
noble and non-noble',[42] and the biographer of Stephen of Obazine, writing

---

[39] 4 Lat., c. 13 (*COD*, p. 242).   [40] *Vita Willihelmi*, c. 6 (*PL* 150, col. 905A).
[41] Bernold, *Chronicon*, s.a. 1083 and 1091 (*MGH SS* v, pp. 439 and 452–3).
[42] Hermann the Jew, *Opusculum de conversione sua*, c. 6 (*MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittel-
alters* IV, p. 89).

about 1166, said that among the 'nobles and non-nobles, men as well as women' coming to the monastery was one noble who came with his wife and *familia* of both sexes and all his possessions.[43]

In principle anyone was free to enter religious life, subject to certain conditions of age, physical and mental capacity, and legal status, above all marriage, freedom and membership in another religious community. Even these were often taken relatively lightly, provided the candidate made a suitable gift to the community at the time of entry.[44] The question of whether a serf could become a monk was debated by canon lawyers, and Huguccio held that since lordship over serfs was *in corpore* but not *in anima*, a serf could be a monk in his soul and a serf in his body.[45] In principle serfs needed the permission of their lords to be ordained or to enter a religious community; but this requirement was probably disregarded if the status of the candidate was in doubt or if the community needed recruits. A charter for the abbey of the Trinity at Vendôme in 1032/46 said that 'At the time when the monastery was still new and needed professed members, monks collected from all over (*undecumque*) lived in that place and were free to attend to their own uses rather than to the advantage of the place.'[46]

The number of nobles mentioned in the sources may be owing to a desire to stress their piety and humility and to associate holiness with nobility, but there is no question that many recruits to religious life belonged to the upper ranks of society. Adela of Blois, who became a nun at Marcigny, was the daughter of William the Conqueror and mother of King Stephen. Louis VII's brother Henry spent two years at Clairvaux; and Frederick Barbarossa's uncle, the historian Otto of Freising, was a Cistercian at Morimond before he became bishop of Freising. The fact that for these men the monastery proved a stepping-stone to ecclesiastical preferment is no reason to doubt the sincerity of their conversions. On the contrary, it reflects the prestige of religious life at the time. Bishops were often chosen from the ranks of the monks and canons, and many bishops and nobles retired to religious communities at the end of their lives. According to the mortuary roll which was circulated after the death of the count of Cerdagne, who entered Canigou in about 1050, he 'converted to us, leaving his temporal honours, wife, and son, and wished to be a poor man of Christ with us'.[47] Gausfred the Black 'laid down the military belt' before 1080 and entered St Peter at Chartres, 'following Christ Himself with steps of obedience'.[48] Early in the twelfth century a relation of Conrad III, Amedeus of Hauterives, entered

---

[43] *Vita Stephani Obazinensis* I.29 (ed. and trans. Aubrun, pp. 86–8).
[44] Lynch (1975).   [45] Gilchrist (1977), p. 316.
[46] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme* I.109, no. 54.
[47] *Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siècle*, p. 51.
[48] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres* I.221–2, no. 99.

Bonnevaux with his son, two other high nobles (*nobilissimi*) and fourteen
of their vassals (*hominio subjugati*), while their wives became nuns.[49] The
literary commonplace of the knight who put down his sword for the love
of God and lived as a hermit assisting travellers and the poor has a basis in
fact.[50]

Most of the reformers rejected social distinctions and asserted egalitarian
principles. The emphasis on the humble origins of St Haimerad, the founder
of Hasungen, whose *Life* was written in the 1070s, may have been a conscious
rejection of the previous tendency to associate holiness with nobility.[51] The
abbot of Bonnevaux said to Amedeus of Hauterives and his companions that
'It is not the custom of our order to make any allowance for noble men; the
free man (*ingenuus*) is not preferred to the serf (*servus*) in our order', and
Aelred of Rievaulx in the *Mirror of Love* wrote that it pleased him 'wonderfully'
that 'there was no favoritism of persons, no consideration of birth' among
the Cistercians.[52] A few houses, especially of nuns and canonesses, may have
been restricted to nobles. The foundation charter of Monheim, which dates
from the end of the ninth century, forbade the abbess to admit *spurcas vel
ignobiles puellas*.[53] Low-born women could not find the endowment they were
expected to bring with them when they entered a religious house.[54] A grant
to the abbey of Saintes in 1010 specified that the donor's daughter, who was a
nun, should control the gift and that after her death the property should always
be controlled by a nun who was a member of the family (*ex nostra persona*).[55]
There was an inevitable tendency for outside social distinctions to enter houses
where the members were allowed to have private property and sometimes even
servants.

One of the most striking features of religious life in the eleventh and twelfth
centuries was its openness to women.[56] Some older houses had provided for
women, especially for widows and the wives of men entering religious life,
but now there was a growing acceptance of the parallel of male and female
religious institutions. Gaucher of Aureil 'knew that neither sex was excluded
from the kindom of God . . . and built a dwelling-place for women a stone's-
throw from his cell, sharing his poverty with both men and women', and

---

[49] *Vita venerabilis Amedaei Altae Ripae*, c. 2 (pp. 277–8).
[50] See Louis (1947), II, pp. 99–100; Grundmann (1963), pp. 83–4.
[51] Keller (1968), esp. p. 318.
[52] *Vita venerabilis Amedaei*, c. 4 (p. 282); Aelred, *Speculum charitatis* II.17 (*PL* 195, col. 563A).
[53] *Die Regesten der Bischöfe von Eichstätt*, pp. 33–4, no. 77.
[54] Despy (1956); Parisse (1983), pp. 207–14.
[55] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes*, pp. 106–7, no. 140.
[56] See Delooz (1969), p. 260, on the rising percentage of female saints from the eleventh to the thirteenth century.

Abbot Theoger of St George in the Black Forest, who later became bishop of Metz, included houses for women among his religious foundations because he believed that the highest perfection was found among women.[57] One of the questions asked by Idungus of Regensburg in his *Argument concerning Four Questions*, written in the 1130s, was whether monks and nuns should have one cloister, because they have one rule,[58] and Abelard wrote in his rule for the nuns of the Paraclete that 'Just as you are joined to us in name and in the profession of continence, so also almost all our institutions are suited to you.'[59] The two major differences between male and female religious lay in ordination and manual labour, which was an important aspect of most reform programmes. The nuns of Lippoldsberg in 1095–1102 swore to follow the rule of the monks of Hirsau in all respects except manual labour, but promised to do as much as they could of the work prescribed for nuns by St Jerome.[60] Female communities remained dependent on men for the sacraments, but women may have preached and, with regard to the eucharist, some provision was made for distributing either unconsecrated or previously consecrated elements.[61]

In spite of the traditional suspicion and hostility towards women, there was a growing willingness to provide for the spiritual needs of women and to recognise the contribution they could make. King Cnut in the early eleventh century proposed to build a house for women at Ramsey next to the house for men 'in order that a chorus of women might worship God as zealously in this monastery as the community of men in the other one', but he abandoned the project because, the chronicler said, harm as well as good could come 'from the closeness of the two sexes'.[62] The first Cluniac house for women, which was established at Marcigny in about 1055, quickly acquired a reputation for strictness and was followed by fourteen more houses by the middle of the twelfth century.[63] In the early twelfth century the abbey of Admont, which was founded by the countess of Freisach in the mid-eleventh century, added a house for women where the nuns lived in strict enclosure, governed by a *soror magistra* and following the same rule as the monks.[64]

Many new houses for women and for both men and women (often called 'double' houses) were established at this time. The chronicler of Peterhausen, writing probably in the 1160s, especially praised 'the devoted women' who lived

[57] *Vita Gaucherii beati Aureli*, c. 25 (p. 562); Wolfger of Prüfening, *Vita Theogeri abbatis S. Georgii*, c. 25 (*MGH SS* XII, p. 459).

[58] Idungus, *Argumentum super quatuor questionibus* (p. 57).

[59] Abelard, *Rule* (ed. McLaughlin, p. 243).

[60] *Mainzer Urkundenbuch* I, 310, no. 405. See *Paraclete Statutes*, p. 104, and Johnson (1991), p. 266, on the general poverty of women's houses.

[61] Leclercq (1981).   [62] *Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis*, c. 81 (p. 126).

[63] Wischermann (1986), p. 503.   [64] Irimbertus, *De incendio* (pp. 457–63).

with holy men and the houses of men and women where 'both sexes, though separated from each other, are saved in one place'.[65] St Norbert, the founder of Prémontré and later archbishop of Magdeburg, was said to have attracted 10,000 women to the religious life.[66] Marbod, later bishop of Rennes, wrote to the famous preacher Robert of Arbrissel that 'They say that in various places and various regions you have a considerable number of women distributed in guest-houses and inns whom you depute, mingled not impurely with men, for the service of the poor and of pilgrims.'[67] Robert's foundation of Fontevrault included some men but was primarily a house of women and was ruled by an abbess.[68] In a letter to the countess of Brittany written in 1109 Robert warned against hypocrisy and stressed the primacy of the spirit in religious life.

To give alms and to pray and to fast are good if they are done for God but do no good if [they are done] for human praise. Short praise is useful; prayer of the heart, not of the lips, is pleasing to God. God pays attention not to the words but to the hearts of the pleader. All good works of a just person is prayer.[69]

The relatively open character of some of these communities tended to become more restrictive as time went on. At Obazine, the women at first lived near the brothers, 'separated by buildings but joined in religion', but were moved because the founder Stephen 'believed that the further he saw them to be from men the more suitable the place would be for their holy purpose'. Though Stephen remained the *communis pater* of the entire community, the nuns had their own prioress, were forbidden ever to leave their monastery, and were separated from the monks even in the church, which was divided by a wall into two parts.[70] A similar development seems to have taken place in the order of Sempringham, where the relative ease of contact between the nuns and canons in its early years was replaced by a stricter enclosure, perhaps as a result of an episode described by Aelred of Rievaulx in which a nun gave birth to a child fathered by a male member of the community.[71] Both the Premonstratensians and the Cistercians accepted female houses at an early date but insisted upon strict enclosure and separation of the establishments. The Cistercians forbade 'the cohabitation of women with us or our lay brothers', and in a letter to the abbot of the Premonstratensian house of Cuissy Bernard warned against 'the cohabitation of men and women'. A brother who

---

[65] *Casus monasterii Petrishusensis*, c. 9 (p. 24).
[66] Hermann of Tournai, *De miraculis* III.7 (*PL* 156, cols. 996D–997A).
[67] *Vita Roberti di Arbrisselo*, c. 4 (*PL* 162, cols. 1054B and 1056B); Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 53 (I, pp. 158–9); Fontette (1967), pp. 65–80.
[68] Marbod, *Ep. 6* (*PL* 171, col. 1481C). See Walter (1903).
[69] Robert of Arbrissel, *Ep.* (pp. 232, 235).
[70] *Vita Stephani Obazinensis* I.29–30 (pp. 88–90) and II.2 (pp. 97–9).
[71] Constable (1978).

had fornicated should be sent to another house, he said, and steps should be taken to prevent any contact between women and the lay brothers in a mill belonging to the abbey.[72] The old dislike and fear of women, never fully quieted, were fanned by occasional scandals, and the clericalisation of the monastic order tended to marginalise nuns even more than in the early middle ages.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, thousands of women entered religious communities and some of them lived on terms of spiritual and intellectual equality with men. Heloise, Hildegard of Bingen and Elisabeth of Schönau were respected figures in the religious world of their time. Male and female ascetics sometimes lived together, even sharing the same bed, in an arrangement known as syneisactism or *conhospitio*, which had existed in the early Celtic church and was for a time tolerated, but later forbidden, by the ecclesiastical authorities.[73] Goscelin of St Bertin addressed his *Liber confortatorius* to an English nun named Eve who left Wilton about 1080 and lived with a hermit named Harvey near Angers, and Christina of Markyate after fleeing from her home took refuge with the hermit Roger.[74] After the death of Guibert of Nogent's father in the mid-1060s, his mother retired first to a manor belonging to the bishop of Beauvais and then to the monastery of St Germer at Flay. She lived in a little house 'next to the church', confessed almost every day, and learned the seven penitential psalms 'not by seeing but by hearing and ruminated on them day and night'.[75] She was probably not considered an official member of the religious community at Flay because she lived apart, presumably from her own resources, and was never professed, but she behaved and probably dressed like a nun.

Elderly people often entered monasteries, either as full members or as pensioners known as prebendaries or later as corrodians. Some people nearing death took the monastic habit *ad succurrendum*, in order to assist their entry into the next world. Their status was uncertain and varied from monastery to monastery, depending on where they took the habit, whether or not they were professed, and where they died.[76] A special problem arose when a sick or wounded person entered a monastery expecting to die and subsequently recovered. A monk *ad succurrendum* at Mont St Michel in 1075 gave up the habit but left the gift he had given, reserving the right to enter the monastery whenever he wished.[77] Canon law later established that a canon who was

---

[72] *Exordium Cistercii*, c. 17 (p. 123); Bernard, *Ep.* 79 (*Sancti Bernardi opera* VII, pp. 210–12).
[73] Gougaud (1921); Reynolds (1968).
[74] Wilmart (1934, 1938); *The Life of Christina of Markyate*, pp. 94 and 102.
[75] Guibert, *De vita sua* I.14 (pp. 49–51).
[76] *Liber tramitis*, c. 200 (p. 280); *Consuetudines Fructuarienses-Sanblasianae*, c. 681 (p. 91–2).
[77] Guillotin de Corson (1880–6), II, pp. 527–36.

ill and gave himself to an abbot as a monk and brother must remain a monk.[78] But monks of this type, like prebendaries, were in effect old-age pensioners.

In most traditional religious houses the community was divided between the converts (*conversi*) who entered as adults and the members who came as children and were known as oblates, because they were given by their parents, or as *nutriti*, because they were raised in the community. Both *conversi* and *nutriti* were full members of the community, but converts were usually uneducated at the time of their entry and ignorant of the ways of monastic life, whereas the monks who entered as children knew their letters and the details of monastic discipline and liturgy. They had no knowledge of life outside the monastery, however, and were not always temperamentally or physically suited to be monks. Ulrich in the preface to his customs of Cluny, compiled probably in the 1080s, remarked on the handicapped monks who were given to the monastery 'not for the sake of God' but because their parents did not want them at home.[79] Converts were often preferred to *nutriti* as monastic officials.

Children also entered monasteries for a limited time as students. The Cluniac priory of Sauxillanges, where Peter the Venerable spent his youth as an oblate, educated boys up to the ages of seven or ten in both the main house and the dependencies, sometimes with the understanding that if the boy died another could be sent in his place.[80] Children also came with their parents, especially to some of the new houses. Amedeus of Hauterives entered Bonnevaux with his son and later went to Cluny for the sake of the boy's education. At Obazine boys stayed with their mothers in the house for women until they were five years old, when they transferred to the boys' part of the men's monastery. One small boy who had never left the women's house did not know what women were and was convinced by a monk they were goats in the field.[81]

It became increasingly common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to refuse children as either oblates or students. The nuns of Forest-les-Bruxelles were forbidden to have 'a multitude of children and little girls' whose 'girlish levity' might destroy the nuns' sanctity.[82] The age of entry was commonly set at somewhere between fifteen and twenty.[83] Peter the Venerable decreed that no novice should become a monk at Cluny until he was twenty, owing to 'the immature and excessively speedy reception of children who were clothed with

---

[78] *Decretales* III.31, 13 (col. 573).

[79] Ulrich, *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, praef. (*PL* 149, cols. 635A–636B).

[80] *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*, nos. 859 and 895.

[81] *Vita Stephani Obazinensis* II.47 (p. 171).

[82] Miraeus, *Opera diplomatica et historica* I.78–9.

[83] Lynch (1973); Schreiner (1987), pp. 487–96.

the vestments of religion before they could have any rational intelligence'.[84]
Before the twelfth century, oblation ws considered irreversible, and Urban II
held that a vow made by a child, even in ignorance, was valid, but Alexander
III decreed that the religious habit taken by a boy under fourteen years old
was invalid.[85] Henceforth the members of most religious communities grew up
and were educated in the secular world. Many had been married or had some
sexual experience.[86] They entered religious life not owing to a decision made
by their parents or in expectation of death but as a result of their experience
of secular life, and they came with different attitudes and expectations than in
the past.

In the mid-eleventh century a new type of member, later called a lay brother,
appeared, at first in Italy in ascetic communities like Camaldoli, and later north
of the Alps not only in new houses but also in old monasteries like Cluny, which
sought to reduce its dependence on lay servants.[87] Like the old *conversi*, these
lay brothers joined the community as adults, but they remained a distinct group
occupied with the external affairs of the community and could not become
monks. They were set off from the monks not only by their way of life but
also by their clothing and beards, which were a mark of their lay status. At
Hirsau they were called lay or bearded *conversi* as distinct from the *religiosi
monachi*, and at Savigny they were 'the laymen whom they call *conversi*' and
who served God 'under the habit of religion'.[88] They were introduced into the
Cistercian order probably in the 1120s. Innocent II in his bulls for Cîteaux and
Pontigny specifically referred to them as 'your *conversi*, who are not monks'.[89]
Lay brothers often created problems, and occasionally revolted, but in their
origins they represented a serious effort to free religious houses from economic
dependence on lay workers, and the institution opened the way to lead a
consecrated life for many men and women who might otherwise have been
unable to do so.

Not much is known about why people entered religious life in the eleventh
and twelfth centuries. The eleventh-century monk and teacher Onulf of Speyer
wrote in his treatise on rhetoric, where he proposed a series of questions and
answers, that men gave up worldly life for the stricter life of a monk be-
cause they preferred to lead a quiet life with monks rather than be tied down
by worldly needs. By taking the vow of religion and the monastic habit, he
said, they escaped oppression, poverty, debts, enemies and illness 'because all

[84] Peter the Venerable, *Statuta* 36 (pp. 70–1).
[85] Fuhrmann (1984), pp. 42–4; *Decretales* III.31, 8 (col. 571). See Henry (1957), pp. 178–9.
[86] Brundage (1980), pp. 378–9.   [87] Constable (1973).
[88] *Vita Willihelmi abbatis Hirsaugiensis*, c. 23 (*PL* 150, col. 914C); *Vita Hamonis Saviniacensis*, c. 7
    (p. 511).
[89] *PL* 179, cols. 123A and 615B (JL 7537 and 8259). See *Exordium Cistercii*, cc. 20–2 (pp. 123–4).

necessary food and clothing is distributed equitably to everyone who professes a common life in the cloister'. Those who persisted, however, Onulf said, 'taste and see in the present [and] will know more perfectly in the future how sweet is the Lord'.[90] Bishop Otto of Bamberg, on the other hand, attributed the attraction of monasticism to overpopulation. At the beginning of the world, he said, all men married and gave birth. 'Now, however . . . at the end of the ages, when men have multiplied beyond number, is the time of continence . . . But continence and other works of holiness can be observed better in communities than outside.'[91]

The balance of worldly and religious motives doubtless varied from person to person.[92] Hermann the Jew called his entry to Cappenberg an escape 'from the shipwreck of this world to a port of safety',[93] and Bruno of La Chartreuse, the founder of the Carthusians, described his own conversion in a letter written in 1096/7 from his hermitage in south Italy to his friend Ralph, the provost (and later archbishop) of Rheims.

Your love will remember that when you and I and Fulco *Monoculus* were together one day in the garden next to Adam's house, where I lodged at that time, we spoke for some time, I believe, about the false attractions and vanishing riches of this world and also about the joys of eternal glory. Whence, burning with divine love, we promised, vowed, and resolved soon to leave the passing things of the world and to seize eternal things and also to take the monastic habit. This would have happened shortly had not Fulco gone to Rome at that time, and we put off until his return what should have been done. Owing to this delay, and to other reasons which arose, the divine love languished, the soul grew cold, and the fervour disappeared.[94]

Bruno knew that in order to win souls for God it was necessary to strike while the iron was hot. When King Louis VII's brother Henry visited Clairvaux and asked for the prayers of the monks, Bernard, according to his biographer Geoffrey of Auxerre, said to him, 'I trust in the Lord that you will not die as you are now but that you will soon prove by your own experience how greatly the prayer you ask of these men is beneficial to you.' Henry became a monk at Clairvaux that same day.[95]

There was considerable movement in the religious world of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Some of the most influential and admired religious leaders

---

[90] Onulf, c. 8 (pp. 371–2).

[91] Herbord, *Dialogus de Ottone episcopo Bambergensi* I.18 (p. 717).

[92] On conversions, see Evans (1978); Stock (1983), p. 504, who related them to the contemporary sense of 'cultural discontinuity'.

[93] Hermann, *Opusculum de conversione sua*, c. 20 (p. 121).

[94] Bruno, *Ep.* 1.13 (*Lettres des premiers chartreux* I, pp. 74–6).

[95] *Vita prima Bernardi* IV (by Geoffrey of Auxerre), III, 15 (cols. 2223D–2234A); Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum* I.19 (I, pp. 26–7).

of the age moved from one house to another, and spent periods of time as hermits, pilgrims and even crusaders, and many of the recruits to the new houses came from other communities. Cîteaux itself was founded by a group of dissidents from Molesme, and Fountains by some monks of St Mary's in York who saw (according to a later account) that the gospel lived again (*revixit*) in the monks of Savigny and Clairvaux and who wanted to live like them rather than simply recite the gospel.[96] Transfer (*transitus*) from one house to another was traditionally frowned upon as a breach of stability and allowed only with the permission of the monk's superior. The concept of stability of place, however, was increasingly replaced by stability of profession, that is, of commitment to the religious life, and monks were allowed to transfer to stricter, but not to less strict, communities. This left ample room for disputes, since no house or order liked to be considered less strict than others. Bernard believed firmly that Cîteaux was the best and safest way to salvation, and he rarely hesitated to take a recruit from another house.[97]

Entry to religious life was a solemn step, which was compared to a second baptism and was normally irreversible except under extraordinary circumstances. A monk or nun who abandoned religious life without proper permission and penance was considered an apostate. The precise ceremonies for taking the monastic habit varied from house to house, and even as late as the twelfth century there was some uncertainty over whether formal profession and consecration (or benediction) were essential. Anselm wrote to King Harold's daughter Gunnilda, who wanted to give up the religious habit, that 'Although you were not consecrated (*sacrata*) by a bishop and did not read a profession in his presence, the fact that you wore in public and in private the habit of the sacred intention (*habitum sacri propositi*) . . . is in itself a manifest and undeniable profession.' She therefore had no excuse, Anselm said, for leaving religious life.[98] Alexander III held that taking the religious habit was enough to prevent a woman from marrying, even if she did not renounce property, enter a cloister, make a profession or promise obedience.[99] Anyone who was tonsured and wore the religious habit was thus to some extent considered a monk or nun, but full entry to religious life required both a formal commitment and consecration.

By the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century this issue was more or less moot for male religious, of whom almost all were ordained and most were priests. In the early middle ages most monks were in no degree of orders, but the percentage of priests had grown already by the Carolingian

---

[96] Hugh of Kirkstall, *Narratio de fundatione Fontanis monasterii* (p. 20).
[97] Dimier (1953).   [98] Anselm, *Ep.* 168 (*Anselmi opera*, IV, pp. 44–5).
[99] *Decretales* IV. 6, 4 (col. 685).

era, as Hildemar pointed out in his commentary on the rule of Benedict.[100] Of the 300 monks from seven French monasteries who witnessed the Fruttuaria charter of 1022/5, 38 per cent were priests, 14 per cent were deacons, 18 per cent were subdeacons and 30 per cent were unordained *conversi*; and at the end of the eleventh century the percentage of unordained monks at Monte Cassino, Subiaco, Rieti and Farfa had sunk to between 10 and 30 per cent.[101] Among the reasons for this development were the rising prestige of the priesthood, the multiplication of private masses, and the foundation and acquisition by monasteries of churches that were more easily served by monks than by stipendiary priests.[102] The performance of pastoral work (*cura animarum*) by monks was in principle forbidden in canon law, but Burchard of Worms allowed monks to serve parishes, preach and administer penance with the permission of the bishop,[103] and the author of the *Summa Parisiensis* on Gratian's *Decretum*, writing about 1160, said that the prohibitions for monks to perform pastoral work were issued when most monks were not ordained and that the recent permissions applied to monks who were also clerics.[104] By the end of the century monks were normally ordained, even in houses which owned no churches or pastoral revenues and forbade their members to exercise the *cura animarum*. The old distinction between the monastic and clerical orders, while still maintained in theory, thus broke down in practice, and monks came to be seen as the regular branch of the clerical order.

The different types of religious communities, and the uncertainty over the status of their members, were no less puzzling to contemporaries than to later historians. Even the terminology and classification of religious life are baffling to scholars, as they were to the two cardinals who asked Stephen of Grandmont whether he was a monk, a canon or a hermit. There are no satisfactory equivalents in English for *religio*, *conversatio* or *propositum*, all of which refer generally to a religious observance, intention or way of life, or for *regularis*, which applies to a man or woman who left the world, lived a religious life and observed a rule.[105] The meaning of *ordo* ranges from all people leading a consecrated life, as in the monastic order, to the customs followed in a particular house, and, later, to a group of houses following the same observance. Individual communities were called, apparently interchangeably, *monasterium* (which in England was

---

[100] Hildemar, *Expositio regulae ab Hildemaro tradito*, c. 60 (p. 555). See Oexle (1978), pp. 101–3.
[101] Bulst (1973), pp. 223–36; Dormeier (1979), p. 9.
[102] Nussbaum (1961).
[103] Burchard, *Decreta* II, 158 and III, 240 (*PL* 140, cols. 651D and 724D–725A). See Henry (1957), pp. 177–82.
[104] *Summa Parisiensis*, p. 177.
[105] Grégoire (1970); Hourlier (1974), p. 11; Biller (1985); *Paraclete Statutes*, pp. 80–2.

also used for almost any church or 'minster'), *claustrum*, *collegium*, *congregatio*, *conventus* or *ecclesia*. The use in English of convent for a house of women is recent. *Abbatia* was also a general term until the twelfth century, when it came to apply, especially among the Cistercians, to a community of monks headed by an abbot, as distinct from a *prioratus*, or *cella*, or *canonica* ('collégiale' in French), though some houses of canons were also called abbeys.[106]

To these should be added the confraternities and penitential communities like those described by Bernold of St Blaise in the late eleventh century, and, as time went on, guilds, universities and hospitals, which served religious as well as secular needs and were usually staffed by groups of religious men and women. Clerics and laypeople lived together under an abbot in the community of St Appiano in the Valdesa, which dated from the tenth century and gave its members mutual support for the future as well as in the present life.[107] In about 1108 the priest and twenty parishioners of Mainvillers acquired a vineyard next to the church to make a house where the priest would live and where their fraternity would be based (*fraternitas eorum sederet*).[108] Very little is known about such parochial fraternities, but they must be counted among religious communities in the broad sense. The members of the community of St Desiderius near Vicenza in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries took an oath of obedience, individual poverty and common life, but were allowed to marry, though they could leave for a stricter life of chastity.[109]

Hermits often lived with a few disciples or companions or in association with a community. What distinguished them from the members of regular communities was their independence and ownership of property. When Romuald sought a life of perfection, he asked permission from his abbot and community to join a hermit named Marinus, and later he advised another hermit, who claimed to be free from the rule of another and to do whatever seemed to him best, to seek his abbot's permission and to live under his *dominium*.[110] Some 400 monks were said to live in the woods around Cluny during the abbacy of Peter the Venerable, who visited them from time to time.[111] Recluses also depended on the surrounding society and were often criticised for attracting crowds and gossiping.[112] True solitaries, like the wandering hermit Schetzelo or Gezzelin, who lived in the forests near Luxembourg and died about 1138,

[106] Blume (1914), p. 53.
[107] Monti (1927), II, pp. 139–42; Meersseman (1952), pp. 19–22.
[108] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres* II.281, no. 21.   [109] Meersseman (1968).
[110] Peter Damian, *Vita beati Romualdi*, cc. 4 and 24 (pp. 20 and 51).
[111] *Chron. Cluniacense*, in *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 600C. See Leclercq (1956).
[112] *Casus monasterii Petrishusensis*, c. 21 (p. 34).

were relatively rare. He was compared to an angel by Herbert in his collection
of Cistercian miracles: 'We can all wonder at and many can strive for his life,
but no one can imitate it and it must therefore be venerated the more.'[113]

A perceptive analysis of the different types of religious life is found in the
Little book (*Libellus*) *concerning the Various Orders and Professions in the Church*,
which was written in the diocese of Liège probably in the mid-twelfth century.
Its seven surviving parts are concerned respectively with hermits who lived alone
or with a few others, monks who lived close to men, like the Cluniacs, monks
who lived far from men, like the Cistercians, secular monks 'whose profession
is nothing', canons who lived far from men, like the Premonstratensians and
canons of St Josse, canons whose houses were near the activities of men, like
the canons of St Quentin in the field and of St Victor (of whom some were
cloistered and concerned with internal things, others were cloistered but cared
for guests and pilgrims, and others lived in dependencies and parishes outside
a cloister), and, lastly, secular canons who lived among men of the world. In
another book the author planned to discuss male recluses and worshippers of
God (*deicolae*) or *liciosi* who were neither canons, monks nor hermits, 'women
who lead an heremitical life, rising to the holiness of nuns and . . . who take up
Christ's sweet yoke with holy men and under holy men', and 'female recluses
and worshippers of God whom we call *liciosae*, that is keepers of the law or in
the vernacular *nichoisae*'.[114] These missing or unwritten sections would have
been of great interest, since they suggest that in the early twelfth century a
number of laypersons led a religious life outside the framework of formal
religious communities.

The most striking feature of this analysis is the perception that the division
between the three orders of hermits, monks and canons was less important than
the distinction between the strict, moderate and lax groups within each order.
The author saw that there was a greater resemblance between Cistercian monks
and Premonstratensian canons, both of whom lived far from the world, and
between Cluniac monks and Victorine canons, who lived close to other men,
than there was between other groups in their own orders. Otto of Freising also
distinguished between monks who lived 'in towns, castles, villages and fields'
and those who went 'to the hideous parts of forests and secret places', and
between anchorites or solitaries who were associated with communities and
subject to a superior and those who lived in cells and caves.[115] This distinction
helps to throw light on the question of the differences between monks and
regular canons, some of whom resembled monks while others were indistin-
guishable from secular clerics. By the twelfth century there were as many types

---

[113] *Vita prima Bernardi* VII (by Herbert), cc. 3–7 (cols. 2384A–2388D).
[114] *Libellus,* praef. (p. 4).   [115] Otto, *Historia* VII.35 (pp. 369–74).

of canons as there were of monks, and about the only common feature among them was that they were ordained clerics, even if they did not all exercise the full range of clerical responsibilities.[116]

These developments were on the whole accepted with tolerance and even approval, but they also fostered rivalries and hostility between religious houses and orders. Discipline and ritual served the functions not only of binding together the members of communities but also of excluding outsiders. Differences in costume, liturgy and discipline were of great importance to men and women whose entire lives were governed by rule and custom, and they figure prominently in the polemical writings of the time.[117] 'The cowl is the strength of a sacrament', according to the late eleventh-century *Book on Preserving the Unity of the Church*, 'just as monk is a word of mystery.'[118] The community of Monte Cassino wrote an interesting letter concerning their way of life to the monks of Germany, probably in the early 1070s. They followed the rule of Benedict, they said, and adopted no new or foreign customs, but they did not object to the customs of the monks in Germany, Italy, France and the east, provided they were good and useful and 'not discordant with the rule'. They expressed their dismay, however, at the tendency to impose new customs and destroy old ones. They particularly attacked the Cluniac tonsure and habit as against the rule and urged the German monks not to change their established customs and institutions.[119] The use of undyed cloth in place of the traditional black was one of the most conspicuous innovations introduced by the next generation of reformers. The Cistercians and Premonstratensians came to be known as the white monks and white canons respectively.

The changes in the liturgy were equally controversial, though their nature is often obscure, and they doubtless varied from house to house. The reformers tended to reduce the length of the liturgy by cutting out certain parts and shortening the pauses in the psalmody in order both to provide for more orderly and thoughtful chanting and to free the monks for private devotions, manual labour and other activities.[120] In 1131 the Cluniac Cardinal Matthew of Albano vigorously opposed the reductions in psalmody, processions and readings in a letter to the abbots gathered at Rheims, and asked, after describing the hardships of the old liturgy, 'What madman would dare to attribute this to pleasure or self-glory?'[121] Another Cluniac, perhaps Archbishop Hugh of Rouen, the former abbot of Reading, stressed that monks in houses with

---

[116] Schmale (1959); Siegwart (1962), esp. pp. 13–14.
[117] See Hallinger (1950–1); Leclercq (1986).
[118] *De unitate ecclesiae* II.42 (*MGH Libelli* II, p. 278).
[119] *Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung, MGH Briefe* III, pp. 15–16, no. 1.
[120] Peter the Venerable, *Statuta* I (pp. 40–2).
[121] Matthew of Albano, *Ep.* (p. 331).

long liturgies needed extra sleep, whereas the Cistercians had 'another order, another way of life' and slept at night because they recited fewer psalms.[122] When the bishop of Passau sought to introduce a monk of Admont as abbot of Kremsmünster, where monastic discipline had collapsed, the monks begged to be allowed to keep 'the manner of reading and chanting which they had learned from their youth and made into a custom'.[123]

Each generation of new monks and canons stressed the need for reform and implicitly or explicitly accused the older houses of corruption and relaxation of discipline. The fact that in the twelfth century there was a widespread desire for a shorter liturgy and more opportunity for private prayers and devotions does not mean that the old liturgy was necessarily excessive, as is often said, or unsuited to its age. Indeed, the long liturgy was greatly admired in the eleventh century and still had its defenders in the twelfth. Elisabeth of Schönau had a vision of Christ approving frequent celebration of the mass and readings from the psalms.[124] Peter the Chanter, who died in 1197, characteristically distinguished between licit and illicit traditions and advised against multiplying matins, psalms and prayers 'unless devotion is present', and he warned against the schisms and divisions created by different methods of singing, psalmody and reading: 'Unity in all things, which is the bond of ecclesiastical peace, should be preserved as much as possible.'[125] There was in fact more support and sympathy between some of the rival orders, even between the Cluniacs and Cistercians, than might appear from their polemical writings. The keenest rivals often had more similarities than differences and were quick to close ranks against a common enemy.

The founders of many new houses, and their followers, were idiosyncratic and devised a distinctive way of life suited to their own religious needs and personalities. In due time, however, almost all of them had to choose a rule and join an order, and the decision was not always easy. Some patrons had clear opinions, like the donor to St Just in 1138 who allowed it to join the Cistercians or a similar order but reserved the right to recover the property if the monks joined the order of Cluny or another monastery following similar customs.[126] No such preference, however, was expressed when the hermit Geoffrey allowed his followers at Fontaines-les-Blanches to join the black monks of Bonneval or Marmoutiers, the regular canons, or 'the celebrated monastery' of Savigny.[127] And of the fifteen houses founded by Bishop Otto of Bamberg, nine were Cluniac, two Cistercian, one Premonstratensian and three of unknown

---

[122] 'Riposte', p. 335.   [123] *Germania sacra* I.318.

[124] Elisabeth of Schönau, *Visiones* III.19 (p. 72).

[125] Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, c. 79 (*PL* 205, col. 236CD).

[126] GC II, instr. 61.

[127] *Historia monasterii beatae Mariae de Fontanis albis*, I.6 (p. 264).

affiliation.[128] There is no clear reason for this choice of houses, nor for why the Cistercian Otto of Freising founded only houses of canons in his diocese. It may be that canons were more submissive to episcopal authority or could undertake pastoral and missionary work, or that their houses were cheaper to found, but this is speculation.

A similar dilemma faced someone who wanted to lead a religious life. The decision was probably to some extent governed by the proximity and reputation of individual houses and orders, family traditions and expectations, the advice of bishops and pastors, and personal factors of a type which rarely leave any trace in the sources. Men like Robert of Arbrissel, Norbert of Xanten and Bernard of Clairvaux were influential (and, in some circles, feared) recruiters. When the abbot of Bonnevaux warned Amedeus of Hauterives of the harshness of Cistercian life, he told his followers that 'To go to the Temple [that is, become Templars] is not to leave pleasures but simply to change the color of your clothing. If you become black monks, you may be more sinful than before because many things are allowed now which were illicit for us then.' After Amedeus moved to Cluny for the sake of his son's education, he disliked the rich vestments and 'sweet-sounding songs of the proses', though he recognised that 'The congregation of this community shines forth with holy ways of life and the greatest religion.'[129] He returned to Bonnevaux because he preferred the simplicity and austerity of the Cistercians.

Amedeus did not mention the difference in size between the two houses. Contemporaries knew that some communities were large and others small, but the figures they give usually convey a perception of size rather than precise numbers.[130] The seven French houses of which the monks witnessed the Fruttuaria charter in 1022/5 had an average forty-three monks each, ranging from seventy-nine at St Benignus at Dijon to twenty-nine at Jumièges. Cluny had between 300 and 400 monks in the twelfth century, as did St Martin-des-Champs, and some of the successful reformed houses may have been equally large. Bernard of Tiron was said to have had 500 followers, of whom 300 were at Tiron and 200 distributed in groups of up to twelve in cells, of which there were a hundred.[131] Rievaulx had 300 members, according to Aelred, and other Cistercian abbeys in England had between sixty and a hundred monks and perhaps twice as many lay brothers.[132] Zwiefalten in 1137/8, fifty years after its foundation, had seventy monks, sixty-two nuns and 150 lay brothers and a total of 315 deceased members (110 monks, forty-five nuns and 160 lay

[128] Herbord, *Dialogus* I.12–16 (pp. 712–14).
[129] *Vita venerabilis Amedaei*, cc. 4–5 (pp. 282, 286, 288).
[130] Berlière (1929, 1930); Dubois (1969).
[131] *Vita Bernardi Tironiensis*, c. 10 (*PL* 172, cols. 1418D–1419A). See Walter (1906), pp. 15–16.
[132] Aelred, *Speculum* II.17 (*PL* 195, col. 563B). See Fergusson (1984), p. 33 n. 12.

brothers), which makes an average of six recruits (two monks, one nun and three lay brothers) a year.[133] In the twelfth century a hundred members constituted a very large house, forty to sixty a large house, and thirty was about average. Twelve was commonly considered the minimum necessary to maintain good order.[134] Many houses were doubtless smaller, and Bernard of Clairvaux commended the abbot of Aulps for destroying 'the cells outside the monastery where three or four brothers lived without order and without discipline', calling them 'synagogues of Satan'.[135]

Reformed houses often started as small heremitical communities gathered around a charismatic leader or a small group of like-minded founders. The future Vallombrosan abbey of the Trinity in the alps (or of the Blessed Spring) in the diocese of Arezzo was founded by two priests and some German monks who met on a pilgrimage to Rome and decided to found 'a hospice for the poor in the desert of the alps'. After moving three times owing to lack of water, they built a church 'under the protection of God, far from all domination of secular men'.[136] The origins of the Augustinian house of Miseray, in the diocese of Bourges, went back to 1089, when four brothers 'of the knightly order' made a grant to two men 'of the clerical order' who wanted to lead 'a solitary and theoretical life', free from tithes and other worldly claims. The place was pleasant (*satis amoenum*), being surrounded by dense woods and having an attractive spring, and the two clerics lived a contemplative life of work, vigils, fasts, prayers and continual love.[137] The Savigniac (and later Cistercian) abbey of Fontaines-les-Blanches was founded, according to the history written in 1200 by its seventh abbot, Peregrinus, by a mixed group which included a priest, a cleric, a knight and a layman, who settled in a place deep in the forest, 'very dangerous owing to the number of robbers', with many springs, from which it took its name.[138]

These accounts embody various themes close to the hearts of the reformers and parallel the histories of other new foundations. The myths of paradise and the desert were fed by the desire for solitude before God and freedom from worldly obligations. The *locus amoenus* was a commonplace in monastic sources for a fertile and well-watered spot, preferably surrounded by uninhabited wastes, where there were no established rights. To medieval monks and nuns the gardens within and around their monasteries were a source not only of food and medicine but also of spiritual refreshment and aesthetic and religious inspiration.

---

[133] Berthold, *Chron.*, c. 43 (pp. 276–8).
[134] Peter the Venerable, *Statuta* 41 (p. 75).
[135] Bernard, *Ep.* 254 (*Sancti Bernardi opera* VIII, pp. 156–7).
[136] Soldani (1741), I, pp. 35–6.   [137] GC II, instr. 57–9.
[138] *Historia monasterii beatae Mariae de Fontanis albis* 1.1–5 (pp. 258–64).

Proper siting was of prime importance for new houses. Except on the frontiers of Europe, there was very little unowned land in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and even the smallest and poorest communities needed an initial grant. Some of the founders were shrewd judges of land and made hard bargains with donors. Sites sometimes acquired rights of their own. At Meunet in the diocese of Bourges, the area of sanctuary (*salvatio*), within which everyone was free from complaints and oppressions and from service to the lords, was set by shooting an arrow from each side of the choir of the church.[139] In 1080 Cardinal Peter of Albano established the boundaries of 'the sacred ban' of Cluny, warning the inhabitants that the closer they lived to Cluny 'the more they should avoid injuring the servants of God'.[140]

The beauty of the settings as well as their harshness and isolation was often stressed. Bruno of La Chartreuse wrote to his friend Ralph of Rheims from his hermitage in Calabria praising not only the green fields, flowering meadows, well-watered gardens and productive trees but also the healthful air, 'the view of the hills rising gently on every side and the dark valleys in the distance (*recessum*) with their lovely wealth of rivers, streams, and springs'. This is the place, Bruno wrote, for busy leisure (*otium negotiosum*) and calm activity (*quieta actio*), where God's athletes could find 'the peace unknown to the world and joy in the Holy Spirit'.[141] William of Malmesbury described the setting of Thorney Abbey (which was named for the thickets with which it was surrounded) as 'the image of paradise', and as resembling 'heaven itself in its pleasantness (*amenitate*)'. He stressed the fertility of the land, the productivity of the trees and vines, 'the mutual struggle of nature and cultivation by which the one produces what the other omits', the solidity of the buildings, and the solitude given for the peace of the monks. 'Truly that island is the abode of chastity, the dwelling-place of honesty, the gymnasium of holy philosophers.'[142] Although much of this is rhetoric, it reflected the real needs and values of religious men and women at the time.

Another paradisiacal theme was that of harmony. The community at Sempringham was compared in the *Life* of its founder, St Gilbert, to the chariot of the poor of Christ, which had two sides (men and women) and four wheels (canons, lay brothers, nuns and lay sisters), was drawn by two beasts (the canonical and monastic disciplines), and was driven by Gilbert. The author went on to praise the wonderful unity of peoples and churches and 'the unheard-of community of all things which makes one thing all and all things one among the differences of so many hearts and such great churches'.[143] Abelard said that

---

[139] *Cartulaire de Saint-Sulpice de Bourges*, p. 201, no. 108.
[140] *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, col. 512BC.   [141] Bruno, *Ep.* 1.4–6 (pp. 68–70).
[142] William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum* IV.186 (pp. 326–7).
[143] *Vita Gileberti*, c. 19 (pp. 50–4).

a convent was an army in which the superior was the emperor, the officials dukes, the nuns knights and the lay sisters foot-soldiers, and Aelred of Rievaulx compared the monastic community to a body of which the parts did different things but worked together without complaint. 'Truly I say unto you that whatever one does is of all and whatever all do is of each.'[144]

These high ideals were hard to realise in practice. The early histories of most new communities were marked by hope and courage but also by fear, uncertainty and controversy, and sometimes by failure resulting from lack of resources, the hostility of neighbours and weak administration. New communities needed patrons and recruits as well as leaders. In some cases the founder and patron were the same person, as in the case of Paulina of Paulinzelle, but as a rule the two roles were distinct, and even the most unworldly reformers were compelled to seek patrons. Political and economic as well as religious considerations played a part in the patronage extended by noble families to both old and new religious houses.[145] Piety was reinforced by power, pride and prestige, since a family monastery (or *Hauskloster*, as it is called in German) not only was a source of prayers, a burial-place and a point of entry into religious life – and a possible stepping-stone to an abbey or bishopric – for members of a family but also was a focus of identity and a power-base for the family that had the rights of defence and protection and, later, of advocacy.[146] Even houses which were described as free (*libera*) in the foundation charter or in a later privilege were as a rule controlled to some extent by the granter of the charter and by his or her successors or descendants, since every freedom had its corresponding dependence, and every benefactor was a potential oppressor.

Henry IV said in his charter for Hirsau in 1075 that the count of Calw and his wife had restored (*restauravit*) the monastery, repaired (*reparavit*) monastic life there, and returned (*reddidit*) the lands which had been given by his ancestors but taken 'like hereditary property' by their descendants. The emperor then freed the abbey from subjection 'to the yoke of any earthly person or power' except the abbot, and granted the monks 'the free power (*libera potestas*) not only of choosing but also of establishing the abbot for themselves'. After the election, the new abbot was given the staff of office (*virga regiminis*) by the dean or prior 'without any contradiction'.[147] This striking grant of self-investiture, which denied any rights to the bishop or any lay lord, came at the height of Henry's quarrel with Gregory VII and shows that monastic reform was not a prerogative of ecclesiastics but also had powerful supporters among the laity.

---

[144] Abelard, *Rule* (pp. 250–2); Aelred, *Sermones* VII (*PL* 195, col. 249B).
[145] Bouchard (1987); Howe (1988), esp. pp. 317–19.
[146] Wollasch (1980) and (1987); Margue (1988); Parisse (1989).
[147] *MGH Diplomata* VI.1, p. 360, no. 280.

Hirsau still required help in administering its lands, however, and protection in times of need or crisis. This was the role of the advocate, whose position had grown in the previous century from a relatively unimportant monastic function to a powerful hereditary office, sought by many great lords. According to Henry's charter, the count of Calw and his descendants remained the advocates of Hirsau and had the duty, in consultation with the monks and others, to depose a bad abbot, and to receive from the king 'at the abbot's request' the royal ban and the right to hold court and collect the profits of justice 'which other advocates in other free monasteries receive' and other customary dues. These provisions were doubtless seen as constitutional safeguards to prevent the abuse of abbatial power and to provide for the orderly administration of justice on the abbey's lands, but they left substantial and profitable powers in the hands of the counts of Calw, who in effect exercised the lordship of the abbey.

Privileges like that for Hirsau were designed to free religious houses from interference in their internal affairs, especially the election of a superior, and the administration of their property. The provisions in the rule of Benedict for the election of abbots left the way open for the intervention of the bishop and neighbouring abbots and Christians if the monks disagreed or chose an unsuitable candidate. Many abbots in the early middle ages were in fact appointed by bishops or lay patrons, who sometimes occupied the position of abbot, leaving the ecclesiastical control over the community to the prior. Lay or secular abbots tended to disappear in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when lords like the counts of Anjou gave up their powers to appoint and invest the superiors of religious houses on their domains.[148] Abbots were increasingly chosen by the *maior et sanior pars* of the community.[149] Abbo of Fleury was chosen by 'the authority of the many and of saner counsel', and Lanfranc said that 'all the monks or the greater and better part' should choose the abbot.[150] At Cluny, as at Hirsau, the prior gave the abbatial staff to the abbot-elect, and at Fleury he took it from the altar himself, and was blessed by any bishop except the diocesan.[151] Freedom of election and investiture was thus established in many houses both by custom and by privilege.

The great privileges issued by popes, emperors and kings formed the basis of the *libertas romana* and *libertas regalis*, but others were granted by lesser authorities, both lay and ecclesiastical. Many bishops, especially in Germany, issued privileges for religious houses which formed the basis of the so-called diocesan 'liberties', which offered a package of freedoms and responsibilities, including free elections, economic independence, and freedom from advocacy

---

[148] Guillot (1972), I, pp. 126–93.   [149] Maleczek (1990).
[150] Aimoin of Fleury, *Vita Abbonis Floriacensis*, c. 7 (*PL* 139, col. 393C); Lanfranc, *Decreta* 82 (p. 61).
[151] Bernard of Cluny, *Ordo* I.1 (p. 135); *Consuetudines Floriacenses*, c. 513 (p. 315).

and lay proprietary rights.[152] The *tuitio episcopalis* combined protection and control, linking freedom from lay influence and ecclesiastical dues with obedience to the diocesan bishop.[153] Exemption from the ordinary powers of the bishop was a rarer privilege and was granted only by the papacy. It was naturally unpopular with bishops and came under increasing attack during the reform of the church in the eleventh century, when there were higher standards of episcopal appointments and administration. Pope Urban II, who was a former prior of Cluny, warned Abbot Hugh that he should take care to respect the rights of bishops in exercising 'the liberty of the places belonging to the monastery of Cluny',[154] and Cluny's difficulties in the early twelfth century may have resulted from the increased recognition by the papacy of the legitimate authority of bishops. Some reformers, including the Cistercians, at first rejected the privilege of exemption, but many of them changed their minds after experiencing the unwelcome attentions of bishops. Though the Cistercians remained in theory subject to the diocesan bishop, they accepted privileges guaranteeing control over their internal affairs and amounting in fact if not in name to charters of immunity. In the later twelfth century the German emperors exercised a general advocacy, without jurisdiction, over all Cistercian abbeys in their realm.[155]

The legal position of a monastery, as defined by its privileges, was frequently more important than its rule or the order to which it belonged. The liberty of Fontaines-les-Blanches, according to Abbot Peregrinus, was threefold: 'the first through the Holy Spirit, the second by the authority of the Roman pontiffs, and the third from the generosity of secular powers'.[156] The patterns of monastic liberties and protection thus varied regionally. In many places the ancient proprietary rights of lay lords, which were undermined by the reform movement in the eleventh century, were preserved and even enhanced through the institutions of advocacy, patronage and presentation. When Anselm reproached William II of England for not appointing (*instituere*) abbots in many monasteries, the king replied angrily that the abbeys were his, like Anselm's manors, to do with what he wanted, to which Anselm said that they were the king's to defend and protect 'as an advocate' but not to invade or despoil.[157] There was a fine line between protection and exploitation, and the friends of monasteries sometimes turned into enemies, who sought to turn monastic rights and resources to their own advantage. Such enemies included not only

---

[152] See, for instance, Mois (1953), p. 150; Semmler (1959), pp. 170–231.

[153] Sprandel (1962), pp. 148–61.

[154] *Collectio Britannica*, no. 31 (p. 6) (JL 5384).

[155] Hirsch (1913), pp. 99–150; Tellenbach (1928), pp. 143–7; Pfurtscheller (1972).

[156] *Historia monasterii beatae Mariae de Fontanis albis* II, praef. (p. 273).

[157] Eadmer, *Historia* (pp. 49–50).

laymen but also bishops who resented the wealth and independence of monasteries, priests who feared the loss of donations and parochial revenues, and religious houses that wanted to prevent encroachment on what they regarded as their sphere of influence.[158] In some regions there was a lively competition between rival orders and houses.[159]

Under these circumstances even the smallest, poorest and most isolated communities became involved in disputes and controversies and looked for help wherever it could be found. Popes, emperors and kings were powerful but distant, and could be called upon only in major matters. Henry III in 1056 issued a privilege to protect the *familia* of St Maximin of Trier from the counts and advocates because it had been 'almost entirely deprived of its ancient laws and had been reduced to a servitude unlike the free *familia* of a royal abbey but like the serf of the advocates'.[160] A century later, when Cluny appealed for help to the king of France, the resulting expedition not only crushed its enemies but also expanded royal authority in Burgundy.[161] It was often hard to get the attention of great rulers, however, or even of bishops and local magnates, especially if they were the source of the difficulty. When the canons of St Servatius at Maastricht were unable to recover one of their estates which had been given to a *miles* named Eustace, St Servatius decided 'to be an advocate for himself'. He instructed a hermit, to whom he appeared in a vision, to predict the deaths first of Eustace's uncle and then of Eustace himself, who was so terrified that he not only went barefoot to Servatius' tomb, confessed his sin and returned the land but also offered his other property and later, after Servatius had cured him on a pilgrimage to Compostela, committed himself to the saint.[162]

The official chronicles and histories of religious communities, which were usually written some time after the foundation, often gloss over the early difficulties and imply a greater degree of orderliness and regularity than in fact existed at the beginnings. The standard accounts of the origins of the Cistercian order, which were long accepted as authoritative, are now believed to have been written at least a generation after the events they describe and to project into its early history institutional developments which in fact emerged over a period of time. Robert of Molesme was a controversial figure even during his lifetime, in part because he returned to Molesme after the foundation of Cîteaux, and his role was disputed in the twelfth century. The early history of the Cistercians was apparently marked by generational shifts, and shaped, after its heremitical origins, largely by Stephen Harding and later by Bernard

---

[158] See Vidier (1906), pp. 57–87.   [159] Bligny (1953).
[160] *MGH Diplomata* v.2, p. 508, no. 372.
[161] Pacaut (1964), p. 89.   [162] *Gesta sancti Servatii*, c. 58 (p. 136).

of Clairvaux, who gave the order much of the character for which it was later celebrated.[163]

Many factors contributed to the difficulty of new foundations in establishing themselves on a firm institutional basis. They mostly started as small groups of idealistic men and women inspired by a desire to leave the world and live a life of austerity and purity for the sake of God and grouped around a charismatic leader who took responsibility for both their way of life and material survival. The personal homogeneity as well as the institutional instability of such groups made it hard to attract recruits and stabilise their way of life. Adherence to an established order and choice of a rule, which were immaterial and even repugnant to the founders, became a condition of survival for the second generation. Successful houses often grew rapidly and were unable to cope with the number of recruits, not all of whom shared the vision of the founders. The loss of intimacy and common purpose created tensions, which frequently came to a head at the death, or impending death, of the original leader or leaders. When Geoffrey of Fontaines-les-Blanches fell ill, his followers begged him 'to transfer himself and his house to some order': 'Dispose of your house, since we are afraid that you may die and live no more.' Geoffrey was not only 'the first hermit' and *magister* of the community but also probably the legal owner of its property, and its whole future was threatened by his death. When Fontaines joined the order of Savigny, however, some of the original hermits, including Geoffrey, did not want to become monks and were allowed to leave and to have for as long as they lived whatever they wanted from the property of the monastery.[164] Most houses suffered one or more such crises in their history. These were sometimes brought on by physical conditions. Though the reformers sought to live in poverty and austerity, their leaders knew that in order to survive a community needed adequate material resources and that failure was more often the result of excessive poverty than of excessive wealth. Not all of them were good financial managers, however, and they often had great difficulty in providing for the communities for which they were responsible.

One of the areas of difference between the old and new communities was in their economic regimes. The endowments of some ancient abbeys like Prüm survived intact from the Carolingian age into the thirteenth century, but for many houses the pattern of donations shifted in the eleventh century from entire *villae* or estates to parts of properties, such as churches, and to particular revenues like tithes.[165] Consolidated estates became rarer, and distant

---

[163]   See generally Auberger (1986); on the liturgy, Waddell (1971); on lay brothers, Dubois (1968).
[164]   *Historia monasterii beatae Mariae de Fontanis albis* I.6 (p. 264).
[165]   See Genicot (1936); Lohrmann (1983); on Prüm, Hägermann (1981).

properties, known as *obedientiae*, deaneries or cells, were sometimes run by one or a few monks. Dependent priories served as units of economic exploitation and centres for pastoral work and hospitality, as well as retreats where monks could live a quasi-heremitical life. Even reformers in the eleventh century had no objection to these types of endowments provided they had full control over them. Leo IX, the first pope of the reform movement, granted a privilege in 1049 to the abbey in the castle (*castrum*) of Breteuil, which was restored by 'the noble and religious man' Gilduin of Breteuil 'for the salvation of himself, his parents, and his children' and to which he gave various lands, vineyards and woods, three brew-houses (one with nine *hospites* or dependent workers), a mill, an oven 'free as he himself held it', one church, half of two churches, a third of another church, parts of tithes, jurisdictions, customs, tolls, some thirty *hospites* and three *mancipii* with their families 'in such a way that all the *hospites* are free from all custom'.[166] The arrangement at Meunet, cited above, likewise insisted on the freedom of those living around the church from servitude to their former lords, and an early twelfth-century charter for Cluny referred to some *rustici* 'who were freed from the yoke of servitude by the service of St Peter'.[167] Peter the Venerable wrote that agricultural workers were better treated by monks than by lay lords: 'They hold male and female serfs like brothers and sisters, not like serfs.'[168]

The reformers of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries sought to break with this secular pattern of economic organisation, to support themselves on their own lands and by their own labour, and to cut themselves off in every way from the world. The early Cistercian statutes laid down that 'The institution of our name and order excludes [the possession of] churches, altars, burials, tithes from the work or food of other people, estates (*villae*), agricultural workers (*villani*), the rents of lands, revenues from ovens and mills, and other similar things that are contrary to monastic purity.'[169] The Cistercians wanted tracts of uninhabited land which they could work themselves or organise as granges run by lay brothers. Some lands they opened themselves, by clearing and draining, but probably fewer than was once thought. In regions where there was no vacant or uncleared land, they created such 'deserts' by expelling the existing inhabitants. Caesarius of Heisterbach told of the vision of a Cistercian abbot who feared God's displeasure 'that poor men were deprived of their possessions' by the founder of his abbey, 'a powerful and noble man', who when he found a place suitable for religious life 'expelled the inhabitants in part by purchase and in part by threats'.[170]

[166] *PU in Frankreich* VII, pp. 240–1, no. 9.   [167] *Recueil des chartes de Cluny* V.179, no. 3822.
[168] Peter the Venerable, *Ep.* 28 (I, pp. 86–7).
[169] *Exordium Cistercii*, c. 23 (p. 124).   [170] Caesarius, *Dialogus* IV.63 (I, p. 232).

Manual labour was a source of spiritual benefit as well as an antidote to idleness.[171] Peter the Venerable restored 'the ancient and holy manual work' in Cluniac houses because so many monks, he said, spent their time in sleep, 'leaning up against the walls of the cloister', or in idle talk.[172] The early reformers worked in order to support themselves, but they soon found that the manual labour cut into the time for the liturgy and private devotions, and they relied increasingly on lay brothers to work the lands, especially the granges located at a distance from the mother-house, which tended to become like the small priories or cells criticised by St Bernard. As time went on very few of the new communities were able to adhere to their original economic principles, and most of them accepted types of property that they had at first rejected and that brought with them the obligations and legal problems the reformers had hoped to avoid. The process of assimilation was hastened in the case of the Cistercians by the incorporation into the order of houses, like those of Savigny, that already had forbidden types of property and revenues. Alexander III in 1169 addressed a bull to the Cistercian chapter-general criticising the order for abandoning its early ideals, possessing prohibited types of property and entering into litigation. 'For if the original institutes of the order have been abandoned and you wish to divert to the common laws of other monasteries, then you should be judged by the common law.'[173] Peter the Chanter told a story of how Bernard wept at the sight of shepherds' huts resembling the early houses of the Cistercians, who now lived in palaces.[174]

This sort of criticism should not be taken too seriously, except as evidence of a self-correcting tendency. Various criticisms of religious life were voiced throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries: Adalbero of Laon attacked the Cluniacs; Onulf of Speyer said men became monks to escape poverty and oppression; Robert of Arbrissel warned against hypocrisy and empty forms; the chronicler of Peterhausen criticised recluses for gossiping and prophesying and hermits for doing whatever they wanted; and the satirists mocked the avarice and comfortable life of monks. It shows, however, that by the end of the twelfth century the new orders had to a great extent entered the mainstream of institutionalised religious life. Peter of Celle in his treatise *On the Discipline of the Cloister* said that monks and canons differed in *accidentalia* but not in *substantialia*,[175] and the same was even more true of the different types of monks.

For almost two centuries the desire to observe the rule strictly and to serve God in poverty and austerity breathed new life into the monastic order. The

---

[171] Benedict, *Rule*, c. 42.   [172] Peter the Venerable, *Statuta* 39 (p. 73–4).

[173] *Historiae Francorum scriptores* IV.478 (JL 11633).

[174] Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, c. 86 (*PL* 205, col. 257D).

[175] Peter of Celle, *De disciplina claustri*, c. 2 (pp. 128–30).

religious communities founded at that time continued to play an important part in the church of the late middle ages, and to attract the admiration and support of serious men and women, but the future lay with the new types of life, which drew their inspiration from the ideals of that age but accepted the more radical implications of incorporating service to man into service to God. The little groups of men and women who left the world in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were in their nature fragile and temporary and bore little resemblance to the great communities to which some of them gave birth. Their values were embodied in their example, not in the institutions created by their successors. After Fontaines-les-Blanches became an abbey, some of the founders continued to live as hermits, but the death of the last survivor marked, as their historian said, 'the end of the hermits'.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH, 1073–1216

I. S. Robinson

DESCRIPTIONS of the structure of the church in the period 1073–1216 often drew an analogy with secular government. In the earliest polemic composed in defence of the reform programme of Pope Gregory VII in 1075 the learned Bernold, clerk of Constance, described the delegation of power in the church. 'Although the pope has divided up his charge among the individual bishops, he has nevertheless in no way deprived himself of his universal and princely power; just as a king does not diminish his royal power, although he has divided up his kingdom among different dukes, counts and office-holders.'[1] In the far west of Christendom Bishop Gilbert of Limerick composed for his colleagues a treatise *On the Condition of the Church* containing diagrams in which 'the emperor is juxtaposed to the pope, the king to the primate, the duke to the archbishop, the count to the bishop and the knight to the priest, because these personages are regarded in law as the equals of those secular men'.[2] The sermon attributed to Pope Innocent II on the occasion of the opening of the Second Lateran Council (1139) described the obedience that all clergy owed to the pope in feudal language. 'You recognise that Rome is the head of the world and that the high honour of an ecclesiastical office is received by the permission of the Roman pontiff, as it were by feudal law and custom: without his permission it is unlawful to hold office.'[3] In the opening discourse of the Third Lateran

---

[1] Bernold, *Apologeticus* 23, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 88: 'praesul apostolicus, qui licet curam suam in singulos episcopos diviserit, nullomodo tamen se ipsum sua universali et principali potestate privavit, sicut nec rex suam regalem potentiam diminuit, licet regnum suum in diversos duces, comites sive iudices diviserit'.

[2] Gilbert of Limerick, *De statu ecclesiae*, *PL*, 159, col. 999A: 'Coniungitur autem imperator papae, rex primati, dux archipontifici, comes episcopo, miles sacerdoti, quia istae personae pares illis saecularibus iure decernuntur'. See Watt (1970), pp. 13–14; Gwynn (1992), pp. 125–9. For Gilbert's diagrams see Mynors (1939), p. 41 and plate 32.

[3] *Historia Mauriniacensis monasterii*, *MGH SS* XXVI, p. 44: 'nostis, quia Roma caput est mundi, et quia a Romani pontificis licentia ecclesiastici honoris celsitudo quasi feodalis iuris consuetudine suscipitur et sine eius permissione legaliter non tenetur'.

Council (1179) the canonist Rufinus, bishop of Assisi, likened the assembly to 'the image of a most noble city, where there is a king, nobles, consuls and a throng of people'. The king was the pope; the nobles were the cardinals; the consuls, archbishops; the bishops and abbots, the people.[4] This trend of thought was to culminate in the famous definition: 'the pope possesses the fullness of pontifical power, like a king in a kingdom'.[5]

Bernard of Clairvaux, the most influential writer on papal authority in the twelfth century, eschewed such monarchical language[6] but expressed the supremacy of the Roman church through a range of alternative images that were to dominate late medieval ecclesiological discussion. The Roman church was the mother of the churches and the head of the Christian faithful.[7] The pope was the chief steersman of the ship of the church: 'To you is committed the greatest ship, made up of all the others, the universal church, spread through all the world.'[8] In his treatise *De consideratione* Bernard informed Pope Eugenius III that he had 'no equal on earth'. He was 'the defender of the faith, the teacher of the nations . . . the ordainer of the clergy, the shepherd of the people . . . the moderator of the laws, the dispenser of the canons . . . the vicar of Christ'.[9] Of Bernard's list of papal titles, 'vicar of Christ' became the most important expression of the doctrine of the papal primacy after its regular adoption in papal documents in the early thirteenth century. The title was first used of the pope as early as 495, but it was used in the Carolingian period to designate bishops in general and from the ninth to the eleventh century it was often used also as a royal and imperial title. It was in the writings of twelfth-century theologians that *vicarius Christi* began to be an exclusively papal title. The new usage is first apparent in a liturgical treatise of Honorius Augustodunensis, who applied the title to the pope, because his 'office is . . . to govern the whole church as Christ'.[10] The title is also found in Anselm of Havelberg's account of his discussions with Byzantine theologians, published at the request of Eugenius III. Anselm countered Greek criticisms of the papal primacy with the claim

---

[4] Rufinus, *Sermo habitus in Lateranensi concilio*, p. 116: 'cuiusdam quasi nobilissimae civitatis figurare simulacrum, ubi rex, ubi patricii, ubi consules, ubi reliqua populi frequentia invenitur'.

[5] Thomas Aquinas, *In Sententias Petri Lombardi* iv, dist. 20, q. 1, art. 4, sol. 33: 'Papa habet plenitudinem potestatis pontificalis quasi rex in regno, episcopi vero assumuntur in partem sollicitudinis quasi iudices singulis civitatibus propositi'. See Ladner (1954) p. 67.

[6] Bernard, *De consideratione* ii.6.10; iv.3.6 (*Sancti Bernardi opera* (hereafter *SBO*) iii, pp. 418, 453).

[7] *Ibid.*, iv.7.23 (*SBO* iii, pp. 465–6); Bernard, *Epistola* 243.2, 3 (*SBO* viii, pp. 131–2).

[8] Bernard, *De consideratione* ii.8.16 (*SBO* iii, p. 424): 'tibi una commissa est grandissima navis, facta ex omnibus ipsa universalis Ecclesia, toto orbe diffusa'.

[9] *Ibid.*, ii.2.4 (*SBO* iii, p. 413): 'parem super terram non habes'; iv.7.23 (*SBO* iii, p. 466): 'fidei defensorem, doctorem gentium, cleri ordinatorem, pastor plebium, legum moderatorem, canonum dispensatorem, vicarium Christi'.

[10] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae* c. 188, *PL* 172, col. 601D: 'Papae autem officium est . . . totam Ecclesiae ut Christus gubernare'. See Maccarrone (1948), pp. 432–3.

that 'the Roman pontiff alone, in the place of Peter, exercises the vicariate of Christ', juxtaposing the less familiar title with the traditional papal title of 'vicar of Peter'.[11] In a privilege of Eugenius III of 10 April 1153 the *vicarius Christi* formula makes the first of its rare appearances in the twelfth-century papal chancery: 'We, although unworthy, exercise the vicariate of Christ on earth.'[12] Innocent III from the beginning of his pontificate adopted 'vicar of Christ' as the most important of his titles, summarising his unique authority. The pope was 'truly the vicar of Jesus Christ, the successor of Peter, the Lord's Anointed, the God of Pharaoh, set between God and man, lower than God but higher than man, lesser than God but greater than man, who judges all and is judged by no one'.[13]

Innocent III, like Bernard of Clairvaux, the principal source of his ideas of papal supremacy, linked the title *vicarius Christi* with the term *plenitudo potestatis*, 'fullness of power'. Peter had been summoned to assume the vicariate of Christ with the words, 'you shall be called Cephas' (John 1:42), 'which means "head"; because just as the fullness of all the senses exists in the head but some part of the fullness is in the other limbs, so the others were called to a share of the responsibilities (*in partem sollicitudinis*), but only Peter received the fullness of power'.[14] These terms had originally been used by Pope Leo I (440–61) to define the status of a papal vicar in Thessalonica: 'you are called to take a share of the responsibilities, not to have the fullness of power'. Subsequently a letter attributed to Pope Gregory IV (833) applied these terms 'the fullness of power' and 'a share of the responsibilities' to the relations of the Roman church and the bishops.[15] It was in this sense that the pro-papal canonists of the late eleventh century understood these terms, seeing in them an expression of the papal primacy and disseminating them widely in their collections. Bernold of Constance cited the *sententia* of Leo I to prove that 'the lord pope possesses such power over every church that he can settle any matter in it according

---

[11] Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi* III.1, *PL* 188, col. 1223A: 'solus Romanus pontifex vice Petri vicem gerit Christi'. See Maccarrone (1948), pp. 437–8.

[12] Eugenius III, JL 9714, *PL* 180, col. 1589B: 'nos, qui licet indigni, Christi vices in terris agimus'. See Maccarrone (1948), pp. 439–40.

[13] Innocent III, *Sermo* 2, *In consecratione pontificis maximi*, *PL* 217, cols. 657–8: 'profecto vicarius Iesu Christi, successor Petri, Christus Domini, Deus Pharaonis: inter Deum et hominem medius constitutus, citra Deum, sed ultra hominem: minor Deo, sed maior homine: qui de omnibus iudicat et a nemine iudicatur'. See Maccarrone (1952), pp. 135–40; Watt (1965), pp. 43, 84; Pennington (1984), pp. 39–42.

[14] Innocent III, *Sermo* 2, col. 657: '"Tu, inquit, vocaberis Cephas", quod exponitur caput; quia sicut in capite consistit omnium sensuum plenitudo, in caeteris autem membris pars est aliqua plenitudinis: ita caeteri vocati sunt in partem sollicitudinis, solus autem Petrus assumptus est in plenitudinem potestatis'.

[15] Leo I, *Epistola* 14.1 (JL 411), *PL* 54, col. 671B: 'in partem sis vocatus sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis'. Cf. Gregory IV, JL 2579: *MGH Epp.* V, pp. 72–3. See Rivière (1925); Benson (1967).

to the canons, even against the will of the bishop of that church'.[16] Bonizo of Sutri (canonist and biographer of Gregory VII) concluded from the text that 'the pope commits to an archbishop his office in such a way that he is called to a share in his responsibilities, not to the fullness of power'.[17] Twelfth-century canon law was initially more cautious. Master Gratian of Bologna, while including in his *Decretum* both the Leo I, the Gregory IV and a further (Pseudo-Isidorian) version of the text, did not choose to adopt the Gregorian interpretation of it. When he himself used the term 'fullness of power', it was in the context not of papal but of metropolitan authority: 'Bishops are called by the metropolitan to share in his responsibilities, not to the fullness of power'.[18]

Bernard of Clairvaux, however, had no hesitation in applying the term to the pope. 'According to your canons, some are called to a share of the responsibilities, but you are called to the fullness of power. The power of others is confined within definite limits, but your power extends even over those who have received power over others.'[19] Bernard was particularly concerned to differentiate the authority of the bishop of Rome from that of other bishops. The pope was 'the sole shepherd not only of all the sheep, but of all the shepherds'.[20] Unlike other bishops, whose functions were restricted to their own dioceses, the bishop of Rome exercised his jurisdiction throughout the whole church. For St Peter's authority had always been distinct from that of the rest of the apostles: 'it is surely a sign of the unique pontificate of Peter, that while the others had each his own ship, he received not one ship to steer, but rather the whole world to govern'.[21] The superiority of Peter to the other apostles was similarly emphasised by Gratian of Bologna in his account of the development of the Christian priesthood. The crucial event was Christ's bestowing the keys on Peter (Matthew 16:19). 'He chose Peter as if to be the supreme priest when He gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven to him before all and in place of all.'[22] The theologian Hugh of St Victor drew a similar

---

[16] Bernold, *Apologeticus* 23, p. 88: 'domnus apostolicus in omni aecclesia tam principalem potestatem habeat, ut etiam invito episcopo cuiuslibet aecclesiae quaeque in ea iuxta canonicas sanctiones possit disponere'.

[17] Bonizo, *Liber de vita christiana* IV.80, p. 146: 'Quod sic papa vices suas committit archiepiscopo, ut in partem sit vocatus sollicitudinis, non in plenariam potestatem'.

[18] Gratian, *Decretum, Praefatio* C.9 q.3: 'Vocantur enim episcopi a metropolitano in partem sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis'. See Ladner (1954), pp. 63–4; Watt (1965), pp. 76–7.

[19] Bernard, *De consideratione* II.8.16 (*SBO* III, p. 424): 'Ergo, iuxta canones tuos, alii in partem sollicitudinis, tu in plenitudinem potestatis vocatus es. Aliorum potestas certis arctatur limitibus: tua extenditur et in ipsos, qui potestatem super alios acceperunt'.

[20] *Ibid.* II.8.15 (*SBO* III, p. 423): 'Nec modo ovium, sed et pastorum tu unus omnium pastor'.

[21] *Ibid.* II.8.16 (*SBO* III, p. 424): 'Nempe signum singularis pontificii Petri, per quod non navem unam, ut ceteri quique suam, sed saeculum ipsum susceperit gubernandum'.

[22] Gratian, *Decretum, dictum initiale* D.21: 'Petrum vero quasi in summum sacerdotem elegit, dum ei prae omnibus et pro omnibus claves regni coelorum tribuit'.

conclusion from this same passage of Scripture. 'Every ecclesiastical order must obey him who presides in the place of Peter, prince of the apostles, and who alone, by the prerogative of his office, has the keys of binding and loosing all things on earth.'[23] Bernard's interpretation of the term *plenitudo potestatis* and the emphasis of Gratian and Hugh of St Victor on the unique authority of St Peter inspired scholars in the final quarter of the twelfth century to formulate the idea of papal 'sovereignty': namely, that bishops derived their jurisdiction not directly from heaven but from the pope as intermediary.

An early version of this theory is found in the sermon preached by the canonist Rufinus at the beginning of the Third Lateran Council. The theme is the primacy of the Roman church: 'since she is the summit of all the bishoprics, since she is the mother of all the churches and also the mistress of all, she, alone of all the churches, has most worthily deserved to obtain the monarchy'. The Roman church is 'the head of the world . . . through whom the keys and judgement-seats are granted to all bishoprics'.[24] When, twenty years before, Rufinus had described in his *Summa Decretorum* 'how the Roman pontiff holds the supreme power of all the churches and clergy', he had not yet learned to think of the pope as the sovereign who delegated to bishops all their authority.[25] The great Master Huguccio of Pisa in his *Summa* (*c.* 1190) developed Gratian's distinction between the authority of St Peter and that of the other apostles. 'Peter was superior to [the others] in the dignity of his prelacy, in his administration and in his jurisdiction; for he commanded the others and sent them to preach.' The popes, therefore, inherited from Peter the only church that was directly instituted by Christ; the other bishops inherited from the apostles churches that Peter had called into being. Huguccio concluded that the Roman church 'instituted all prelates, whatever their ecclesiastical dignity or office'.[26] Hence the authority of the pope was called *plena*, but that

[23] Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei* III.5, *PL* 176, col. 423C: 'Cui vice Petri principis apostolorum praesidenti, omnis ecclesiasticus ordo obtemperare debet, qui solus praerogativa dignitatis claves habet ligandi omnia et solvendi super terram'. See Benson (1968), pp. 86–8.

[24] Rufinus, *Sermo habitus in Lateranensi concilio*, pp. 117–18: 'sacrosancta videlicet Romana ecclesia, quae, cum sit apex omnium cathedrarum, cum sit mater ecclesiarum omnium, magistra quoque omnium, dignissime ipsa sola omnium ecclesiarum obtinere meruit monarchiam': 'haec ecclesia caput orbis . . . per quam omnibus sedibus claves et tribunalia dispensantur'.

[25] Rufinus, *Summa Decretorum* C.9, p. 298: 'quomodo Romanus pontifex omnium ecclesiarum et clericorum summam potestatem teneat'. Cf. C.25 *pr. v. 'Sancta Romana ecclesia'*, pp. 421–2. See Watt (1965), p. 77; Benson (1968), p. 85.

[26] Huguccio, *Summa* ad D.21 c.2, quoted by Watt (1965), pp. 81–2: 'set Petrus prefuit illis in dignitate prelacionis, in amministracione, in iurisdiccione; ipse enim de aliis disponebat et eos ad predicandum mittebat . . . [Romana ecclesia] instituit omnes prelatos quocumque sint in ecclesiastica dignitate vel officio'. On the late tradition that Huguccio was the teacher of Innocent III see Pennington (1974), pp. 70–7.

of others was *semiplena*.[27] By the last decade of the century canonists were ready to argue that it was the pope rather than God who summoned bishops *in partem sollicitudinis*.[28] It was in this same decade that the term *plenitudo potestatis* came to be used in the papal curia in the sense in which Bernard of Clairvaux had interpreted it. In the pontificate of Alexander III the chancery had used the term in a very specialised sense, to describe the authority which the pope entrusted to cardinal legates. The term was used in its Bernardine sense sporadically in the letters of Lucius III and more frequently in those of Celestine III. Finally in the letters of Innocent III *plenitudo potestatis* became a standard term of the papal chancery.[29]

The papal 'fullness of power' was demonstrated above all, in the opinion of Bernard of Clairvaux, by the pope's role of supreme judge of the church.

The fullness of power over all the churches of the world is given as a unique privilege to the apostolic see; whoever, therefore, resists this power, resists the ordinance of God [Romans 13:2]. She can create new bishoprics where hitherto there were none, if she judges this to be useful. As for those already in existence, she can cast down some and raise up others, as reason dictates to her, so that it is lawful for her to make archbishops out of bishops and the converse, if it appears to her to be necessary. She can summon ecclesiastical persons, however eminent they may be, from the ends of the earth and compel them to her presence not once or twice, but as often as she sees fit.[30]

Here Bernard linked the papal *plenitudo potestatis* with the Roman judicial supremacy constructed by the Gregorian papacy from authentic traditions of the fourth and fifth centuries and from the inauthentic tradition of the 'Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals'. Gregory VII's memorandum on papal authority, *Dictatus papae* (1075), restated the principle 'that the greater causes (*maiores causae*) of any church must be referred to [the apostolic see]'. Gregory's memorandum identified three such 'greater causes': the pope 'alone can depose or reconcile bishops'; he can 'create new congregations, make an abbey out of a house

---

[27] Huguccio, *Summa* ad D.11 c.2, quoted by Watt (1965), p. 82 n. 23.

[28] On Decretist opinion *c.* 1200 see the differing opinions of Tierney (1955), pp. 143–6; Watt (1965), pp. 76, 79–83; Benson (1967), p. 217; Stickler (1972) pp. 553–61; Pennington (1984) pp. 60–1.

[29] Alexander III, JL 10707, ed. Pflugk-Harttung (1883), p. 264; Lucius III, JL 15100, *PL* 201, col. 1288C. For the letters of Celestine III see Zerbi (1955), pp. 170–3; Pfaff (1957a). For the letters of Innocent III: Pennington (1984), pp. 43–58.

[30] Bernard, *Epistola* 131.2 (*SBO* VII, p. 327): 'Plenitudo siquidem potestatis super universas orbis ecclesias, singulari praerogativa Apostolicae Sedi donata est: Qui igitur huic potestati resistit, Dei ordinationi resistit. Potest, si utile iudicaverit, novos ordinare episcopatus, ubi hactenus non fuerunt. Potest eos qui sunt, alios deprimere, alios sublimare, prout ratio sibi dictaverit, ita ut de episcopis creare archiepiscopos liceat, et e converso, si necesse visum fuerit. Potest a finibus terrae sublimes quascunque personas ecclesiasticas evocare et cogere ad suam praesentiam, non semel aut bis, sed quoties expedire videbit'.

of canons or vice versa, divide a rich bishopric and unite poor ones'; he can 'translate bishops from see to see'.[31]

In the earlier twelfth century the canonists did not always keep pace with papal claims to judge 'the greater causes'. Initially the *maiores causae* in which the papacy was most keenly interested were the deposition and reconciliation of bishops. Gregory VII's belief that the pope alone could depose bishops was shared by his twelfth-century successors. Innocent II, for example, used the deposition of a simoniacal bishop of Liège in 1135 as a demonstration to the German church of the 'general law of the church that the greater causes should be referred to the apostolic see for investigation'.[32] Master Gratian of Bologna, however, did not share the pope's confidence in his exclusive right to judge bishops. He noted that 'very many bishops are found to have been condemned without consulting the Roman pontiff' and admitted into his *Decretum* cases of bishops judged by archbishops or by bishops in a synod.[33] Reviewing this material in his commentary on the *Decretum* (*c.* 1170), the distinguished canonist Stephen of Tournai could only conclude that the church's practice had changed. Metropolitans had formerly had the right to depose bishops, but 'they cannot now do what they were able to do in ancient times'.[34]

There was a similar divergence of opinion about the papal claim to the exclusive right to translate bishops. Paschal II declared in 1115 that the translation of bishops was 'entirely forbidden without the authority and permission of the holy Roman see'.[35] Gratian included canonical material to this effect in the *Decretum,* but he also included texts ascribing the right of translation to an episcopal synod or even to the bishop's own initiative.[36] In the middle of the century, when the attention of Eugenius III (1152) and Alexander III (1163) was drawn to translations, they contented themselves with the statement that canon law prohibited such procedures except in cases of 'manifest necessity and

---

[31] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.55a: *Dictatus papae* 21: 'Quod maiores causae cuiuscunque ecclesiae ad eam referri debeant'; 3: 'Quod ille solus possit deponere episcopos vel reconciliare'; 7: 'Quod illi soli licet . . . novas plebes congregare, de canonica abbatiam facere et e contra, divitem episcopatum dividere et inopes unire'; 13: 'Quod illi liceat de sede ad sedem . . . episcopos transmutare', pp. 206, 202, 203, 204.

[32] Innocent II, JL 7696, *PL* 179, col. 226c: 'Inde etiam generali lege Ecclesiae promulgatum, ut maiores causae ad examinationem sedis apostolicae devolvantur'. See Maleczek (1981), pp. 59–61.

[33] Gratian, *Decretum* C.3 q.6 *post c.*9: 'Aliquando inconsulto Romano pontifice plerique episcoporum dampnati inveniuntur'. See also *ibid.*, C.2 q.1 c.5, q.4 c.3, q.6 c.11, 36, q.7 c.44; C.6 q.3 c.2, 3, q.4, c.1, 2, 4.

[34] Stephen of Tournai, *Summa* C.2 q.1 c.5, p. 159: 'Aut forte dices, quia antiquitus poterant, modo non possunt'.

[35] Paschal II, JL 6453: Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia* 5, p. 233: 'quod sine sacrosanctae Romanae sedis auctoritate ac licentia fieri novimus omnino prohibitum'. See Brett (1975), pp. 36–7.

[36] Gratian, *Decretum* C.7 q.1 c.34; c.37; p.c.42. See Pennington (1984), pp. 85–7.

utility' and did not claim that they were reserved to papal judgement.[37] When Huguccio of Pisa reviewed the question of episcopal translations in his *Summa* (*c.* 1190), however, he concluded not only that the pope alone could authorise translations but also that papal jurisdiction extended to the diocese left vacant by the translation. 'Some say that … the metropolitan can immediately ordain another bishop without consulting the pope, but I do not believe it. An episcopal abdication, condemnation or any translation must not be received or made without the pope's permission.'[38] Innocent III shared this opinion. He attached particular importance to the papal deposition and translation of bishops, perceiving such actions as demonstrations of the divine authority of the pope. Since deposition and translation involved the dissolution of a marriage, the bishop's spiritual marriage to his church, they could not be achieved by mere human agency. 'When we sometimes remove bishops from their sees by means of their abdication, deposition and translation, those whom God has bound together in a spiritual union are separated not by man, because [the pope] is not the vicar of man, but by God, because he is the vicar of God.'[39] When the pope deposed or translated a bishop, his action reminded the faithful that 'although [he was] the successor of the prince of the apostles, he was nevertheless not his vicar nor that of any apostle or any man, but the vicar of Jesus Christ himself'.[40]

In the course of the twelfth century 'the greater causes' increased in number and scope. Huguccio was one of the first canonists to supply a list of the *maiores causae* for the information of those who administered the ecclesiastical courts of Christendom. 'These are many: namely, the deposition of bishops … the abdication of bishops … the changing of bishops … the exemption of bishops from the power of another … the restoration of bishops … a question of the faith … dispensation in cases of consanguinity or affinity … a difficult or contentious judgement … the restoration of heretics … the absolution of sacrilegious men who lay violent hands on the clergy … the privilege of appeal

---

[37] Eugenius III, JL 9605: Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici imperatoris* II.8, *MGH SRG* XIV p. 109: 'Cum enim translationes episcoporum sine manifestae utilitatis et necessitatis indicio divinae legis oraculum non permittat'; Alexander III, JL 10837: Gilbert Foliot, *Letters*, p. 184. See Pennington (1984), pp. 90–5.

[38] Huguccio, *Summa ad* C.7 q.1 p.c.42, quoted by Pennington (1984), p. 88 n. 47: 'inconsulto papa metropolitanus potest statim ibi ordinare alium episcopum, quod ego non credo. Cum episcopalis abrenuntiatio vel condempnatio vel qualiscumque mutatio non debeat recipi vel fieri sine licentia pape'.

[39] Innocent III, *Registrum* I.326 (Potthast 342): 'Unde quos Deus spirituali coniunctione ligavit, non homo, quia non vicarius hominis, sed Deus, quia Dei vicarius separat, cum episcopos a suis sedibus per eorum cessionem, depositionem et translationem aliquando removemus'. See Pennington (1984), pp. 77–8, 95–9.

[40] Innocent III, *Registrum* I.326 (Potthast 342): 'Nam quamvis simus apostolorum principis successores, non tamen eius aut alicuius apostoli vel hominis, sed ipsius sumus vicarii Jesu Christi'.

to [the pope] from any judge, excluding all intermediaries . . . and the authority to assemble councils.'[41] To this impressive portrait of judicial supremacy and administrative sovereignty other Decretists would add the right to approve new religious orders and to canonise saints.[42] The case of canonisation illustrates how a claim of papal *reservatio* could develop in the curia in competition with a more ancient canonical principle. Petitioners requesting papal aid in securing the canonisation of a saint *c.* 1100 were told that the details of their case must be made public in a general council and witnesses must give evidence of the saint's miracles.[43] 'It is the custom of the Roman church to canonise the saints of God in a general council', wrote the biographer of Godehard of Hildesheim, describing that saint's canonisation in Innocent II's council of Rheims (1131).[44] Eugenius III, approached in 1146 with a petition from the church of Bamberg to canonise Emperor Henry II, replied: 'Although a petition of this kind is usually not admitted except in general councils, nevertheless by virtue of the authority of the holy Roman church, which is the chief support of all councils, we agree to your petitions.'[45] Alexander III echoed this statement in 1161, in response to a petition to canonise King Edward the Confessor of England: 'although so elevated and exalted an undertaking is customarily permitted infrequently except in solemn councils', the pope had decided to grant the petition following 'the common counsel of our brethren', the cardinals.[46]

In fact, however, only three of the canonisations of the twelfth century were actually approved in general councils, in 1123, 1131 and 1139:[47] for the rest of the century such cases were decided by the pope on the advice of the cardinals.

---

[41] Huguccio, *Summa* ad D.17 c.3, quoted by Watt (1965), p. 84: '*Huic soli sedi concessa:* hec autem multa sunt, scilicet episcoporum depositio . . . episcoporum abrenunciatio . . . episcoporum mutacio . . . episcoporum exempcio a potestate alterius . . . episcoporum restitucio . . . questio fidei . . . dispensacio in consanguinitate vel affinitate . . . difficultas negocii, et iudicum dissensio . . . restitucio hereticorum . . . sacrilegorum absolucio, qui violentas manus iniecerint in clericos . . . privilegium appellandi ad ipsum a quocunque iudice omnibus pretermissis mediis . . . et auctoritas congregandi concilia'.

[42] Watt (1965), p. 84 n. 33.

[43] Urban II, JL 5732: *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé*, p. 104; Bishop Ulrich of Constance, letter to Pope Calixtus II (1123), *PL* 170, col. 865B. See Kemp (1948), pp. 67, 71; Klauser (1954), pp. 92–4.

[44] *Translatio Godehardi episcopi Hildesheimensis, MGH SS* XII, p. 641: 'cum consuetudo sit Romanae ecclesiae in generali concilio sanctos Dei canonizare'.

[45] Eugenius III, JL 8882, *PL* 180, cols. 1118–19: 'tametsi huiusmodi petitio nisi in generalibus conciliis admitti non soleat, auctoritate tamen sanctae Romanae ecclesiae, quae omnium conciliorum firmamentum est, petitionibus vestris acquiescimus'. See Klauser (1954), pp. 92–3; Schwarz (1957), pp. 51–2.

[46] Alexander III, JL 10653: Gilbert Foliot, *Letters*, p. 177: 'Quamvis negotium tam arduum et sublime non frequenter nisi in solempnibus conciliis soleat de more concedi, de communi tamen fratrum nostrorum consilio . . . censuimus'. See Klauser (1954), p. 93.

[47] Kemp (1948), pp. 71, 74–5, 76.

Towards the end of his pontificate Alexander III issued the statement which, once included in the *Decretals* of Gregory IX, became the classical *auctoritas* for the papal reservation of the right of canonisation. Warning against the illicit cult of a local saint, the pope wrote that 'even though very many signs and miracles occurred through him, it was not lawful for you to venerate him publicly as a saint without the authority of the Roman church'.[48] It remained for Innocent III to link the process of canonisation with the papal *plenitudo potestatis*. In April 1200, on the completion of the canonisation of Empress Cunegunda (begun in the pontificate of Celestine III), Innocent announced that he had been requested 'to add the aforesaid empress to the catalogue of saints by means of the fullness of power that Jesus Christ granted to the most blessed Peter'. Innocent emphasised that this request had been made to him 'because this lofty judgement belongs only to him who is the successor of blessed Peter and vicar of Jesus Christ'.[49] No more was heard of the custom of canonising saints in a general council: the pope had relieved the council of the responsibility for examining the validity of such supernatural manifestations.

The jurisdictional primacy of the Roman church derived partly from the reservation of the *maiores causae* and partly from the tradition that the Roman see was the court of appeal for all bishops and that the papal decision could be challenged by no other authority. Gregory VII's memorandum *Dictatus papae* reiterates the Pseudo-Isidorian principle 'that no one is to dare to condemn someone appealing to the apostolic see', together with the principle stated by the council of Sardica and Pope Gelasius I 'that [the pope's] sentence must be retracted by no one' and the principle of Pope Nicholas I 'that [the pope] himself must be judged by no one'.[50] Gratian of Bologna provided the classic definition of the resultant judicial supremacy in his *dictum*: 'The Roman church alone is able by virtue of her authority to judge concerning all men, but no one is permitted to make judgement concerning her.'[51] Innocent II reminded the German church of the twofold character of his judicial authority in 1135.

---

[48] Alexander III, JL 13546, *PL* 200, col. 1259: 'cum etiamsi signa et miracula per eum plurima fierent, non liceret vobis pro sancto absque auctoritate Romanae ecclesiae eum publice venerari'. See Kuttner (1938), pp. 190–9; Kemp (1948), pp. 99–100; Klauser (1954), pp. 99–100.

[49] Innocent III, *PL* 140, cols. 219B–222D (Potthast 1000): 'ut ex plenitudine potestatis quem Jesus Christus beatissimo Petro concessit praenominatam imperatricem sanctorum catalogo dignaremur ascribere, cum hoc sublime iudicium ad eum tantum pertineat qui est beati Petri successor et vicarius Jesu Christi'. See Kemp (1948), pp. 104–5; Klauser (1954), pp. 100–1; Cheney (1976), pp. 51–3.

[50] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.55a, c.18: 'Quod sententia illius a nullo debeat retractari et ipse omnium solus retractare possit'; c.19: 'Quod a nemine ipse iudicari debeat'; c.20: 'Quod nullus audeat condemnare apostolicam sedem apellantem'.

[51] Gratian, *Decretum* C.9 q.3 *dictum post* c.9: 'Sola enim Romana ecclesia sua auctoritate valet de omnibus iudicare; de ea vero nulli iudicare permittitur'.

St Peter, prince of the apostles, was placed by the Lord at the head of the church so that he and his successors might strengthen their brethren, correct errors and give to each his rights. Hence it was proclaimed as a general law of the church that the *maiores causae* should be referred to the apostolic see for investigation and that the oppressed should fearlessly appeal to her. For the holy Roman church has reserved to herself this privilege of appeals. Everyone knows how necessary is the practice of appeals, for it corrects the wickedness and ignorance of judges.[52]

This passage begins by linking the pope's judicial authority with Christ's commission to Peter, 'strengthen your brethren' (Luke 22:32), but ends with a quotation from the *Digestum novum* concerning the right of appeal to the emperor.[53] It is a reminder – like the well-known complaint of Bernard of Clairvaux fifteen years later, that 'the laws of Justinian, not of the Lord, make a great noise in the [papal] palace every day'[54] – of the influence of Roman law on the development of the judicial supremacy of the papacy in the twelfth century. The papal curia and the Decretists found in the *iurisdictio plenissima* of the Roman emperor a useful model for the *plenitudo potestatis* of the pope.[55]

In the pontificate of Gregory VII only the most serious cases (the deposition of bishops for simony or disobedience) seem to have reached Rome. They were judged in the papal synod, which was a court of justice as well as an assembly that formulated and issued papal decrees.[56] The potential for expansion of judicial activity inherent in Gregorian claims of papal supremacy first became apparent during Urban II's visit to France in 1095–6. The pope was called on to resolve numerous cases, ranging from disputed episcopal elections to minor quarrels between monasteries.[57] During Urban's pontificate papal judicial decisions were increasingly reached *outside* the papal synod. That assembly was now developing into a *concilium* mainly concerned with promulgating reform legislation for Christendom. Such a *concilium,* meeting less regularly and frequently than the old papal synod, could not cope with the growing volume of appeals that the papal curia now began to attract. Its judicial functions were gradually absorbed by a body which would come to be known as the 'consistory', a solemn meeting of the cardinals under the presidency of the pope.[58]

---

[52] Innocent II, JL 7696, *PL* 179, col. 226C: 'Quam sit namque necessarius appellandi usus, nemo est qui nesciat, quippe cum iudicantium iniquitatem et imperitiam corrigat'.

[53] *Digestum novum* 49, 1, 1: see Maleczek (1981), pp. 60–1.

[54] Bernard, *De consideratione* 1.4.5 (*SBO* III, p. 399): 'Quotidie perstrepunt in palatio leges, sed Iustiniani, non Domini'.

[55] Le Bras (1949), pp. 377–98 and (1959), pp. 72–3, 77–8; Watt (1965), pp. 79, 82.

[56] E.g. Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.52a, p. 196; III.10a, p. 268.

[57] Becker (1964), p. 219 and (1997), pp. 133–4.

[58] Sydow (1954–5), pp. 52–5 and (1955), pp. 165–76; Schmale (1974), pp. 36–8 and (1976), pp. 80–102; Maleczek (1984), pp. 301–2.

In the 1090s the disputed elections in the bishoprics of Halberstadt and Arras, the attempt of Dol to escape the jurisdiction of Tours and the conflict between the metropolitan churches of Lyons and Sens were judged in the presence of the pope and his 'colleagues, the bishops and cardinals'.[59] By the 1120s the most important cases were judged by 'the cardinals and the curia': the confirmation of the election of William of Corbeil as archbishop of Canterbury and the examination of the privileges produced by his advisers, laying claim to a primacy over the whole English church (1123);[60] the claim of Archbishop Diego Gelmírez to metropolitan status for his church of Compostela (1124);[61] the deposition of Abbot Pons of Cluny and the confirmation of Peter the Venerable as his successor (1126);[62] the defence of the customs of the Ambrosian church of Milan.[63]

Innocent II's pontificate witnessed a notable increase in the judicial business of the papacy, both that generated by papal intervention and that brought to the curia by litigants on their own initiative.[64] The earliest detailed account by a litigant of his experiences at the papal curia dates indeed from this pontificate: Abbot Hariulf of Oudenbourg's report of his efforts to defend the independence of his monastery against the abbot of St Médard of Soissons (1141). He described eight days of attendance at the Lateran palace and discussions with the papal chancellor and the more influential cardinals, to persuade the pope to hear his case. The hearing then took place on the ninth day in the pope's private chamber in the presence of the cardinals: Hariulf stated his grievances, the relevant diplomas were read out, then the pope and cardinals withdrew to reach their judgement in secret. Next day the abbot was summoned to hear the judgement, which was delivered by the chancellor.[65] Hariulf's account emphasises the prominent role of the chancellor, the formidable Haimeric, cardinal deacon of S. Maria Nuova, in the judicial proceedings of the curia:

[59] Urban II, JL 5505, *PL* 151, col. 376A (Halberstadt): 'communicato confratrum nostrorum episcoporum et cardinalium ac nobilium Romanorum consilio'; Lambert of Arras, *Gesta quibus Atrebatensium civitas . . . in antiquam reformatur dignitatem*, *PL* 162, col. 636C– 638C (Arras); Urban II, JL 5519, *PL* 151, cols. 385C–387A (Dol); Urban II, JL 5788, *PL* 151, col. 544C (Lyons and Sens). See Sydow (1954–5), p. 54. (The term 'bishops and cardinals' was commonly used in papal documents of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries to denote the three orders of the college of cardinals, bishops, priests and deacons.)
[60] Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York*, pp. 111–17: 'cardinales et curia'. See Nicholl (1964), pp. 86–90; Bethell (1968), p. 155.
[61] *Historia Compostellana* II.64, *PL* 170, col. 1116BC. Cf. *ibid.*, I.17, *PL* 170, col. 913B. See Fletcher (1984), pp. 196–221.
[62] Honorius II, JL 7268, *PL* 166, col. 1267D; Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis* II.13, *PL* 189, col. 925BC. See Tellenbach (1963), p. 15; Cowdrey (1978), pp. 242–3.
[63] Landulf de sancto Paulo (Landulf junior), *Historia Mediolanensis*, c. 52, pp. 43–4.
[64] Maleczek (1981), p. 59; Stroll (1987), pp. 130–1.
[65] Hariulf of Oudenbourg, ed. in Müller (1930), pp. 101–11.

'although the examination of every case is in the care of the lord pope', Hariulf remarked to him, 'your industry puts everything in order, deciding the lesser cases and directing the greater'.[66] The pressure of business was causing the pope to delegate cases to be decided by the chancellor or by other cardinals, either individually or as a commission.[67] In a case of extreme complexity the pope might be obliged to look outside the curia for a solution. In the case of the disputed election of the archbishop of York in 1141, for example, after the representatives of the rival factions in the chapter had been summoned to Rome and the case had been exhaustively investigated by the curia, the pope delegated to his permanent legate in England, Bishop Henry of Winchester, the responsibility for reaching a judgement.[68]

Such interminable and acrimonious litigation inspired the famous reflections of Bernard of Clairvaux on the changed character of the papal curia in the mid-twelfth century. In Bernard's view the pope's judicial functions were important as a practical, easily comprehended expression of his universal authority: 'Appeals come to you from all the world and this bears witness to your unique primacy.'[69] Nevertheless the sheer scale and the nature of the judicial business of the curia *c.* 1150 was 'undermining the apostolic dignity'. Night and day the curia resounded with the chatter and the shouting of advocates. Every hour of every day the pope was engaged in settling disputes concerning the 'trivial earthly possessions of men', which were the business of secular courts. It was to judge criminal offences, not to resolve property disputes, that the pope had 'received the keys of the kingdom of heaven'.[70] One of the most obvious ways in which the expansion of papal justice changed the character of the curia was to enhance the importance of those cardinals with legal training. During the second quarter of the century the title *magister* began to appear in the college of cardinals, designating men distinguished for their learning, particularly in law. In the middle of the century the papacy was 'already on the threshold of the period in which the lawyers . . . overtook the religious in the

---

[66] Hariulf, p. 101: 'Nam quamvis ad domnum papam omnis cause examinacio respiciat . . . vestra industria disponit omnia, componens minora dirigens maiora'.

[67] Maleczek (1981), p. 68 n. 181, 69 n. 182.

[68] Knowles (1936), pp. 162–77, 212–14; Talbot (1950); Baker (1971); Maleczek (1981), pp. 69–70. On the famous statement of Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* x.31, ed. Greenway, p. 756, that appeals to Rome were not generally known in England until Henry of Winchester became a papal legate, see M. G. Cheney (1941), p. 178; Sayers (1971), p. 4.

[69] Bernard, *De consideratione* III.2.6 (*SBO* III, p. 435): 'Appellatur de toto mundo ad te. Id quidem in testimonium singularis primatis tui'.

[70] *Ibid.*, 1.6.7 (*SBO* III, p. 401): 'derogans apostolicae dignitatis'; 1.6.7 (*SBO* III, p. 402): 'iudicare de terrenis possessiunculis hominum'; 1.6.7 (*SBO* III, p. 402): 'propter illa [crimina] et non propter has [possessiones] accepistis claves regni coelorum'. Cf. 1.10.13 (*SBO* III, pp. 408–9). See Jacqueline (1953).

curia'.[71] Innocent II promoted four *magistri* to the cardinalate; Eugenius III promoted five and Adrian IV, two.[72] Alexander III inherited five *magistri* from his predecessors and appointed six more cardinals trained in the law, including the distinguished canonist Laborans.[73] Alexander's chancellor, the canonist Albert of Morra became the first lawyer-pope, as Gregory VIII (1187).[74]

During the pontificate of Alexander III, as in that of Innocent II, there was a marked increase in the judicial activity of the curia. It was no coincidence that the two popes of the twelfth century who successfully overcame a prolonged schism were also the popes most active in attracting judicial business to the curia. Both Innocent and Alexander saw in the vigorous assertion of their judicial authority the means both to demonstrate the legitimacy of their title against their schismatic rivals and to win over adherents throughout the church. In all matters relating to the papal judicial supremacy Alexander III was the most important legislator of the twelfth century. It was he, for example, who provided the standard definitions of the status and functions of the 'judges delegate' (*iudices delegati*) on whom the papal judicial system of the late twelfth century came so much to depend. The judges delegate were not permanent officials: they were prelates to whom the pope referred the judgement of individual cases which had arisen in their own localities but which had become the subject of appeals to Rome. The appointment of the *iudices delegati* ended with the completion of the individual case.[75] The delegation of cases to local judges was an attempt to reconcile the claims of papal supremacy with the practical limitations of the judicial system of the papal curia, the most obvious limitations being the curia's ignorance of local conditions. The earliest evidence of a commission to local churchmen to settle a case on the pope's behalf (although they did not yet have the title *iudices delegati*) comes from the pontificate of Innocent II.[76] Towards the end of the pontificate the practice was frequent enough for certain bishops to be described as 'too busy with Roman affairs' to receive any further commissions as judges delegate.[77] The particularly rich documentation for the English church reveals a rapid increase in the delegation of cases in the 1160s and 1170s, beginning with the fifteen

---

[71] Classen (1968), pp. 38–9.

[72] Zenker (1964), pp. 77–9, 114, 116, 136 (Innocent II); pp. 29–32, 107–9, 112–13, 156, 171–4 (Eugenius III); pp. 125–9, 179–80 (Adrian IV).

[73] Brixius (1912), pp. 61, 63–4, 66.

[74] Kehr (1924), p. 250; Holtzmann (1950), pp. 119–20; Pacaut (1956), p. 356. The tradition that Alexander III was the former professor of canon law in Bologna, 'Master Rolandus of Bologna', the pupil of Gratian and one of the earliest Decretists, was challenged by Noonan (1977).

[75] Sayers (1971), pp. 1–11.

[76] Innocent II, JL 8289, *PL* 179, cols. 626c–627a = Gratian, *Decretum* C.2 q.5 c.17 (the case of Bishop Altman of Trent, accused of simony).

[77] Hariulf of Oudenbourg, ed. in Müller (1930), p. 112: 'Romanis negociis occupatissimus'.

cases judged by Bishop Hilary of Chichester and culminating in the judicial activities of Bartholomew of Exeter and Roger of Worcester, who judged over sixty cases.[78] Gibert Foliot, bishop of Hereford and later of London, prominent critic of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury, also acted as judge delegate on sixty occasions. Twenty decretals of Alexander III deal with the delegation of cases to Gilbert.[79] At the end of the century Hugh of Avalon, bishop of Lincoln, was entrusted by the papacy with 'the settlement of the more difficult of all the cases which occurred throughout England'.[80] His biographer described how, overburdened with these time-consuming and expensive judicial responsibilities, Hugh sought the permission of Innocent III to resign his see. His messengers received a sharp rebuff: Hugh was too useful to be permitted to abdicate.[81]

In the collection of forty-three papal decretals concerning judges delegate found in the *Decretales*, the official canon law book issued by Pope Gregory IX (1234), eighteen decretals were issued by Alexander III, the principal legislator on this subject. Next most frequently cited was Innocent III, with fifteen decretals.[82] Alexander was also the most important legislator in the *Decretales* on the subject of appeals. Of the seventy-three decretals in this collection 'concerning appeals', thirty-five were issued by Alexander III, nineteen by Innocent III.[83] Alexander emphasised that the hearing of appeals was both a papal duty and a demonstration of the papal judicial primacy. 'We are compelled by the servant's office that we have assumed to answer the enquiries of individuals so that any doubt or question that arises in anyone's mind may be resolved by the Roman church, which has deserved to obtain among other things the *principatus*.'[84] The *cause célèbre* of his pontificate, the case of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury, involved Alexander in defending this right of appeal

---

[78] Mayr-Harting (1963), p. 211; Morey (1937), pp. 44–78; M. G. Cheney (1941), pp. 180–1 and (1976), p. 226.

[79] Morey and Brooke (1965), p. 243.

[80] *Magna vita sancti Hugonis* v.13 (II, p. 150): 'Omnium sane difficiliores ac magis arduas negotiorum decisiones quas inter fines totius Anglie auctoritate ventilari contingebat apostolica'. These controversial cases included the suits between Geoffrey Plantagenet, archbishop of York and his chapter and between Geoffrey of York and Hugh du Puiset, bishop of Durham. See the introduction of the *Magna vita* I, xxx–xxxii; C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 28, 29, 216.

[81] *Magna vita* v.13 (II, p. 150). The pope in question may have been Celestine III: see C. R. Cheney (1976) p. 78.

[82] *Decretales Gregorii IX* I.29.1–18: 'De officio et potestate iudicis delegati'. See Sayers (1971), pp. 7–10, 100.

[83] *Decretales Gregorii IX* II.28.1–35: 'De appellationibus'. See Amanieu (1935), pp. 764–807; Pacaut (1956), p. 264.

[84] Alexander III, JL 12636, *PL* 200, col. 1053D: 'Consultationibus singulorum ex ministerio servitutis cogimur respondere, ut si quid quaestionis vel dubietatis in mentem alicuius emerserit, ab ecclesia Romana solvatur, quae inter alias disponente Domino obtinere meruit principatum'.

to the papacy, which (together with other rights of the English clergy) King Henry II sought to curtail.[85] Most of Alexander's decretals concerning appeals, however, reveal a different preoccupation: the reform of judicial procedures in order to combat abuse of the right of appeal. Bernard of Clairvaux's warning to Eugenius III that appeals would 'become a great plague if they are not used with the greatest moderation' had proved only too apposite.[86] Clerks facing disciplinary action initiated appeals to Rome in order to escape episcopal jurisdiction; litigants anticipating defeat in the local courts resorted to appeals as a delaying tactic. Alexander's clarification of the law was intended to prevent the fraudulent and unnecessary appeals of those who 'usurp for the defence of iniquity what is known to have been created for the protection of the innocent'.[87]

Alexander III's successors Gregory VIII and Clement III continued his efforts to exclude trifling and malicious appellants from the curia. Clement's decretal on this subject (1189) reveals a curia incapable of coping with the volume of litigation which it now received. 'Because we cannot remember everything, cases already committed to one set of judges are soon afterwards committed, at the request of new petitioners, to other judges. One commission frustrates the other and so the Roman curia earns the reproach of levity.'[88] Nevertheless no pope could ever consider the serious curtailment of the right of appeal for it was this right that, by encouraging direct contact between the papal monarch and all his subjects, gave substance to his primacy over the church. As Clement III was reminded by the canonist Stephen of Tournai, 'it is in the common refuge of appeal that the dignity of the Roman church consists'.[89] This concern of the canonists with the defence of the right of appeal in the face of papal reforms of judicial procedure is particularly apparent in the *Summa* of Master Huguccio. The great Decretist emphatically linked the papal headship of the church with his receiving of appeals.[90]

---

[85] Constitutions of Clarendon (1164): *Councils and Synods* I/2, 852–93. See Warren (1973), pp. 473–84; Barlow (1986), pp. 98–105.

[86] Bernard, *De consideratione* III.2.6 (*SBO* III, p. 435): 'Mihi videtur et in multam posse eas devenire perniciem, si non summo moderamine actitentur'.

[87] Concilium Lateranense III (1179), c. 6, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, p. 214: 'ad defensionem iniquitatis usurpant, quod ad subsidium innocentium dignoscitur institutum'. See C. R. Cheney (1956), pp. 63–4.

[88] Clement III, ed. Holtzmann (1950), pp. 122–3: 'Et quia non possumus omnium habere memoriam, cause modo commisse quibusdam iudicibus ad aliorum statim petitionem aliis committuntur et ita commissio commissione frustrata Romane curie notam ingerit levitatis'.

[89] Stephen of Tournai, *Epistola* 143, *PL* 211, col. 429A: 'Ad commune refugium appellationis, in quo dignitas ecclesiae Romanae consistit'.

[90] Huguccio, *Summa* D.20 ante c.1, quoted by Tierney (1955), p. 29: 'praefuit in appellatione quia ipse solus cephas, id est caput, dictus est'. Cf. Huguccio, *Summa* C.2 q.6 c.3–17, quoted by Tierney (1955), p. 29 n. 3.

The measures taken by Innocent III bear witness to the continued tension between the championing of the right of appeal and the need to reform abuses. At the beginning of his pontificate Innocent reminded the faithful that 'the remedy of appeal was instituted for the protection of the oppressed'.[91] A glance at the letters in the papal register for the opening months of the pontificate reveals the extraordinary range of appeals, including many minor matters, to which the pope personally responded. In answer to an appeal from the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, Innocent commanded Archbishop Hubert Walter to demolish the collegiate church that he was building in Lambeth. The pope ordered the bishop of Piacenza to recover the property taken from a papal legate by certain Piacenzans. He permitted the bishop of Oviedo to restore a monastery which had been converted into a house of secular canons and commanded the bishops of Poitiers and Périgord to restore the abbey of Cadouin to the Cistercian order. He intervened to protect the abbey of St Vaast in Arras against its enemies and investigated the disputed election of the provost of the chapter of Seclin (near Lille). He reconciled the archbishop and canons of Tarragona and the monastery of Ripoll after their dispute about the ownership of an estate. He intervened to ensure the installation of clerks whose right to canonries in Chartres, Pavia and Laon had been contested by the chapters and to support the claims of clerks to prebends in Antwerp and Tournai. He freed the canons of Mâcon from the demands of a former colleague who had fraudulently obtained a letter of authorisation from Celestine III. He intervened to absolve a priest in Sens who had accidentally killed a child and to excommunicate a deacon of Rouen who had assaulted a priest and kicked a pregnant woman.[92]

In the months immediately following these energetic responses to appeals, however, Innocent is found sympathising with the complaints of bishops about the abuse of the appeals procedure. Clergy were using the device of 'frustratory appeals' to escape the punishment imposed by their bishops for such offences as usury and concubinage.[93] Many subsequent letters in the papal register bear witness to Innocent's determination to combat those who 'interpose the obstacle of an appeal in order to escape canonical correction'.[94] The curtailing

---

[91] Innocent III, *Registrum* I.240 (Potthast 264): 'cum appellationis remedium institutum sit ad praesidium oppressorum'.

[92] Innocent III, *Registrum* I.111 (Potthast 104); I.121 (Potthast 91); I.124 (Potthast 130); I.46 (Potthast 149); I.163 (Potthast 196); I.110 (Potthast 116); I.129 (Potthast 138); I.87 (Potthast 79); I.116 (Potthast 86); I.103 (Potthast 99); I.90 (Potthast 76); I.118 (Potthast 117); I.219 (Potthast 229); I.190 (Potthast 237); I.209 (Potthast 221). These letters were issued between 13 April and 30 May 1198. See Fliche *et al.* (1950), pp. 147–8. For the Lambeth case see C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 208–20.

[93] Innocent III, *Registrum* I.330 (Potthast 344), to the bishop of Limoges; II.13, (Potthast 620), to the bishop of Modena.

[94] Innocent III, *Registrum* V.23 (Potthast 1665), to the bishop of Worcester: 'ut canonicam correctionem evitent, appellationis obstaculum interponunt'.

of the right of appeal in such cases is announced in these letters by formulae such as *appellatione remota,* which Innocent's predecessors since the mid-twelfth century had used to prevent the nuisance of second appeals. [95] Thus the bishop of Norwich was instructed to deprive of their benefices all married clergy in his diocese *appellatione remota.*[96] The bishop of Exeter was authorised to deprive the sons of priests who claimed the right to succeed to their fathers' benefices 'unhindered by the opposition of an appeal which is introduced to evade ecclesiastical discipline'.[97] Innocent upheld the judicial authority of bishops and archbishops by restricting the possibility of appealing to a higher judge before judgement was delivered in a lower court and he declared inadmissible appeals by those whose offence was notorious.[98] Innocent III's attitude towards appeals was informed not so much by a desire to 'decentralise' the ecclesiastical judicial system[99] as by his adherence to the legal principle that a judgement that has been lawfully pronounced becomes absolute and cannot be appealed.[100] It was a principle that enhanced the authority of judges throughout the judicial hierarchy of the church and not least of the pope himself. Innocent's own judgements were to be regarded as final. When, for example, he ruled that the church of Dol should be subject to Tours (achieving a settlement which, as his biographer pointed out, had evaded his predecessors for centuries), he took the precaution of declaring invalid any evidence supporting the case of Dol that might be found in the future.[101]

The most significant development in the sphere of papal judicial authority in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries – a development with which the name of Alexander III has been particularly associated – was the tendency to treat the papal curia 'as not only a court of appeal for all Christendom but also a court of first instance'.[102] Petitioners were bringing their cases directly to the curia without first having recourse to a lower court, encouraged by canonists who represented the curia as the 'omnicompetent court of first instance for the whole of Christendom'.[103] This conception was promoted, first, by the

---

[95] Amanieu (1935), pp. 827–30; C. R. Cheney (1956), pp. 63–4.

[96] Innocent III, *Registrum* vi.103 (Potthast 1944). See Cheney (1976) pp. 32–3.

[97] Innocent III, *Registrum* v.66 (Potthast 1700): 'non obstante appellationis obiectu quae interponitur in elusionem ecclesiasticae disciplinae'. See C. R. Cheney (1976), p. 32.

[98] Concilium Lateranense iv (1215), c. 48, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, pp. 256–7. See C. R. Cheney (1976), p. 100; Tillmann (1980), p. 59.

[99] Fliche *et al.* (1950), p. 150.

[100] Innocent III, *Registrum* i.283 (Potthast 292) to the abbot of S. Zeno, Verona, concerning an appeal inspired by newly discovered documents, fifty years after the original judgement. See Tillmann (1980), p. 60.

[101] Innocent III, *Registrum* i.68 (Potthast 176); ii.82 (Potthast 726); ii.83 (Potthast 727). Cf. *Gesta Innocentii papae III*, c. 41, *PL* 214, col. lxxxiiAB. See Tillmann (1980), p. 60.

[102] Holtzmann and Kemp (1954), p. xviii.

[103] Maitland (1898), p. 104.

development of the papal reservation of the *maiores causae* and, second, by the papal practice of granting privileges to religious houses which exempted them from all jurisdiction except that of the pope. Alexander III clarified the special status of these exempt houses by introducing into their privileges the formula *nullo mediante*: monasteries which belonged to St Peter's jurisdiction *with no intermediary.* Alexander III and Celestine III also applied this formula to bishoprics.[104] When such privileged institutions resorted to litigation, the papal curia was the court of first instance. The Decretists, who had so greatly extended the number of the *maiores causae,* now needed an appropriate terminology for the judicial supremacy which they had helped to create. Huguccio, commenting on the statement in Gratian's *Decretum* that 'the holy Roman church has the right to judge all', observed that 'the pope is called "judge" by *antonomasia'*.[105] He and his Decretist colleagues adopted the term *iudex ordinarius omnium* to describe the pope as supreme judge. An *ordinarius* in Roman law was a judge who exercised his office by right rather than by delegation. The pope, by virtue of his *plenitudo potestatis*, could appropriately be called 'the universal ordinary'. Huguccio concluded that 'the Roman church is the common and general court of all clerks and of all churches and the lord pope is the universal ordinary, as though no intermediary existed; and indeed appeals can be made to him ignoring any intermediary'.[106] It was Innocent III who first introduced into an official papal document the principle that 'the Roman pontiff is the ordinary judge of everyone'.[107]

The years 1073–1216 saw the pope firmly established as supreme judge not only of all men but also of the law itself. 'The holy Roman church confers right and authority on the sacred canons, but she herself is not bound by them, because she has the right of making the canons . . . It is lawful for [the pope] to grant special privileges contrary to the general decrees and as a special favour to concede what is forbidden by general decree.' According to Master Gratian, the legislative authority of the pope (whom he called 'the lord of the

---

[104] Schreiber (1910), I, pp. 47–55; Knowles (1963), pp. 583–6. The application of the formula to bishoprics: Foreville (1943), p. 514.

[105] Huguccio, *Summa* ad C.9 q.3 c.21 ('quod sacrosancta Romana ecclesia fas de omnibus habet iudicandi'), quoted by Watt (1965), p. 94 n. 66: 'papa qui antonomastice dicitur iudex'. *Antonomasia* is the rhetorical figure by which an epithet of a person is used instead of the proper name: Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae* VIII.6.29; VIII.6.43.

[106] Huguccio, *Summa* ad C.2 q.6 c.4, quoted by Watt (1965), p. 94: 'Romana ecclesia est commune et generale forum omnium clericorum et omnium ecclesiarum, et dominus papa est iudex ordinarius omnium quasi nullo existente medio, et ideo quolibet medio pretermisso potest appellari ad eum'.

[107] *Compilatio III*, 1.6.4, cited by Watt (1965), p. 95 n. 70: 'cum . . . Romanus pontifex iudex sit ordinarius singulorum'. There is an allusion to the pope's power as 'ordinary judge' in the fifth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, p. 236: 'ordinariae potestatis principatus'.

decrees') was exercised in various distinct ways: not only by making new laws and abolishing old ones but also by granting privileges, cancelling the privileges of his predecessors and granting dispensations.[108] Earlier authors had been less careful about differentiating these activities. In his memorandum of 1075, *Dictatus papae*, Gregory VII declared simply that the pope 'alone has the right to make new laws according to the needs of the time'.[109] In a letter sent in the same year to his supporters in southern Germany Gregory proposed radical new measures against simoniac and married priests, 'for it seems to us much better to rebuild God's righteousness by means of new counsels than to allow men's souls to perish along with the laws that they have neglected'.[110] This letter inspired the canonist Bernold of Constance (in a treatise composed also in 1075) to attribute to the papacy the authority 'to order the churches of the whole world in accordance not only with the ancient statutes but also with new ones, as necessity demands at different times'.[111] Gregory's first biographer, Bonizo of Sutri, echoing the statement of the *Dictatus papae*, wrote that 'it has been and it always will be lawful for Roman pontiffs to make new canons and to change old ones, according to the needs of the times'.[112] This Gregorian portrayal of the pope as legislator – in sharp contrast to the early medieval tradition that required a pope not to admit any novelty to the church[113] – is represented in modern scholarship as a turning point in the history of western European law.[114] The impulse behind this claim to legislative authority was a thoroughly reforming one: to neutralise by means of new laws the new evils which threatened the church. 'It has been and always will be lawful', declared Gregory VII, 'for this holy Roman church to provide new decrees and remedies against the new abuses that spring up.'[115]

[108] Gratian, *Decretum* C.25 q.1 *dictum post* c. 16: 'Sacrosancta Romana ecclesia ius et auctoritatem sacris canonibus impertit, sed non eis alligatur. Habet enim ius condendi canones. . . . Licet itaque sibi contra generalia decreta specialia privilegia indulgere et speciali beneficio concedere, quod generali prohibetur decreto'. *Ibid.*: 'Dominus decretorum'. See Kuttner (1961), p. 409.

[109] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.55a, c. 7, p. 203: 'Quod illi soli licet pro temporis necessitate novas leges condere'.

[110] *Ibid.*, II.45, p. 184: 'Multo enim melius nobis videtur iustitiam Dei vel novis reaedificare consiliis, quam animas hominum una cum legibus deperire neglectis'.

[111] Bernold, *Apologeticus*, c. 21, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 86: 'Nam apostolica sedes . . . hunc semper obtinuit et obtinebit primatum, ut totius mundi aecclesias non solum antiquis institutis, sed etiam novis disponat, prout diversorum necessitas temporum expostulat'.

[112] Bonizo, *Liber de vita christiana* I.44, p. 33: 'licuit semper semperque licebit Romanis pontificibus novos canones cudere et veteres pro consideratione temporum immutare'.

[113] *Liber diurnus Romanorum pontificum*, formula 83, p. 92: 'aut aliquam novitatem admittere' (mid-seventh century).

[114] Klinkenberg (1969), p. 157. Cf. Fuhrmann (1973).

[115] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.67, p. 224: 'huic sanctae Romanae ecclesiae semper licuit semperque licebit contra noviter increscentes excessus nova quoque decreta atque remedia procurare'.

Bernold of Constance called the popes 'the authors of the canons'.[116] Bernard of Clairvaux similarly bade Eugenius III consider the whole corpus of ecclesiastical law as 'your canons'.[117] Gratian taught that papal letters were invested with the same authority as the most ancient laws of the church. 'The decretal letters of the Roman pontiffs are to be accepted even if they are not incorporated in a book of canons', since they 'are equivalent to the canons of councils'.[118] The pope's law-making was not, however, unlimited. 'It is to be noted above all that he can make new laws wherever the evangelists and the prophets have made no statement. But where the Lord or his apostles and, following them, the holy Fathers have solemnly defined anything, the Roman pontiff ought not to give a new law.'[119] The function of papal legislation, therefore, was to make good the omissions in Christian tradition: to provide laws for those circumstances that had not been foreseen by the apostles and the Fathers. The Decretists added a further restriction. 'Note that certain canons cannot be abrogated by the pope, as for instance those issued concerning the faith and the general state of the church.'[120] The term *generalis status ecclesiae,* a favourite expression of the Decretists, was explained by Rufinus as comprehending 'the statutes of the ancient and more venerable Fathers which were promulgated with full authority for the preservation of the state of all the churches and are now consecrated by the reverence of almost the whole world, such as the Nicene canons and those similar to them'.[121] Huguccio considered that any law issued by the pope must be valid 'provided it is not contrary to reason and the Old and New Testaments'.[122] In the hierarchy of canonical sources Huguccio placed papal decrees and decretals after the Bible and the canons of the general councils,

---

[116] Bernold, *De excommunicatis vitandis* c. 58, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 140: 'Ipsi enim sunt auctores canonum'.

[117] Bernard, *De consideratione* II.8.16 (*SBO* III, p. 424): 'iuxta canones tuos; IV.7.23 (*SBO* III, p. 466): 'canonum dispensatorem'.

[118] *Decretum* D.19 c.1: 'decretales epistolae Romanorum pontificum sunt recipiendae etiam si non sint codici canonum compaginatae'. D.20 *dictum ante* c.1: 'Decretales itaque epistolae canonibus conciliorum pari iure exequantur'.

[119] *Decretum* C.25 q.1 c.6: 'Sciendum vero summopere est, quia inde novas leges condere potest, unde evangelistae aliquid et prophetae nequaquam dixerunt. Ubi vero aperte Dominus vel eius apostoli et eos sequentes sancti patres sententialiter aliquid definierunt, ibi non novam legem Romanus pontifex dare . . . debet'.

[120] Huguccio, *Summa ad* D.4 *post* c.3, quoted by Pennington (1984), p. 22 n. 21: 'Set nota quod nec papa quidam canones possunt abrogari: puta de articulis fidei vel de generali statu ecclesie editi'.

[121] Rufinus, *Summa Decretorum ad* D.4, p. 13: 'antiquorum enim patrum et venerabiliorum statuta, que pro omnium ecclesiarum statu conservando plena auctoritate sunt promulgata et totius pene mundi iam consecrata reverentia, sicut canones Niceni, et his similes'. See Tierney (1955), pp. 50–2 and (1972), pp. 22–31.

[122] Huguccio, *Summa ad* D.4 *post* c.3, quoted by Pennington (1984), p. 22 n. 21: 'dummodo non sit contrarium rationi vel veteri vel novo testamento'.

but before the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers and the lives of the saints.[123]

To the pope's legislative authority was joined a dispensing power. Canonists and theologians acknowledged the possibility of *dispensatio*, which was defined by Rufinus as 'a partial abrogation of canonical rigour made in certain cases'.[124] The late eleventh-century canonist Bishop Ivo of Chartres observed that 'the princes of the churches tolerate many things according to the needs of the times; they dispense many things for the advantage of individual persons or in order to avoid the destruction of the people'. He added that 'when the state of necessity ceases, [such dispensations] must also cease'.[125] *Dispensationes* were sought mainly by those who had bound themselves by vows that proved impossible to fulfil, who had married contrary to canon law or who had been ordained to the priesthood while in a state of *irregularitas* (that is, who were illegitimate or suffered from a physical disability or had committed a serious offence).[126] Eleventh- and twelfth-century scholars were agreed neither about the scope of dispensations nor about the persons qualified to concede them. Many, like Ivo of Chartres, supposed that dispensations were granted by 'the rulers' or 'the princes of the churches', that is, bishops and metropolitans.[127] Those authors who specialised in defending papal authority, however, assumed that *dispensatio* was part of the pope's unique array of powers.

'It is certainly the privilege of the apostolic see to be the judge of the canons or the decrees and sometimes to enforce them and sometimes to relax them, as may seem most useful to the church at the time.'[128] Bernold of Constance here echoed the claim of Gregory VII to suspend the operation of the old laws. An English visitor to the curia of Calixtus II reported the pope's opinion that, 'since the pontiffs of this see made the canons, it belongs to them to moderate them by a useful dispensation, if necessity impels'.[129] Bernard of Clairvaux

---

[123] Huguccio, *Summa* ad D.20 c.4, quoted by Munier (1957), p. 200.

[124] Rufinus, *Summa Decretorum* C.1 q.73 c.6, p. 234: 'canonici rigoris casualis facta derogatio'.

[125] Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum, Prologus*, *PL* 161, col. 52A: 'principes ecclesiarum . . . multa pro temporum necessitate tolerant, multa pro personarum utilitate, vel strage populorum vitanda dispensant'. 58B: 'dispensationes . . . cessante necessitate, debent et ipsae cessare'.

[126] Kuttner (1961), p. 410.

[127] Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 231, *PL* 162, col. 235A: 'dispensationes [rectoribus] permissae sunt'. Cf. Ivo, *Decretum, Prologus*, 52A: 'principes ecclesiarum'. See Brys (1925), pp. 243–53; Brundage (1969), p. 71.

[128] Bernold, *De statutis ecclesiasticis sobrie legendis*, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 157: 'Est utique sedis apostolicae privilegium, ut iudex sit canonum sive decretorum et ipsa pro tempore nunc intendat, nunc remittat, sicuti ad presens ecclesiasticae utilitati magis competere videat'. Cf. Bernold, *De excommunicatis vitandis*, c. 58, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 140–1.

[129] Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York*, p. 113: 'set quoniam sedis huius pontifices canones fecerunt et ipsorum est eos urgente necessitate vel utili dispensatione moderari'.

drew particular attention to the dispensing power when he described the pope as 'the moderator of the laws, the dispenser of the canons'.[130] Master Gratian ruled that 'it is lawful for [the pope] . . . to concede as a special favour what is forbidden by general decree'.[131] By the end of the twelfth century the dispensing power was generally discussed in the context of papal authority. For example, the theologian Stephen Langton, commenting on the payment of tithes in his *Quaestiones* on moral theology, inclined to the view that such payment was 'a moral precept, indispensable, deriving from natural law'. Nevertheless he concluded that the pope was empowered by his apostolic authority to dispense the Cistercian order from the payment of tithes.[132] Innocent III settled the matter with characteristic decisiveness by linking dispensation with the papal fullness of power.[133] He ascribed to the pope full authority to dispense from all matrimonial impediments and he established the definitive rules for dispensing from vows (in particular from crusading vows).[134]

The pope's right to confer privileges on ecclesiastical institutions and his right to cancel such privileges equally revealed his dominion over the law. According to Gratian, the Roman church 'may out of motives of piety or necessity alter either wholly or partially what she has previously conceded'.[135] When Archbishop Manasses I of Rheims reminded Gregory VII of the *privilegium* which belonged to Rheims, a primacy over the French church, the pope replied that 'certain things can be conceded in privileges with respect to a particular case, person, time and place, which, if considerations of necessity or greater utility demand it, may lawfully be changed. Privileges indeed must not diminish the authority of the holy Fathers but provide for the utility of holy church.'[136] Gregory VII cancelled three of the privileges conferred by his predecessor on religious houses, declaring one 'invalid', another to be 'against the

---

[130] Bernard, *De consideratione* IV.7.23 (*SBO* III, p. 466): 'legum moderatorem, canonum dispensatorem'.

[131] Gratian, *Decretum* C.25 q.1 *dictum post* c. 16: see above n. 108.

[132] Stephen Langton, *Quaestiones* 242, *De decimis et primitiis*, cited by Powicke (1928), p. 139 n. 3: 'hoc miror, cum solvere decimam sit preceptum morale et indispensabile et de iure naturali . . . Solutio: auctoritate apostolica datur privilegium hoc predictis fratribus Cisterciensis ordinis'.

[133] Innocent III, *Registrum* I.127 (Potthast 126): 'Secundum plenitudinem potestatis de iure possumus supra ius dispensare'.

[134] Dauvillier (1933), pp. 201–8; Brundage (1969), pp. 69–70; C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 59–66, 248–56.

[135] Gratian, *Decretum* C.25 q.2 *dictum post* c.21: 'Unde vel pietatis vel necessitatis intuitu semel a se concessa valet in totum vel in partem commutare'.

[136] Gregory VII, *Registrum* VI.2, p. 393: 'quod possunt quaedam in privilegiis pro re pro persona pro tempore pro loco concedi, quae iterum pro eisdem, si necessitas vel utilitas maior exegerit, licenter valent commutari. Privilegia siquidem non debent sanctorum patrum auctoritatem infringere, sed utilitati sanctae ecclesiae prospicere'. See Cowdrey (1998), pp. 382–4.

statutes of the holy Fathers' and the third to be 'against righteousness'.[137] In the early middle ages the newly elected pope was required to swear 'to diminish or change nothing of the tradition of [his] most virtuous predecessors'.[138] Gregory VII and his successors, however, proclaimed the mutability of ecclesiastical institutions and regarded papal privileges as an important instrument of this change. Innocent II made claims for his office even more sweeping than those of Gregory VII. He could confer privileges 'to divide bishoprics or join them up, transform the jurisdictions of kingdoms, create new metropolitan sees and confer metropolitan rights on primates'. Thus far his claims echoed those of the Gregorian papacy; but while the Gregorian popes represented their innovations as forced on them by an ineluctable *necessitas*, Innocent II's changes were made simply 'according to the pope's will'.[139] The canonists shared this confident attitude. The Decretist Master Roland of Bologna wrote *c.* 1150: 'It is evident that the Roman pontiff can modify the more ancient privileges . . . It is for this reason that at the end of canons the words "saving in all things the authority of the Roman church" are always inserted.'[140] Roland was referring to the fact that from 1143 onwards the papal chancery included in privileges the formula *salva sedis apostolicae auctoritate.* This reservation clause had occasionally been used in earlier privileges to protect specific papal rights. From the pontificate of Celestine II onwards it was used in all papal privileges to protect the right of future popes to alter or cancel the privileges of their predecessors.[141]

Privileges for religious houses provided the popes with their most frequent opportunities for demonstrating their power to change the law. The papal chancery included in such privileges a 'primacy arenga', an opening protocol that reminded the reader of the supremacy of the pope and his unique ability to confer protection, patronage and legitimacy on a favoured church.[142] A resounding example of such an arenga appears in Adrian IV's privilege of 1156

[137] Gregory VII, *Registrum* I.33, p. 54: 'quod nimirum ratum non esse manifestissimis deprehendimus indiciis'; VIII.24, p. 504: 'contra sanctorum patrum statuta'; IX.19, p. 600: 'contra iustitiam'. See Schmidt (1977), pp. 215–16.

[138] *Liber diurnus*, formula 83, p. 92: 'Nihil de traditione quae a probatissimis praedecessoribus meis servatum repperi, diminuere vel mutare'. See above n. 113.

[139] Innocent II, JL 7908, *PL* 179, col. 372B: 'pro sui arbitrii moderatione'.

[140] Rolandus, *Glossa a* C.25 q.2, ed. Thaner p. 108: 'Apparet ergo Romanum pontificem antiquioribus privilegiis posse derogare . . . Unde et in fine canonum semper inseritur: Salva in omnibus auctoritate Romanae ecclesiae'.

[141] This reservation clause has sometimes been attributed to the influence of Gratian, *Decretum* C.25 q.1 *dictum post* c.16. See Thaner (1872); Sägmüller (1907); Chodorow (1972), pp. 152–3; Fuhrmann (1973), pp. 191–2. On the question of the influence of Gratian in the chancery, Holtzmann (1953) showed that there was no unambiguous evidence that the *Decretum* was consulted in the curia before the pontificate of Clement III.

[142] Fichtenau (1957), pp. 101–12.

for St Albans (an abbey with which his family was associated). 'The most holy Roman church, which holds from God a principate over all the churches, like a diligent mother provides for the individual churches with constant vigilance. All must have recourse to her, as to their head and origin, to be defended by her authority.'[143] Numerous papal privileges (270 by the end of the eleventh century, 2000 by the end of the twelfth century)[144] conferred on monasteries 'the protection of the apostles [Peter and Paul] and the defence of the Roman pontiff'.[145] A much smaller group of monasteries that had been surrendered by their patrons to the proprietorship of the Roman church enjoyed the special status of houses 'attached to St Peter and to this church by a special right as a personal possession'.[146] On them the popes conferred immunity from the spiritual jurisdiction of their diocesan bishop and direct subjection to the Roman church, the spiritual exemption that Gregory VII called *Romana libertas*.[147] Favoured abbeys (like Cluny and Monte Cassino) continued to enjoy 'Roman liberty', despite the opposition of bishops and metropolitans (which erupted in noisy protests in the council of Rheims in 1119 and the First Lateran Council in 1123)[148] and despite the criticism of the new religious orders of the twelfth century, whose representatives denounced papal privileges of spiritual exemption as 'innovations', 'foreign to the statutes of the canons'.[149]

A series of privileges demonstrated the power of the popes to transform the religious orders, imposing unity on the hermits and monks of Camaldoli,[150]

---

[143] Adrian IV, ed. Holtzmann (1952), pp. 234–5 (no. 100): 'Sacrosancta siquidem Romana ecclesia, que a Deo sibi concessum omnium ecclesiarum obtinet principatum, tamquam diligens mater singulis ecclesiis instanti cogitur vigilantia providere. Ad ipsam enim quasi ad caput et principium est ab omnibus concurrendum, ut eius defendatur auctoritate'. On Adrian IV and St Albans see Southern (1970), pp. 234–5.

[144] Blumenstock (1890), p. 44.

[145] *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny* 1, pp. 125–6: 'Habeantque tuitionem ipsorum apostolorum atque Romani pontificis defensionem'. See Cowdrey (1970), pp. 15–22; Maccarrone (1980), p. 54.

[146] Gregory VII, conciliar allocution, 1080, ed. Cowdrey (1970), p. 272: 'quod quasi peculiare et proprium beato Petro et huic ecclesiae speciali iure adheret'.

[147] Szabó-Bechstein (1985), pp. 176–92. See above, p. 329.

[148] Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* XII.21, pp. 268–72; *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* IV.78, pp. 542–3. See Maccarrone (1980), pp. 55, 61–2. The First Lateran Council responded to such criticism by restating the ancient canonical principle 'ut monachi propriis episcopis . . . subiecti existant': Concilium Lateranense I, c. 16, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, p. 195. This principle was first stated in the fourth canon of the council of Chalcedon (451): see Gratian, *Decretum* C.16 q.1 c.12; C.18 q.2 c.10.

[149] Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi* I.72, MGH Libelli III, p. 392: 'novae ordinationes'; 'novas institutiones'; p. 393: 'Novae sunt istae consuetudines et ab institutionibus canonum alienae'.

[150] Paschal II, JL 6357, *PL* 163, cols. 330D–332B; Clement III, JL 16095, *PL* 204, cols. 1275A–1278C.

converting the autonomous Carthusian houses into a single order[151] and im-posing a general chapter on the Premonstratensians.[152] Paschal II's privilege of 1100, granting the Cistercians the 'special protection' of the Roman church,[153] inaugurated a long series of papal interventions in the life of the order. Innocent II granted Cistercian abbeys the controversial exemption from the payment of tithes.[154] Adrian IV responded to episcopal resentment at this privilege by restricting the monastic tithes exemption to newly cultivated land (*novalia*).[155] Alexander III, however, was moved by gratitude for Cistercian support during the papal schism to restore their complete exemption from tithes.[156] The ques-tion of the Cistercian tithes exemption became particularly contentious in the pontificate of Innocent III, when some houses were found to be abusing their privilege. The question was finally settled by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which disappointed the Cistercians by compelling them to pay tithes on lands that were newly acquired or granted to others.[157] That privileges could be lost through misconduct was an important theme of papal involvement in monastic affairs. When, for example, in 1147 the abbey of Baumes-les-Messiers declined to obey Eugenius III's legate, it was punished by being reduced to the status of a priory under the jurisdiction of the abbey of Cluny.[158] When Abbot Hugh III of Cluny supported the antipope in the schism of 1159, Alexander III deposed him and ordered a new election, ignoring 'the privilege that is said to have been bestowed on the church of Cluny by the Roman pontiffs'.[159] Lucius III's decree concerning the suppression of heresy (1184) included the measure that members of religious orders who fell into heresy automatically lost their 'privileges of liberty'.[160] The most confident demonstration of this papal disci-plinary power is found in Innocent III's threats to suspend all the Cistercians' privileges if the order did not correct its errors (including the menacing

---

[151] Alexander III, JL 11019, *PL* 200, cols. 293C–294A.

[152] Adrian IV, JL 9970, *PL* 188, cols. 1373D–1375A; Alexander III, JL 12813, *PL* 200, cols. 1105A–1108D.

[153] Paschal II, JL 5842, *PL* 163, col. 47D: 'sub apostolicae sedis tutela specialiter protegi'.

[154] Innocent II, JL 7537, 7544, *PL* 179, cols. 123BC, 126AC. See Pfurtscheller (1972), pp. 26–7; Constable (1964), pp. 241–2, 247–8.

[155] Adrian IV, JL 10189a: *Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Halberstadt* I, p. 215. See Schreiber (1910), I, 259–65; Constable (1964), pp. 279–87.

[156] Alexander III, JL 11632, 11633, *PL* 200, cols. 592D–594A, 594A–595B. See Preiss (1934), pp. 28–36; Mahn (1945), pp. 102–8, 142–7; Constable (1964), pp. 294–9.

[157] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 55, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, p. 260. See Maccarrone (1980), pp. 125–31.

[158] Eugenius III, JL 9061, *PL* 180, col. 1227BC, confirmed by Adrian IV, JL 10053, *PL* 188, cols. 1415C–1417C.

[159] Alexander III, JL 10661, *PL* 200, col. 114B: 'privilegio, quod Cluniacensis ecclesiae a Romanis pontificibus dicitur esse indultum'. Cf. JL 10660, *PL* 200, cols. 111B–112D. See Maccarrone (1980), pp. 85–6.

[160] Lucius III, JL 15109 *(Ad abolendam)*, *PL* 201, col. 1300A: 'non obstantibus libertatis suae privilegiis'.

observation that he would 'choose rather to offend a few men than to abolish a whole order').[161] The evil reputation of Innocent III in Cistercian historiography was a consequence of his attitude towards Cistercian privileges.[162]

The legislative authority of the pope was demonstrated in two further ways from the twelfth century onwards: first, in the form of *decretales epistolae* and, second, through the promulgation of canons in papal councils. The term *decretales epistolae* signified papal writings concerned with legal matters, compiled and circulated for use in judicial proceedings and in the schools. The collecting of decretals began in the 1160s with the copying of a few texts into blank spaces in manuscripts of Gratian's *Decretum* and developed in the 1170s (at first mainly in England) into full-length compilations. The work of compilation was a private enterprise undertaken by canonists quite independent of the papacy: only in the thirteenth century did the papacy assume control of the codification of papal law. The extant decretal collections show that, as in the expansion of the judicial functions of the curia, the pontificate of Alexander III was the starting point of the parallel expansion of papal legislative activity. The collections preserve twenty decretals from the pontificates of Eugenius III and Adrian IV and over 700 from that of Alexander III.[163] Alexander's decretals were of two types: first, replies to the questions of judges delegate concerning the legal problems raised by the cases which the pope had referred to them; second, papal *mandata* containing papal decisions or requesting information concerning appeals or cases of first instance. These decretals were not intended as abstract legal statements with a general application, but referred only to particular cases. The lawyer-pope Gregory VIII in 1187 began the practice of issuing *constitutiones* or 'encyclicals': that is, general statements of law in decretal form.[164] Encyclicals, however, were still a rarity at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The decretals of Innocent III continued to be preoccupied with individual queries: as, for example, the famous letter *Pastoralis officii diligentia* (1204), which replied to nineteen questions asked by Bishop Eustace of Ely principally about the office of judge delegate which he had been instructed to undertake.[165]

The compilers of the late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century decretal collections removed from papal decretals their topical details and provided

---

[161] Innocent III, *Registrum* II.268 (Potthast 913); V.109 (Potthast 1772): 'Eligeremus enim potius paucos offendi, quam totum ordinem aboleri'. See Maccarrone (1980), pp. 112–17.

[162] Bolton (1995), pp. 184–5.

[163] Holtzmann (1927) and (1945); Kuttner (1960), pp. 27–30; Duggan (1963); Hanenburg (1966); Nörr (1972); Landau (1979).

[164] Holtzmann (1950).

[165] Innocent III, *Registrum* VII.169 (Potthast 2350). See Maitland (1898), pp. 124–6; C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 34, 86, 98.

them with commentaries which gave them the character of generalised legal statements. Thus Innocent III's letter *Pastoralis officii* appears in the decretal collection *Compilatio tertia* (1209–10) split into thirteen separate chapters, each converted into an *auctoritas,* an authoritative ruling on an abstract point of law. In this way the canonists systematically transformed papal comments on specific cases into papal legislation. The most influential of the early decretal collections was that of Bernard of Pavia, the *Collectio prima* (or *Breviarium extravagantium*). Published between 1188 and 1192, it was adopted in Bologna and the other schools of canon law as a textbook on the subject of the new papal law, supplementing Gratian's *Decretum.* Bernard's organisation of his materials into five books with different themes was imitated in all the important later collections.[166] Bernard's contemporary, the canonist Stephen of Tournai, deplored the 'impenetrable forest of decretals . . . supposedly under the name of Pope Alexander of holy memory' produced by corrupt ecclesiastical judges and canonists, who ignored 'the more ancient holy canons'.[167] He assumed that their motive was profit. It is more likely, however, that the decretal collectors were simply responding to the extraordinary proliferation of papal decretals from the mid-twelfth century onwards. Both judges and teachers in the schools, needing a guide to the increasing complexities of ecclesiastical law, followed the principle of Master Gratian, that 'the holy Roman church confers right and authority on the sacred canons'.

The scholar and civil servant Peter of Blois wrote *c.* 1180 that, just as the Roman emperors had the unique power of legislating in the secular sphere, 'so the supreme pontiff alone [can] make new laws and interpret and dispense ancient ones, since he alone has the fullness of power'.[168] By the end of the twelfth century churchmen had come to believe that (in the words of the theologian Peter the Chanter) 'the decrees are mutable since they are in the heart of the lord pope and he may interpret them as he pleases . . . For the making, interpreting and abrogating of the canons is in his power.'[169] Canon law was papal law. This view received formal papal confirmation in 1209–10, when Innocent III commissioned his vice-chancellor, Petrus Collivaccinus, to compile an official collection of his decretals, the *Compilatio tertia.* For the first time

---

[166] Kuttner (1937), pp. 324–44; Landau (1979).

[167] Stephen of Tournai, *Epistola* 251, *PL* 211, col. 517c: 'profertur . . . inextricabilis silva decretalium epistolarum, quasi sub nomine sanctae recordationis Alexandri papae et antiquiores sacri canones abiiciuntur'.

[168] Peter of Blois, *Speculum iuris canonici* 19, p. 45: 'ita et summus pontifex solus canones novos condere et interpretari et dispensare antiquos, cum solus habeat plenitudinem potestatis'. See Benson (1968), pp. 393–4.

[169] Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum,* c. 53, *PL* 205, col. 164bc: 'Patet decreta esse mobilia ex eo quod in corde domini papae sint, ut scilicet ea interpretetur ad libitum suum . . . In eius enim potestate est condendi, interpretandi et abrogandi canones'. See Baldwin (1970), 1, pp. 14–16.

the pope authorised the use of a decretal collection 'both in judgements and in the schools'.[170] Soon after Innocent's death Johannes Teutonicus, a master of Bologna, compiled the *Compilatio quarta*, containing more of Innocent's decretals and also the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).[171] Bernard of Pavia had similarly included the canons of the Third Lateran Council (1179) in the *Compilatio prima.* In the collections of Bernard and Johannes the conciliar canons were as much *papal* legislation as the decretals themselves.

'It belongs to the will and power of [the Roman church] alone to assemble a universal council, to make new canons and to obliterate old ones.'[172] In his sermon at the opening of the Third Lateran Council (5 March 1179) the canonist Rufinus linked the making and unmaking of laws with the holding of a council, which was in turn a unique papal prerogative. He was recalling the principle recorded by Master Gratian, that the right to summon a general council 'belongs to the apostolic see': a ninth-century claim elaborating the earlier Roman tradition that the decisions of a council must be confirmed by the pope.[173] Gregory VII had included this claim in his memorandum on papal authority: 'No synod is to be called "general" without his command.'[174] The papal councils of our period, especially those to which the title 'general council' (*concilium generale*) was given by the popes who convoked them – First Lateran (1123), Rheims (1131), Pisa (1135), Second Lateran (1139), Rheims (1148), Third Lateran (1179) and Fourth Lateran (1215) – were assemblies in which the papal monarch gave laws to the church. They were described as 'general' because the participants came from every region of western Christendom and because their canons were binding on the whole church.[175]

These councils had developed from two older forms of assembly: the imperial councils of the Ottonians and early Salians and the papal synod of the pre-Gregorian period. The emperors had summoned and presided over councils of imperial bishops which had regulated ecclesiastical affairs in the empire, sometimes with the participation of the pope. The papal synod, attended by churchmen of the Roman ecclesiastical province, had been the provincial synod

---

[170] Preamble of *Compilatio III*: 'tam in iudiciis quam in scholis'. See Kuttner (1937), p. 355 and (1947), p. 387; Duggan (1963), p. 23; Sayers (1994), pp. 107–9.

[171] Kuttner (1937), pp. 372–3, 457–62 and (1946).

[172] Rufinus, *Sermo habitus in Lateranensi concilio*, ed. Morin (1928), p. 119: 'cuius solius arbitrium est et potestas concilium universale colligere, canones novos condere et veteres oblimare'.

[173] Gratian, *Decretum* D. 17 c.1–6: 'Auctoritas vero congregandorum conciliorum penes apostolicam sedem est'. Cf. Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, praefatio, c. 8, p. 19. See Congar (1968), pp. 133–8, 212–16; Chodorow (1972), pp. 135–41; Schmale (1976), pp. 84–7.

[174] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.55a, *Dictatus papae* 16, p. 205: 'Quod nulla synodus absque precepto eius debet generalis vocari'. Gregory echoed the claim of Leo IX, JL 4304, 4305, *PL* 143, cols. 728A–729A, 729B–731B.

[175] Fuhrmann (1961), pp. 682–3; Schmale (1974), pp. 37–8.

of the bishop of Rome, regulating the local business of the Roman church. During the transitional period of 'the German papacy' (1046–57) and especially in the pontificate of Leo IX a new type of papal council came into being, the successor of both the papal synod and the imperial council: a council under the sole presidency of the pope, attended by the bishops of the Roman province and the empire but also by churchmen from outside these territories.[176] In the Roman synods of Gregory VII, which were part reforming council, part judicial tribunal, judgement was reached and decrees formulated after consultation with the participating churchmen, sometimes involving lengthy debate.[177] In the eleven councils of Urban II, however, consultation and debate tended to be replaced by the more monarchical procedure of promulgation of decrees by the pope, followed by acclamation by the bishops. The role of the churchmen present at Urban's council of Bari in 1097 was succinctly described by an English observer: 'We heard *fiat, fiat!* acclaimed by all.'[178] Urban's practice of repeating at a council the canons already decreed in his earlier councils and in those of his predecessors increasingly gave his councils the character of assemblies for publicising papal reforming measures.[179]

It is well known that his successor Paschal II did not play the dominant role in his councils that Urban had enjoyed in the triumphant days of the councils of Piacenza and Clermont (1095).[180] Indeed in the Lateran synod of 1112 Paschal found himself at the mercy of the council, which compelled him to 'make a profession of the Catholic faith in the presence of all, so that no one might doubt his faith'.[181] The reason for this débâcle was the outrage among Gregorians at 'the evil privilege' (*pravilegium*) extorted from the pope by Emperor Henry V in April 1111. While a prisoner of the emperor, Paschal had granted him a privilege allowing him to practise the investiture of bishops, contrary to the decrees of Gregory VII and Urban II. The synod of 1112 forced the pope to revoke his 'evil privilege'.[182] Among the polemics of 1111–12 provoked by the *pravilegium,* that of Placidus, monk of Nonantola, makes radical claims that seem to anticipate the 'conciliarist' ideas of a later period. To the question 'what is the church?' he answered that 'the church is very well known to be the congregation or rather the assembly of the faithful'. Asking himself 'what

---

[176] Schmale (1976), pp. 81–4, 95–7.   [177] Cowdrey (1998), pp. 590–2.
[178] Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia* II, p. 114: 'His praesentes fuimus, haec conspeximus, his ab universis "Fiat, fiat" acclamari audivimus.' Cf. the account by Anselm of Canterbury of his participation in Urban II's council of Rome in 1099 in his *Epistola* 280, *Anselmi Opera* 4, 195: 'audivi . . .'. See Schmale (1976), p. 99.
[179] Somerville (1970), pp. 62–3; Schmale (1976), p. 99.
[180] Blumenthal (1978a); Schmale (1978).
[181] Lateran synod of 1112, *MGH Constitutiones* I, p. 571: 'facta coram omnibus professione catholicae fidei, ne quis de fide ipsius dubitaret'.
[182] McKeon (1966); Blumenthal (1978b); Servatius (1979), pp. 309–20.

is to be done when the church is thrown into confusion?', he replied: 'In a question of the faith a conference of priests must be held, as was done in the reign of the august Constantine [I] of pious memory, who . . . permitted free judgement to the priests.' Placidus made no reference to the papal claim to be sole judge of questions of the faith.[183] Neither the 'conciliarism' of Placidus of Nonantola nor the proceedings of the Lateran synod of 1112 found an echo in the conciliar history of the following century. Paschal's successors occasionally encountered opposition in their councils but there was no doubt of the papal mastery over the council in the period 1119–1215.

In his 'general council' of Rheims (1119) Calixtus II lectured critics of his conciliar legislation on the subject of papal authority and the council. 'When yesterday we made proposals for the sake of the liberty of the church, certain unfaithful men were offended. Therefore we say with apostolic authority: whoever is unfaithful, let him depart and go and make room for the faithful to study what belongs to the church and what is necessary for the freedom of the church.' After this warning, 'no one presumed to speak against the synodal decrees'.[184] Like Calixtus II, his successors assumed that the role of the churchmen who participated in the council was simply to say *placet* when each canon was read out: the council acclaimed the decrees promulgated by the pope. There is evidence of opposition in papal councils but this never amounted to a challenge to papal authority like that of 1112. The First Lateran Council of 1123, for example, was asked by Calixtus II to confirm the Concordat of Worms of 1122 which settled the dispute between papacy and empire about lay investiture. Intransigent Gregorians in the council seized the opportunity to attack the agreement, 'many shouting out repeatedly, *non placet, non placet*! The pope calmed his critics by representing the concordat as a compromise necessary 'in order to restore peace'.[185] In the council of Rheims of 1148 Eugenius III's decree concerning the simplicity of clerical dress was unsuccessfully opposed by German clergy.[186]

[183] Placidus of Nonantola, *Liber de honore ecclesiae*, c. 2, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 575: 'Quid sit aecclesia? Aecclesiam esse congregationem fidelium vel potius convocationem notissimum est'. *Ibid.*, c. 136, p. 629: 'Quid agendum sit, quando turbatur aecclesia. In causa fidei sacerdotum debet esse collatio, sicut factum est sub Constantino augusto piae memoriae, qui . . . liberum dedit iudicium sacerdotibus'. When the pope appears in Placidus' treatise, it is to be admonished to keep the laws of 'the holy Fathers'. *Ibid.*, c. 70, p. 597: 'Romano pontifici summo studio procurandum est, ut sanctorum instituta serventur'.

[184] Hesso of Strasbourg, *Relatio de concilio Remensi*, *MGH Libelli* III, p. 28: 'Qui infidelis est, discedat et exeat et det locum fidelibus, quae ecclesiastica sunt et libertati ecclesiae necessaria, pertractare'. (These critics had opposed the wording of canon 2 of the conciliar legislation, the prohibition of lay investiture.)

[185] Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Libellus de ordine donorum Sancti Spiritus, MGH Libelli* III, p. 280: 'fuit multorum reclamatio dicentium: "Non placet, non placet" '; 'propter pacem reformandam'.

[186] John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, c. 3, p. 8.

In the Third Lateran Council (1179) the recommendation, based on the advice of the theologian John of Cornwall, that the council should condemn the christology of the great Parisian master Peter Lombard, was successfully opposed by a group of cardinals and bishops after Lombard's former colleague in the schools of Paris, Adam du Petit-Pont, defended his opinions before the council.[187] This instance of controversy throws some light on the procedures of a twelfth-century 'general council'. The most influential figures in the council after the pope himself were his experts, the *viri periti* like John of Cornwall, who was entrusted in 1179 with the investigation of the theology of Peter Lombard. The condemnation of the Albigensian heretics by the Third Lateran Council was based on the preliminary dossier prepared by the pope's legates in southern France, Cardinal Peter of S. Grisogono and Henry of Marcy, abbot of Clairvaux.[188] The investigation of the beliefs of the Waldensians in the same council was entrusted to a commission consisting of 'a numerous assembly of jurists and wise men', presided over by 'a great bishop'.[189] The letter by means of which Alexander III convoked the 'general council' of 1179 was addressed to 'churchmen from the various regions, whose presence and advice will permit the taking of sound decisions'.[190] The work of the papal commission and experts, however, meant that the great majority of these prelates had no direct role in the formulation of the conciliar decrees, many of which may indeed have been prepared before the council met.[191]

The best organised of the 'general councils' of our period was the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. All archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors were summoned; bishops were instructed to see that all cathedral chapters and collegiate churches were represented; secular rulers were also requested to send representatives. Innocent III issued his invitations in April 1213, two-and-a-half years before the council was due to meet. The participants were to 'enquire diligently into all the matters that call for correction and reform and faithfully put them in writing so as to submit them to the scrutiny of the holy council'. The pope arranged simultaneously for 'an investigation to be conducted by prudent persons in each province into abuses requiring apostolic vigilance

---

[187] John of Cornwall, *Eulogium ad Alexandrum Papam tertium*, ed. Häring, pp. 253–300; de Ghellinck (1948), pp. 260–1. Peter Lombard's Christology had already been debated inconclusively in Alexander III's council of Tours (1163): Somerville (1977), pp. 60–2. The second canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) would champion the teaching of Peter Lombard on the Trinity: *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, p. 232.

[188] Congar (1958), pp. 20, 26–7.

[189] Walter Map, *De nugis curialium* I.31, pp. 60–1: 'a quodam magno pontifice . . . multisque legisperitis et prudentibus ascitis'.

[190] Alexander III, JL 13097, *PL* 200, col. 1184D: 'de diversis partibus personas ecclesiasticas . . . quarum praesentia et consilio quae fuerint salubria statuantur'.

[191] Foreville (1965), p. 152.

and correction'.[192] The papal legates despatched for this purpose in 1213 included Nicholas de Romanis, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, who was sent to England,[193] and the Englishman Robert Courson, cardinal priest of S. Stefano in Monte Celio, who was sent to France. Robert's legatine synods enacted reforming canons that influenced the legislation of the 'general council' of 1215.[194] Even in this well-orchestrated assembly, however, there were sounds of discord. The second plenary session of the council (20 November) was disrupted by the disputes of bishops supporting the two rival claimants to the German throne. When the pope's efforts to restore silence were unsuccessful, he walked out of the Lateran basilica.[195] When the interventions of Archbishop Siegfried II of Mainz threatened to open up a discussion of imperial rights, the pope three times commanded him to sit down.[196] When the council came to deal with the affairs of the Languedoc and the Albigensian Crusade, it is possible that Innocent wished to show mercy to the dispossessed Count Raymond VI of Toulouse and his son, but was ultimately obliged to accept the will of the majority in the council.[197] Canon 13 of the council, prohibiting the foundation of new orders, 'lest too great a diversity of religious orders introduce serious confusion in the Church of God', has been interpreted as a criticism of Innocent's approval of experiments like that of the Franciscans.[198]

Nevertheless it seemed to contemporary observers that Innocent III 'always dominated the debates by his personality and by the aptness of his repartee'.[199] In the conciliar decrees it was the pope himself who spoke to the faithful, using the monarchical first-person plural. These canons were cast in the form of papal commands, sometimes adding the phrase 'with the approval of the holy council'.[200] In the sermon at the opening of the Third Lateran Council Rufinus of Assisi had compared the pope to a king and the other participants

---

[192] Innocent III, *Registrum* XVI.30 (Potthast 4706): 'disposuimus interim per viros prudentes in singulis provinciis plenius explorare quae apostolicae provisionis limam exposcunt'; 'universa subtiliter inquiratis quae correctionis aut reformationis studio indigere videntur et ea fideliter conscribentes, ad sacri concilii perferatis examen'.

[193] Tillmann (1926), pp. 107–20; C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 39–41, 256–7.

[194] Dickson and Dickson (1934), pp. 89–117; Baldwin (1970), I, 20–3.

[195] Richard of San Germano, *Chronica regni Siciliae* 1215, *MGH SS* XIX, p. 338.

[196] Kuttner and García (1964), pp. 128, 158–9. See Foreville (1965), p. 270.

[197] C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 395–6.

[198] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 13, *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, p. 242: 'Ne nimia religionum diversitas gravem in ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat'. See Grundmann (1961), pp. 141–8; Sayers (1994), pp. 99–100.

[199] Foreville (1965), p. 270.

[200] E.g. Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 47, p. 255: 'Sacro approbante concilio prohibemus'. Cf. c. 5, p. 236. See Maccarrone (1961), p. 284; C.R. Cheney (1976) p. 46. Canon 7 (p. 237) describes itself as a *constitutio,* the term used by popes for their general statements of law: see above p. 394 and n. 164.

to his subjects.[201] In similarly monarchical language Innocent III's sermon at the opening of the Fourth Lateran Council (11 November 1215) represented the pope as 'the watchman set over the house of Israel' and the other members of the council as 'following the supreme pontiff as a leader, prince and master'.[202] The conciliar decrees celebrated the authority of the Roman church, 'which through the Lord's providence holds the primacy and power of *ordinarius* over all others, as the mother and mistress of all the faithful of Christ'. Rome was the guarantor of the orthodoxy and unity of the church. Those who wished to be regarded as Catholics must 'conform themselves to the obedience of a child of their mother, the most holy Roman church, so that there may be "one sheepfold and one shepherd"'.[203]

In the period 1073–1216, which saw him established as lord of the council, supreme judge of the church and master of the canons, the pope also began to make innovatory financial demands on the faithful. The preoccupation of the popes with their finances is reflected in a series of attempts by members of the curia to produce an up-to-date record of the revenues of the Roman church. The collection of canons which Cardinal Deusdedit dedicated to Victor III in 1087 contained the first such attempt, a description of the proprietary rights of St Peter. At the beginning of the 1140s Benedict, canon of St Peter's, compiled a similar record, a *polypticus* which he dedicated to the future Celestine II. Both Eugenius III and Adrian IV ordered the compilation of a collection of papal diplomas concerning the Patrimony of St Peter.[204] In 1189 Albinus, cardinal bishop of Albano wrote an account of the ceremonial life and the property of the Roman church. His information was absorbed into the most authoritative of these records of the papal finances, the *Liber Censuum* of 1192. This was the work of Cencius Savelli, who served Celestine III as papal chamberlain (*camerarius*), charged with administering the papal *camera,* the financial department of the curia.[205] Cencius compiled for the information of future chamberlains a register of the payments that should be made directly to the *camera*. Other payments were not included, so that the *Liber Censuum* is not a complete record of the papal income in 1192. Cencius left his successors a

---

[201] Rufinus, *Sermo habitus in Lateranensi concilio*, p. 116.

[202] Innocent III, *Sermones de diversis* 6, *PL* 217, col. 677C: 'summus pontifex, qui super domum Israel constitutus est speculator'; 678A: 'sequentes eum, summum videlicet sacerdotem, quasi ducem, principem et magistrum'.

[203] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 5, p. 236: 'quae disponente Domino super omnes alias ordinariae potestatis obtinet principatum, utpote mater universorum Christi fidelium et magistra'. *Ibid.*, c. 4, p. 236: 'conformantes se tamquam obedientiae filii sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae matri suae, ut sit "unum ovile et unus pastor" (John 10, 16)'.

[204] Fabre (1892), pp. 13–19, 20–4; Michaud (1942a), pp. 237–9. Adrian IV's collection may have been the work of his chamberlain Boso: see below p. 422.

[205] Fabre (1892), pp. 171–5; Michaud (1942a), pp. 233–53; Pfaff (1953), (1956) and (1957b).

list of the papal estates and fortresses, the religious houses and secular princes 'belonging to the jurisdiction and property of St Peter and the holy Roman church' and the amount of *census* that they owed to the apostolic see.[206]

As lord of the papal patrimony the pope claimed the rents, services and other payments owed to St Peter. He also shared with the Roman clergy the offerings made by the faithful in the Roman basilicas. For considerable periods in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, the pope was unable to reside in Rome and had no access to these revenues. After Gregory VII went into exile in 1084, the reform papacy did not fully regain control over the city and the patrimony until the pontificate of Calixtus II. During the papal schism of the 1130s Innocent II, whom most of western Christendom acknowledged as the lawful pope, lost control of Rome and the patrimony to his rival Anacletus II. Soon after Innocent's triumphant return to the city, the 'Roman revolution' of 1143–5 – in which the Romans rebelled against their bishop and established a senate – seriously undermined his authority in the papal lands. In the schism of 1159–77 Alexander III was driven into exile and the senate strengthened its control over city and patrimony. Only in 1188 was Clement III able to negotiate the return of the papacy to Rome, by making extensive concessions to the Roman nobility.[207] During these years of insecurity and exile the popes relied heavily on those traditional revenues that derived from outside the patrimony: the *census* paid by the monasteries and the secular princes.

The payment of *census* by a religious house signified that it enjoyed either the protection (*tuitio*, *tutela*, *defensio*, *protectio*) of St Peter or the much rarer and more valuable right of *Romana libertas,* exemption from the spiritual jurisdiction of the diocesan. (Until the later twelfth century papal privileges failed to distinguish between these two very different relationships with the Roman church, which allowed certain monasteries to masquerade as exempt houses, to the fury of their bishops. It was Alexander III who removed this ambiguity by distinguishing in monastic privileges between *libertas* and *protectio*.[208]) The payments from secular sources, which brought into the *camera* an income four times larger than the *census* from the monasteries, all came from princes on the periphery of western Christendom. These payments were of three different kinds: feudal dues paid by papal vassals, the *census* paid by princes who were

---

[206] *Liber censuum* I, p. 2: 'in ius et proprietatem beati Petri et sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae consistentes'.

[207] Robinson (1990), pp. 7–16, 244–8.

[208] The formula that was generally used in papal privileges from 1089 onwards, describing *census* as being paid 'ad indicium perceptae huius a Romana ecclesia libertatis', blurred the distinction between exempt houses and those enjoying only papal protection. Hence the criticisms such as that expressed by Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* III.4.18. See Fabre (1892), pp. 93–7. The decretal of Alexander III, JL 14037 (*Decretales Gregorii IX* V.33.8), removed the ambiguity from the earlier *census* formula. See Fabre (1892), p. 102.

not vassals but who enjoyed the protection of St Peter, and 'Peter's pence'. The most important example of the first category of payment was the *census* paid by the Norman princes of the Hauteville family for their fiefs of southern Italy and Sicily. After the renegotiation of this *census* in the treaty of Benevento (1156) the king of Sicily was expected to make the substantial yearly payment of 1000 gold *squifati* to the *camera*.[209] The *census* paid by a number of princes from the Iberian peninsula signified not that their lands were fiefs of the Roman church, but that they were under the protection (*patrocinium*) of St Peter. King Sancho Ramirez of Navarre and Aragon agreed to pay a yearly *census* of 500 *mancusi* for this protection.[210] Duke Alfonso I of Portugal paid a *census* of 4 ounces of gold, which was quadrupled when Alexander III acknowledged him as king (1179).[211]

The third category of payment, 'Peter's pence', had no connotations of a feudal relationship or of the protection of St Peter. It had originated in England (perhaps in the ninth century) as an act of royal almsgiving and by the later eleventh century it was regarded by the papacy as a fixed annual payment to the Roman church. The English payment was probably the model for the royal alms sent to Rome by the Danish kingdom (initiated, according to tradition, by Cnut the Great),[212] by Norway and Sweden (probably introduced by the papal legate Cardinal Bishop Nicholas of Albano during his reorganisation of the Scandinavian church in 1152–3)[213] and by the kingdom of Poland.[214] In the case of the English kingdom, the payment was described in the early twelfth century as 'the *census* of St Peter' and 'the alms of St Peter' and in the *Liber Censuum* as 'the *denarius* of St Peter'.[215] The money was collected from the churches in each diocese and sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, but it was the king's responsibility to forward it to Rome.[216] The king was sometimes

---

[209] *Liber censuum* I, pp. 15–16. Cf. Treaty of Benevento c. 13, *MGH Constitutiones* I, p. 590. The *squifatus* was the most valuable gold coin in circulation, calculated by the papal curia to be worth two *marabotini*. Seven *marabotini* were usually regarded equivalent to one ounce (*uncia*) of gold: see Pfaff (1953), p. 109. For other papal vassals - Count Peter of Substancion-Melgueil and Count Berenguer Raimon II of Barcelona - see Jordan (1933–4), p. 79; Fried (1980), pp. 72–3, 87–101.

[210] The king's vassals each paid an additional *mancusus* (an Arab gold coin reckoned to be equal in value to the *marabotinus*). See Jordan (1933–4), p. 79; Fried (1980), pp. 59, 71, 74.

[211] Erdmann (1928), p. 49; Jordan (1933–4), p. 80.

[212] Fabre (1892), p. 123; Jordan (1933–4), p. 78.

[213] Seegrün (1967), pp. 154–5, 167, 168–70.

[214] Fabre (1892), p. 120; Jordan (1933–4), p. 79.

[215] Paschal II, JL 5883, *PL* 163, col. 81A: 'census beati Petri'; JL 6450, 377C: 'eleemosyna beati Petri'; *Liber censuum* I, p. 226: 'denarius sancti Petri'. Gregory VII attempted to reinterpret 'Peter's pence' as a feudal payment but his interpretation was rejected by King William I and his adviser, Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury: Lanfranc, *Letter* 39, pp. 130–2. See Brooke (1911); Cowdrey (1972), pp. 89–94; Gibson (1978), pp. 135–6.

[216] Fabre (1892), pp. 129–38; Brooke (1931), pp. 141–3; Jordan (1933–4), pp. 77–8; Lunt (1939), pp. 3–34; Barlow (1963), pp. 295–7.

prepared to use 'Peter's pence' as a bargaining counter in his relations with the papacy. Faced with Paschal II's decrees against investiture, Henry I threatened the pope with the loss of the obedience of the English kingdom and 'the payment that he was accustomed to have from there every year'.[217] During his dispute with Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry II considered withholding the payment of 'Peter's pence' in order to dissuade Alexander III from supporting Becket. The king's adviser, Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, urged him to release the money, so as not to 'offer just cause and matter for complaint against you or your kingdom'.[218] When in 1205 he consecrated Peter des Roches bishop of Winchester, Innocent III appointed him collector of Peter's pence with instructions to see that, contrary to custom, the full amount reached the pope. Innocent's attempt to prevent the erosion of papal revenues by fraud was a failure: his reforming initiative 'was not permitted by the royal or the sacerdotal power'.[219]

The attempts of the popes to find sources of income additional to those provided by the papal patrimony and the *census* immediately provoked the well-known critical and satirical literature concerning 'Roman avarice'. In 1105 the canonist Bishop Ivo of Chartres is found complaining to a correspondent in the papal curia about one particularly important source of revenue. 'The servants and officials of the sacred palace make many demands from consecrated bishops and abbots, which are disguised by the name of "offering" or "blessing".'[220] The *History of Compostela* provides an unusually detailed account of the 'blessings' (*benedictiones*) paid by the ambitious Bishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela (1100–40) to the papacy in order to advance the claims of his church. When Diego raised with Gelasius II the question of his elevation to the metropolitan dignity, he accompanied the request with a *benedictio* of 120 ounces of gold, which was seized by the servants of the king of Aragon and had to be replaced by another *benedictio* of 100 ounces of gold.[221] On his accession Calixtus II received a *benedictio* of 20 ounces of gold from Diego. In 1120

---

[217] Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia* III, p. 132: 'commodum quod inde singulis annis habere solebat, perditurum'.

[218] Gilbert Foliot, *Letter* 177, p. 250: 'nec adversum vos aut regnum vestrum domino papae, quem vos plurimum dilexisse novimus, iustam querelae causam et materiam praebeatis'. Cf. Gilbert Foliot, *Letter* 155, p. 206; Edward Grim, *Vita sancti Thomae*, c. 56, p. 406; *Councils and Synods* I/2, 926–39. See Lunt (1939), pp. 49–50; Knowles, Duggan and Brooke (1972).

[219] Annals of Waverley, *Annales monastici* II, p. 257: 'non est admissum a regno vel a sacerdotio'. See Lunt (1939), pp. 56–7; C. R. Cheney (1976), p. 30.

[220] Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 133, PL 161, col. 142C (to Cardinal Bishop Richard of Albano): 'dicunt cubicularios et ministros sacri palatii multa exigere a consecratis episcopis vel abbatibus, quae oblationis vel benedictionis nomine palliantur'.

[221] *Historia Compostellana* II.4, 6, PL 170, 1036C–1038C, 1039B–1041A. Cf. Gelasius II, JL 6645, PL 163, col. 494C, requesting Diego's 'charity' for the Roman church in her troubles. See Erdmann (1928), pp. 20–1; Fletcher (1984), pp. 197–8, 204–5.

Calixtus made the church of Compostela a conditional grant of metropolitan status: his immediate reward was a *benedictio* of 260 marks of silver, followed by the gift of a golden reliquary, crucifix and censer and a *benedictio* of 400 gold pieces. When in 1124 the metropolitan dignity was made permanent and Diego was given the title of archbishop, the pope received two *benedictiones* of 400 gold pieces and 300 ounces of gold.[222] Diego Gelmírez's contemporary, Peter Pictor, canon of St Omer, denounced such gifts as simoniacal. 'Here in the city every holy order is for sale. The crowds stand here with Simon [Magus] to buy and sell.'[223] In theory 'blessings' and 'offerings' were voluntary expressions of gratitude for the favour of the apostolic see.[224] In practice, from the eleventh century onwards, they were interpreted by the papal curia as fixed charges for the services of the Roman church. By the second half of the thirteenth century certain of these payments had hardened into formal taxation, under the name of *servitia*.[225]

The rapid expansion of the functions of the papal government inaugurated by the Gregorian reform movement meant an increase in the personnel of the curia. When Adrian IV heard the common complaint that 'the Roman pontiff is oppressive to all and almost impossible to bear', he replied that the additional papal revenues served not to enrich the pope but rather to pay the officials of the papal government. 'No soldier can serve without wages and when the wages are not forthcoming, the soldier is weakened and broken.'[226] The exorbitant demands made by curial officials on litigants and petitioners seeking papal privileges are a regular theme of critics of the papacy. Ivo of Chartres reported to Rome the complaint that 'neither pen nor paper is to be had free of charge there'.[227] The satirist Walter of Châtillon described with a series of elaborate puns how litigants at the papal curia found that the canon law of Gratian was never available *gratis*. The advocates of the curia, 'the enemies of truth', were the hounds of Scylla; the papal chancery was Charybdis.[228] A more sympathetic

---

[222] *Historia Compostellana* II.10, 16, 57, 63, 64, *PL* 170, 1045A–1046D, 1055A–1056C, 1105A–1106A, 1114A–1119A. See Jordan (1933–4), pp. 83–6; Fletcher (1984), pp. 198–9, 205–6, 211–12.

[223] *Versus magistri Petri contra simoniam*, p. 709: 'Hic omnis sacer ordo iacet venalis in urbe; / Ut vendant et emant, stant hic cum Simone turbe'. See Yunck (1961), p. 341.

[224] Jordan (1933–4), pp. 80–1.   [225] Gottlob (1903), pp. 69–100.

[226] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* VI.24, ed. Webb II, p. 68: 'Sed et ipse Romanus pontifex omnibus gravis et fere intolerabilis est'; p. 72: 'Et quia nemo potest sine stipendiis militare, cum stipendia non procedunt, debilitatur et frangitur miles'.

[227] Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 133, *PL* 162, col. 142C: 'cum nec calamus nec charta gratis ibi (ut aiunt) habeatur'.

[228] Walter of Châtillon, *Pericula Romanae curiae*, pp. 283–4: 'Canes Scille possunt dici / veritatis inimici / advocati curie, . . . his Caribdis debachatur, / id est cancellaria; / ibi nemo gratus gratis / neque datur absque datis / Gratiani gratia'. See Walter of Chatillon, ed. Strecker, pp. 18–30; Yunck (1961), pp. 339–41.

observer, the theologian Gerhoh of Reichersberg, accepted that it was *necessitas* that prompted the demands of the papal government. Nevertheless 'the sacred hunger for gold and silver in the curia has grown so great that the whole world cannot satisfy it, even though [the curial officials] are prepared to drain it dry'.[229]

One important means of financing the expanding papal government was first specified in a document from the pontificate of Gregory VII: the oath sworn to the pope in 1079 by the patriarch of Aquileia. Among other promises of help the patriarch swore: 'I shall treat a Roman legate honourably when he departs and when he returns and I shall assist him with his needs.'[230] The patriarch bound himself to provide food and accommodation for a papal legate visiting his church, together with his entourage. By the end of the twelfth century the same promise was routinely exacted from an archbishop when the pope conferred on him his pallium.[231] A similar oath was prescribed by the thirteenth-century papal chancery for bishops and abbots.[232] Financing papal legations by using the resources of the churches visited by the legates was one aspect of the phenomenon which later medieval canonists called *procuratio canonica*. Papal 'procurations' might also be demanded for the pope himself and his entourage when he visited a church outside the ecclesiastical province of Rome. Urban II was the first pope to claim this right, on his journey to France in 1095–6.[233] Such a right was of the greatest value to the papacy in the century that began with the Investiture Contest and ended with Clement III's treaty with the Roman senate (1188), when the popes were so often forced on their travels.

Paschal II spent five-and-a-half months in France (1107), Gelasius II three months (1118–19), and Calixtus II spent the first eleven months of his pontificate (1119–20) in Burgundy and France.[234] During the papal schism of the

---

[229] Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi*, c. 19, p. 329: 'Cuius necessitatis occasione auri et argenti sacra fames adeo eidem curiae aucta est, ut a toto orbe tantum nequeat inferri, quantum illi exhaurire parati sunt'. By *necessitas* Gerhoh meant in particular the state of emergency in which the papacy had so often found itself since the outbreak of the Investiture Contest, notably the Alexandrine schism (1159–77), during the early phase of which he composed this polemic.

[230] Gregory VII, *Registrum* VI.17a, c. 4, p. 429: 'Legatum Romanum eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo et in necessitatibus suis adiuvabo'.

[231] E.g. Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, profession to Celestine III (1193): *Epistolae Cantuarienses* 409, p. 368. See also Tangl (1894), pp. 50–1 (no. 18).

[232] Tangl (1894), pp. 51–2 (no. 19).

[233] Becker (1964), p. 219; Brühl (1974), p. 426 with n. 58. Urban II was careful to seek accommodation mainly in abbeys that owed *census* to the Roman church or in episcopal churches that enjoyed the protection of St Peter. His successors, however, regularly claimed 'procurations' in churches that had no special relationship with Rome.

[234] *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* I, pp. 728–32, 778–80, 782–93; Graboïs (1964), pp. 7–8.

1130s Innocent II made a visit of seventeen months to France (1130–1)[235] and in 1147–8 Eugenius III travelled through France and Germany.[236] During these visits the pope and his entourage were fed and sheltered by means of papal 'procurations'. The longest papal exile in northern Europe during our period was Alexander III's three-year-and-five month residence in France. For the first three months Alexander stayed in Montpellier, in the county of Melgueil. Since Melgueil was a vassal principality of the Roman church, the pope, as feudal lord, could finance himself there by demanding feudal aids.[237] For most of Alexander's French sojourn, however, the papal government was financed by *honestae procurationes* claimed from the French churches, principally from the archbishopric of Sens, where the curia remained for nineteen months (October 1163 to April 1165).[238] The origin of the papal claim to 'procurations' is a matter of speculation. The claim developed perhaps partly by analogy with the demand for hospitality made by a bishop during a visitation of his diocese and partly as a survival of the *servitia* formerly owed to the pope as a protégé of the emperor. (In the 'Byzantine period' of papal history and subsequently in Carolingian times the pope had been able, when travelling in the imperial territories, to demand the hospitality due to his protector, the emperor.[239]) The expense of entertaining the pope was so great as to compel the host bishops to solicit the offerings of the faithful of their dioceses.[240] The popes themselves assisted their hosts by staging elaborate fund-raising events. Both Calixtus II (1119) and Innocent II (1131) consecrated the altars of the abbey of Morigny in order to attract pilgrims and their offerings.[241] When Eugenius III consecrated the altar of the abbey of St Denis de Montmartre (1147), he granted 700 days' remission of penance to pilgrims who visited the church on the anniversary of the consecration and gave alms.[242]

The popes could only exact *procuratio canonica* on the spot and in the form of food and shelter. They were also eager to extract financial contributions from those from whom they could not claim hospitality. When these emergency supplies were obtained from papal vassals – like the 30,000 *solidi* that Gregory

[235] *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* i, pp. 844–54; Graboïs (1964), p. 7 and (1981).

[236] *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* ii, pp. 39–57; Gleber (1936), pp. 83–102; Graboïs (1964), p. 8.

[237] Pacaut (1953), p. 18; Graboïs (1964), p. 12; Fried (1980) p. 130.

[238] E.g. Alexander III, JL 10880, 10881, 10910, *PL* 200, cols. 233AB, 233CD, 250D–251B. See *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* ii, pp. 157–95; Pacaut (1953), pp. 18–23; Graboïs (1964), p. 15.

[239] Brühl (1974), pp. 419–26, taking issue with the view of Berlière (1919), pp. 510–11, that 'procurations' originated as 'a spontaneous gift or charitable subsidy'.

[240] E.g. the case of Paris: *Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris* i, p. 28; that of Auxerre: *La Chronique de Morigny*, p. 87. See Graboïs (1964), pp. 9–10.

[241] *La Chronique de Morigny*, pp. 32–3, 54–5.

[242] Eugenius III, JL 9078, *PL* 180, col. 1242AC.

VII begged from Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia in 1083[243] and the 40,000 marks received by Alexander III from King William I of Sicily in 1166[244] – they had the character of 'the gracious aids levied by feudal lords'.[245] In other cases there was no such legal basis for the pope's request. Plunged into a state of emergency (*necessitas*), the pope requested 'alms' from 'the sons of the church' to enable him to 'resist the enemies of the church'.[246] Urban II begged Abbot Hugh I of Cluny for 'relief and solace' in his financial predicament.[247] Bernard of Clairvaux pressed the English and German kings for alms for Innocent II.[248] Most hardpressed of all during the long emergency of the papal schism of 1159–77, Alexander III appealed to his sympathisers for 'alms' (*eleemosyna*), 'help' (*subventio*) and 'subsidies' (*subsidia*).[249] The growing dependence of the late twelfth-century curia on such 'subsidies' is indicated by the papal appeals to the English church in 1173 and 1184. When Lucius III made the second of these appeals, the English clergy informed King Henry II that if he decided to give the pope money from his treasury, they would reimburse him, but on no account should the pope send a legate to collect a 'subsidy', since this would create a precedent.[250] Contemporary churchmen regarded the 'alms' or 'subsidies' requested by the papacy as extraordinary payments to which the pope had no legal claim.

The turning point in the history of papal taxation of the church was Innocent III's efforts to raise taxes from the clergy for the purposes of the crusade. A papal encyclical of 1199 imposed on all clergy a tax of one-fortieth of the value of their ecclesiastical revenues, to be collected by the bishops in each region.[251] The money raised was to be devoted exclusively to the crusade and the papal curia was not to benefit (although the papal envoy charged with publicising the tax in England used the opportunity to solicit offerings to the pope).[252] In 1215

---

[243] Lupus Protospatarius, *Chronicon* 1083, *MGH SS* v, p. 61.

[244] John of Salisbury, *Letter* 168 (*Letters*, p. 116) ii; Boso, *Vita Alexandri III.* ed. Duchesne, pp. 416–17.

[245] Lunt (1934), p. 77. Cf. Lunt (1939), p. 175. The pope did not, however, use feudal terminology when requesting these supplies.

[246] Alexander III, JL 11342, *PL* 200, col. 441C: 'vestrum auxilium instantius postulare, ut vestris freti subsidiis, inimicis Ecclesiae viriliter possimus resistere'.

[247] Urban II: Ramackers (1931–2), p. 42: 'levamen et solamen'. See Jordan (1933–4), p. 97.

[248] Bernard, *Epistolae* 138–9 (*SBO* vii, pp. 334–6).

[249] Alexander III, JL 10655, 10656, 10880, 11204, 11256, 11342–3, 11343, *PL* 200, cols. 108D–109C, 233CD, 373CD, 405D–406D, 441B–442A, 447CD. Following Alexander's term *subsidia,* Lunt (1934), p. 77 and (1939) p. 175, called these emergency supplies 'papal subsidies'.

[250] Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum,* 1173, i, pp. 378–9; Roger of Howden, *Chronica,* 1183, p. 283. See Lunt (1939), pp. 175–7.

[251] Innocent III, *Registrum* ii.270 (Potthast 922).

[252] Giraldus Cambrensis, *De iure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae, Opera* iii, pp. 178–9. See C. R. Cheney (1948) and (1976), pp. 243–6.

the Fourth Lateran Council decreed that 'all clerks, both subjects and prelates, shall contribute one-twentieth part of ecclesiastical revenues for three years in aid of the Holy Land'.[253] The general council acquiesced without a dissenting voice in the papal claim to tax the clergy. According to one version of events at the Fourth Lateran Council, Innocent III wished to raise taxation not only to promote the crusade but also to finance the papal government. He proposed that the papacy should receive in perpetuity one-tenth of the revenues of all the cathedral churches; but the majority of the participants in the council rejected his proposal.[254]

French critics of the papal curia in the mid-thirteenth century recalled Innocent III as the first pope to exploit the practice of 'papal provisions' in the cathedral churches of France.[255] They were referring to the papal right to secure for a member of the clergy a greater or lesser benefice in any church in western Christendom: a right that the pope was petitioned with increasing frequency to exercise on behalf of indigent clerks. In fact the earliest known case of a papal provision is found in the first half of the twelfth century. In 1137 Innocent II requested Archbishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela to confer a benefice in his church on 'our joint son and clerk' Arias, who originally came from Compostela and was now returning there.[256] In the following decades the right of papal provision was increasingly exercised on behalf of clerks who were strangers to the churches in which they were given prebends. One pressing reason for this development was the papal promotion of learning. Alexander III and his successors repeatedly requested benefices for clerks with the title of master, some of whom were currently teaching in the schools of Paris.[257] In one of the earliest interventions of his pontificate Innocent III commanded the chapter of York to confer the office of archdeacon and a benefice on Master Peter of Corbeil (who had taught Innocent theology in Paris).[258] This papal preoccupation with the welfare of indigent men of learning was paralleled in the conciliar legislation intended to improve

---

[253] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 71, pp. 268–9: 'ut omnes omnino clerici tam subditi quam praelati vigesimam partem ecclesiasticorum proventuum usque ad triennium conferant in subsidium Terrae sanctae'.

[254] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum ecclesiae* 19, *Opera* IV, p. 305. According to the *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria* II, p. 276, when Honorius III proposed a clerical income tax in 1225, he claimed that a similar proposal had been made at the Fourth Lateran Council. See *Councils and Synods* 2/1, 156–8.

[255] Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora* VI, p. 105. See C. R. Cheney (1976), p. 80.

[256] Innocent II, JL 7831, *PL* 179, col. 323AB: 'pro latore praesentium Aria communi filio nostro et clerico'. See Fletcher (1978), pp. 215–16.

[257] Post (1929), p. 276 n. 69; Baldwin (1970), p. 118.

[258] Innocent III, *Registrum* 1.478–80 (Potthast 479–81).

the education of the clergy. The Third Lateran Council (1179) required every cathedral chapter to provide a benefice for a master who would instruct poor students free of charge.[259] The Fourth Lateran Council extended this requirement to all collegiate churches where the chapter was rich enough to support a master.[260]

There was, however, a second reason for the expansion of papal provisions from the pontificate of Alexander III onwards. Benefices were granted to officials of the papal curia as rewards for their faithful service and in this way papal provisions helped to finance the papal government. A letter of Alexander III to King Louis VII of France in 1165 reveals how the circumstances of the papal schism accelerated this process. The pope suggested to the king that 'we should grant a certain archdeaconry in Chartres to a clerk of ours, a respectable and learned man, who has been despoiled of all his property because of his loyalty to us and his devotion to the church'.[261] The pope was obliged to compensate those members of the curia who had been ruined by their adherence to the Alexandrine party in the schism. These curial officials remained in the pope's service: they consequently absented themselves from the benefices conferred on them and did not perform the spiritual duties associated with those benefices. The deleterious effects of clerical absenteeism greatly preoccupied contemporary moral theologians like Peter the Chanter and reforming bishops like Hugh of Lincoln.[262] Responding to this concern, the dean and chapter of Paris adopted a constitution punishing non-resident members of the chapter with the loss of their prebends. Alexander III wrote to the chapter about this new constitution, insisting that it must not apply to 'those who remain in our service or in that of the king of the French'.[263] A regulation in conformity with respectable reforming opinion had to be modified to suit the needs of the embattled papal curia.

When the emergency of the papal schism was ended, the popes continued to use papal provisions to finance their government. During the pontificate of Innocent III, for example, between twenty and thirty Italian clerks held benefices in the English church. Some were curial officials, like the chancellor, John cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin (who held a prebend in

---

[259] Concilium Lateranense III, c. 18, p. 220. See Post (1929), pp. 255–77.

[260] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 11, p. 240.

[261] Alexander III, JL 11183, *PL* 200, col. 354C: 'cuidam clerico nostro, viro honesto et litterato et omnibus bonis suis pro fidelitate nostra et devotione Ecclesiae spoliato, quemdam archidiaconatum Carnotensem concederemus'.

[262] Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, c. 34, *PL* 205, col. 120B. According to the *Magna Vita sancti Hugonis* III.10 (I, p. 119), Bishop Hugh of Lincoln refused a prebend to a distinguished theologian from Paris unless he was willing to reside in Lincoln. See Baldwin (1970), p. 120.

[263] Alexander III, JL 11959, *PL* 200, col. 761A (1170/2): 'eis exceptis qui in servitio nostro vel regis Francorum permanserint'.

York), 'Alan, a clerk of the lord Pope Innocent III' (who held a prebend of St Paul's) and Master Britius, papal subdeacon and notary (who held a church in the gift of Guisborough Priory).[264] Others were papal kinsmen like Innocent's cousin Ptolemy and his nephews, Cardinal Deacon Stephen of S. Adriano and Leonard. Writing about the latter nephew to the chapter of York, Innocent underlined the advantages for York in possessing so intimate a link with the Roman church.[265] The financial expedients devised by a desperate papal government during the exiles of the twelfth century, papal provisions and *subsidia,* were becoming by the beginning of the thirteenth century part of the normal revenues of the papacy. Not the least of the achievements of the papacy in the years of crisis from the Investiture Contest to the Fourth Lateran Council was the assertion of that mastery over ecclesiastical property that was to prove central to the authority of the Roman church in the later middle ages.[266]

The papal lordship over the church was exercised with the cooperation of the cardinals. They were the pope's 'comrades and helpers', 'the elders of the people, the judges of the world'.[267] Innocent III called them 'our brethren, who are members of our body'.[268] Their role in the Roman church was of particular importance to the canonists since it offered them a solution to a major problem. The canonists inherited not only the tradition that the Roman church was stainless and unerring in the Catholic faith but also the problematical case-study of Pope Anastasius II (496–8), who was allegedly tainted with heresy.[269] Their attempts to resolve this contradiction of an inerrant church and an erring pope centred on the interpretation of the term *Romana ecclesia.* The term could be used in two different senses, to mean either the Catholic church as a whole or that particular church which possessed the primacy over all the other churches. In neither sense was it necessary to regard the pope as embodying in his own person the inerrancy of the church. Huguccio explained: 'The Roman church is said never to have erred in the faith . . . but I say that *Romana ecclesia* means the whole Catholic church which has never erred in its entirety or that *Romana ecclesia* means the pope and the cardinals and although the former has

[264] Innocent III, *Registrum* XVI.60 (Potthast 4758); *Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae* I, pp. 41–2: 'Alanus clericus domini pape'; Innocent III, *Registrum* XIII.208 (Potthast 4145). See C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 84, 88, 89.

[265] Innocent III, *Registrum* XVI.60 (Potthast 4758): 'dilecto filio Leonardo . . . nostro nepoti', 'dilectus filius Pandulphus subdiaconus noster'. See also C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 83, 88, 89.

[266] Graboïs (1964), p. 17.

[267] Bernard of Clairvaux, *De consideratione* IV.I.1 (*SBO* III, p. 449): 'seniores populi, orbis iudices'; IV.4.9 (*SBO* III, p. 455): 'collaterales et coadiutores tuos'.

[268] Innocent III, *Registrum* I.345 (Potthast 348): 'fratres nostros, qui sunt membra corporis nostri'.

[269] Gratian, *Decretum* D.19 c.9. See Tierney (1955), pp. 38–9 and (1972), pp. 33, 37–8, 55–6.

erred, nevertheless the cardinals have not, or at least not all the Romans.'[270] Huguccio believed that the pope and cardinals together could better guarantee the soundness of the faith than the pope acting alone. In similar vein a late twelfth-century English gloss on the *Decretum* drew this conclusion from the case of the errant pope: 'Anastasius was not of the fellowship of Peter, but the cardinals were.'[271] Another contemporary glossator noted that *'apostolica ecclesia* does not mean the pope only but the pope and the cardinals'.[272] Might not this conviction that the cardinals ensured the inerrancy of the Roman church prompt canonists to exalt the authority of the cardinalate so that it challenged the *plenitudo potestatis* of the pope?

Already at the end of the eleventh century the cardinals who abandoned Gregory VII and joined the party of King Henry IV of Germany and his antipope (1084) justified their stance by the argument (based on the case of Anastasius II) that 'the privilege of Peter belongs rather to the Roman see than to the Roman pontiff alone'.[273] The spokesman of these schismatic cardinals, Beno, cardinal priest of SS. Martino e Silvestro, argued that when Gregory VII 'removed the cardinals from the counsel of the holy see', he deprived his regime of all legality.[274] An exalted view of the cardinalate was not restricted to the renegades of 1084, as is clear from the canonical collection of Deusdedit, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli. This loyal Gregorian wrote that 'the cardinals are so called from the hinges of a door, since they are rulers and so contrive that they move the people of God by means of their holy teachings to the love of God'.[275] The twelfth-century author who wrote of the cardinals in

---

[270] Huguccio, *Summa* ad D.19 c.9, quoted by Tierney (1955), p. 42: 'Ecclesia Romana dicitur nunquam in fide errasse . . . sed dico quod Romana ecclesia dicitur tota catholica ecclesia quod nunquam in toto erraverit, vel Romana ecclesia dicitur papa et cardinales et licet iste erraverit, non tamen cardinales vel saltem non omnes Romani'.

[271] *Apparatus Glossarum ad Decretum* C.24 q.1 c.27, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 676, quoted by Tierney (1955), p. 71: 'Anastasius non fuit de societate Petri, sed cardinales erant'.

[272] *Glossae anonymae ad Decretum* C.24 q.1 c.9, Wolfenbüttel MS Helmst. 33, quoted by Schulte (1872), p. 11: 'apostolica ecclesia non dicitur tantum papa sed papa et cardinales'. In 1205 Alanus Anglicus developed this view, *Apparatus 'Ius naturale'* ad C.24 q.1 c.4, quoted by Watt (1957), p. 30: 'Solutio: licet erraverit papa tamen in fidem permansit ecclesia quae est catholica collectio . . . et etiam cardinalium collegium quod dicitur Romana ecclesia'. See Maleczek (1984), p. 276.

[273] *Epistola Hugonis cardinalis* in *Cardinalium schismaticorum scripta* X, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 419: 'ut patenter appareat Petri privilegium potius Romanae sedis esse, quam solius Romani pontificis'. See Cowdrey (1998), pp. 321–2.

[274] Beno, *Gesta Romanae ecclesiae* I.2, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 370: 'a consilio removit cardinales sacrae sedis'. Beno contended that this rejection of the cardinals' advice contravened the Pseudo-Isidorian text, Lucius I, *Epistola* c. 1, Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, p. 175. See Cowdrey (1998), p. 586.

[275] Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum* II.160, p. 268: 'cardinales derivative dicuntur a cardinibus ianue, qui tam regunt et movent, quod plebem Dei, ut superius diximus, doctrinis sanctis ad amorem Dei moveant'. Cf. *Collectio canonum* II.40, 110, 161, pp. 205, 235, 268. See Kuttner (1945), pp. 176, 194: Deusdedit was a 'most solicitous advocate of the cardinals' prerogatives'.

the most exalted terms was Bernard of Clairvaux, who reminded them of their central role in the reform of the church: 'There is no doubt that it behoves you especially to remove scandals from the kingdom of God.'[276] He informed the cardinal bishops of Ostia, Tusculum and Palestrina: 'God has put you in a high place so that the more useful your life is to his church, the more eminent will be your authority in [the church].'[277] The cardinals' authority, therefore, was divinely ordained. They were empowered moreover to elect the pope, as Bernard reminded Eugenius III: 'They are those whom you did not choose, but who chose you.' Nevertheless, Bernard concluded, neither the cardinals' divine ordination nor their role in papal elections gave them equality with the pope himself: 'They have no power except that which you either give or permit them.'[278]

Huguccio resolved the question of the relative authority of pope and cardinals in a similar fashion. He considered three Decretist arguments in favour of exalting the authority of the cardinalate, the first relating to the papal consecration, the second to a papal vacancy, the third to the deposition of a heretical pope. First, the argument that, since the cardinals consecrated the pope, their authority must be considered superior to his. 'They are not greater than the pope, although they consecrate him. For the suffragans consecrate the metropolitan and are nevertheless not greater than he.'[279] Second, 'on the death of the pope, when a successor has not yet been elected, who is the head of the church? Some say the cardinals, but this is not true, because how can so many men be a single head?' In a vacancy the church is headless; 'nevertheless the cardinals then function in place of the head'.[280] Third, 'the cardinals can depose the pope for heresy, but they are nevertheless not greater than the pope'.[281] The favourite analogy of the Decretists was that pope and cardinals corresponded to bishop and chapter and abbot and monks.[282]

---

[276] Bernard, *Epistola* 188 (*SBO* VIII, p. 10): 'Nulli dubium, quia ad vos specialiter spectet tollere scandala de regno Dei'. See Jacqueline (1953); Alberigo (1969), pp. 63–6.

[277] Bernard, *Epistola* 230 (*SBO* VIII, p. 100): 'Ad hoc vos Deus in sublimitate posuit, ut tanto maiori Ecclesiae suae utilitati vivatis, quanto in ea eminentiori auctoritate praeestis'.

[278] Bernard, *De consideratione* IV.4.9 (*SBO* III, p. 455): 'nam sunt quos non elegisti, sed ipsi te. At potestatem non habent, nisi quam tu eis aut tribueris aut permiseris'.

[279] Huguccio, *Summa* ad D.23 c.1, quoted by Ríos Fernández (1966), p. 38 n. 21: 'Nec ideo sunt maiores papa, licet papam consecrent. Nam suffraganei consecrant metropolitanum, non tamen sunt maiores eo'.

[280] Huguccio, *Summa* ad D.79 c.7, quoted by Tierney (1955), p. 73: 'Defuncto papa et alio nondum electo quis est caput ecclesie? Dicunt quidam cardinales, sed non est verum, quia quomodo tot homines esse possent unum caput . . . Est ergo ecclesia . . . sine capite. Funguntur tamen vice capitis tunc cardinales'.

[281] Huguccio, *Summa* ad D.63 c.23, quoted by Ríos Fernández (1961), p. 57 n. 28: 'Nam et cardinales possunt deponere papam pro heresi, non tamen sunt maiores quam papa'.

[282] Sägmüller (1896), p. 225.

The only function of the cardinals which was precisely defined in canon law was that of electing the pope. The Papal Election Decree of 1059 placed great emphasis on the special place of the seven cardinal bishops in the Roman church and consequently in the election of the pope. 'Because the apostolic see is placed over all the churches in the world and so cannot have a metropolitan over it, the cardinal bishops undoubtedly carry out the functions of a metropolitan and it is they who raise the bishop elect to the summit of apostolic supremacy.' The cardinal bishops should nominate the pope; their colleagues, the twenty-eight cardinal priests and nineteen cardinal deacons, should approve their candidate; the lesser Roman clergy and the people should then assent to the cardinals' election.[283] In the papal elections of 1088 and 1099 the cardinal bishops had actually exercised the right that the Papal Election Decree gave them and played the foremost role in the election of Urban II and Paschal II.[284] A polemical account of the election of Gelasius II in 1118, however, confidently states that the cardinal bishops 'have no authority in the election of a Roman bishop except that of expressing approval or disapproval'.[285] The claims of the cardinal bishops as the pre-eminent electors of the pope were once again asserted during the schism of 1130 by the party of Innocent II, who was supported by the majority of the cardinal bishops.[286] Master Gratian's interpretation of the Papal Election Decree of 1059 ignored the pre-eminent role ascribed to the cardinal bishops and assumed that the cardinals were not the sole electors. His *dictum* on papal elections in the *Decretum* states that 'the election of the supreme pontiff is to be made not only by the cardinals but also by the other religious clerks'.[287] The lesser clergy took part in the elections

---

[283] Papal Election Decree, 1059: Jasper (1986), pp. 101–4: 'Quia vero sedes apostolica cunctis in orbe terrarum praefertur aecclesiis atque ideo super se metropolitanum habere non potest, cardinales episcopi proculdubio metropolitani vice funguntur, qui videlicet electum antistitem ad apostolici culminis apicem provehunt'.

[284] Urban II, JL 5348–9, *PL* 151, cols. 283A–285D: see Klewitz (1957), pp. 39–40; Becker (1964), pp. 91–6. Petrus Pisanus, *Vita Paschalis II*, in *Liber pontificalis* II, pp. 296–7: see Klewitz (1957), p. 40; Servatius (1979), pp. 33–5.

[285] Pandulf, *Vita Gelasii II, in Liber pontificalis* II, p. 313: 'necnon etiam ab episcopis, quorum nulla prorsus est alia in electione praesulis Romani potestas nisi approbandi vel contra'. On the polemical purpose of Pandulf's account (composed between 1133 and 1138 in the context of the schism of Anacletus II) and on his inaccuracies, see Fürst (1966). Pandulf's opinion echoed that of Cardinal Deusdedit, who excluded the cardinal bishops from the election: *Collectio canonum* I.168–9, 256–7, 320; II.100, 113; III.280; IV.13, 18, 20, pp. 107, 146–7, 187, 228, 240–1, 385–9, 406, 409–10. See Cowdrey (1983), pp. 188–90.

[286] Bernard, *Epistola* 126 (*SBO* VII, p. 318) The party of Anacletus II retorted with the argument of Pandulf in the *Vita Gelasii II*. See the letter of Cardinal Bishop Peter of Porto in William of Malmesbury, *Historia novella* I, p. 8.

[287] Gratian, *Decretum* D.63 c.34: 'electio summi pontificis non a cardinalibus tantum verum etiam ab aliis religiosis clericis . . . facienda'. Cf. D.79.1 c.1.

of 1130 (Anacletus II), 1143 (Celestine II) and 1145 (Eugenius III);[288] but after 1145 there are no further reports of their involvement. The definitive legislation on the subject of the papal election, the decree *Licet de evitanda* of the Third Lateran Council (1179), identified the *cardinales* as the exclusive electors of the pope, incidentally assimilating the three orders of cardinals into a single *collegium*.[289] The theory of the metropolitan status of the cardinal bishops, used by the Papal Election Decree of 1059 to justify their pre-eminent role in the election, does not recur in the sources.[290]

The problem of a disputed papal election is raised in the *Decretum* but not resolved. Gratian confined himself to the comment that no judge was competent to sit in judgement on the claims of rival popes.[291] The two protracted papal schisms of 1130–8 and 1159–77 certainly could not be ended by the college of cardinals, which on both occasions split into two rival camps. What Bernard of Clairvaux said of Innocent II was subsequently to be true also of Alexander III: 'Although he was expelled from the city, he is supported by the world.'[292] The Third Lateran Council, which celebrated Alexander III's victory in the eighteen-year schism, proposed a practical solution to the problem of a disputed papal election in the decree *Licet de evitanda*. 'We decree that if . . . it chances that there cannot be full agreement among the cardinals concerning the appointment of a pope and, while two-thirds agree, one-third refuses to agree or presumes to appoint another, in that case he who was elected and accepted by the two-thirds is to be regarded as Roman pontiff.'[293] Retrospectively legitimating the election of Alexander himself, who had been chosen in 1159 by a clear majority of the college, this decree introduced into western European thought the novel concept of the majority decision. *Licet de evitanda* proved to be an effective measure. For while the twelve decades between the promulgation of the election decrees of 1059 and 1179 had witnessed the appointment of twelve antipopes, the two centuries following the decree of 1179 saw no such disturbance in the Roman church.[294] The election of Innocent III on

---

[288] Anacletus II: Chroust (1907). Celestine II: JL 8435, *PL* 179, col. 766C. Eugenius III: JL 8714, *PL* 180, col. 1015A.

[289] Concilium Lateranense III, c.1, p. 211.

[290] This theory was a product of the unusual circumstances of the election of Pope Nicholas II, for which the decree of 1059 was intended to provide retrospective justification. See Krause (1960), pp. 82–3; Alberigo (1969), pp. 34–5.

[291] Gratian, *Decretum* C.3 q.1 *dictum post* c.6.

[292] Bernard, *Epistola* 124 (*SBO* VII, p. 306): 'Pulsus urbe, ab orbe suscipitur'.

[293] Concilium Lateranense III, c.1, p. 211: 'Statuimus igitur ut si forte . . . inter cardinales de substituendo pontifice non potuerit concordia plena esse, et duabus partibus concordantibus tertia pars noluerit concordare aut sibi alium praesumpserit ordinare, ille Romanus pontifex habeatur, qui a duabus partibus fuerit electus et receptus'. See Foreville (1965), p. 144.

[294] Fuhrmann (1958), p. 771.

8 January 1198 is the first for which we have an account of the practical work-
ings of the procedures of *Licet de evitanda.* The cardinals chose *examinatores*
from among themselves to scrutinise the written votes of the electors. After the
first ballot these 'examiners' reported that 'very many had agreed on [Lothar,
cardinal deacon of SS. Sergio e Baccho], even though three others had also been
nominated'. In a second ballot 'all agreed on him'.[295] The circumstances of this
election, in which several candidates were considered *papabiles,*[296] might well,
without the procedures of *Licet de evitanda,* have produced a schism; but in Jan-
uary 1198 Lothar was elected without difficulty on the day of his predecessor's
death.

   Outside Rome the western church knew the cardinals primarily as the pope's
legates. 'Clad in apostolic apparel and insignia, as if the pope himself had
come', the cardinal legates wielded the authority of the pope.[297] When the
term *plenitudo potestatis* first appeared in papal letters (in the pontificate of
Alexander III), it was used to denote the authority which the pope conferred
on his cardinal legates.[298] A series of formidable legates exploited this authority
to the full. For example, Cardinal Bishop Cuno of Palestrina intervened in
the dispute between Paschal II and Emperor Henry V, excommunicating the
emperor (without consulting the pope) while on legations in the kingdoms
of Jerusalem and France and entering Germany in an attempt to organise a
rebellion against Henry V.[299] Roland, cardinal priest of S. Marco (the future
Alexander III) participated in three fateful legations, concluding the treaty of
Constance with King Frederick I of Germany (1153), negotiating the treaty of
Benevento with King William I of Sicily (1156) and representing Adrian IV
at the imperial council of Besançon (1157), which witnessed the beginning of
Frederick I's conflict with the papacy.[300] Henry of Marcy, cardinal bishop of
Albano, who recruited Emperor Frederick I, King Philip II France and King
Richard I of England to the Third Crusade, also became the first legate to
raise an army and lead a military expedition in Christian territory, while on a
legation to suppress heresy in southern France (1181).[301] Guala, cardinal priest
of S. Martino served as legate in northern Italy, France and England, where

[295] *Gesta Innocentii papae III*, c. 5, xixb: 'quoniam in eum plurimi convenerunt, licet tres alii fuissent
    ab aliquibus nominati . . . omnes tandem consenserunt in ipsum'. See Tillmann (1980), p. 2; Sayers
    (1994), pp. 23–6.
[296] Roger of Howden, *Chronica* IV, pp. 32–3.
[297] *Vita sancti Bernwardi episcopi Hildesheimensis*, c. 22, *MGH SS* IV, p. 769: 'apostolicis paramentis
    atque insigniis non minus infulatus, quam si ipse papa procedat'. See Ruess (1912), p. 204.
[298] Alexander III, JL 10707, ed. Pflugk-Harttung (1883) p. 264. See Ladner (1954), p. 61.
[299] Schieffer (1935), pp. 195–204; Hiestand (1972).
[300] Ullmann (1954); Rassow (1961), pp. 60–5; Deér (1972), pp. 258–9; Robinson (1990), pp. 390–1,
    461–2, 467–8.
[301] Congar (1958), pp. 30–8, 45–54.

in 1216–18 he rallied support for King John, afflicted by civil war and French invasion, and subsequently ensured the succession of King Henry III.[302]

Gregory VII, the first pope to command the faithful 'to receive [a legate] as if he were our self, or rather St Peter, in person',[303] employed both cardinal legates and 'permanent legates' (archbishops or bishops on whom he conferred a permanent legation in their own province) and he made no distinction between them.[304] Since conditions during the Investiture Contest made it impossible for cardinals to travel safely to and from the papal entourage, the Gregorian papacy was increasingly forced to rely on permanent legations.[305] From the early twelfth century, however, cardinals received the most important legations and increasingly displaced the 'permanent legates' of the Gregorian papacy.[306] It was through the agency of the cardinal legates that the popes now sought to extend their influence in the regions which they never visited in person: Spain, England, Scandinavia, eastern Europe and the crusader principalities. 'Since we have been raised by the Lord's providence to the watch-tower of the apostolic see', explained Alexander III, 'we ought to extend our gaze and our reflections to the whole body of the church in that we sanction the showing of care and solicitude to those whom we ourselves cannot visit in the flesh by others in whom we have complete trust.'[307] Thus Nicholas Breakspear, cardinal bishop of Albano (the future Adrian IV), reorganised the church in Scandinavia, creating the archbishopric of Trondheim and probably introducing the payment of Peter's pence into Norway and Sweden.[308] Alberic, cardinal bishop of Ostia, was active as a legate in the crusader principality of Antioch (where he deposed the patriarch), as well as in England, Scotland and France.[309] Albert of Morra, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucina (the future Gregory VIII), served on legations in Dalmatia, Hungary, Spain, Portugal and Germany and also negotiated the reconciliation of King Henry II of England after the murder of Archbishop Thomas of Canterbury.[310] Hyacinth Bobo, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin (the future Celestine III), for many years the curia's

---

[302] Zimmermann (1913), pp. 38, 40, 41; Tillmann (1926), pp. 107–20; C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 391–400.
[303] Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes* 21, p. 56: 'Quem sicut nostram immo beati Petri presentiam vos suscipere apostolica auctoritate iubemus'.
[304] Gregory VII, *Registrum* VI.2, p. 392. See Cowdrey (1998), pp. 592–6.
[305] Robinson (1990), pp. 152–5.
[306] Janssen (1961), pp. 170–3.
[307] Alexander III, JL 10824, *PL* 200, col. 197D: 'In apostolicae sedis specula, disponente Domino, constituti ad universum corpus Ecclesiae ita debemus aciem nostrae considerationis extendere, ut de his, quos nos ipsi non possumus corporaliter visitare, per alios, de quibus plenam fiduciam habeamus, curam et sollicitudinem gerere comprobemur'.
[308] Seegrün (1967), pp. 146–70.
[309] Tillmann (1926), pp. 38–40; Janssen (1961), pp. 39–40; Zenker (1964), pp. 17–18.
[310] Tillmann (1926), pp. 68–72; Hauck (1952), pp. 270–1; Janssen (1961), pp. 85–8.

expert on Spain, was responsible for two legations in the peninsula (1154–5, 1172–5),which were principally devoted to organising the holy war against the Muslims.[311]

The period between the outbreak of the two papal schisms of 1130 and 1159 saw a remarkable expansion in legatine activity: 109 legations, undertaken by fifty-one cardinals, comprising one-third of the total membership of the college.[312] It was in this period that the term *legatus a latere* acquired its definitive meaning of a cardinal legate, superior to any native legate.[313] It was also in these years that complaints about the greed and venality of cardinal legates began to multiply. 'Is it not a phenomenon of another age', asked Bernard of Clairvaux, 'for a legate to return without gold from a land of gold . . . to reject a gift immediately because he could be suspected?'[314] Such criticisms doubtless reflected the growing numbers and the increasing efficiency of the legates, especially in laying claim to the obligation of every church to provide a cardinal legate with accommodation and food (the obligation later known as *procuratio canonica*).[315] Unpopular though they were becoming throughout Christendom, the legates provided an invaluable service for their papal masters, especially during the papal schisms. Their political and diplomatic skills were urgently needed by Innocent II and Alexander III.

During the 1130s the papal cause in Germany was fostered by Innocent's expert in German affairs, Gerard, cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme (later Pope Lucius II), and in France by Cardinal Bishop Matthew of Albano.[316] During the schism of 1159–77 Alexander III's legates were responsible for keeping France and England in the Alexandrine obedience despite the blandishments of the emperor (this was the achievement of Henry, cardinal priest of SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, William, cardinal priest of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and Odo, cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere),[317] and also for obtaining financial aid for the impoverished Alexandrine curia (the work of the cardinal priests Theodin of S. Vitale and John of SS. Giovanni e Paolo).[318] Above all,

[311] Säbekow (1931), pp. 48–51, 53.   [312] Zenker (1964), p. 229.

[313] Adrian IV, JL 10354: Goiffon (1882), p. 77. See Janssen (1961), pp. 171–2.

[314] Bernard, *De consideratione* IV.5.13 (*SBO* III, p. 459): 'Nonne alterius saeculi res est, redisse legatum de terra auri sine auro . . . donum insuper, quod poterat esse suspectum, illico reiecisse?' Cf. Bernard, *Epistola* 290 (*SBO* VIII, p. 207). See also the complaints of John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, c. 38, p. 75 and *Policraticus* VIII.7: II, p. 355; Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi*, c. 50, p. 357.

[315] Ruess (1912), p. 188; Brühl (1974), pp. 427–9. See above p. 407.

[316] Gerard of S. Croce: Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi*, c. 51, p. 358. See Bachmann (1913), pp. 6–46. Matthew of Albano: Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, *Letter* 39, p. 132 (attributing to Matthew much of the credit for the success of the Innocentine cause). See Berlière (1901), pp. 113–40, 280–303; Janssen (1961), pp. 15–18, 30–4.

[317] Ohnsorge (1928), pp. 15–44; Janssen (1961), pp. 61–9.

[318] Ohnsorge (1928), pp. 65–6, 68; Säbekow (1931), p. 52; Jordan (1933–4), p. 77.

papal legates negotiated with Alexander's most important allies, the cities of the Lombard League, and ensured that their rebellion against the emperor assisted the Alexandrine cause. These legates, William of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Odo of S. Nicola in Carcere, Manfred, cardinal deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, Galdin, cardinal priest of S. Sabina (and archbishop of Milan), and Hildebrand, cardinal deacon of S. Eustachio, should be numbered among the architects of Alexander's victory in the schism.[319] The papal political and diplomatic strategy of the last quarter of the century – the pacification of Europe as a necessary preliminary to the launching of a crusade – was similarly entrusted to cardinal legates, the most successful being Cardinal Bishop Henry of Albano.[320] During Innocent III's pontificate Cardinal Henry's work was continued by Peter of Capua, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Via lata, who subsequently, together with Soffred, cardinal priest of S. Prassede, experienced an eventful legation on crusade.[321] Meanwhile the numerous legations by means of which Innocent attempted to influence the election of the German king were conducted by Guido, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, Hugolino, cardinal bishop of Ostia, and Leo, cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme.[322]

Other members of the college served as the pope's 'comrades and helpers' in the papal curia.[323] The term *curia Romana*, signifying the papal household and the government of the Roman church, first occurs in the letters of Urban II and it was during his pontificate that the papal curia began to assume the shape that it retained for the rest of the middle ages.[324] Urban II succeeded in 1088 to a Roman church without a governmental apparatus, the former papal government having broken down when its principal administrators abandoned Gregory VII for the party of the imperial antipope in 1084. Urban II and his advisers had to improvise a new government and recruit new administrators. Having no access to the traditions of the previous regime, they sought inspiration partly in secular, partly in monastic models of government: the *curia regis* of the French or German kingdom (or of the Norman principalities of southern Italy) and the administration of the abbey of Cluny (where Urban had formerly been grand-prior).[325] The papal government of the twelfth century, now

---

[319] Dunken (1931), pp. 20–1, 169–71; Pacaut (1955), pp. 832–5; Zenker (1964), pp. 118–23.

[320] Säbekow (1931), pp. 48– 51, 53, 55–6, 60; Congar (1958), pp. 45–54; Janssen (1961), pp. 92, 128, 130, 134, 139, 177, 180.

[321] Maleczek (1984), pp. 74, 120, 121, 339, 340.

[322] *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 133–4, 340, 341.

[323] Bernard, *De consideratione* IV.4.9 (*SBO* III, p. 455): 'collaterales et coadiutores tuos'.

[324] Urban II, JL 5403, 5421, *PL* 151, cols. 304C, 317A. See Jordan (1939), p. 127 n. 3.

[325] Jordan (1939), pp. 125–6; Sydow (1954–5), pp. 41–4. See also Jordan (1933–4), pp. 97–8; Sydow (1951) pp. 54–5. In financial administration Urban II imitated the practice of Cluny (where the *camerarius* was next in importance to the prior) and recruited the monk Peter of Cluny as the first papal *camerarius*.

independent of the administration of the city of Rome, consisted of the three
departments of the *camera* (administering papal finance), the chancery and the
chapel. The papal chapel was responsible for those liturgical duties which had
once been carried out by the cardinals, but which they were now too busy to
perform.[326] In the pontificate of Honorius III a fourth department of the papal
government had come into existence, the *poenitentiaria apostolica*, the office
which absolved the penitent and conferred on legates and bishops the power
to grant absolutions. Its origins are probably to be sought in the pontificate of
Innocent III, who appointed a cardinal penitentiary in the person of John of
St Paul, cardinal priest of S. Prisca.[327]

A further governmental department was to appear in the thirteenth-century
papal curia, the *audientia causarum* (later to develop into the *Sacra Romana
rota*), a special court in which a permanent staff of *auditores palatii domini papae*
heard the cases delegated to them by the pope. The origins of the *audientia
causarum* have been sought in the twelfth century, perhaps in the expanding
judicial activity of the pontificate of Alexander III,[328] but there is no firm
evidence that the *audientia causarum* was in existence before the thirteenth
century. What is clear, however, is that since the beginning of the twelfth
century popes had been in the habit of delegating members of the curia to in-
vestigate particular cases. Paschal II, for example, commissioned the chancellor
John of Gaeta, Cardinal Bishop Maurice of Porto and Albert, cardinal priest
of S. Sabina, to hear cases and then advise pope and curia on the appropriate
judgements.[329] Calixtus II appointed a committee to judge a dispute between
the abbeys of Aniane and Chaise-Dieu, the members being two cardinal bish-
ops, three cardinal priests, three cardinal deacons, the archbishops of Tarragona
and Auch, four bishops and two abbots.[330] In the pontificate of Adrian IV a
group of cardinals decided a dispute between the pope and a bishop.[331] These
members of the curia were indeed performing the function of *auditores*, but
the first actual appearance of the term *auditor* is in a document of Celestine III
of 1192.[332] The biographer of Innocent III recorded that, 'when the complaints

[326] Elze (1950), pp. 145–204.
[327] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Liber de invectionibus* VI.26, *Opera* I, p. 188: Giraldus, on behalf of his brother,
     consulted Cardinal John, 'qui confessiones pro papa tunc recipiebat'. There is also evidence of
     other cardinal penitentiaries in Innocent III's pontificate. E.g. Giraldus, *De iure et statu Menevensis
     ecclesiae, Opera* III, p. 288: 'per auxilium monachi cuiusdam ordinis, poenitentialis domini papae'.
     See Rusch (1936), pp. 38–40; C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 70–1; Maleczek (1984), p. 350.
[328] Martin (1930), pp. 75–8; but see Pacaut (1956), p. 276. See also Jung (1935).
[329] *Italia pontificia* I, p. 72. See Servatius (1979), p. 68.
[330] Calixtus II, JL 6714, *PL* 163, cols. 1110D–1113C. The committee's decision was announced to the
     council of Toulouse (1119).
[331] *Italia pontificia* II, p. 38.
[332] Celestine III, JL 16894, *Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita* III, p. 385 (no. 450). The term *auditorium*
     seems to be used in the letters of Celestine III to denote a judicial tribunal: JL 17055, *Decretales*

of individuals were heard, [the pope] caused the lesser cases to be examined by others, but he handled the more important cases himself'.[333] During Innocent III's pontificate approximately 200 cases were recorded as being delegated to *auditores*.[334] Innocent's *auditores* were certainly not a body of permanent officials: even prelates on a visit to Rome could be recruited to perform this judicial function.[335] In one respect, however, Innocent was responsible for an influential innovation. While his predecessors mainly delegated cases to cardinals, Innocent appointed papal chaplains as his *auditores* (prompted perhaps by the sheer volume of judicial business). When, in the mid-thirteenth century, cases were routinely delegated to a permanent body of *auditores palatii domini papae*, these officials were drawn exclusively from the papal chapel.[336]

The importance of the financial department of the curia, the apostolic *camera*, can be measured by the hostility that both the department and its director, the chamberlain (*camerarius*), attracted in its early days. The first known chamberlain, Peter of Cluny, was described by a visitor to the curia as a 'poisoned cup', whose advice was 'forbidden honey'.[337] Calixtus II's chamberlain, Stephen of Besançon, appears in one monastic chronicle as 'a most cruel and most avaricious man'.[338] His successor, according to a delegation from York who visited Rome in 1123, was 'treacherous and worthless, a familiar of the lord pope and influential with him'. 'We are not afraid of the curia', observed these litigants, 'but we fear the *camera*.'[339] Eugenius III's chamberlain, Jordan, cardinal priest of S. Susanna, 'cloaked his avarice with the habit of the Carthusian order'.[340] This polemical language reveals both how innovatory the *camera* appeared

---

Gregorii IX II.30.3; JL 17241, *PL* 179, cols. 1096D. See Pfaff (1955) p. 73 and (1957a), pp. 130–1; Maleczek (1984), pp. 325, 329.

[333] *Gesta Innocentii III*, c. 41, *PL* 214, col. lxxxiA: 'auditis querimoniis singulorum, minores causas examinabat per alios; maiores autem ventilabat per se'. See Pennington (1974), p. 75 n. 19; Maleczek (1984), pp. 297–8.

[334] Maleczek (1984), p. 330.

[335] Sayers (1971), pp. 14–16.

[336] Maleczek (1984), pp. 331–2.

[337] Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua* III.4, p. 143: 'Ecce mel illicitum per ora virosi poculi'. Abbot Guibert sought the approval of Paschal II for the bishop elect of Laon. Peter of Cluny guaranteed the success of his mission if the bishop elect promised obedience and financial support to the pope. In the circle of Anselm of Canterbury the chamberlain was remembered as 'Petrus quidam monachus Cluniacensis, vir suo tempore magnae auctoritatis': Eadmer, *Vita sancti Anselmi* II.55, p. 134.

[338] *La Chronique de Morigny*, p. 32: 'crudelissimum et avarissimum hominem dominique pape camerarium'.

[339] Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York*, p. 194: 'camerarius quidam subdolus et nequam, familiaris et potens apud dominum papam'. 'Nos non timemus curiam, set cameram'. Two different men with the title of *camerarius* are found in the papal records of 1123: the *camerarius* Alfano (*Italia pontificia* I, p. 114, no. 1) and Guido, *Romanae curiae camerarius* (*ibid.*, VI/2, p. 324, no. 10). See Jordan (1933–4), p. 101.

[340] John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, c. 38, p. 75: 'Iordanus enim, sub pretextu Cartusiensis ordinis . . . avariciam palliabat'.

to contemporaries and how effective were the chamberlains in pursuing the financial rights of the papacy. The chamberlain had acquired the functions of the traditional papal financial officers, the *sacellarius* (the paymaster) and the *arcarius* (the official who received the alms donated to St Peter), together with the financial duties of the Roman archdeacon, during the reconstruction of the papal government at the end of the eleventh century.[341] The chamberlain was entrusted with responsibility for the papal finances and for the territorial possessions of the papacy, the Patrimony of St Peter.

Beginning with the term of office of Jordan of S. Susanna the *camera* was occasionally given to a cardinal, but the two most influential chamberlains of the century were promoted to the cardinalate after they had already begun to serve as *camerarius*: Boso, who served Adrian IV, and Cencius Savelli (later Pope Honorius III), who served Clement III and Celestine III. Boso, cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano, possessed far greater authority than any previous chamberlain. It was he who masterminded Adrian IV's reorganisation of the papal patrimony. On the pope's behalf he received oaths of fidelity from the nobility of the patrimony, from the 'doorkeepers' (*hostiarii*) who guarded the Lateran palace and from the garrison of the fortress adjacent to St Peter's basilica; he also commanded a military following.[342] The diplomas surviving from his period of office reveal for the first time a chamberlain who headed a staff of 'officials of the chamberlain's *camera*' (*officiales camerae camerarii*), drawn from the servants in the papal household.[343] Boso's career as chamberlain ended with the accession of Alexander III. During Alexander's protracted exile from the city and the patrimony the chamberlains of the Alexandrine curia were more obscure figures with fewer responsibilities.[344] The return of the papacy to Rome in 1188 coincided with the appearance of a chamberlain powerful in the curia and the patrimony: Cencius Savelli, subdeacon and later cardinal deacon of S. Lucia in Orthea. Like Boso, Cencius directed the recovery and reorganisation of the Patrimony of St Peter after the long papal exile.[345] His

---

[341] By the early twelfth century the Roman archidiaconate had only liturgical functions. See Hüls (1977), pp. 43–4, 232.

[342] Geisthardt (1936), pp. 44–56, 60. Cardinal Boso was the biographer of the two popes whom he served, Adrian IV and Alexander III: *Liber pontificalis* II, pp. 388–446. The suggestion that Boso was an Englishman derives from his friendship with the archbishops Theobald and Thomas of Canterbury: Thomas Becket, *Epistola* 250, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* VI, pp. 57–9. Geisthardt (1936), pp. 26–40, however, concluded that Boso was a native either of Lucca or of Pisa.

[343] A collection of twenty-three diplomas of Cardinal Boso from the years 1157–9 survives in the *Liber censuum* of 1192: Geisthardt (1936), pp. 44–55.

[344] Two of them were members of the order of the Knights Templar, Bernard and his successor Franco: Gaufridus Fulchier, letter to Alexander III, Bouquet XV, p. 967; Erdmann (1927), p. 380. See Michaud (1942b) p. 396.

[345] Michaud (1942), pp. 393–6; Pfaff (1955), p. 93 and (1961), pp. 115–18; Partner (1972), pp. 224–6.

great monument was the register of papal financial rights, the *Liber Censuum*, which he completed in 1192.[346] Cencius lost his office and his influence in the curia on the death of his master, Celestine III: he remained in the background throughout the pontificate of Innocent III. Compared with Cencius, Innocent III's chamberlains left little impression in the papal records.[347]

The papal secretariat began to be called *cancellaria* in the 1180s. The head of the secretariat, however, who directed the work of a staff of notaries and scribes, had been called *cancellarius* before the twelfth century. The first chancellor of the reorganised papal government was John of Gaeta, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin, who between 1089 and 1118 headed the chancery of both Urban II and Paschal II before succeeding the latter as Gelasius II.[348] The office of chancellor was invariably given to a cardinal priest or cardinal deacon, who became by virtue of the office the most influential figure in the curia.[349] 'To have a chancellor who is good, just and of good repute', wrote Bernard of Clairvaux to Eugenius III, 'is no small part of the apostolic dignity, no small support of the apostolic ministry, no small protection of the apostolic conscience.'[350] Four papal chancellors were members of Bernard's friendship circle: Haimeric, cardinal deacon of S. Maria Nuova (1123–41), the most powerful chancellor of the twelfth century; Gerard, cardinal priest of S. Croce in Gerusalemme (1141–4); the Englishman Robert Pullen, cardinal priest of SS. Martino e Silvestro (1145–6); Guido, cardinal deacon of SS. Cosma e Damiano (1146–9).[351]

Two factors in particular account for the great influence of the twelfth-century chancellor: his constant access to the pope and the fact that he retained his office until his death. This must be the explanation of the extraordinary accumulation of power in the hands of Cardinal Haimeric, the pope-maker who secured the election of both Honorius II and Innocent II.[352] The exceptions to the practice of life tenure in the office were those chancellors for whom their office proved to be a stepping-stone to the papacy. The *cancellarius* John of Gaeta, the most trusted adviser of Paschal II and 'the support of his old age

---

[346] See above p. 401 and n. 205.

[347] Richard (mentioned in 1198); the papal kinsman Octavian (mentioned in 1200 and 1204), appointed cardinal deacon of SS. Sergio e Baccho after his term of office as *camerarius*; the Cistercian Stephen of Fossanova, appointed cardinal priest of SS. XII Apostoli during his term of office. See Maleczek (1984), pp. 163, 180, 349.

[348] Santifaller (1940), pp. 208–10.

[349] Poole (1917), pp. 136–40; Claeys-Bouuaert (1942a) and (1942b); Rabikauskas (1958), pp. 89–95.

[350] Bernard, *Epistola* 280 (*SBO* viii, p. 194): 'habere bonum, iustum et bonae famae cancellarium, apostolicae dignitatis non modica pars est, apostolicae administrationis non parvum adminiculum est, apostolicae conscientiae non mediocris custodia est'.

[351] Schmale (1961), pp. 123–34; Zenker (1964), pp. 90–9, 131, 146–8.

[352] Schmale (1961), pp. 93–191; Stroll (1987), pp. 111–20.

in all things', became Gelasius II.[353] Gerard of S. Croce directed the chancery in the pontificates of Innocent II and Celestine II, although using the ancient title *bibliothecarius*, until he became Lucius II.[354] Roland, cardinal priest of S. Marco, served Eugenius III, Anastasius IV and Adrian IV as chancellor (1153–9), becoming the leader of the most powerful faction in the curia before succeeding as Alexander III.[355] Albert, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Lucia became chancellor late in Alexander III's pontificate and served Lucius III and Urban III (1178–87) before being elected Gregory VIII.[356]

On a number of occasions during the century the title of chancellor was in abeyance. Between 1149 and 1152 the duties of the office were carried out by Boso, the future chamberlain, who, however, subscribed papal documents with the title of a lesser functionary of the chancery, *scriptor*.[357] The office of chancellor was also suspended during the pontificates of the two former chancellors Alexander III and Gregory VIII. Alexander appointed a *cancellarius* only in 1178. After Gregory VIII's accession in 1187 the office remained vacant until Innocent III appointed his kinsman John, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin 'chancellor of the holy Roman church' in 1205.[358] In the intervening period papal documents were issued under the supervision of a less powerful officer, except for the years 1194–8 when the functions of chancellor (without the title) were performed by the chamberlain Cencius Savelli, a combination of duties that must have assured Cencius' dominance in the curia.[359] The vacancies in the office of chancellor reveal not only that the papal government was not yet a rigid system of departments but also that some popes may have seen a potential threat to papal authority in the chancellor's office and were not slow to counter the threat.[360]

The role of the cardinals as the pope's advisers and associates in government is mentioned in a variety of sources. In 1099 the earliest of the satires against Roman avarice depicted Urban II as a very stout pope 'surrounded by very stout cardinals', his indispensable companions.[361] A year later Paschal II received a letter from his cardinal legates in France which reminded him: 'it is

---

[353] Pandulf, *Vita Gelasii II*, *Liber pontificalis* II, p. 312: 'eiusque senectutis baculus in omnibus ac per omnia perduravit'. See Servatius (1979), pp. 59, 246, 337.

[354] Zenker (1964), p. 131. On the title *bibliothecarius*: Rabikauskas (1958), pp. 91–6.

[355] Zenker (1964), p. 86; Madertoner (1978), pp. 21–52.   [356] Kehr (1924), p. 252.

[357] Geisthardt (1936), pp. 80–2; Zenker (1964), pp. 149–52.

[358] C. R. Cheney (1984); Maleczek (1984), pp. 347–9.

[359] C. R. Cheney (1984), p. 371; Maleczek (1984), pp. 348, 349.

[360] C. R. Cheney (1984), p. 373: 'In the background were rulers of autocratic temper, who themselves were not remote from the day-to-day business and who tended to be suspicious of over-mighty bureaucrats'.

[361] *Tractatus Garsiae Tholetani canonici de Albino et Rufino*, *MGH Libelli* II, p. 427: 'cardinalibus stipatum pinguissimis'.

the business of *our* government to provide for all the churches'.[362] Bernard of Clairvaux, writing to Eugenius III, described the cardinals as 'those who assist you every day, the elders of the people, the judges of the world'.[363] In his efforts to secure the papal condemnation of Peter Abelard (1140), Bernard assumed that it was indispensable to gain the support of the cardinals. He bade them condemn the 'heretic', 'by virtue of the office which you hold, by virtue of the dignity which you enjoy, by virtue of the power which you have received'.[364] A number of twelfth-century authors used the term *senatus* to express the consultative function of the college of cardinals. Gratian, for example, juxtaposed the senate of the Romans with 'the senate of the church', 'an assembly of priests', by whose counsel religious affairs were ordered.[365] The term was especially favoured by authors with a classicising bent. Balderic of Dol represented the cardinals as 'the senators who had obtained the principate of all apostolic authority'; Peter of Blois as 'the conscript fathers'; Orderic Vitalis described the college as 'the Roman senate'; Otto of Freising as 'the sacred senate of the cardinals'.[366]

The historian Otto of Freising produced a particularly striking statement of the authority of the cardinals. The context was the debate, held a fortnight after Eugenius III's council of Rheims (1148), on the subject of the doctrine of the Trinity taught by Bishop Gilbert of Poitiers. The cardinals protested to the pope against an attempt by Bernard of Clairvaux to prejudge the case in a private meeting with Eugenius and leading French churchmen. 'You ought to know that it was by us, the hinges around whom the universal church revolves, that you were promoted to the government of the whole church and changed from a private person to the father of the universal Church.' The pope must therefore seek the advice of the cardinals rather than that of Bernard and the French church. Where questions of the Catholic faith are concerned, 'nothing can be decided with firm stability without our authority': that is, of the pope

---

[362] John, cardinal priest of S. Anastasia and Benedict, cardinal priest of S. Pudenziana, letter: Stephen of Cîteaux, *Exordium coenobii et ordinis Cisterciensis*, c. 11, *PL* 166, col. 1506AB: 'nostri moderaminis est omnibus ecclesiis providere'.

[363] Bernard, *De consideratione* IV.1.1 (*SBO* III, p. 449): 'Hi quoque, qui tibi quotidie assistunt, seniores populi, orbis iudices'. Cf. *ibid.*, IV.4.9 (*SBO* III, pp. 455–6); *Epistola* 243, 3 (*SBO* VIII, p. 132). See Alberigo (1969), pp. 63–6.

[364] Bernard, *Epistola* 188, *PL* 182, col. 353D: 'pro loco quem tenetis, pro dignitate qua polletis, pro potestate quam accepistis'. See Little (1973); Zerbi (1975).

[365] Gratian, *Decretum* C.16 c.7 q.1: 'Ecclesia habet senatum coetum presbyterorum'. See Sydow (1955), p. 166.

[366] Balderic, archbishop of Dol, *Vita sancti Hugonis Rothomagensis episcopi*, *PL* 166, col. 1167A: 'senatores qui totius apostolatus obtinuerunt principatum'. See Sydow (1954–5), p. 64. Peter of Blois, *Epistola* 126, *PL* 207, col. 377B: 'patribusque conscriptis'. Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* XII.21: VI, pp. 252, 254: 'Romanus senatus'. Cf. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* I.52, p. 97. Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici imperatoris* I.60, p. 85: 'sacer cardinalium senatus'.

and 'the sacred senate of the cardinals'.[367] In the version of this incident given by Bernard's disciple, Geoffrey of Auxerre, the cardinals claimed the right to judge the case of Gilbert of Poitiers.[368] The twelfth-century cardinal who wrote most confidently about the rights and duties of his order was Boso, cardinal priest of S. Pudenziana, in his biographies of the two popes whom he served, Adrian IV and Alexander III. A central motif of these works is the popes' dependence on the advice of the cardinals in matters of political strategy. In 1155, for example, Adrian IV strongly desired reconciliation with King William I of Sicily, 'but because the greater part of the brethren, thinking it too dangerous and uncertain, would not consent to it', the chance of reconciliation 'was frustrated and entirely rejected'.[369] In 1167, when Alexander III was hardpressed by his enemy, Emperor Frederick I, 'a meeting of the bishops and cardinals was held every day'. The emperor, realising Alexander's dependence on his cardinals, attempted to lure these indispensable advisers away from the pope. The cardinals, however, 'adhered to their head like limbs to their body' and Alexander was saved from disaster.[370] Boso described thirteen occasions when Alexander was guided by his cardinals' advice in making important political decisions.[371] The chronicler Thomas of Marlborough, monk of Evesham,[372] and Giraldus Cambrensis[373] recorded the lengthy consultations of Innocent III with the cardinals *in camera* that preceded his judgement of their cases.

An abundance of evidence for the cardinals' participation in the papal government is found in the diplomas issued by the chancery. From the mid-eleventh century papal privileges began to be subscribed by individual cardinals in their own hands. By the mid-twelfth century they were subscribing in three columns: the cardinal bishops in the middle of the diploma under the name of the pope, the cardinal priests to their left, the cardinal deacons to their

[367] Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici* 1.60, pp. 68–9: 'Scire debes quod a nobis, per quos tanquam per cardines universalis ecclesiae volvitur axis, ad regnum totius ecclesiae promotus a privato universalis pater effectus'; 'nihil firma stabilitate solidum sine nostra deffiniri valeret auctoritate'. See Häring (1967). On the image of the cardinals as the 'hinges' (*cardines*) of the church see Kuttner (1945), p. 176 and also above p. 412 and n. 275.

[368] Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Epistola ad Albinum* 7.34 ed. Häring (1966) p. 75.

[369] Boso, *Vita Adriani IV*, p. 394: 'Set quia maior pars fratrum, alta nimis et omnino incerta sentiens, consentire nullatenus voluit, disturbatum est totum quod oblatum fuerat et penitus refutatum'.

[370] Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, p. 416–17: 'ibique pro incumbente malitia imperatoris cotidianus epis-coporum et cardinalium fiebat conventus'; 'Fratres . . . suo capiti tamquam membra sui corporis adheserunt'.

[371] *Ibid.*, pp. 400, 403, 415–17, 420–1, 425, 430, 434, 440, 443.

[372] *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham*, p. 169, describing the abbey's litigation with the bishop of Worcester (1202–6) concerning the abbey's exemption from episcopal jurisdiction. See C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 5–8, 187–8, 195–9.

[373] Giraldus Cambrensis, *De iure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae, Opera* III, p. 188, defending his claim to the see of St David's: 'in camera coram cardinalibus legi fecit'.

right.[374] Initially the cardinals had shared this function with other prelates who happened to visit the curia or to attend the papal synod. This practice reveals the informality of the papal government in this period. It suggests that the cardinals' subscriptions should be treated as evidence not so much of the cardinals' right to participate in papal decisions as of the wish of the recipients of papal privileges to have as many witnesses as possible to the authenticity of their grant.[375] During the 1120s and early 1130s cardinals continued to subscribe papal diplomas in company with other prelates; but during the long sojourn of Innocent II in Pisa (November 1133 to March 1137) there was a significant change: most papal privileges were now subscribed by the cardinals alone. This sudden prominence accorded to the cardinals probably reflects the politics of the papal schism of 1130–8. Innocent II's chancery wished to portray the Roman church as united in support of his claims to the papacy: the subscriptions of the cardinals proclaimed the legitimacy of the pope.[376]

Of particular significance was the appearance in papal documents of the formula *de fratrum nostrorum consilio:* certain papal decisions were reached 'on the advice of [the pope's] brethren'. The formula was foreshadowed in the pontificate of Urban II, whose letters refer to a variety of *maiores causae* settled 'in the presence of our brethren'.[377] The papal letters of the 1120s reveal that such questions as the foundation of bishoprics or their elevation into archbishoprics, the defining of ecclesiastical boundaries and disputes between churches, were decided 'by the counsel of [the pope's] brethren'. It is clear, however, that the term 'brethren' signified here both the cardinals and other prelates who happened to be present at the curia.[378] By the pontificate of Eugenius III, however, the formula 'on the advice of our brethren' had come to refer almost exclusively to the cardinals.[379] At the end of the century in the diplomas of Celestine III the cardinals alone are mentioned as the pope's advisers.[380] An impressive range of business was decided *de fratrum nostrorum consilio:* the papal condemnation of Peter Abelard,[381] the canonisation of saints in the pontificates of Alexander III and three of his successors,[382] the whole conduct of the case of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury as well as the

---

[374] Katterback and Peitz (1924); Hüls (1977); Maleczek (1984), pp. 320–1.

[375] Katterbach and Peitz (1924), pp. 177–86; Schmale (1976), pp. 98–100.

[376] Maleczek (1981), pp. 48–53.

[377] Urban II, JL 5505, *PL* 151, col. 376A (disputed election in Halberstadt); JL 5519, col. 386C (attempt of Dol to escape the metropolitan jurisdiction of Tours); JL 5788, col. 544C (conflict between Lyons and Sens): 'praesentibus fratribus nostris'. See Sydow (1954–5), p. 541; Maleczek (1984), p. 307 n. 51.

[378] Sydow (1954–5), p. 65; Pellegrini (1972), pp. 532–3; Maleczek (1984), p. 307.

[379] Katterbach and Peitz (1924), pp. 199–217; Maleczek (1981), pp. 48–55 and (1984), pp. 307–8.

[380] Maleczek (1984), p. 308.

[381] Innocent II, JL 8148, *PL* 179, col. 517A.

[382] Kemp (1948), pp. 82–3, 86–9, 90, 94, 96–7; Klauser (1954), pp. 94–6; Schwarz (1957), pp. 45–8, 54–8.

permission granted to King Henry II in 1167 to crown his son,[383] the framing of the statute *Ad abolendam* against heretical groups in 1184,[384] the prescribing of a general fast on the occasion of the fall of Jerusalem in 1187,[385] the handling of the divorce of King Philip II of France[386] and the relations of the curia with King John of England.[387]

Judicial matters and questions of ecclesiastical government which had previously been discussed in papal synods were now settled in consultation between the pope and his 'brethren'. We have seen that the historian Otto of Freising claimed for the cardinals the right to be consulted in important cases and that Cardinal Boso assumed that such consultations were indispensable to papal government.[388] A single contemporary papal document seems to speak in similar terms: a privilege of Adrian IV confirming the primacy of the archbishopric of Toledo (9 February 1156). Adrian cancelled the privilege of his predecessor, Anastasius IV, which freed the church of Compostela from the jurisdiction of Toledo, 'especially because it was elicited with the advice neither of the brethren in general nor of the sounder part of the brethren'.[389] It was a demonstration of the power which the canonists ascribed to the pope to make new laws and to alter or cancel the privileges of his predecessors; but it also implied that the pope must seek the advice of 'the sounder part' of the college of cardinals before reaching a decision. The canonist Huguccio made a similar assumption when he commented (*c.* 1190) that 'a law ought to be examined and distilled in the *consistorium* of the pope . . . before promulgation'.[390] Two decades later certain canonists concluded that the pope 'cannot make a general law about the universal condition of the church without the cardinals'.[391]

[383] Maleczek (1984), p. 311.

[384] Lucius III, decretal *Ad abolendam*: JL 15109, *PL* 201, col. 1297D.

[385] Gregory VIII, JL 19019, *PL* 202, col. 1539B.

[386] Celestine III, JL 17243, *PL* 206, col. 1098C: 'de fratrum nostrorum consilio'. See Maleczek (1984), p. 314.

[387] Innocent III, *Registrum* XII.9 (Potthast 3686): 'Habito itaque cum fratribus nostris diligenti tractatu'; *Registrum* XVI.131 (Potthast 4843): 'de communi consilio fratrum nostrorum'. See Maleczek (1984), p. 317.

[388] In Boso's version of the crisis of 1111–12, *Vita Paschalis* II, *Liber pontificalis* II, p. 370, Paschal II is made to confess that the 'evil privilege' that he had conceded to Emperor Henry V 'sine fratrum consilio aut subscriptionibus' was 'prave factum'. See Servatius (1979), pp. 309–18.

[389] Adrian IV, JL 10141, *PL* 188, col. 1448A: 'presertim cum illud Anastasii neque de communi neque de sanioris partis fratrum consilio fuisset elicitum'. See Sydow (1955), p. 167.

[390] Huguccio was commenting on both secular and ecclesiastical legislation. See his *Summa* ad D.4 c.3, quoted by Tierney (1955), p. 81: 'Multa enim consilii consideratione et compatientie maturitate debet discuti et decoqui in consistorio apostolici vel imperatoris lex ante constitutionem'.

[391] *Glossa palatina* ad C.25 q.1 c.6, quoted by Tierney (1955), p. 81: 'Solutio, [papa] generalem legem de universali statu ecclesie non potest sine cardinalibus condere'. See also Alanus Anglicus, *Ius naturale* ad C.25 q.1 c.6, quoted by Watt (1957), p. 31.

The term *consistorium* which Huguccio used to describe the place where the pope promulgated his laws is found sporadically in twelfth-century texts referring to the consultative role of the cardinals.[392] Abbot Hariulf of Ouden-bourg, describing his visit to Rome as a litigant (1141), used the term to denote the *consistorium Lateranense,* the room in the Lateran palace where the judicial proceedings of the curia took place.[393] The historian John of Salisbury used the term *consistorium* to mean a judicial hearing in the presence of the pope and car-dinals. He described the examination of Gilbert of Poitiers by the pope sitting *in consistorio* in Rheims (1148), the investigation of the case of the suspended bishop elect of Tripoli *in consistorio* (1149) and the hearing of the application of Count Hugh II of Molise for a divorce *in consistorio* (1150).[394] Cardinal Boso used it to mean a public hearing, as distinct from the secret meeting in which the pope consulted with the cardinals. Reporting the embassy of Henry II of England to Alexander III, seeking to avert the king's excommunication after the murder of Thomas Becket (1171), Boso wrote that 'when the pope had taken counsel with his brethren, he went out into the *consistorium*' to give his reply to the royal envoys.[395] The recurrence of the word *consistorium* in the twelfth-century sources has prompted historians to use 'consistory' as a technical term for the consultations of the pope and cardinals.[396] The term is a useful one, provided that the informal twelfth-century 'consistory' is not confused with the institution of the *consistorium* as it first appears in the pon-tificate of Innocent III: 'the solemn consistory' which the pope 'celebrated in public three times a week'.[397] This public judicial tribunal was quite different from the private consultations of the pope with the cardinals. The formula *de fratrum nostrorum consilio* in twelfth-century papal documents does not refer to deliberations in a 'consistory' which were in all cases binding on the pope. The role of the cardinals as papal advisers is best explained by Rufinus' image of the pope and cardinals as a king and his princes.[398] The twelfth-century king had the right to receive advice from his princes; he was not obliged to follow their advice, but his decisions were felt to possess greater legitimacy if they had been preceded by consultation.[399]

[392] Sydow (1955), pp. 165–76; Maleczek (1984), p. 301 n. 20.

[393] Müller (1930), p. 102. See Maleczek (1984), p. 301.

[394] John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, cc. 10, 37, 41, pp. 21, 73–4, 81.

[395] Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, p. 425: 'Tunc pontifex, habito fratrum suorum consilio, exivit foras in consistorio'. See Barlow (1986), pp. 255–6.

[396] Jordan (1939), pp. 149–50; Sydow (1954–5), pp. 52–5, 63–72 and (1955), pp. 165–76; Pfaff (1955), pp. 73–6; Pellegrini (1972), pp. 529–44.

[397] *Gesta Innocentii III*, c. 41, *PL* 214, col. lxxxi: 'Ter in ebdomada solenne consistorium . . . publice celebrabat'. See Maleczek (1984), pp. 297–300.

[398] Rufinus, *Sermo habitus in Lateranensi concilio sub Alexandro papa III*, ed. Morin, p. 116. See above p. 369.

[399] Krause (1965), pp. 416–38; Maleczek (1984), pp. 303–4.

The area of papal activity in which the cardinals' participation undoubtedly became indispensable during the twelfth century was that of the pope's secular lordship. In the government of the Patrimony of St Peter practical political considerations dictated the closest possible cooperation of the pope and his brethren. On a number of occasions during the century the papacy attempted to consolidate its hold over the patrimony, the most successful phase of this aggressive territorial policy being that of the years 1146–59. Eugenius III and Adrian IV created a network of papal fortresses throughout the patrimony (some of them acquired by military operations against recalcitrant nobles). These strongholds were given the status of 'special fortresses of the church' (*castra specialia Ecclesiae*) and the former lords of the fortresses were often retained in their office with the new status of papal vassals. It was in this context that the papacy first made extensive use of feudal institutions in the patrimony. The conflict of empire and papacy in the years 1159–77 halted this process and it was only in the pontificates of Clement III and Celestine III in the final decade of the century that the papacy resumed the work of converting the nobles of the patrimony into 'vassals of the holy Roman church'.[400] Throughout the century the college of cardinals contained members of the aristocracy of Latium, who inevitably became key figures in the consolidation of papal authority over the patrimony. Hence the oaths of fealty which were required of the 'vassals of the holy Roman church' were sworn not only to the pope but also to the cardinals who accompanied him on his progresses through the papal lands.[401]

The power of the pope to nominate cardinals to the college was doubtless used to ensure that some at least of his brethren were amenable to his control. In theory the college contained fifty-three cardinals (seven bishops, twenty-eight priests and eighteen deacons), the number determined by the original liturgical duties of the cardinalate; but in practice the twelfth-century college was always smaller than this. During the first third of the century membership varied from forty-four to thirty-six; in the second third, from thirty-eight to twenty-seven; in the last third from thirty-one to perhaps as few as eighteen.[402] It is possible that the popes deliberately reduced the size of the college to create a more effective papal government.[403] This aim was apparent also in the recruitment to the college of *magistri*, legal experts trained in the schools of northern Italy, in response to the expansion of the judicial business of the curia.[404] A parallel development was the recruitment of cardinals who had been

---

[400] Toubert (1973), pp. 1075–8, 1098–1102, 1127–30, 1131–3.
[401] *Ibid.*, pp. 1051–60, 1083–4; Maleczek (1984), p. 312.
[402] Brixius (1912), pp. 134–44; Pfaff (1955), pp. 84–93 and (1980) pp. 269, 280; Zenker (1964), pp. 197–8; Hüls (1977), pp. 88–254.
[403] Zenker (1964), pp. 198–9.
[404] Brixius (1912), pp. 34–5, 61, 63–4, 66–7; Pacaut (1956), pp. 271, 275; Zenker (1964), pp. 29–32, 77–9, 83–4, 107–9, 112–13, 114, 116, 125–9, 136, 156, 171–4, 179–80.

educated or made their religious profession in France, evidently in response to the growing influence of French schools and French religious houses in western Christendom.[405] A letter of 1178 addressed to Alexander III by his legate in France reveals that the legate had been asked to send the pope the names of Frenchmen suitable to be appointed to the college. The candidates whom he recommended were 'lettered and declared to be outstanding for their honesty and religion'.[406] A different motive is suggested by the appearance of papal kinsmen in the college in the pontificates of Lucius II, Clement III and Celestine III.[407] Their principal qualification must have been their kinship with the pope, which seemed to guarantee their future loyalty. Our knowledge of the origins of the cardinals is incomplete (perhaps only three-fifths of the cardinals of the twelfth century can be accurately identified) but there is some evidence that the popes used their right of nomination to create a compliant college.[408]

The period between Gregory VII's first reforming synod in 1074 and Innocent III's 'general council' of 1215 was a particularly important phase in the definition of the special legal status and the qualifications of the clergy. The aims of Gregory VII's reforming legislation were summarised by his supporter Bernold of Constance in his obituary of the pope. 'He wished that the ecclesiastical order should not be in the hands of laymen, but rather should rise above them by virtue of the holiness of their conduct and the dignity of their order.'[409] 'The order of priests differs from laymen as much as light differs from darkness', wrote Honorius Augustodunensis, the twelfth-century disseminator of Gregorian ideas. 'Just as the spiritual has precedence over the secular and the clergy is more excellent in its order than the people, so the priestly power surpasses the royal power in dignity.' Honorius concluded, echoing Gregory VII's opinion, that 'any priest whatsoever, although he belongs to the lowest rank in holy orders, is more worthy than any king'.[410] The Gregorian conception

---

[405] Classen (1974).

[406] Peter of S. Grisogono, *Epistola, PL* 200, cols. 1370D–1372A: 'litterati sunt et honestate et religione praedicantur insignes'. See Janssen (1961), p. 104.

[407] Zenker (1964), pp. 41, 132; Pfaff (1955), pp. 86, 91, 92.

[408] Hüls (1977), pp. 142–3, 162, 164, 193, 220, 236, 238; Klewitz (1957), pp. 372–412; Schmale (1961), pp. 31–57, 79–80; Zenker (1964), pp. 13–14, 19–20, 40–1, 45, 55, 78–9, 117, 136, 202; Tillmann (1972), pp. 336–44; Maleczek (1981), p. 57; Wenck (1926), pp. 440–1; Pfaff (1955), pp. 84–93 and (1980), pp. 269, 280.

[409] Bernold, *Chronicon*, 1085, p. 444: 'Noluit sane, ut ecclesiasticus ordo manibus laicorum subiaceret, sed eisdem et morum sanctitate et ordinis dignitate praemineret'.

[410] Honorius Augustodunensis, *De offendiculo*, c. 38, p. 51: 'Quantum differt lux a tenebris, tantum differt ordo sacerdotum a laicis.' Honorius, *Summa gloria*, c. 1, p. 65: 'quod sicut spiritalis prefertur seculari, vel clerus precellit populum ordine, sic sacerdotium transcederet regnum dignitate'. *Ibid.*, c. 23, p. 73: 'Equidem quilibet sacerdos, licet ultimi gradus in sacro ordine, dignior est quovis rege'. Cf. Gregory VII, *Registrum* VIII.21, pp. 555, 556.

of the *clericalis ordo* became enshrined in the influential writings of the theologian Hugh of St Victor and the canonist Master Gratian. Hugh described 'the two ways of life, one earthly, the other heavenly', 'the two peoples ... one inferior, the other superior'.[411] Gratian distinguished between the 'two kinds of Christians', clerical and lay. The *genus clericorum* was crowned with the tonsure, 'for they are kings: that is, they rule themselves and others by their virtues and so they have a kingdom in God'.[412]

What made the *sacerdotium* superior to the royal power was the priest's ability to confer the sacraments. He could 'by means of holy baptism snatch a Christian from the power of the devil, number him among the sons of God and strengthen him with holy chrism'; he could 'with his own mouth make the body and blood of the Lord'. No one dare dispense with his ministrations. 'Every Christian king coming to his end humbly and pitiably seeks the help of a priest to escape from the prison of hell ... to appear at the judgement of God absolved from the chains of his sins.'[413] Twelfth-century theologians and canonists were particularly preoccupied with the sacrament of penance and the related 'doctrine of the keys', according to which Christ had bestowed on Peter and subsequently on the whole priesthood the power to 'bind and loose' sins on earth. They agreed that for the external acts of penance, confession and satisfaction, the attendance of a priest was indispensable: he must hear the confession, counsel the penitent on the means of satisfaction and pronounce absolution.[414] The legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), in requiring all the faithful to 'confess their sins at least once a year to their own priest' and to 'receive the sacrament of the eucharist at least at Easter', underlined the crucial role played by the priesthood in Christian society.[415] In order to play this role effectively priests must be free from all the contaminations of the world. A synodal decree of 1096 reveals how literal was the reformers' conception of sacerdotal purity and the contamination that threatened it. 'No priest is to

---

[411] Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei* II.2.4, *PL* 176, col. 418A: 'Duae quippe vitae sunt: una terrena, altera caelestis'; 417D: 'Duas esse vitas et secundum duas vitas duos populos ... et unam inferiorem, alteram superiorem'.

[412] Gratian, *Decretum* C.12 q.1 c.7: 'Duo sunt genera Christianorum ... Hi namque sunt reges, id est se et alios regentes in virtutibus et ita in Deo regnum habent'. Gratian ascribed this *sententia* to Jerome but its true authorship is unknown: see Prosdocimi (1965).

[413] Gregory VII, *Registrum* VIII.21, p. 556: 'valet sacro babtismate ex diaboli potestate eripere et inter filios Dei connumerare sanctoque chrismate premunire ... proprio ore corpus et sanguinem Domini conficere'. 'Preterea omnis rex christianus ad exitum veniens, ut inferni carcerem evadat ... ut de peccatorum vinculis in Dei iudicio absolutus appareat, sacerdotis opem supplex ac miserandus requirit'.

[414] Anciaux (1949); Hödl (1959).

[415] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 21, p. 245: 'omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti ... suscipiens reverenter ad minus in pascha eucharistiae sacramentum'. On the significance of the expression 'proprius sacerdos' see Kirsch (1904).

become the vassal of a layman, because it is unfitting that hands consecrated to God and sanctified by holy unction should be placed between unconsecrated hands, those of a murderer or adulterer or one guilty of any criminal offence.'[416] The determination of the Gregorian reform movement to eradicate the 'heresy' of simony stemmed from the fear that this worldly contamination invalidated the sacraments of the guilty priests.[417] The conciliar legislation of the twelfth century demanded that priests should be 'the temple of God, the vessels of the Lord, the sanctuary of the Holy Spirit'.[418] They must separate themselves completely from the laity, whose way of life they had renounced.

The clergy was distinguished from the laity by literacy, celibacy and a special judicial status. The clerk, first, was required to be *litteratus,* while the layman was assumed to be *illiteratus.* This contrast was so well established that twelfth-century authors occasionally referred to the two orders as *litterati et laici.*[419] The education of the clergy was an important preoccupation of the Gregorian reform programme. The papal synod that promulgated the decree of 1078 against lay investiture also decreed that 'all bishops are to cause the literary arts to be taught in their churches'.[420] Gregory VII declared that 'literary knowledge' was 'necessary not only to bishops but also to priests . . . since without it no one [could] either teach others or defend himself.'[421] (Gregorian hagiography invariably identified academic distinction as an indispensable qualification for sainthood.[422]) Gregory's successors continued his campaign for a learned clergy, while simultaneously forbidding 'the wicked and detestable custom' of the study of 'secular law and medicine for the sake of worldly lucre'.[423] Alexander III intervened to prevent the *scholasticus* (or *magister scholarum*) or

---

[416] Decree of the provincial synod of Rouen, 1096, in Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* IX.3, p. 22: 'Nullus presbiter efficiatur homo laici, quia indignum est ut manus Deo consecratae et per sacram unctionem sanctificatae mittantur inter manus non consecratas, quia est aut homicida aut adulter aut cuiuslibet criminalis peccati obnoxius'. See Minninger (1978), pp. 85–6; Beulertz (1991), pp. 11–12, 38, 40, 111.

[417] Laudage (1984), pp. 235–50.

[418] Concilium Lateranense II (1139), c. 6, p. 198: 'ipsi templum Dei, vasa Domini, sacrarium Spiritus sancti debeant esse et dici'.

[419] C. R. Cheney (1956), pp. 104–5.

[420] Gregory VII, *Registrum* VI.5b, p. 402: 'Ut omnes episcopi artes litterarum in suis ecclesiis doceri faciant'.

[421] Gregory VII, *Registrum* IX.2, p. 571: 'Que virtus quam sit non modo episcopis verum etiam sacerdotibus necessaria, ipse satis intelligis, cum nullus sine ea aut alios docere aut sese possit defendere.' Gregory was commenting on the unsuitability of the archbishop elect of Toledo, who lacked 'litteralis scientiae peritia'.

[422] Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* VI, p. 591; *Vita Anselmi episcopi Lucensis*, c. 2, p. 13; *Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis*, p. 129; *Vita Altmanni episcopi Pataviensis*, c. 2, p. 231; Guigo, *Vita sancti Hugonis Gratianopolis*, c. 2, *PL* 153, col. 765.

[423] Council of Clermont (1130), c. 5; Council of Rheims (1131), c. 6, Mansi 21, cols. 438–9, 459; Concilium Lateranense II (1139), c. 9, pp. 198–9: 'Prava autem consuetudo . . . et detestabilis inolevit,

other official in charge of a cathedral school from demanding from graduates of the school a fee for the licence to teach (*licentia docendi*).[424] In the interests of promoting scholarship Alexander III and Innocent III permitted both masters and students to absent themselves from their benefices for the sake of studies.[425] The Third Lateran Council (1179) required 'every cathedral church to assign a suitable benefice for a master who is to teach the clerks of the church and poor scholars free of charge, so that the needs of the teacher may be relieved and a way to learning may be opened up for the students'.[426] The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) extended this requirement to all churches with sufficient resources and decreed in addition that 'a metropolitan church is to have a *theologus*, who is to teach the Scriptures to the priests and others and to instruct them especially in those subjects which are known to relate to the cure of souls'.[427]

Second, the clergy was required to be celibate. Our period witnessed a relentless campaign against clerical marriage inaugurated by Gregory VII's call for a lay boycott of the masses of married clergy. 'On behalf of Almighty God and by the authority of St Peter we forbid entry into the church to any priests or deacons or subdeacons who are guilty of the offence of fornication, until they repent and make amends. But if they prefer to persevere in their sin, let none of you presume to hear their offices, because their blessing is turned into a curse and their prayer into a sin.' In Gregory's vocabulary clerical marriages, although valid in law and regardless of whether they had been contracted before or after ordination, were simply *fornicatio*.[428] Twelfth-century legislation sought to clarify the Gregorian presumption of the nullity of clerical marriages. The Second Lateran Council (1139) judged 'that a union of this kind, which is well known to have been contracted against the ecclesiastical rule, is not

---

quoniam . . . leges temporales et medicinam gratia lucri temporalis addiscunt'. See Kuttner (1964); Somerville (1976).

[424] Concilium Lateranense III (1179), c. 18, p. 220. See Post (1929); Baldwin (1970), pp. 74, 122–3.

[425] E.g. Alexander III, JL 13023, *PL* 200, col. 1158AB; Innocent III, *Registrum* x.200 (Potthast 3289); x.185 (Potthast 3272). See Baldwin (1970), p. 120; Smalley (1973), p. 143.

[426] Concilium Lateranense III, c. 18, p. 220: 'per unamquamque ecclesiam cathedralem magistro, qui clericos eiusdem ecclesiae et scholares pauperes gratis doceat, competens aliquod beneficium assignetur, quo docentis necessitas sublevetur et discentibus via pateat ad doctrinam'.

[427] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 11, p. 240: 'Sane metropolitana ecclesia theologum nihilominus habeat, qui sacerdotes et alios in sacra pagina doceat et in his praesertim informet, quae ad curam animarum spectare noscuntur'.

[428] Gregory VII, JL 5109, *Epistolae vagantes* 32, pp. 84–5: 'Si qui sunt presbiteri vel diaconi vel subdiaconi qui iaceant in crimine fornicationis, interdicimus eis ex parte omnipotentis Dei et auctoritate sancti Petri introitum aecclesiae usque dum peniteant et emendent. Si qui vero in peccato suo perseverare maluerint, nullus vestrum officium eorum auscultare praesumat; quia benedictio illis vertitur in maledictionem et oratio in peccatum'. See Gaudemet (1982), p. 12; Cowdrey (1998), pp. 242–9, 410–13, 550–3.

a marriage'.[429] Alexander III similarly declared that such unions 'must not be called marriage but concubinage'.[430] By the beginning of the thirteenth century the papal curia was satisfied that holy orders were a legal impediment to marriage.[431] Innocent III, commenting on the case of a certain subdeacon, wrote that 'he took a widow as his wife, *de facto* only because he could not do so *de iure*', concluding that 'the bond of marriage was not contracted'.[432]

The Gregorian decrees were issued at a time when 'the chastity of clerks was so neglected that not only priests but even bishops freely resorted to the beds of concubines and openly boasted of their numerous progeny of sons and daughters'. Clerical attitudes began to change, according to an early twelfth-century historian, with Leo IX's council of Rheims (1049), which 'forbade priests to carry weapons and to have wives. Thereafter the deadly custom gradually began to disappear. Nowadays indeed priests have willingly given up carrying weapons, but they still refuse to give up their mistresses and do not adhere to chastity.'[433] A shrewd observer commented on Gregory VII's reforming initiatives that 'it was no small labour to root out a custom that had been well established for so long'.[434] The Gregorian prohibition of clerical marriage was denounced in an extensive polemical literature as a dangerous innovation, 'an extraordinary decree', which 'seems to us unseemly and shameful, since it is known to have been unheard-of among our ancestors'.[435] At the end of the

---

[429] Concilium Lateranense II, c. 7, p. 198: 'Huiusmodi namque copulationem, quam contra ecclesiasticam regulam constat esse contractam, matrimonium non esse censemus'.

[430] *Decretales Gregorii IX papae* 3.3.6 (Alexander III), cited Gaudemet (1982), p. 22: 'non nuptiae sed contubernia sunt potius nuncupanda'. Concilium Lateranense III, c. 11, p. 217 refers to the wives of clerks in holy orders as *mulierculae.*

[431] A number of Decretists, beginning with Master Roland, propounded the theory that a vow of celibacy was implicit (*votum adnexum*) in the ceremony of ordination: Rolandus, *Stroma ex decretorum corpore carptum*, p. 117. This legal fiction was rejected by Huguccio, who identified the impediment to marriage not in a *votum adnexum* but in the commands of the church, the papal and conciliar legislation since Gregorian times: Huguccio, *Summa*, cited by Liotta (1971), p. 117. See Liotta (1971), pp. 45–121.

[432] *Decretales Gregorii IX papae* 1.21.7 (Innocent III): 'de facto tantum, quia de iure non potuit, duxit viduam in uxorem'; 'non fuerit vinculum maritale contractum'. See Gaudemet (1982), p. 23.

[433] Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* v.12, pp. 120–2: 'in tantum dissoluta erat castitas clericorum, ut non solum presbiteri sed etiam presules libere uterentur thoris concubinarum et palam superbirent multiplici propagine filiorum ac filiarum'. 'Exinde [1049] letalis consuetudo paulatim exinanire coepit. Arma quidem ferre presbiteri iam gratanter desiere, sed a pelicibus adhuc nolunt abstinere nec pudiciae inherere'.

[434] Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, 1074, p. 199 (referring to the opinion of the reform-minded Archbishop Siegfried of Mainz): 'sciens non parvo constare operam hanc, ut tanto tempore inolitam consuetudinem revelleret'.

[435] Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, 1074, p. 362: 'novum exemplum'. Letter of the clergy of Cambrai to the metropolitan church of Rheims, *MGH Libelli* III, p. 576: 'quantoque apud maiores nostros constat esse inauditum, tanto nobis indecens videtur esse atque inhonestum'. See Mirbt (1894), pp. 261–342.

---

twelfth century the debate was resumed among the masters of the Paris schools in more moderate language but using some of the same historical evidence.[436]

Master Gratian's study of church history revealed 'a time when it was not yet established that priests should observe chastity'. The campaign for clerical celibacy was a necessary innovation. 'The reason for this ordinance was priestly purity, so that they could be free all their days to devote themselves to prayer.'[437] Gratian also recorded an economic motive for the campaign against clerical marriage. Married clergy produced children, 'who usually endanger the church's material wealth'.[438] In a feudal society which respected the principle of hereditary transmission of office and social status as well as property, the reformers had to battle hard against the idea of a hereditary priesthood. Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury's council of Westminster of 1102 decreed that the sons of priests should not inherit their fathers' churches.[439] Archbishop Richard of Canterbury's council of Westminster of 1175 was obliged once more to prohibit hereditary succession, prompted perhaps by the recent letters of Alexander III prohibiting the practice.[440] In the early years of his pontificate Innocent III was still urging bishops to dispossess the sons of clergy who had succeeded to their fathers' churches.[441]

The radical decree of Urban II's council of Melfi (1089), ruling that the sons of priests could not receive holy orders unless they entered a monastery or a house of regular canons, was echoed in the Second Lateran Council (1139).[442] Nevertheless numerous sons of clergy are known to have enjoyed distinguished careers: for example, the polemicist and chronicler Bernold, clerk of Constance (the staunch defender of the Gregorian decrees against clerical marriage),[443] the reforming archbishop of Rouen, William Bona Anima,[444] Bishop Richard of Bayeux (patron of the scientist Adelard of Bath),[445] the saintly Aelred of

---

[436] Baldwin (1965) and (1970), pp. 338–41.

[437] Gratian, *Decretum* D.31 *dictum ante* c. 1: 'tempus quia nondum erat institutum ut sacerdotes continentiam servarent'. D.31 *dictum post* c. 1: 'Causa vero huius institutionis mundicia fuit sacerdotalis, ut liberi cunctis diebus orationi possent vacare'.

[438] Gratian, *Decretum* D.28 c. 13: 'per quos ecclesiastica solet periclitari substantia' (from a *sententia* of Pelagius I).

[439] Council of Westminster (1102), c. 8, *Councils and Synods* I/2, 675. See Brett (1975), pp. 219–20.

[440] Council of Westminster (1175), c. 1, *Councils and Synods* I/2, 984. Cf. Alexander III, JL 12254, *PL* 200, col. 930D. See C. R. Cheney (1956), pp. 126–8.

[441] Innocent III, *Registrum* V.66, VIII.147 (Potthast 1700, 2599). See C. R. Cheney (1976), p. 32.

[442] Council of Melfi (1089), c. 14, Mansi 20, col. 724. See Gratian, *Decretum* D.56 c.1. Cf. Concilium Lateranense II (1139), c. 21, p. 202.

[443] Bernold is identified as the son of a clerk in the contribution of Alboin to the correspondence *De prohibenda sacerdotum incontinentia* II, p. 12. See Robinson (1989), p. 177. Bernold subsequently became a monk of St Blasien and later of Schaffhausen.

[444] Bouet and Dosdat (1995), pp. 20–1. (William was the son of Bishop Radbod of Sées.)

[445] Bouet and Dosdat (1995), p. 25. (Richard was the son of Bishop Samson of Worcester.)

Rievaulx,[446] and Richard Fitz Neal, bishop of London (author of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*).[447] After the council of Westminster in 1102 Bishop Herbert of Norwich informed Archbishop Anselm that if all the married clergy in his diocese were suspended from their offices, parochial life would virtually come to an end.[448] A century later Innocent III called on Bishop John de Gray of Norwich to deprive the married clerks in his diocese of their benefices without appeal.[449] The lesser clergy stubbornly resisted reform and used every device to frustrate their superiors and undermine ecclesiastical discipline. 'There are very many deacons and subdeacons in the French church and in the far-off kingdoms who are married', wrote the theologian Robert of Courson, 'and they say that they have an indulgence to contract marriage from the lord pope.'[450] Giraldus Cambrensis held the episcopate responsible for the fact that 'all the houses or cottages of parish priests are full of concubines ruling the roost, cradles creaking, newborn babies and screaming children': bishops simply winked at such irregularities.[451] Their failure to examine ordinands had resulted in the admission of the uneducated and unchaste into the ranks of the clergy.[452] The legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) marked the renewal of the long campaign for a literate and celibate clergy.

The reformers' campaign to promote the 'dignity' and the 'liberty' of the *clericalis ordo* also involved a special legal status for the clergy, defined respectively by the *privilegium canonis* and the *privilegium fori*. The *privilegium canonis*, first, protected the clergy from acts of violence. Master Gratian traced the early history of the privilege in ninth-century conciliar legislation excommunicating those who injured, killed or robbed priests.[453] It was the conciliar legislation of

---

446 Powicke in Walter Daniel, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, p. xxxiv: Aelred 'came of a long line of married priests, learned, respectable, conscientious'.

447 C. R. Cheney (1976), p. 62. (Richard was the son of Bishop Nigel of Ely.)

448 Anselm of Canterbury, *Epistola* 254, *Anselmi Opera* IV, pp. 165–6. Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* VII.24, p. 450: 'concilium . . . in quo prohibuit uxores sacerdotibus Anglorum antea non prohibitas. Quod . . . quibusdam periculosum [visum est]'.

449 Innocent III, *Registrum* VI.103 (Potthast 1944): 'appellatione remota'. See C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 32–3.

450 Robert of Courson, *Summa* XXIII.3, cited in Baldwin (1970), p. 338 n. 209: 'Preterea plures sunt diaconi et subdiaconi in Gallicana ecclesia et in remotis regnis uxorati dicentes se habere indulgentiam contrahendi a domino papa'.

451 Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum ecclesiae, Opera* IV, p. 313: 'Tecta sacerdotum parochialium sive tuguria concubinis dominantibus, cunabilis crepitantibus, partubusque recentibus et pueris vagientibus, palam et publice, non sine scandalo gravi, dormitantibus praelatis, aut tanquam res bene gestas absque quaerela sustinentibus, cuncta repleta'.

452 Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma ecclesiastica, Opera* II, pp. 334–5; *De iure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae* VII, *Opera* III, p. 368.

453 Gratian, *Decretum* C.17 q.4 c.21–4. The fullest statement of the *privilegium canonis* appears in c. 22, a decree attributed to Alexander II, JL 4477, *PL* 146, col. 1412D, imposing a sentence of anathema

Innocent II that formulated the definitive version of the *privilegium canonis*, culminating in the decree of the Second Lateran Council (1139): 'Whoever, persuaded by the devil, is guilty of the sacrilege of laying violent hands on a clerk or a monk, is to be under the bond of anathema and no bishop is to presume to absolve him, unless he is in immediate peril of death, until he has appeared in the presence of the pope and received his commands.'[454] (This clarification of clerical immunity in the 1130s may have been a response to attacks on the clergy by the followers of extremist reforming preachers, the *haeretici* condemned by the Second Lateran Council.[455]) In this legislation of Innocent II assault on a clerk became a 'reserved case', a crime for which the perpetrator could seek absolution only from the pope.[456] Hence, in the most notorious case of a violation of the *privilegium canonis* in our period, the murderers of Archbishop Thomas Becket of Canterbury were required to go in person to submit to the judgement of Alexander III.[457] King Henry II's involvement in the murder of Becket perhaps inspired Alexander III's legislation concerning clerical immunity. He specified that excommunication should fall not only on the actual assailant but also on him 'by whose authority or command the crime is proved to have been committed'.[458] Later papal legislation dealt mainly with exceptions to the *privilegium canonis*, regulating in particular the situation of the cathedral schools where both masters and students were in holy orders. Masters punishing their pupils or students fighting among themselves were not subject to the usual penalties.[459]

and confiscation of property on those who struck a bishop or exiled him from his diocese and a
sentence of excommunication on those who similarly mistreated a clerk.

[454] Concilium Lateranense II, c. 15, p. 200: 'Item placuit ut si quis, suadente diabolo, huius sacrilegii reatum incurrerit, quod in clericum vel monachum violentas manus iniecerit, anathematis vinculo subiaceat et nullus episcoporum illum praesumat absolvere, nisi mortis urgente periculo, donec apostolico conspectui praesentetur et eius mandatum suscipiat'. See Gratian, *Decretum* C.17 q.4 c.29. Cf. Council of Clermont (1130), c. 10, Council of Rheims (1131), c. 13, Council of Pisa (1135), c. 12, Mansi 21, cols. 439, 461, 490. See Magnin (1922), pp. 1220–1; Kuttner (1935), pp. 68–9.

[455] Concilium Lateranense II, c. 23, p. 202. Cf. Council of Toulouse (1119), c. 3, Mansi 21, cols. 226–7. On the particular case of Arnold of Brescia, exiled from Italy at this time because of his reforming agitation, see Frugoni (1954), pp. 21–2; Foreville (1965), pp. 86–7; Moore (1977), pp. 115–21.

[456] By the end of our period three 'reserved cases' were recognised: attacks on clergy, forgery of papal letters and arson (according to the Paris masters Robert of Flamborough, *Liber poenitentialis*, pp. 150–2, and Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, pp. 251–2). See C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 66–71.

[457] Alexander III, JL 12180, *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* VII, pp. 534–6. See Barlow (1986), pp. 258–9 and n. 13.

[458] *Decretales Gregorii IX* V.39.6 (Alexander III): 'cum is committat vere, cuius auctoritate vel mandato delictum committi probatur'. *Decretales Gregorii IX* V.39.47 (Innocent III) extended the excommunication to persons who were capable of preventing an assault on a clerk but failed to do so.

[459] E.g. Alexander III, JL 12180 (*PL* 200, col. 896A), 13771 (*Decretales Gregorii IX* V.39.4). See Baldwin (1970), pp. 141–5. Clement III provided exemptions in the case of persons acting in self-defence

The *privilegium fori* gave the clergy immunity from secular justice. In the sweeping statement of Urban II, 'no secular lord is permitted to have power over clerks; but all clerks must be subject to their bishop alone'.[460] Master Gratian's extensive researches showed that the privilege was firmly rooted in both ecclesiastical and secular law. He was aware of the twofold obligations of the clergy: they were subject to the bishop 'by virtue of their office' and subject to the secular power 'by virtue of their possessions'. Nevertheless Gratian concluded that the clergy could be tried only in the ecclesiastical courts, even if the cases involved criminal charges or secular business.[461] Ecclesiastical judges could, therefore, claim jurisdiction in cases of felony (murder, rape, theft, arson, treason, forgery) where the accused was in holy orders. Ecclesiastical courts could not, however, impose on clerks guilty of these offences any sentence involving bloodshed, so that they escaped the penalties of death or mutilation imposed by the secular courts for the same offences. The *privilegium fori* consequently had serious implications for law and order that had preoccupied, for example, the kings of England long before King Henry II tried to resolve the problem of 'criminous clerks'.[462]

Gratian recognised exceptions to this clerical immunity from secular justice. Clerks might be brought before a secular court if 'they have been previously deposed and degraded' and 'with the consent of their bishop'.[463] Gratian had also inherited from Gregorian canonists texts suggesting that clerks guilty of rebellion against their bishop should be deposed and handed over to the secular court.[464] A similar procedure was described in King Henry II's Constitutions

---

(*Decretales* V.39.14, 23, 25), in the case of clerks caught in the act of fornication with the assailants' kinswomen (*ibid.*, c. 3) and in cases where the clerical identity of the victim was not known (*ibid.*, c. 4).

[460] Urban II, JL 5722 (*PL* 151, col. 521B) = Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum* VI.408, *PL* 161, cols. 532D–533A: 'Nosse te volumus quia nulli saeculari domino potestatem in clericos habere licet; sed omnes clerici episcopo soli esse debent subiecti'.

[461] Gratian, *Decretum* C.11 q.1 *dictum post* c.26: 'Clerici ex officio sunt subpositi episcopo, ex possessionibus prediorum imperatori sunt obnoxii'. The idea was Augustinian: see *ibid.*, D.8 c.1 (and also above p. 295). C.11 q.1 *dictum post* c.47: 'Negotia quippe clericorum, sive criminalia sive civilia fuerint, non nisi apud ecclesiasticum iudicem ventilanda sunt'. See Duggan (1962), pp. 6–10; Chodorow (1972), pp. 218–23.

[462] William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guilelmi*, pp. 124–6 (William I as duke of Normandy). John of Salisbury, *Letters* 16, pp. 261–2 (Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury to Adrian IV, concerning the case of Osbert, archdeacon of York, accused of murdering his archbishop). See Saltman (1956), pp. 124–5; Barlow (1979), pp. 149–59.

[463] Gratian, *Decretum* C.11 q.1 *dictum post* c.26: 'nisi prius depositi vel nudati fuerint'. C.11 q.1 *dictum post* c.30: 'nisi forte cum consensu episcopi sui'.

[464] Gratian, *Decretum* C.11 q.1 c.31: 'Clericus suo inobediens episcopo depositus curiae tradatur.' Cf. the Gregorian 'Collection in Seventy-Four Titles', *Diversorum patrum sententie* 67, p. 55; Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum* VII.150; Alger of Liège, *De misericordia et iustitia* II.45, p. 296. The Roman Law term *curiae tradatur* (meaning that the clerk was henceforward subject to the usual

of Clarendon (1164) as the customary English manner of dealing with the cases of 'criminous clerks'. A clerk charged with a felony was to answer the charge in the king's court, which could then decide to send him for trial in the ecclesiastical court, where a royal official would observe the proceedings. If he was found guilty, 'the church must no longer protect him'; that is, he must be degraded from holy orders, taken back to the king's court and punished as a layman. The English 'custom' evaded the *privilegium fori* both by allowing the king's court to decide where the clerk's trial should take place, rather than assuming an automatic right to be tried in the ecclesiastical court, and by imposing a secular punishment after the clerk's degradation. It was particularly on this second issue, the 'double punishment', that Archbishop Thomas Becket challenged the legality of Henry II's 'custom'.[465] After his murder in 1170 Becket was regarded by his admirers as a martyr for the liberties of the church, especially the *privilegium fori*.[466] It was in the aftermath of Becket's murder and canonisation that Alexander III at last lent his own authority to the saint's stand against the 'double punishment'. A letter to the archbishop of Salerno forbade ecclesiastical courts to hand over a degraded clerk to secular judgement.[467]

Such a general prohibition could, however, become an embarrassment to the church, since occasionally the ecclesiastical authorities actually required the secular power to punish clerks who disobeyed the church.[468] In 1184 Lucius III was prompted by the rapid growth of heresy to allow the punishment by secular rulers of convicted heretics, lay and clerical.[469] By *c.* 1190 the canonist Huguccio was arguing for secular punishment when 'clerks are incorrigible and cannot be corrected by the church'.[470] Soon afterwards, Celestine III approved the punishment of incorrigible and rebellious clerks by the secular power.[471] Innocent III, writing to the bishop of Paris in 1209, observed that his predecessors had differed on the question of whether a degraded clerk should be surrendered to the secular power. To clarify the matter, he ruled

---

civil obligations) was understood by some eleventh-century canonists to mean 'handed over to the secular court'. See Génestal (1924), pp. xxxiv–xxxix; Duggan (1962), pp. 11–14.

[465] Constitutions of Clarendon, c. 3, *Councils and Synods* I/2, 879: 'non debet de cetero eum ecclesia tueri'. See Génestal (1924), pp. 95–114; Duggan (1962), pp. 1–28; Smalley (1973), pp. 123–32; Warren (1973), pp. 459–67, 480–1; Fraher (1978); Barlow (1986), pp. 98–105.

[466] Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, c. 78, *PL* 205, col. 547B; Peter the Chanter, *Summa de sacramentis et de animae consiliis*, p. 388; Stephen Langton, Lectures on Machabees, quoted in Smalley (1952), p. 252. See Baldwin (1970), pp. 146–7; Smalley (1973), pp. 190–215.

[467] Alexander III, JL 14091, *Decretales Gregorii IX* II.1.4: 'nec debet eum duplici contritione conterere'. See Génestal (1924), pp. 20–6.

[468] Génestal (1924), pp. 30–7, 113–19.

[469] Lucius III, JL 15109, *PL* 201, col. 1298D (*Ad abolendam*).

[470] Huguccio, *Summa* ad C.11 q.1 c.18, quoted by Watt (1965), p. 31 n. 45: 'cum omnino sint [clerici] incorrigibiles et per ecclesiam corrigi non possunt'.

[471] Celestine III, JL 17639, *Decretales Gregorii IX* II.1.10.

that the degradation of a clerk should take place in the presence of a representative of the secular power, who would be required to take custody of the degraded clerk.[472] The intention in Innocent III's ruling was not so much to abandon Thomas Becket's stand on the *privilegium fori*[473] as to assert the principle that the church must take the initiative in involving the 'secular arm' in the punishment of delinquent clergy: it was a reversal of the English 'custom' championed by Henry II.[474] Innocent III's decretal of 1209 shared the vision of the twelfth-century canonists of the church as an independent jurisdiction whose rulers administered their own laws in their own law courts and whose subjects were exempt from the parallel judicial system of the lay authority.

The pyramidal structure of this ecclesiastical community seemed to imitate the hierarchy of heaven.[475] 'The Catholic church on earth is established on the model . . . of the heavenly order', wrote Eugenius III; 'just as some of the heavenly spirits are superior and contemplate the divine mysteries eagerly and without pride while other, inferior spirits without envy rejoice in the commands of their superiors and humbly obey them, so in the Catholic church some are appointed as patriarchs or primates, others as archbishops or metropolitans and others as bishops'.[476] Canonists found texts in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection that traced the origins of the modern ecclesiastical hierarchy to the pagan Roman past. St Peter had established primates, archbishops and bishops in place of the *flamines, archiflamines* and lesser priests of the Roman *civitates*.[477] Alternatively it was argued that 'the difference between the greater and lesser priests originated in the New Testament through Christ himself'.[478] 'The priests are the successors and vicars of the seventy disciples who went

---

[472] Innocent III, *Registrum* XI.257 (Potthast 3656). In 1201 Innocent III had already prescribed a secular punishment for clergy who forged papal letters: *Decretales* v.20.7 (Potthast 1276).

[473] Maitland (1898), pp. 144–5.

[474] On the concept of the lay power as the 'secular arm' (*seculare brachium*), a term that Huguccio was one of the first canonists to use, see Stickler (1947).

[475] For this pyramidal structure see especially the diagrams with which Bishop Gilbert of Limerick illustrated his *De statu ecclesiae*, as in Durham cathedral MS B.II.35, fol. 36v, reproduced in Mynors (1939), p. 41 and plate 32.

[476] Eugenius III, ed. Holtzmann (1950), II, p., 231 (no. 66), to Archbishop Henry of York (1151): 'Ad instar . . . celestis ordinis catholica ecclesia est constituta in terris; sicut enim celestium spirituum alii sunt superiores absque elatione et propensius secreta divina rimantur, alii inferiores sine invidia et mandatis superiorum letantur et humiliter obsecuntur, ita in ecclesia catholica alii patriarche sive primates, alii archiepiscopi sive metropolitani, alii episcopi statuuntur'.

[477] Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum* III.I, p. 72 (*Decreta Clementis*, c. 28, Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales*, p. 39). Cf. Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum* VI.101; Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana* III.I, p. 72; Gratian, *Decretum* D.80 c.2.

[478] Gratian, *Decretum* D.21 *dictum ante* c.I: 'maiorum et minorum sacerdotum discretio in novo testamento ab ipso Christo sumpsit exordium'.

before the Lord Jesus into every city and place where he would come (Luke
10.1) . . . The bishops, however, are the successors of the [twelve] apostles.'[479]
Twelfth-century canonists and theologians differed on the question of whether
the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy constituted a single 'order of priests'.[480] The
canonists, beginning with Huguccio of Pisa, claimed that the bishops were a
separate *ordo*.[481] The theologians preferred the argument of Peter Lombard,
that the episcopate enjoyed a 'dignity' in addition to the priestly *ordo,* which
conferred a different name, office and jurisdiction but did not make bishops
different in kind from the rest of the priesthood.[482]

     Theologians and canonists agreed, however, in defining the episcopal office
primarily in terms of the administration of the sacraments. 'Whether they
are priests of an inferior or superior order, that is, whether they are priests or
bishops', wrote Hugh of St Victor, 'they exercise the office of the Supreme Pon-
tiff when they summon delinquent people to penitence and heal them with the
medicine of their prayers.'[483] Innocent III, in his extremely influential treatise
on the mysteries of the mass, explained that the difference between bishops
and priests was 'that catechising, baptism, preaching, celebrating mass, binding
and loosing belong to all priests in common, but the ordination of clerks, the
blessing of virgins, the consecration of bishops, the laying on of hands, the
dedication of basilicas, the deposition of those who need to be degraded,
the celebration of synods, the blessing of chrism and the consecration of vest-
ments and vessels pertain especially to pontiffs'.[484] Writers on the episcopal
office emphasised the liturgical functions and the exemplary moral qualities
required of bishops rather than their duty of supervising their inferiors in the

---

[479] Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei* III.12, *PL* 176, col. 428C: 'Presbyteri successores
     et vicarii sunt septuaginti discipulorum qui praecedebant Dominum Jesum in omnem civitatem
     et locum quo ipse erat venturus . . . Episcopi vero successores sunt apostolorum'.
[480] Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis* III.12, *PL* 176, col. 428A (describing the seven grades of holy
     orders): 'Septimo loco subsequitur ordo presbyterorum.'
[481] Huguccio, *Summa* D.93 c.24, cited in Stenger (1967), pp. 80–2. The view of the Decretists was
     inspired by Gratian, *Decretum* D.21 c.1, derived from Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* VII.12: '*Ordo
     episcoporum* quadripartitus est, id est in patriarchis, archiepiscopis, metropolitanis atque episcopis'.
     See Stenger (1967), pp. 67–112.
[482] Peter Lombard, *Liber sententiarum* IV, dist. 24, c. 14: 'Dignitatis simul et officii nomen est episco-
     patus'.
[483] Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis* III.12, *PL* 176, col. 428D: 'Sive inferioris sive superioris sint
     ordinis sacerdotes, id est sive presbyteri sive episcopi, vicem gerunt summi pontificis, dum populos
     delinquentes ad poenitentiam vocant, et orationum suarum medicamento sanant'.
[484] Innocent III, [Lothar of Segni], *De missarum mysteriis* I.9, *PL* 217, col. 779C: 'Differt autem in-
     ter episcopos et presbyteros, quia ad omnes sacerdotes communiter pertinet, catechizare, bapti-
     zare, praedicare, conficere, solvere et ligare. Sed specialiter ad pontifices spectat, clericos ordinare,
     virgines benedicere, pontifices consecrare, manus imponere, basilicas dedicare, degradandos de-
     ponere, synodos celebrare, chrisma conficere, vestes et vasa consecrare'. See Imkamp (1983), pp.
     286–7.

hierarchy and managing the affairs of their dioceses. When, for example, Bishop Herbert of Norwich wrote to the faithful in his diocese about 'the labours of [his] office', he was referring to his daily celebration of communion.[485]

Anselm of Canterbury taught that bishops 'ought to be a model and example of canonical religion to others'.[486] Bernard of Clairvaux composed his biography of Archbishop Malachy of Armagh so that the saint could serve as 'a mirror and an example' to his readers.[487] The biographer emphasised Malachy's 'sober way of life, unfailing chastity, faith, teaching, acquisition of souls'.[488] Malachy 'was the father of orphans, the husband of widows, the protector of the oppressed . . . The restoration of peace among the discordant was his greatest concern.'[489] Bernard's treatise *On the Character and the Office of Bishops*, addressed to Archbishop Henry of Sens, declared that 'the honour and glory of an ecclesiastical office are not in the outward splendour but in beauty of character and virtues'. 'The most important and worthy ornaments of prelates are chastity, charity and humility.'[490] The favourite patristic image of the bishop as shepherd is omnipresent in our sources from the letters of Gregory VII[491] to the treatise of Peter of Blois on the episcopal office,[492] appearing with particular emphasis in the liturgy for the ceremony of episcopal consecration. 'We must take the utmost pains with the Lord's sheep, entrusted to us by the Supreme Shepherd, and, with the support of divine grace, lead them, free of disease and blemishes, to the Lord's sheepfold.'[493] The same veterinary image recurs in Bishop Ivo of Chartres' account of his office. 'Since the Supreme Shepherd . . . commanded us to exercise the pastoral office, it is fitting that we should provide suitable medicine for the wander-

---

[485] Herbert of Norwich, *Epistola* 35, *The Life, Letters and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga* I, p. 170: 'officii labores quibus vobis servio omni die'. See Brett (1975), p. 114.

[486] Anselm, *Epistola* 427, *Anselmi Opera* V, p. 374: 'Episcopi . . . debent esse forma et exemplum aliis canonice religionis'.

[487] Bernard, *Vita sancti Malachiae episcopi, praefatio* (*SBO* III, p. 307) 'speculum et exemplum'.

[488] Bernard, *Hymnus de sancto Malachia* (*SBO* III, p. 525): 'Sobrius victus, castitas perennis,/Fides, doctrina, animarum lucra'.

[489] Bernard, *Sermo de sancto Malachiae episcopi* 2 (*SBO* VI, I, p. 51): 'Pater orphanorum, maritus viduarum, patronus exstitit oppressorum . . . Pacis reformandae inter discordantes fuit illi cura maxima'.

[490] These summaries of chapter 2 and 3 of Bernard, *De moribus et officio episcoporum tractatus* appear in the edition of Mabillon, *PL* 182: 'Honorem et decus dignitatis ecclesiasticae non consistere in externo splendore sed in morum et virtutum decore'. In *SBO* VII, pp. 100–31 this *tractatus* is edited among Bernard's *Letters*: *Epistola XLII ad Henricum Senonensem archiepiscopum* (without chapter headings). 'Praesulum potissima et dignissima ornamenta, castitas, charitas, humilitas'.

[491] E.g. Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.5, III.11, IV.14, v.5, pp. 132, 271, 318, 353.

[492] Peter of Blois, *De institutione episcopi*, *PL* 207, cols. 1105AB, 1107A.

[493] Andrieu (1938), I, p. 152: 'debemus maximo cum sudore incumbere oves dominicas a summo nobis pastore consignatas ad ovile dominicum, suffragante divina gratia, absque morbo vel macula perducere'. This text belongs to the Gregorian period: *ibid.*, I, p. 95.

ing and feeble sheep.'[494] For Ivo, the principal function of bishops was 'to be teachers and guardians of divine law'.[495] For Paschal II (writing to King Henry I of England), it was to 'teach the people of God by their word and mould them by their life'.[496] Master Gratian based his portrait of episcopal conduct on the Pauline model of 1 Timothy 3:2–7 and Titus 1:6-9. The bishop must be sober, prudent, temperate, hospitable, chaste, peace-loving, learned.[497]

All these authors concentrated on the bishop not as a figure of authority in the ecclesiastical hierarchy but as the pastor of God's people. The model bishop (like St Hugh of Lincoln), 'residing in his diocese, edified the people commited to his care by his way of life and his paternal exhortation'.[498] When biographers portrayed bishops in action in their dioceses, it was not as administrators supervising the life of the clergy, but as lords vindicating their own rights. Bernard of Clairvaux recorded that Malachy of Armagh 'visited retribution on the proud and restored the freedom of the church'.[499] Another member of Bernard's friendship circle, Archbishop Norbert of Magdeburg, was represented by his biographer as a 'faithful steward of his household' who was greatly troubled by the poverty of his church, the result of the depredations of the secular nobility. 'Driven by God's command, Archbishop Norbert seized the usurped possessions of the church from the hands of the men of violence.'[500] Norbert's contemporary, the ardent papalist Archbishop Albero of Trier, was applauded by his biographer for his successful struggles against secular princes. He valiantly resisted the pretensions of the advocate of Trier, the burgrave Ludwig, who 'said that the bishop's function was to celebrate masses, the ordination of clergy and the consecration of churches, but that it was [the advocate's] right to rule over the land, dispose of all the affairs of the bishopric and command the knights'. When, during Albero's absence on Emperor Lothar III's Italian expedition of 1136, his fortress of Arras was seized by neighbouring lords, Albero 'swore by his head that he would never shave his

---

[494] Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola* 4, *PL* 162, col. 14BC: 'Quoniam summus pastor pastoris nomen habere nos voluit et officium pastorale exercere praecepit, errabundis et languidis ovibus congruam medicinam providere nos convenit'.

[495] Ivo, *Epistola* 35, *PL* 162, col. 47A: 'divinae legis . . . doctores atque tutores'.

[496] Paschal II, JL 6212, *Anselmi Opera* V, pp. 405–6: 'ut populum Dei et verbo doceat et vita informet'.

[497] Gaudemet (1964), pp. 129–39 summarises the 'miroir de l'évêque' in Gratian's *Decretum*.

[498] Roger of Howden (?), *Gesta regis Henrici II*, I, p. 357: 'in episcopatu suo commorans, populum sibi commissum conversatione sua et paternae exhortationis verbo aedificabat'.

[499] Bernard, *Vita sancti Malachiae* (*SBO* III, p. 338): 'reddita retributione superbis et libertate ecclesiae restituta'. Cf. Bernard, *Sermo de transitu Malachiae episcopi* 2 (*SBO* VI, 1, p. 338): 'superbis resistebat, tyrannos verberabat, regum magister ac principum'.

[500] *Vita Norberti archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis* (Version A) c. 18, *MGH SS* XII, p. 694: 'domus suae fidelis dispensator'. *Ibid*., p. 695: 'Norbertus archiepiscopus nutu Dei animatus, invasas ecclesiae possessiones de manibus violentorum eripuit'.

beard until he had first recovered his castle of Arras and destroyed' that of his enemies.[501]

The struggle to vindicate the prelates' proprietary rights was a straightforward one: their rights over inferiors in the ecclesiastical hierarchy were less clear-cut and harder to enforce. It was at the highest levels of the hierarchy, in the ranks of archbishops, metropolitans and primates, that jurisdictional rights were least clearly defined. The rank of primate in particular illustrates the confusion in the minds of canonists, popes and prelates.[502] The primatial dignity had been of great interest to the forger of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, who elaborated it as a device to undermine the authority of the metropolitan and thus emancipate the bishops from metropolitan control.[503] In the late eleventh and twelfth centuries the dignity of *primas* continued to develop in an unsystematic and contentious fashion as ambitious prelates urged the papacy to confirm traditional titles or create new ones. The churches of Trier, Cologne and Mainz made rival claims for a *primatus* in the German kingdom.[504] In Italy Milan, Aquileia and Ravenna each claimed to 'hold the primacy after the apostolic see'.[505] To the *patriarchatus* that the church of Grado claimed over six small Italian bishoprics was added in 1155 a *primatus* over the newly created Dalmatian province of Zara.[506] Pisa, elevated by Urban II to an archbishopric with jurisdiction over the six dioceses of Corsica, was granted by Innocent II a *primatus* over the province of Sassari.[507] Salerno received a *primatus* over the provinces of Conza and Acerenza in a papal privilege of 1098, but subsequently the primatial dignity disappeared almost completely from privileges for the church.[508]

In the French kingdom the primacy claimed by Rheims over the ecclesiastical province of Belgica secunda was confirmed in 1089.[509] The primacy claimed

---

[501] Balderic of Trier, *Gesta Alberonis archiepiscopi Treverensis* c. 12, *MGH SS* VIII, p. 250: 'ad episcopum dicebat pertinere missas et ordinationes clericorum et consecrationes ecclesiarum celebrare; sui vero iuris dicebat esse, terram regere omniaque in episcopatu disponere et miliciam tenere'. *Ibid.*, c. 15, p. 251: 'per coronam suam iuravit, se nunquam barbam suam rasurum, nisi et suum castrum Arraz prius recuperasset, et illorum . . . destruxisset'.

[502] E.g. Gratian, *Decretum* D.99 *dictum ante* c.1: 'Primates et patriarchae diversorum sunt nominum, sed eiusdem officii'.

[503] Fuhrmann (1972), p. 146.   [504] Thomas (1970); Boshof (1978).

[505] Arnulf of Milan, *Liber gestorum recentium*, *MGH SRG* LXVII, p. 250: 'Ambrosiana sedes post apostolicam primatum tenuit, tenet et tenebit'. See Felbinger (1951), pp. 98–9.

[506] Felbinger (1951), pp. 128–57.

[507] Urban II, JL 5464, *PL* 151, cols. 344C–346B; Innocent II, JL 7890, *PL* 179, cols. 361C–363A. Alexander III extended this primacy to the whole of Sardinia, JL 12692–3, ed. Pflugk-Harttung (1883), p. 279. See Felbinger (1951), pp. 100–18.

[508] Urban II, JL 5707, *PL* 151, cols. 507A–509A. The primacy was subsequently mentioned only by Lucius III, JL 14691, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* II, p. 443. See Felbinger (1951), pp. 157–63.

[509] Urban II, JL 5415, *PL* 151, cols. 309D–311D. Urban II was a former canon of Rheims. See Fuhrmann (1955), pp. 111–14; Becker (1964), pp. 191–2, 211.

since the ninth century by Sens was, however, swept aside by Gregory VII's radical decision to recognise the *primatus* of Lyons over the province of Gallia Lugdunensis, including the archdioceses of Lyons, Rouen, Tours and Sens (1079).[510] Sens continued to resist the primacy of Lyons even after it was confirmed by the council of Clermont (1095).[511] The primacy over Aquitaine claimed by Bourges, confirmed by Eugenius III, was challenged by Bordeaux but upheld by Innocent III.[512] In the Spanish peninsula Toledo's claim to the title of *primas Hispaniarum* was recognised by Urban II but contested by the archbishops of Braga, Tarragona, Compostela and Narbonne.[513] Not the least controversial of the attempts of archbishops to increase the prestige and independence of their churches was that of the archbishop of Canterbury to obtain papal recognition of his *de facto* primacy. 'The whole land, according to the law of the primacy of Canterbury, is his diocese', declared the supporters of Archbishop Ralph in 1121, 'and all the bishops of the whole island possess their dioceses only through him and by his means.'[514] The efforts of Canterbury to vindicate this claim, with the help of forgery (like Grado and Aquileia) and the support of the crown (like Sens and Bourges), foundered on the resistance of York and the unwillingness of Rome.[515]

The claim of archbishops to the title and rights of metropolitan could be equally controversial. The most contentious was that of the bishop of Dol to be an archbishop and metropolitan of Brittany and to be independent of the authority of the archbishop of Tours. Gregory VII granted Bishop Evenus 'the honour and use of the pallium' and, pending the settlement of the ancient dispute between Tours and Dol, he commanded the bishops of Brittany 'to show him subjection and obedience as archbishop' (1076).[516] Dol suffered a serious reversal in 1094, however, when Urban II rejected the church's claim to metropolitan status.[517] During the early twelfth century the claim of Dol was further weakened by the desertion to Tours of five of the Breton dioceses.[518]

---

[510] Fuhrmann (1954), pp. 61–84; Villard (1991); Cowdrey (1998), pp. 389–94, 602–4.

[511] Council of Clermont (1095), c. 7: Somerville (1972), pp. 11, 124. See Servatius (1979), pp. 290, 297.

[512] De Lagger (1937).   [513] Rivera Recio (1962).

[514] Eadmer, *Historia novorum* VI, p. 292: 'cum tota terra lege primatus Cantuariae parochia sua sit, et omnes episcopi totius insulae parochias quas habent nonnisi per ipsum et ab ipso habeant'. See Foreville (1974), p. 288; Brett (1975), pp. 69–70.

[515] Dueball (1929); Bethell (1968) pp. 145–59; Brett (1975), pp. 12–15, 28–30, 38–42, 45–7, 50–2; Barlow (1979), pp. 40–4.

[516] Gregory VII, *Registrum* IV.5, p. 302: 'Honorem quoque et usum pallii ... ei concessimus'; 'interim, ut ei sicut archiepiscopo subiectionem et oboedientiam exhibeatis ... constituimus'. See Duine (1916), p. 27; Cowdrey (1998), pp. 395–7.

[517] Urban II, JL 5519, 5520, *PL* 151, cols. 385C–387A, 387B–388A.

[518] This desertion occurred during the episcopate of Baudri de Bourgueil (1107–30, the historian of the First Crusade) and culminated in the provincial council of Nantes (1127), over which Hildebert of Lavardin, archbishop of Tours presided: Mansi 21, col. 351. See Foreville (1974), pp. 283–4.

Eugenius III's investigation of Dol's complaints resulted in the acknowledgement of the bishop's metropolitan status but left him with only two suffragans and subject to the archbishop of Tours, from whom the bishop of Dol must seek consecration.[519] During the later 1150s Dol benefited greatly from the favour of Henry II, king of England and duke of Normandy, who obtained a series of privileges for the church from Adrian IV.[520] Alexander III, however, reiterated the obligation to seek consecration from Tours, to which the bishops elect responded in the years 1161–1201 by foregoing consecration.[521] The definitive settlement was imposed by Innocent III in 1199: the bishop of Dol was denied the pallium and was subject henceforward to the metropolitan authority of Tours.[522]

Similar reversals of fortune were experienced by the archbishops of York in their efforts to assert metropolitan authority over the bishops of Scotland. Archbishop Gerard obtained from Paschal II (1102) and Archbishop Thurstan obtained from Calixtus II (1121) and Innocent II (1131) papal letters commanding the Scottish bishops to obey York as their metropolitan.[523] Adrian IV similarly ordered the Scottish bishops to submit to the archbishop of York (1155).[524] Alexander III, however, responded to the appeals of the Scottish bishops and suspended the metropolitan authority of York over the Scottish episcopate.[525] In 1175 Alexander exempted Glasgow from all authority except that of the Roman church[526] and in 1192 Celestine III conferred this same privilege on all the Scottish bishoprics. He decreed that 'the Scottish church must be subject with no intermediary to the apostolic see, whose special daughter she is'.[527] This 'special daughter' thus acquired the anomalous status of a church without a metropolitan. The papal privilege of 1192 was a blow not only to the ambitions of York. The bishop of St Andrews had long been regarded in Scotland

---

[519] Duine (1916) p. 126.

[520] Adrian IV, JL 10063–5, 10102–3, 10362, 10367, 10504, *PL* 188, cols. 1421C–1422B, 1422C–1423A, 1423AC, 1439BC, 1439D–1440A, 1546BD, 1607D–1608B, 1600CD. See Warren (1973), p. 561.

[521] Alexander III, JL 10671, *PL* 200, cols. 123D–124C. Alexander III returned to the dispute in 1179 and 1180: JL 13503, 13660, *PL* 200, cols. 1255B– 1256A, Bouquet XV, pp. 971–2. See Foreville (1974), p. 284.

[522] Innocent III, *Registrum* II.82 (Potthast 726). See Duine (1916), pp. 137–8 and also above p. 385.

[523] Paschal II, JL 5885, *Historians of the Church of York* III, p. 22; Calixtus II, JL 6785: Hugh the Chanter, *History of the Church of York*, pp. 124–6; Calixtus II, JL 6787, *Historians of the Church of York* III, pp. 40–1; Innocent II, JL 7515, *ibid.*, p. 62. See Brett (1975), pp. 14–27.

[524] Adrian IV, JL 10000, *PL* 188, cols. 1391C–1392A. See Somerville (1982), pp. 40–2, 47–8.

[525] Alexander III, JL 12729, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* II/1, ed. Haddan and Stubbs, pp. 245–6. See Foreville (1943), pp. 509–13.

[526] Alexander III, JL 12468, *Councils* II/1, ed. Haddan and Stubbs, pp. 41–3. Cf. JL 12446, *ibid.*, p. 40. See Foreville (1943), pp. 507–8; Somerville (1982), pp. 75–7.

[527] Celestine III, JL 16836, *PL* 206, cols. 921B–922B: 'ut Scoticana ecclesia apostolicae sedi, cuius filia specialis existit nullo mediante debeat subiacere'. See Hannay (1926), pp. 171–7; Foreville (1943), p. 514; Somerville (1982), pp. 142–4.

as *summus pontifex Scottorum* and during the twelfth century attempts were
made to secure papal recognition of his metropolitan status.[528] Alexander III
seems to have received a request to elevate St Andrews to metropolitan status
and to have responded by making the bishop papal legate in Scotland.[529] Any
hope of further advancement was crushed by the privilege of 1192. Equally
unsuccessful was the Welsh see of St Davids, whose claims to metropolitan sta-
tus and independence of Canterbury were presented at the council of Rheims
(1148) and the Third Lateran Council (1179) and later energetically defended
by Giraldus Cambrensis.[530] Innocent III rejected both Giraldus' claim to be
bishop elect of St Davids (1203) and St Davids' claim to be a metropolitan
(1207).[531] By contrast the great success story of the twelfth century was the
meteoric rise of Compostela. In 1104 Diego Gelmírez obtained the pallium; in
1120 he received the dignity of metropolitan as long as the church of Mérida
remained in Muslim hands; in 1124 the metropolitan dignity was granted in
perpetuity and Diego received the title of archbishop.[532]

By the end of our period these titles of primate and metropolitan, although
greatly coveted, conferred prestige rather than extensive powers over ecclesias-
tical provinces. Certainly the most clearly defined aspect of these offices was
their relationship with the papacy. The papal grant of the pallium, the narrow
band of cloth worn by archbishops around the neck as the characteristic cer-
emonial garment of their office, symbolised their dependence on the Roman
church. The Gregorian papacy attached great importance to this symbol and
the accompanying profession of faith and oath of obedience to the apostolic
see.[533] In the opinion of twelfth-century canonists, the grant of the pallium
demonstrated that archiepiscopal jurisdiction derived directly from the pa-
pacy. Master Gratian quoted a text that required the metropolitan to receive
the pallium from the pope not later than three months after his consecration on

---

[528] Hugh the Chanter, *History of the Church of York*, p. 212: Bishop John of Glasgow lobbied in Rome
       for metropolitan status for St Andrews (1126). Cf. John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, p. 72:
       the papal legate John Paparo, cardinal priest of S. Lorenzo in Damaso undertook to secure the
       metropolitan dignity (1151).

[529] Somerville (1982), pp. 49–50, 81. Cf. Alexander III, JL 10598, *Councils* II/1, ed. Haddan and Stubbs
       II, pp. 233–4. Alexander III, JL 12766, *PL* 200, cols. 1093D–1094B (1173/7), confirmed the 'antiquas
       libertates et rationabiles consuetudines' of St Andrews, 'tam in consecrandis episcopis quam in
       aliis'. See also Giraldus Cambrensis, *De iure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae* II, *Opera* III, p. 170, on the
       metropolitan status of St Andrews.

[530] Giraldus Cambrensis, *De rebus a se gestis* I.8, II.3, *Opera* I, pp. 40, 48–9; Giraldus, *De Giraldo
       archidiacono Menevensi, Opera* I, pp. 397–9; Giraldus, *De invectionibus* II.1, IV.2, *Opera* III, pp.
       50, 77; Giraldus, *De iure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae, prologus*, II, *Opera* III, pp. 109, 155, 163,
       165–76, 178–85. See Richter (1967–8) and (1971); Foreville (1974), p. 286; Richter (1976), pp.
       130–2.

[531] Shaw (1946); Richter (1976), pp. 83–127; C. R. Cheney (1976), pp. 134–41.

[532] Fletcher (1984), pp. 196–212. See also above pp. 404–5.   [533]   See above p. 324.

pain of losing his office.[534] Hugh of St Victor, similarly recording the obligation 'to expound his faith and receive the pallium within three months of his consecration', used the symbol to define the office: 'The archbishop commands the bishops and wears the pallium.'[535] The term coined for this symbol by Urban II in 1092, 'the fullness of the episcopal office', was adopted by his successors to underline the fact that the prelate's performance of his office depended exclusively on the possession of the pallium.[536] 'In the pallium is granted the fullness of the episcopal office', explained Paschal II, 'since, according to the custom of the apostolic see and of the whole church, metropolitans are not permitted to consecrate bishops or to celebrate a synod before they have received the pallium.'[537] The later twelfth-century curia came increasingly to regard conferring the pallium on an archbishop as equivalent to papal confirmation of his election.[538] Master Huguccio was the first to state explicitly that 'an archbishop is understood to be confirmed by the pope because he receives the pallium from him'.[539] Innocent III restated these interpretations of the grant of the pallium – 'without the pallium a metropolitan cannot exercise the fullness of the episcopal office'; the metropolitan obtains 'from the apostolic see confirmation together with the pallium'[540] – and added his own prohibition. Until he received the pallium the elect could not use the title *archiepiscopus*.[541]

Innocent III envisaged the metropolitan's role as mainly liturgical in character: 'to convoke a council, to consecrate chrism, to dedicate basilicas, to ordain

---

[534] Gratian, *Decretum* D. 100 c.1.

[535] Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei* III. 14, *PL* 176, col. 430D: 'intra tres menses consecrationis suae ad fidem suam exponendam et pallium suscipiendum'. 'Archiepiscopus enim episcopis praeest et pallium portat'.

[536] Urban II, JL 5464, *PL* 151, cols. 345D: 'pallium . . . plenitudinem videlicet pontificalis officii'. See Benson (1968), p. 171.

[537] Paschal II, JL 6570, *PL* 163, col. 428C: 'In pallio, frater, plenitudo conceditur pontificalis officii, quia, iuxta sedis apostolicae et totius Ecclesiae consuetudinem, ante acceptum pallium metropolitanis minime licet aut episcopos consecrare aut synodum celebrare'.

[538] For example, two successive archbishops of Braga received from the pope, together with their pallia, letters commanding their suffragans 'quod recognoscerent eum tamquam proprium archiepiscopum habentem pallium et confirmationem a Romana ecclesia': Erdmann (1927), p. 384.

[539] Huguccio was discussing whether the election of a metropolitan was confirmed by the pope only in the cases of metropolitans subject to the Roman church *nullo medio* or whether the papal confirmation was a general requirement. Huguccio, *Summa* ad. D.63 c.9, quoted in Benson (1968), p. 184 n. 42: 'Dici potest quod hoc non observatur hodie nisi in illis qui nullo medio subsunt apostolico . . . nisi forte dicatur quod quilibet archiepiscopus hoc ipso intelligitur confirmari a papa, quia quilibet ab eo recipit pallium'.

[540] Innocent III, *Registrum* x. 134 (Potthast 3191): 'sine pallio metropolitanus non possit plenitudinem pontificalis officii exercere'. *Decretales Gregorii IX* 1.6.28 (Innocent III): 'confirmationem cum pallio a sede apostolica obtinere'.

[541] *Decretales* 1.8.3 (Innocent III). See Benson (1968), pp. 171, 174–5, taking issue with Hacke (1898), pp. 115–16.

clergy and to consecrate bishops'.[542] Gratian, attributing to the metropolitan 'the care and responsibility for a whole province', placed the emphasis on his authority over his suffragans.[543] The bishops of his province could not be appointed without his consent and he must consecrate them (or delegate another prelate to perform the consecration).[544] He received from his suffragans a profession of faith and an oath of 'subjection and reverence and obedience'.[545] The metropolitan provided a court of appeal for clergy who did not receive satisfaction in the bishop's court and he heard the grievances of clergy against their bishops.[546] The right to summon a provincial synod and there to preside over the suffragan bishops was regarded by late eleventh-century metropolitans as central to their authority.[547] Gratian furnished canons that required the metropolitan to convene a synod 'at least once a year'[548] and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) found it necessary to reiterate this rule. 'Metropolitans are not to omit to celebrate provincial councils every year with their suffragans in which they are diligently to discuss the correction of excesses and the reform of morals, especially among the clergy.'[549]

The metropolitan's obligation to carry out a visitation of the dioceses of his province was underlined in papal decretals towards the end of our period, but it is not known how punctiliously metropolitans performed this duty.[550] The negative effects of visitations figured prominently in the legislation of the general councils of our period. The Third Lateran Council (1179) deplored the fact that, because of the exorbitant demands of visiting archbishops and their entourages, 'subjects are compelled to sell their church ornaments and food

---

[542] *Decretales* I.6.28 (Innocent III): 'convocare concilium, conficere chrisma, dedicare basilicas, ordinare clericos et episcopos consecrare'.

[543] Gratian, *Decretum* C.9 q.3 c.2: 'episcopum metropolitanum . . . curam et sollicitudinem totius provinciae suscipisse'. See Caron (1954).

[544] Gratian, *Decretum* D.51 c.5; D.64 c. 1,5,6. These rights were emphasised by *Decretales Gregorii IX* I.6.11 (Alexander III) and *Decretales* I.6.32, 1.7.1–2, 1.31.10 (Innocent III). See Benson (1968), pp. 36–7, 61, 107, 379.

[545] Waitz (1878): 'subiectionem et reverentiam et obedientiam'. Cf. *Decretales Gregorii IX* I.33.13.

[546] Gratian, *Decretum* C.2 q.1 c.11; C.10 q.3 c.6. Cf. *Decretales* I.30.1 (Alexander III).

[547] Archbishop Manasses I of Rheims, letter to Gregory VII (1078), Bouquet XIV, pp. 611–12. For a similar view in Mainz see Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum* VII, *MGH Libelli* I, p. 602. Cf. Archbishop Liemar of Bremen, letter (1074) in *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV*, pp. 33–5.

[548] Gratian, *Decretum* D.18 c.7: 'saltem semel in anno', on pain of severe penalties. Cf. *Decretum* D.18 c.2–4.

[549] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 6: 'metropolitani singulis annis cum suis suffraganeis provincialia non omittant concilia celebrare, in quibus de corrigendis excessibus et moribus reformandis, praesertim in clero, diligentem habeant . . . tractatum'.

[550] *Decretales Gregorii IX* III.39.14 (Lucius III); *Decretales* III.39.22 (Innocent III). For metropolitan visitations in England in the late twelfth century see C. R. Cheney (1956), pp. 139–40.

intended to last for a long time is eaten up in an hour'. The council ruled that archbishops visiting their suffragans must limit their entourage to forty or fifty; they must not demand sumptuous banquets and they must not bring with them hunting dogs and falcons, turning the visitation into a hunting party.[551] The Fourth Lateran Council identified a worse abuse: the cost of food and shelter might be demanded from a diocese by a prelate who had no intention of visiting it. The council ruled that 'procurations must not be taken without making a visitation'.[552]

This concern with limiting the pretensions of metropolitans is a recurrent theme in the late twelfth century. It is apparent, for example, in the complaints of Bishop Maurice de Sully of Paris against the claim of the archbishop of Sens to judge cases of first instance in the diocese of Paris.[553] Such a claim violated the principle recorded by Gratian, that 'the metropolitan may take no action in his suffragan's diocese without the latter's advice'.[554] Celestine III considered it necessary to reiterate this principle.[555] Innocent III, who urged metropolitans to use their right of visitation to correct wrongs and enforce the canons in their provinces,[556] also intervened on behalf of the suffragans of Rouen against their metropolitan.[557] Innocent was responsible for the ruling that the metropolitan might not lift an excommunication pronounced by his suffragan.[558] The metropolitan's authority was everywhere eroded by the expansion of the activities of papal legates, who claimed precedence over them. Councils in the provinces were increasingly convoked not by metropolitans but by legates. An early example is the conciliar activity of Gerard of Angoulême, about whom Paschal II wrote to the archbishops of Bordeaux, Bourges, Tours, Auch and Dol that they should 'not disdain to hold synods with him when they

---

[551] Concilium Lateranense III, c. 4, p. 213: 'pro huiusmodi causa interdum ornamenta ecclesiastica subditi compellantur exponere et longi temporis victum brevis hora consumat'. Bishops visiting their dioceses were limited to entourages of twenty or thirty, archdeacons to five or seven, deans to two.

[552] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 33, p. 250: 'De procurationibus non accipiendis sine visitatione'. For *procuratio canonica* see above p. 406.

[553] Gaudemet (1979), p. 32.

[554] Gratian, *Decretum* C.9 q.3 c.8: 'In suffraganei parrochia nihil absque eius consilio metropolitanus agat'.

[555] *Decretales Gregorii* IX v.31.8 (Celestine III): 'in dioecesi sui suffraganei absque ipsius assensu non debeat aliquid contra constitutiones canonicas attentare [metropolitanus]'. The *Glossa* on *Decretales* v.31.8 explains: 'Archiepiscopus omnium episcoporum suae diocesis est ordinarius sed non subditorum'.

[556] Innocent III, *Registrum* VI.65 (Potthast 1908). See the view of Augustin Fliche in Fliche, Thouzellier and Azais (1950), p. 151, that in Innocent III's pontificate 'metropolitans recovered part of the prerogatives of which Gregory VII had robbed them'.

[557] *Decretales Gregorii* IX 1.31.8 (Innocent III).   [558] *Decretales* 1.31.11 (Innocent III).

are needed for the good of the church', since he had been granted 'the power to convoke [synods] in [the pope's] place'.[559] In Normandy provincial synods were regularly convened by the metropolitan during the archiepiscopate of William Bona Anima (1079–1110); thereafter the infrequent synodal activity in the province was mainly directed by legates.[560] In England in the years between Archbishop Anselm's council of 1108 and Archbishop Richard's council of 1175 reforming legislation was issued by councils held either by cardinal legates like John of Crema and Alberic of Ostia or by English prelates enjoying legatine status, like Archbishop William of Canterbury, Henry of Winchester and Theobald of Canterbury.[561] When Archbishops William and Theobald were appointed to papal legations in their own provinces, the functions of the metropolitan were assimilated into those of the papal legate.

Nothing contributed more to the erosion of metropolitan authority in western Christendom during the twelfth century than this institution of 'archbishop legates'. They were prelates who exercised the rights of metropolitans in their own provinces, but did so by virtue of papal legations, so that their character of metropolitan was eclipsed by the superior role of the legate. Popes regularly conferred the office of legate on metropolitans who had proved their loyalty to the papacy and whose churches traditionally claimed local preeminence: for example, Mainz, Trier, Salzburg, Lyons, Vienne and Bourges.[562] The pope's motives in making such appointments are summarised in the letter of Urban III concerning Archbishop Henry of Bourges.

We know him to be a prudent and discreet man, noble in his conduct and his birth, showing so great a devotion to us and the Roman church that his merits demand that he be loved the more readily and honoured the more attentively by the apostolic see. Hence . . . we have committed to him the office of the apostolic legation so that in our place he may correct what must be corrected, plant what he knows should be planted, root out vices and strive to sow the seeds of virtues.[563]

---

[559] Paschal II, JL 6262, *PL* 163, col. 241C: 'Nec sollicitudinem, fratres charissimi, pigeat, cum necessitas ecclesiasticae utilitatis exegerit, synodales cum eo celebrare conventus: quos nimirum convocandi, nos ei vice nostra potestatem indulsimus'. See Claude (1968).

[560] Foreville (1976).

[561] *Councils and Synods* I/2, 733–41, 743–9, 750–4, 826–8, 965–92. See C. R. Cheney (1956), pp. 141–2; Brett (1975), pp. 75–91; Barlow (1979), pp. 120–31.

[562] Ruess (1912), pp. 215–24; Janssen (1961), pp. 157, 159, 171–5. The 'archbishop-legate' of the twelfth century was a less powerful figure than the 'permanent legate' of the Gregorian papacy like Archbishop Hugh of Lyons (see above p. 326). 'Archbishop-legates' were, however, more active and influential than the honorific *legati nati* of the thirteenth century: see Ruess (1912), pp. 103–15.

[563] Urban III, JL 15834, *PL* 202, col. 1475D: 'quem sicut virum providum, discretum et moribus et genere nobilem circa nos et Romanam ecclesiam tantam devotionem novimus exhibere, ut eius meritis suffragantibus ab apostolica sede propensius diligi debeat et attentius honorari. Inde . . . apostolicae commisimus legationis officium exsequendum, ut in ea vice nostra corrigat corrigenda, plantet quae noverit esse plantando et vitiis exstirpatis germina studeat propagare virtutum'.

This frequent assimilation of the metropolitan into the legatine office was part of the process of bringing not only the metropolitans themselves but also their suffragans into closer contact with the Roman church. During the years 1073–1216 the papacy was keenly aware that ecclesiastical reform would succeed only if it enjoyed the cooperation of the episcopate. The bishops were the key figures in Christian society, 'the pastors and rulers of the Lord's flock' on whom depended 'the order and careful management of the Christian religion'.[564] They were 'the pillars in the Church of God', to whom the clergy and people of their dioceses owed 'obedience in all things, as to a father and ruler'.[565] The ideal of papal–episcopal relations in our period was expressed by Gregory VII when he urged Bishop Otto of Constance to eradicate simony and clerical marriage in his diocese 'so that you may obtain from God the reward of a good shepherd and so that the Roman church may be able to rejoice over you as a most dear brother and zealous fellow-worker'.[566] Gregory VII attributed the episcopate's unwillingness to cooperate with him to the fact that there were 'scarcely any bishops whose election and way of life [were] lawful and who [ruled] the Christian people out of love and not out of worldly ambition'.[567] The poor quality of the episcopate was the consequence of secular control over episcopal appointments. The remedy was to free episcopal elections from secular influence.[568]

The procedure of appointment that the Gregorian papacy intended to replace is outlined by Ebo of Michelsberg, the biographer of Bishop Otto of Bamberg, describing for an audience of *c.* 1155 the obsolete customs of the year 1101. 'At that time the church did not have free election ... Whenever any bishop went the way of all flesh, immediately the chief persons of that city would send the pastoral ring and staff to the palace and thus the authority of the king, after taking counsel with courtiers, would confer a suitable prelate on the bereaved people.'[569] The Gregorian legislation of 1080 concerning episcopal

---

[564] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II. 73, p. 234: 'christianae religionis ordo et provida dispensatio ab his permaxime post Deum pendet, qui Dominici gregis pastores et rectores esse videntur'.

[565] Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes* 19, p. 52: 'in aecclesia Dei columpnae esse debuerunt'. Gregory VII, *Registrum* IV.4, p. 301: 'ei ut patri et rectori per omnia oboedientiam exhibeatis'.

[566] Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes* 8, p. 18: 'quatinus boni pastoris meritum apud Deum valeas obtinere et Romana ecclesia de te sicut de karissimo fratre et studioso cooperatore debeat gaudere'.

[567] Gregory VII, *Registrum* II.49, p. 189: 'vix legales episcopos introitu et vita, qui christianum populum Christi amore et non seculari ambitione regant, invenio'. For episcopal opposition to Gregory VII see Robinson (1978).

[568] See above p. 299.

[569] Ebo of Michelsberg, *Vita Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis* I.7, p. 827: 'Eo tempore siquidem aecclesia liberam electionem non habebat ... Sed cum quilibet antistes viam universae carnis ingressus fuisset, mox capitanei civitatis illius anulum et virgam pastoralem ad palatium transmittebant; sicque regia auctoritas, communicato cum aulicis consilio, orbatae plebei idoneum constituebat praesulem'. Cf. *Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis*, c. 5, MGH SS XI p. 65, describing the appointment of Conrad of Salzburg in 1106. On the death of a bishop, the provost, dean and master of the cathedral

elections excluded the secular ruler and replaced him with the metropolitan
or the pope. An episcopal election was to be initiated by 'the bishop who is
sent as visitor by the apostolic or the metropolitan see' and carried out by the
clergy and people of the diocese 'with the consent of the apostolic see or their
metropolitan'.[570] This ideal of free and canonical election, excluding all secular
influence, had still to be fully achieved at the end of our period.

The concordat of Worms of 1122, the settlement of the investiture question
in the imperial territories, like the settlements in France and England in 1107,
was a compromise that fell short of Gregorian demands for free episcopal
elections. The secular rulers conceded the principle of 'canonical election and
free consecration'. They renounced the right to invest bishops with the insignia
of their office, but they could continue to demand homage from bishops
elect. The papacy had also to permit 'election in the king's chapel' (*electio in
capella regis*) and to concede that the bishop elect should receive the *regalia*
from the secular ruler before seeking consecration from the metropolitan.[571]
The imperial settlement of 1122 was interpreted in sharply contrasting ways
by different observers. The reformer Gerhoh of Reichersberg saw it as an
important stage towards the Gregorian ideal of free elections. In 1142/3 he
rejoiced that, as a consequence of royal piety or laxity, 'the concession that was
made [in 1122] . . . has now partly been cancelled out, since (thanks be to God!)
the elections of bishops take place outside the king's presence. We hope that
in the near future that evil [of homage] may be removed from our midst.'[572]
By 1156, however, Bishop Otto of Freising was signalling the determination of
his nephew, Emperor Frederick I, to exploit to the full the rights accorded him
by the concordat of 1122. In the case of a disputed election 'it belongs to the
monarch's authority to appoint the bishop whom he wishes, on the advice of
his magnates, and no [bishop] elect is to be consecrated before he receives the
regalia from his hands by the sceptre'.[573]

---

school, with the more prominent citizens, brought the episcopal insignia to the imperial court.
After a conference with the bishops, chancellor and chaplains 'quos in palatio circa imperatorem
invenerint', an election was made 'secundum beneplacitum et favorem imperatoris'.

[570] Gregory VII, *Registrum* VII.14a, c. 6, p. 482: 'instantia visitatoris episcopi, qui ei ab apostolica
vel metropolitana sede directus est, clerus et populus . . . apostolicae sedis vel metropolitani sui
consensu pastorem sibi . . . eligat'. See above p. 324.

[571] Concordat of Worms, *MGH Constitutiones* I, p. 159: 'concedo . . . canonicam fieri electionem et
liberam consecrationem'. See Benson (1968), pp. 229–30; Classen (1973), pp. 413–22. For the set-
tlement in France see Becker (1955), pp. 99–104, 143–51. For the settlement in England see Cantor
(1958), pp. 253–73; Southern (1963), pp. 150–80. See also above p. 298.

[572] Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Libellus de ordine donorum Sancti Spiritus*, p. 280: 'illa . . . concessio partim
est annichilata, quia Deo gratias absque regis presentia fiunt electiones episcoporum. In proximo
futurum speramus, ut et illud malum de medio fiat'.

[573] Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I* II.6, *MGH SRG* XLVI, pp. 106–7: 'si forte in eligendo partes fiant,
principis arbitrii esse, episcopum quem voluerit ex primatum suorum consilio ponere, nec aliquem
electum ante consecrandum, quam ab ipsius manu regalia per sceptrum suscipiat'.

The long *distinctio* which Gratian devoted to the question of lay influence on episcopal elections begins with authorities contending that 'laymen must in no way intrude themselves on the election' and ends with authorities claiming that 'in the election of bishops the consent of the prince is desired'. His harmonising conclusion is that 'laymen must not be excluded from the election and princes must not be set aside in appointments to churches. Although the people are commanded to be present at the election, however, they are not summoned there to make the election but rather to give their consent to the election. For election belongs to the priests and the role of the faithful people is humbly to consent.'[574] The twelfth-century papacy was inconsistent in its attitude towards royal involvement in episcopal elections. Innocent II ignored the requirement of the concordat of Worms in 1132 and consecrated an archbishop of Trier who had not received the *regalia* from the king. In 1139–40 he intervened to initiate the election of an archbishop of Rheims, anticipating the French king's concession of the customary 'permission to elect' (*licentia eligendi*) to the electors in Rheims.[575] Eugenius III, however, assumed that King Louis VII could initiate an episcopal election by means of the *licentia eligendi* and could give his confirmation to the elect.[576] Alexander III, requested to intervene in the disputed election in Châlons-sur-Marne (1163), replied that he could not reach a decision without knowing the wishes of the king.[577] Reminding the electors of Bremen in 1171–2 that 'laymen must not be admitted to the election', Alexander added that 'the favour and the consent of the prince is needed in the election of a bishop'.[578] He instructed the English bishops that an episcopal election should be unanimous, that the candidate should be 'honourable, literate and suitable' and that the king's consent should be obtained before the election.[579] Innocent III sent a similar message to his legate in England in 1213, after the resolution of his dispute with King John. Vacant bishoprics were to be filled, after requesting the king's consent, with 'suitable persons who are not

---

[574] Gratian, *Decretum* D.63 (titulum): 'Laici vero nullo modo se debent inserere electioni.' *Ibid.*, D.63 c.25 (titulum): 'In electione episcoporum principis desideratur assensus'. *Ibid.*, D.63 *dictum ante* c.26: 'laicos non excludendos esse ab electione neque principes esse reiciendos ab ordinatione ecclesiarum. Sed quos populus iubetur electioni interesse, non precipitur advocari ad electionem faciendam sed ad consensum electione adhibendum. Sacerdotum enim est electio et fidelis populi est humiliter consentire'. See Benson (1968), pp. 28– 34; Chodorow (1972), pp. 187–210; Gaudemet (1974), pp. 476–7.

[575] Hauck (1952), pp. 149–52; Pacaut (1957), p. 36.

[576] Eugenius III, JL 8891, *PL* 180, cols. 1122D–1123C. See Pacaut (1957), p. 37.

[577] Alexander III, JL 10910, *PL* 200, cols. 250D–251B. See Pacaut (1957), p. 102.

[578] Alexander III, JL 12089, *PL* 200, col. 1270D: 'quod licet electionem pontificis favor principis debeat assensusque requiri, ad electionem tamen laici admitti non debent'.

[579] *Compilatio secunda* 1.3.1 (Alexander III) in *Corpus iuris canonici*, II, p. 67: 'regis impetrato assensu in personam honestam, litteratam et idoneam unanimiter conveniatis'. Cf. Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum* I, p., 367, on the advice of the cardinal priests Albert and Theoduin, Alexander III's legates in England, to the electors to vacant sees in 1173.

only distinguished by their life and learning but also faithful to the king and useful to the kingdom, capable of giving counsel and help'.[580]

In the course of the twelfth century the role of electors in episcopal elections came to be monopolised by the cathedral chapters. 'Canonical election' for the Gregorian reformers meant election by the clergy and people of the diocese, with the proviso (drawn from a decretal of Celestine I) that 'the people must be instructed, not followed'.[581] The summary of Gregorian reforming doctrine in the First Lateran Council (1123) attempted nothing more specific on the subject of episcopal elections than the injunction: 'No one is to be consecrated as a bishop unless he has been canonically elected.'[582] The earliest attempt to fix the membership of the electoral body was that of the Second Lateran Council (1139). 'On the deaths of bishops . . . on pain of anathema we forbid the canons of the episcopal see to exclude religious men from the election of bishops; but a worthy and suitable person is to be elected bishop on their advice.'[583] This legislation suggests that by the pontificate of Innocent II the cathedral chapters had in many places assumed the sole right to elect their bishop. Pope and council desired wider involvement in the election and compelled the canons to seek the advice of *religiosi viri*.

Commentators on the conciliar canon of 1139 differed in their understanding of this term 'religious men'. Gerhoh of Reichersberg (followed by many recent commentators) believed the term to refer to the monks, abbots and regular canons of the diocese.[584] If this interpretation is correct, the formulation of the conciliar canon in 1139 may have been influenced by the disputed episcopal election in Langres of the previous year. (In 1138 a split in the cathedral chapter of Langres between factions led respectively by the dean and the archdeacon resulted in an appeal to Rome. Innocent II referred the matter to Bernard of Clairvaux, whose abbey was in the diocese of Langres. After Bernard himself refused the designation, his prior, Godfrey, was elected bishop.[585]) Master Gratian, however, supposed *religiosi viri* to mean the clergy of the diocese outside the cathedral chapter: 'the election of bishops is not to be made by the

---

[580] Innocent III, *Registrum* XVI.138 (Potthast 4840): 'personis idoneis . . . quae non solum vita et scientia sint praeclarae, verum etiam regi fideles et regno utiles, nec non ad consilium et auxilium efficaces, assensu regio requisito'. See C. R. Cheney (1976) pp. 159–61.

[581] Celestine I, *Epistola* 5, c. 3, JL 371, *PL* 50, col. 437A: 'docendus est populus, non sequendus'. Gratian, *Decretum* D.62 c.2 glossed this text: 'populus non debet preire, sed subsequi'.

[582] Concilium Lateranense I, c. 3, p. 190: 'Nullus in episcopum nisi canonice electum consecret'.

[583] Concilium Lateranense II, c. 28, p. 203: 'Obeuntibus sane episcopis . . . sub anathemate interdicimus, ne canonici de sede episcopali ab electione episcoporum excludant religiosos viros, sed eorum consilio honesta et idonea persona in episcopum eligatur'.

[584] Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Commentarius in Psalmum LXIV, MGH Libelli* III, p. 452: 'Nam spiritales et religiosi viri habent consulere, canonici eligere, populus petere, honorati assentire'. See, for example, Hauck (1952), p. 161 n. 2; Ganzer (1971), pp. 31–3; Crosby (1994), pp. 381–2.

[585] Constable (1957).

canons only, but also by the other religious clerks, as was established in the general council of Pope Innocent held in Rome.'[586] Among the later twelfth-century canonists, Huguccio was most specific about the composition of the electoral body. 'Who are meant by "religious men", the clergy of the city? Not all of them, but the abbots, priors, provosts and the other worthy prelates. Indeed, if there is a chaplain there of great knowledge and religion and probity, I believe that he must be summoned [to participate in the election] but I believe that the monks and regular canons subject [to superiors] are not to be summoned.'[587]

It is clear, however, that in many parts of Europe the conciliar canon of 1139 had failed to undermine the claim of the cathedral canons to be the sole electors of the bishop. On the occasion of the episcopal vacancy in Paris in 1142, for example, Archbishop Hugh of Sens assumed that the canons alone should elect a successor.[588] In a privilege for Bourges (1146) Eugenius III ruled that no one was to be appointed to the archbishopric 'except one whom the canons of the church have seen fit to elect canonically, according to God and the laws of the apostolic see'.[589] A similar right of election was guaranteed to the cathedral chapters of Toulouse (1162), Auxerre (1167) and Meaux (1175).[590] In 1176 Alexander III assured the canons of the newly founded bishopric of Alessandria: 'You and your successors are to have free election of your bishops, as the canons of the cathedral churches subordinate to the church of Milan are known to have.'[591] Innocent III similarly ruled that 'according to the canonical laws, elections of bishops are known regularly to belong to the clergy of the cathedral churches'.[592] The guarantees that Innocent obtained from the

---

[586] Gratian, *Decretum* D.63 *dictum post* c.34: 'episcoporum electio non a canonicis tantum [facienda], sed etiam ab aliis religiosis clericis, sicut in generali sinodo Innocentii papae Romae habita constitutum est'.

[587] Huguccio, *Summa* ad D.63 c.35, quoted by Ganzer (1971), p. 50: 'Sed quos vocat religiosos viros? Clericos civitatis? Non omnes, sed abbates, priores, prepositos et reliquos honestos prelatos. Immo et si quis capellanus est ibi magne scientie et religionis et honestatis, crederem illum esse vocandum, sed monachos et regulares canonicos subditos non credo esse vocandos'.

[588] Hugh, archbishop of Sens, *Epistola* 1, Bouquet xv, p. 711AC. See Pacaut (1957), p. 48.

[589] Eugenius III, JL 8883, *PL* 180, col. 1120A: 'nisi quem praefatae ecclesiae canonici secundum Deum et statuta sedis apostolicae canonice providerint eligendum'.

[590] Alexander III, JL 10739, *PL* 200, col. 157C; JL 11369, col. 466B; JL 12518, col. 1033BC. See Pacaut (1957), p. 48.

[591] Alexander III, JL 12685, *PL* 200, col. 1064B: 'vos et successores vestri de episcopis vestris electionem liberam habeatis, sicut canonici ecclesiarum cathedralium quae Mediolanensis ecclesiae subiacent, habere noscuntur'. In the privilege JL 12089, col. 1270D, for the church of Bremen (1171/2), Alexander referred to the involvement in the archiepiscopal election of *religiosi viri*, as in the conciliar canon of 1139, but added: 'Nec tamen ita hoc dicimus, quod religiosorum contradictio canonicorum obviaret'. See Ganzer (1972), p. 168.

[592] *Decretales Gregorii IX* II.12.3 (Innocent III): 'secundum statuta canonica electiones episcoporum ad cathedralium ecclesiarum clericos regulariter pertinere noscantur', unless another group of clergy

---

candidates for the German kingship in 1209 and 1213 included the promise to leave episcopal elections to the cathedral chapters.[593] Finally, the legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) ignored the *religiosi viri* of the conciliar canon of 1139 and ruled that 'he is to be elected . . . to whom all or the greater and sounder part of the chapter consents'.[594]

In making the cathedral chapters the guarantors of 'free and canonical elections' the papacy strengthened these influential and ambitious corporations. The chapters were already developing into 'an ecclesiastical aristocracy', 'one of the wealthiest and most robust of medieval communities'.[595] In the twelfth century, chapters began to think of themselves as immortal corporations and to contrast their perpetuity with the ephemeral character of their bishop's power. 'We are the church: we shall remain after the bishop has gone' observed John of Greenford, dean of Chichester (and future bishop) in 1157.[596] Already at the beginning of the twelfth century the precocious chapter of St Paul's cathedral received recognition from Bishop Maurice of London of its customs, statutes, rights of election and disposal of its manors.[597] The officers of the chapter, notably the dean (who was in many cases the principal officer), were often elected by the chapter and took an oath in the presence of their colleagues to execute their duties faithfully.[598] It was during our period that cathedral chapters acquired their own property through the separation of the bishop's *mensa* from that of the chapter.[599] These acquisitions converted the chapters into temporal lords with feudal obligations. (In 1207, for example, the chapter of Rheims acknowledged that it owed military service to King Philip II of France, in common with the other chapters of the kingdom.[600]) Meanwhile bishops were regularly reminded that they were *procuratores* rather than proprietors of their churches' possessions.[601] The archdeacon Giraldus Cambrensis

---

could prove a long-standing customary right to be involved in the election. See Ganzer (1971), pp. 75–6.

[593] Otto IV, *Promissio Romanae ecclesiae facta* (1209), *MGH Constitutiones* II, p. 37; Frederick II, *Privilegia regia* (1213), *ibid.*, p. 58.

[594] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 24, p. 246: 'ut is . . . eligatur, in quem omnes vel maior vel sanior pars capituli consentit'.

[595] Desprairies (1922), pp. 7–8. Cf. Lemarignier, Gaudemet and Mollat (1962), pp. 191–2.

[596] *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, p. 172: 'Nos itaque ecclesia sumus, episcopo decedente permanebimus'. See Crosby (1994), pp. 268–9.

[597] *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London*, no. 59. See Crosby (1994), pp. 318–19.

[598] In many Italian and southern French cathedrals the archdeacon was the principal capitular official; in Germany and occasionally in Italy and southern France the chief official was the provost; in Milan and Cremona he was the archpriest. See Gaudemet (1979), pp. 188–9.

[599] For an explanation of the term *mensa* see Crosby (1994), pp. 10–29.

[600] Lemarignier, Gaudemet and Mollat (1962), p. 190.

[601] E.g. *Decretales Gregorii IX* III.24.2 (Alexander III): 'cum episcopus . . . ecclesiasticarum rerum sit procurator, non dominus'. See Gilchrist (1969), p. 158.

emphasised that bishops 'must use ecclesiastical property not as their own but as something entrusted to them'.[602]

According to Gratian's *Decretum,* a bishop required the cooperation of the chapter when granting benefices and privileges, alienating his church's property and judging cases.[603] This opinion was reflected in the statements of Alexander III concerning the bishop's need for the counsel and consent of the chapter. He ruled that episcopal privileges conferred without the approval of the canons were invalid and that the chapter might repudiate a legal settlement made by the bishop without its consent.[604] Not surprisingly most bishops decided to cooperate with their chapters, choosing their household officials, their chancellor and chaplains from among the cathedral canons.[605] The factor that contributed most to the cohesion and self-confidence of cathedral chapters was their right to undertake various governmental functions during an episcopal vacancy (*sede vacante*). Lucius III ordered cathedral chapters to assume responsibility for judging heretics during vacancies.[606] His decretal gave substance to the speculation among canonists about the devolution of the bishop's rights on his death. Rufinus and Alanus Anglicus, for example, believed that the chapter should then exercise all his jurisdiction except that deriving from episcopal consecration.[607] It was clear from Gratian's *Decretum* that the clergy could act for their bishop if he was rendered incapable by sickness or old age.[608] Huguccio boldly argued that a similar quasi-vacancy existed in cases in which a bishop was negligent in the performance of his duties.[609]

The papacy urged bishops to seek the counsel of the cathedral canons and ordered chapters to perform the essential functions of bishops *sede vacante*, but there was no conscious intention of undermining episcopal authority. The principles stated in the First Lateran Council (1123) remained central to papal reforming strategy. 'No archdeacon or archpriest or provost or dean is to confer the cure of souls or the prebends of a church on anyone without the judgement or consent of the bishop. Indeed, as is laid down in the holy

[602] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Speculum duorum*, p. 228: 'cum rebus ecclesiasticis tanquam commendatis non tanquam propriis uti deberent'.

[603] Gratian, *Decretum* D.24 c.6; C.10 q.2 c.1; C.12 q.2 c.53; C.15 q.7 c.6. The Decretist Rufinus, *Summa* ad D.23 c.1, p. 52, summed up Gratian's findings in the statement that a bishop should exercise his administrative and judicial powers 'non sine presentia capituli sui'. See Tierney (1955), pp. 108-9; Benson (1968), pp. 58–9, 84–5.

[604] *Decretales Gregorii IX* III.10.1 and 6; 1.36.3; cf. III.10.3–4 (Alexander III). See Tierney (1955), pp. 108–9, 120; M. G. Cheney (1980), p. 364.

[605] C. R. Cheney (1950), pp. 138–9 and (1956), pp. 119–20; Morey and Brooke (1965), p. 211.

[606] Lucius III, JL 15109, *PL* 201, col. 1298B.

[607] Rufinus, *Summa* ad D.23 c.1, p. 52; Alan Anglicus, *Glossa ad Compilationem I* v.6.11, quoted by Tierney (1955), p. 129. See Benson (1968), p. 106.

[608] Gratian, *Decretum* C.7 q.1 c.4.

[609] Huguccio, *Summa* ad D.65 c.9, quoted by Tierney (1955), p. 130.

canons, the cure of souls and the management of ecclesiastical property is to remain in the judgement and the power of the bishop.' Bishops were to be treated 'as masters and pastors of God' by all their diocesans.[610] This status must not be diminished because they remained the papacy's best hope of improving the quality of the clergy. Gregory VII thought of bishops as papal agents who ought to 'force the decree of the Roman church most zealously on all the clergy'.[611] Alexander III considered that a bishop's principal duty was to 'ordain and appoint such ministers over the churches committed to [his] government, who know how to manage the Lord's house worthily and can rule over the people of God usefully and do good'. He was best placed to protect the church from the spectre of hereditary priesthood.[612] Innocent III considered that a bishop 'ought to enlighten all men by his teaching and example like a lamp on a lamp-stand (Matthew 5:15)'.[613] He was to raise the standards of his clergy by publicising papal legislation through his synods and by preaching.[614] The decree *Ad abolendam* of Lucius III[615] and the canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) against heretics gave the episcopate responsibility for the detection and judgement of the enemies of the Christian faith. A bishop who neglected this duty was to be deposed and 'another, suitable man put in his place, who will and can confound heretical wickedness'.[616] In this, as in all the crises of the church, the bishop was the indispensable guardian of the faithful and executor of papal commands.

---

[610] Concilium Lateranense I, c.4, p. 190: 'Nullus omnino archidiaconus aut archipresbyter sive praepositus vel decanus animarum curam vel praebendas ecclesiae sine iudicio vel consensu episcopi alicui tribuat. Immo sicut sanctis canonibus constitutum est, animarum cura et rerum ecclesiasticarum dispensatio in episcopi iudicio et potestate permaneat.' *Ibid.*, c. 16, p. 193: 'uti magistris et ecclesiae Dei pastoribus' (on the obedience of monks towards their diocesans: see above p. 331).

[611] Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes* 6, p. 14: 'ut . . . hoc Romanae ecclesiae decretum universo clero studiosius inculcares'.

[612] Alexander III, JL 12254, *PL* 200, col. 930B: 'ut tales ecclesiis tuae gubernationi commissis ministros ordines et praeponas, qui et domui Domini sciant decenter disponere et populo Dei praesse possint utiliter et prodesse'.

[613] Innocent III, *Registrum* 1.70 (Potthast 550): 'tanquam lucerna super candelabrum, doctrina et exemplo omnibus debeat elucere'.

[614] C. R. Cheney (1956), pp. 142–4; Guillemain (1977), pp. 126–9.

[615] Lucius III, JL 15109, *PL* 201, col. 1299B.

[616] Concilium Lateranense IV, c. 3, p. 235: 'in loco ipsius alter substituatur idoneus, qui velit et possit haereticam confundere pravitatem'.

THOUGHT AND LEARNING

David Luscombe

A wealth of material illustrating beliefs and thought, magic and ritual, knowledge of this world and other worlds – imagined or believed – survives in painting, sculpture, chronicles, sermons, penitentials, collections of miracles, synodal legislation, saints' lives, romance literature and elsewhere, but this chapter is principally devoted to the more structured, formal patterns of teaching and learning which no doubt impinged less closely on the lives of the many than of the few. The levels of knowledge (practical and theoretical, profane and religious) attained and enjoyed by people who did not undergo a formal education outside of their family circle is not directly our subject here, but laypeople and clerics did not live in wholly separate worlds, and literacy among the laity, especially the nobility, should not be underestimated. Many laypeople received at least an elementary education and sometimes continued with study.[1] Important as the role of the better-educated clergy was in promoting literacy and especially the reading and writing of Latin, laymen who might be ignorant of Latin and unable to write manually were sometimes able to read their own vernacular language. Peter Valdès, a layman, asked two clerics in the late twelfth century to translate the gospels into the vernacular so that he could read them and share them with his community of lay people in Lyons.[2] Nobles, whether able or unable themselves to read or write, were served by clerics or monks who acted as scribes and tutors, lawyers and administrators. Firm distinctions between elite, clerical, literate, Christian, normative culture and popular, lay, uneducated outlooks and practices have been largely softened by recent scholars.[3] Although the clergy enjoyed advantages, and lay teachers are rarely identifiable, there was no clerical monopoly of literacy or formal learning. There is evidence in northern and still more in southern Europe that

---

[1] Bezzola (1958–63); Riché (1981), x, pp. 175–82.

[2] Stephen of Bourbon, *De septem donis spiritus sancti,* ed. Lecoy de la Marche, pp. 291 ff., cited by Grundmann (1958), p. 56.

[3] On differing kinds of 'textual communities' see Stock (1983). Also Green (1994).

parents were able to teach children how to write their own names and to read the psalter or to send them to school. The future historian and monk of St Evroul in Normandy started school in the town of Shrewsbury in 1080 when he was five years old: 'there Siward, an illustrious priest, taught me my letters for five years, and instructed me in psalms and hymns and other necessary knowledge'.[4] Sometimes children were sent to school at a monastery or parish church without an intention that they would become monks or clerics themselves. Peter Abelard's father, a knight and landowner, was literate and intended that all his sons should be educated before entering the profession of arms.[5] Eventually, *c.* 1118, Abelard became a monk. Education turned many other pupils towards the religious or the clerical life. Guibert of Nogent (1053–1121), who was sent by his mother to a grammarian who was employed as a teacher in a nearby castle, became a monk.[6] John of Salisbury (*c.* 1115–80), who later became a priest, was taught the psalms (and introduced to magic) by his parish priest.[7] But a poem, written around 1080 in or near Rheims and which surveys the seven liberal arts in an allegorical fashion, links training in the art of rhetoric with a civilised lay life:

> The art teaches this: it holds laws and kings in moderation,
> It reforms knights, who bear the weapons of Mars,
> Teaching them the doctrine of vigilance and lordly ways.
> It regulates the manners of youths and instructs the mature,
> Holding them to the civil laws in constant moderation.
> It is ornamented and beautified by the four virtues.[8]

The monk Philip of Harvengt near Mons, who ended his life as abbot of Bonne Espérance (d. 1183), wrote critically about clerics who knew Latin less well than some knights could read, speak and write it.[9] He wrote to the young count Philip of Flanders *c.* 1168 that many noble laymen were educated enough to profit morally, militarily and mentally from reading the writings of pagan

---

[4] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* XIII.45, ed. and trans. Chibnall, VI, p. 553.

[5] Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Monfrin, lines 13–17.

[6] Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua* 1.4, ed. Bourgin, pp. 12–13.

[7] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* II.28, ed. Webb, I, p. 164.

[8] Anon., *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae* (1941), p. 50, lines 136–41:

> Ars docet hoc, leges tenet in moderamine reges,
> Milicie gentem Mavorcia tela gerentem
> Doctrina vigili studioque reformat herili,
> Hoc iuvenum mores struit, instituit seniores,
> Perpete mensura cohibens civilia iura.
> Quatuor ornatur virtutibus et decoratur.
> (My translation owes much to Jaeger (1994), pp. 132–3.)

[9] *De institutione clericorum* IV.110, *PL* 203, col. 816.

and Christian authors.[10] Examples of well-educated rulers such as Henry the Liberal, count of Champagne (1152–81), do occur.[11] John of Salisbury quoted a contemporary saying that an uneducated king is a crowned ass.[12] The English philosopher and scientist Adelard of Bath (*c.* 1080–*c.* 1152) spent his life tutoring the sons of nobles; his French contemporary William of Conches (*c.* 1080–1154) was tutor to the future king of England, Henry II. Schools were maintained in parish churches, canonries, abbeys, castle chapels and halls, the principal ones in the eleventh century being episcopal or cathedral schools. In them personal discipline – grooming and elegance – as well as the arts and religion were taught; character was formed as well as the mind. Ruotger wrote in his *Life* of Bruno, brother of the emperor Otto I, archbishop of Cologne from 953 and 'archduke' in Lorraine from 954, that Bruno had regarded an education in the liberal arts as a vital qualification for rulership of the church and of the kingdom. Goodness and eloquence were needed.[13] This ideal survived into the eleventh century and beyond. In Liège, for example, where both a monastic and a cathedral school flourished, the monk Reiner, in a portrait he wrote (*c.* 1180) of Bishop Eraclius of Liège (d. 971), expressed the links between teaching the rudiments of letters, further divine and human studies, and fine manners adorning a handsome physique.[14] Archbishop Anno II of Cologne was said by his biographer, a monk of Siegburg (1104/5), to have focused when he was a student on 'whatever would train his mind and ennoble his manners'.[15]

The schools and their supporting institutions owed much to lay patrons, at least before the 'Gregorian reform'. When King Henry II founded Bamberg in 1007 he established a school and endowed it with a library comprising books from his own library and that of Duke John of Naples and books copied on commission at the abbey of Reichenau. In Italy the lay aristocracy was perceived to be more cultivated than its counterpart in Germany, and this provoked an appeal to the emperor Henry III on the part of Wipo, his chaplain and a poet well informed about Carolingian traditions, to improve the education of the sons of the nobility in letters and in law, and not to restrict such instruction to intending clerics.[16] Cathedral schools such as at

---

[10] *Letter* 16 (*PL* 203, col. 149A; cf. 149B) and *Letter* 17 (*PL* 203, cols. 151–6).
[11] Benton (1961).   [12] John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* IV. 6, ed. Webb I, p. 254.
[13] Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis*.   [14] *Reineri Vita Eraclii*, c. 1, *MGH SS* XX, p. 562, lines 9ff.
[15] *Vita Annonis*, p. 468, lines 8–10.
[16] *Tetralogus*, *MGH SRG* LXI, p. 81:

> Tunc fac edictum per terram Teutonicorum
> Quilibet ut dives sibi natos instruat omnes
> Litterulis, legemque suam persuadeat illis . . .
> Hoc servant Itali post prima crepundia cuncti
> Et sudare scholis mandatur tota juventus.

Liège provided a pathway to employment in the imperial court chapel in the reign of Henry III (1028–56), and the court itself also provided opportunities for the study of letters along with manners. Henry III gathered men of learning around him to serve as his chaplains and bishops and to put their training in rhetoric to use in writing letters, charters and diplomas.[17] Anno II, archbishop of Cologne from 1056 to 1075, had been a master in Bamberg before joining the royal chapel. Another chaplain, Altmann, the future bishop of Passau (1065–91), was previously a master in Paderborn. The well-rewarded career of Benno, bishop of Osnabrück from 1068 to 1088, offers another example: educated in the monastery of Reichenau and at the cathedral school of Strasbourg, Benno (who was also technically gifted) taught in the cathedral school of Speyer before becoming a royal chaplain. He went on to be *scholasticus* and later provost of the chapter of Hildesheim as well as archpriest in the royal chapel at Goslar before finally becoming a bishop.[18]

The links between courts and schools did not disappear; educated men with practical abilities continued to bring distinction to royal and princely courts in Germany and elsewhere. But in the wake of the 'Gregorian reform' it is probably true in a broad sense that a bishop had more independence in organising the schools in his diocese, in both his cathedral and his parishes, and that in future centuries schools and universities served wider interests than those of secular rulers. The papacy and church councils legislated to ensure that cathedrals and other great churches provided a master who gave instruction free of charge to clerics.[19] However, in some centres such as Paris the growing numbers of masters and of students (many of whom came from afar) weakened episcopal control of teaching and learning during the twelfth century.[20]

In cathedrals the task of teaching was to become the responsibility of a canon who was designated the *scholasticus*. But the bishop could be closely involved. We have a particularly clear impression of the relationship between bishop Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028) and the pupils who shared his company and his friendship and who were to advance far in the service of the church. They included Berengar of Tours, who was a student at Chartres between 1020 and 1025 and who had great success when he became the *scholasticus* at Tours after 1040, being much praised as a teacher of Scripture. When, after Fulbert's death, another of his former pupils, Adelman of Liège, wrote a letter to Berengar of Tours – 'my fellow suckling and foster brother' – to persuade him to abandon his views about the nature of the eucharist, he appealed to him to be faithful to the saintly memory and sound doctrine of Fulbert, and he recalled the

[17] Fleckenstein (1966).   [18] Keller (1977), p. 142.
[19] See above, ch. 11, pp. 409–10 and 433–4 (1078, 1179).
[20] Classen (1983), ch. 1: 'Die hohen Schulen und die Gesellschaft im 12. Jahrhundert'.

'sweetest and most pleasant life of studies we spent together . . . at the academy of Chartres under our venerable Socrates', and especially 'the intimate evening colloquies he used to hold with us in the little garden next to the chapel in the city' and 'the tears which broke forth and interrupted his lecture whenever the force of divine ardour overflowed within him'. Fulbert had beseeched them to tread a straight path, 'adhering with utmost observance to the footsteps of the holy fathers, lest we should be detoured, turning aside into some new and false path and succumbing to the snares of scandal'. Adelman held the memory of Fulbert in awe and reverence.[21] He was not unique: Fulbert was remarkable for the range of his interests, which extended beyond the classics and the Bible to astronomy, music and medicine, and his works spread to other libraries and schools in distant parts of western and central Europe, but he never aroused the slightest suspicion about the integrity of his life, thought or faith.[22]

Monasteries and nunneries took in young boys and girls and educated them. Some of the boys were oblates (*oblati* or *nutriti*) and destined to be professed as monks of the abbey. Peter the Venerable (1092/4–1156), abbot of Cluny from 1122, was an oblate of his parents to the monastery of Sauxillanges; at the age of fifteen he agreed to stay and to make his monastic profession. Orderic Vitalis, at the end of his long *Ecclesiastical History* which he completed in 1141, movingly recalled being sent by his father to the abbey of St Evroul in Normandy where in 1086 he became an oblate at the age of eleven.[23] Others, male and female, accepted a monastic or convent schooling in the liberal arts and in the study of the Bible, learning to read, to write, to compute and to pray, and left after some years to take up another way of life.

Monasteries were often centres of learning in a wider sense. Monastic *scriptoria* produced the books that were required for the community, that is, for the performance of the liturgy and the practice of the *lectio divina* together with books that allowed for a wider cultural experience. Histories, lives of saints, aids to understanding Hebrew names and Greek words, commentaries on the Bible, the writings of the Fathers, these were part of the wide range of materials that might be provided. There was also a place for practical works with which to compute time, study the heavens, plants and birds, make things such as coloured glass, and practise medicine; encyclopedias and anthologies (*florilegia*) were also desirable.[24] Monastic libraries varied in their capacities but the best, as at Canterbury,[25] were well stocked, and the best *scriptoria* achieved formidably high standards of productivity and of calligraphic and

---

[21] Adelman, ed. Huygens (1967).   [22] See *Le Temps de Fulbert* (1996).

[23] XIII.45, ed. and trans. Chibnall, VI, pp. 552–5.

[24] See, for example, Chibnall's introduction to Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History*, I, pp. 11–23 on the library and the school of the abbey of St Evroul in Normandy in the time of Orderic.

[25] Ker (1964), pp. 29–47; Gameson (1998).

pictorial quality.[26] Some monasteries were also able to play a key role in the discovery and dissemination of rare but important books. One of the most important centres for the dissemination of the 'new Aristotle' in the third quarter of the twelfth century was the Benedictine abbey of Mont St Michel in Brittany.[27]

The greatest name in philosophy in the eleventh century is Anselm, monk of Bec from 1060. Anselm had been drawn to the monastery school at Bec in 1059 by Lanfranc's reputation as a teacher there of both the Bible and logic and rhetoric. In 1063 he succeeded Lanfranc as prior, becoming abbot in 1078, and in 1093 he succeeded Lanfranc again as archbishop of Canterbury (d. 1109). Anselm wrote a series of works of philosophical theology including *On Truth, On Free Will*, *On the Fall of the Devil* and *Why the God-Man?* In 1098 at the council of Bari he defended against Greeks the Latin church's doctrine of the procession of the Spirit from both the Father and the Son. In his *Monologion*, which arose from experiences shared with his fellow monks of praying and talking about God, Anselm meditated on God's ultimately incomprehensible being. In the *Proslogion* Anselm sought the reason for God's existence, not to refute scepticism but to increase understanding of 'that than which nothing greater can be thought' and which, therefore, cannot not exist, for if it did not exist, it would not be 'that than which nothing greater can be thought'. Lanfranc, now archbishop of Canterbury, objected to the *Monologion* on the ground that Anselm had failed to present the relevant authorities. It was a hallmark of Anselm's writing that, keeping his reading in the background, he pursued enquiry with independent discourse and reasoning within the bounds of faith.

Anselm enjoyed a Europe-wide reputation. Among monastic historical writers the same claim may be made for Anselm's contemporary, Sigebert of Gembloux (*c.* 1030–1112), whose richly informed chronicle of world history from the year 381 long remained widely consulted.[28] Less widely known in their own time were numerous other monastic historians and hagiographers, including such outstanding writers as Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury and Otto of Freising. William of Malmesbury, as well as being a historian, made a significant contribution to discovering, copying and conserving older texts and probably saved the correspondence of Anselm of Canterbury from loss.[29] Principally and typically, monastic writers, male and female, produced works of piety, including saints' lives, prayers, accounts of visions and collections of relics and miracles.[30] Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, in 1141–3 commissioned the first Latin translation of the Qur'an.[31]

---

[26] Ker (1960).   [27] Minio-Paluello (1952), pp. 291–5.

[28] *Chronica* or *Chronographia*, ed. Bethmann.   [29] Southern (1990), pp. 400–3.

[30] Leclercq *et al.* (1968), chs. v–viii.   [31] Kritzeck (1964).

None the less, some monastic approaches to scholarship faced criticism. Rupert of Deutz (1075–1129), for example, a monk at St Lawrence in Liège until 1116–17 and abbot of Deutz from 1120, wrote voluminously and his works were widely available, especially in Germany. They offered in particular symbolical interpretations of biblical texts. But Rupert's freedom, even looseness, of expression won him critics within the cathedral schools (Anselm of Laon), within Cistercian abbeys (William of St Thierry) and within Premonstratensian canonries (Norbert of Prémontré).[32] Storm clouds were to appear on other occasions also, as we shall see. Monastic schools were to decline in the face of the rise of towns and of town schools and later of universities to which monks themselves were to go to study.[33] Monastic reforms from the mid-eleventh century led to the exclusion from some (but not all) monastic schools of children who were not oblates.[34] A further factor in their decline was the growing practice in the twelfth century of restricting entry to a monastic novitiate to those at least in their later teens or already adult and having experience of work or study elsewhere. At the same time, the best monastic scholarship, thought and writing were not overshadowed by work emanating from other centres: witness the writings of the Cistercian saint Bernard of Clairvaux (*c.* 1090–1153) or of the visionary nun Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179). Scholars of the stature of Thierry of Chartres (d. 1155)[35] and Alan of Lille (*c.* 1120–1203)[36] ended their days as Cistercian monks.

In both monastic and non-monastic schools the curriculum of study had a common foundation. Central to monastic studies were the Bible and supporting aids including the liberal arts and biblical glosses, and these were approached in a context of regular prayer, meditation and liturgical practice. Non-monastic schools were less enclosed centres than their monastic counterparts, but cathedral schools were still closely identified with their cathedral chapter in the eleventh century, with the maintenance of liturgy in the cathedral, with the teaching of young boys to read and sing for this purpose, and with the education of future priests. The religious ethos of the cathedral school of Chartres is particularly apparent in the account which John of Salisbury wrote in his *Metalogicon* 1.24 of the teaching given by Bernard of Chartres. Bernard was a humanist scholar deeply attached to secular literature and philosophy but he was also a canon of the cathedral of Chartres. John wrote:

Bernard of Chartres, the greatest fount of literary learning in Gaul in modern times . . . would point out, in reading the authors, what was simple and according to rule. He would also explain grammatical figures, rhetorical embellishment, and sophistical quibbling, as well as the relation of given passages to other studies . . . The

---

[32] Van Engen (1983); Southern (2001), ch. 1.   [33] Delhaye (1947).
[34] Riché (1981), XXI, pp. 695–6.   [35] Vernet (1955) and (1998).   [36] D'Alverny (1965).

evening class, known as the declination, was so full of grammatical instruction that if anyone were to follow it for an entire year, provided he were not a dullard, he would become thoroughly familiar with the method of speaking and writing . . . Since however it is not right to allow any school or day to be without religion, subject matter was presented in the manner of a sermon to foster faith and morals, and to inspire those present to do good. The declination or rather philosophical discourse ended with pious prayers; the souls of the faithful departed were commended to their Redeemer, and the sixth Penitential Psalm and the Lord's Prayer were devoutly said. Bernard would also indicate which poets and orators were to serve as models for the boys to imitate in their preparations for lessons. He told them to imitate these and he showed them ways of combining expressions and of writing elegant conclusions . . . he diligently and insistently demanded from each, as a daily task, something committed to memory . . . As nothing is more useful in teaching than to accustom pupils to practise the art they are studying Bernard made his pupils practise composition of prose and poetry every day, and also to engage in discussion for nothing better serves to foster good speaking and the acquisition of knowledge than such conferences, which also have a good influence on behaviour, provided that charity moderates enthusiasm and that humility is not lost when making progress with letters.[37]

John's account shows the links between the teaching of reading and composition and progress in both faith and morals. The classes are intimate and personal relationships are close; the learning culture is literary, supported by an atmosphere of prayer.

The growth in numbers of students in urban schools during the eleventh and twelfth centuries reflects the rise of career expectations, but explaining the changing fortunes of particular schools is difficult, as is the task of explaining why or to what extent some schools gained a particularly high reputation in certain subjects.[38] The origins of many schools were lost in legends but by the twelfth century some of the episcopal schools in northern France had established a more than regional importance. The schools of Orléans, Tours, Paris and Laon were sufficiently well known to attract the attention of Landulf Junior in his *History of Milan*.[39] Some schools in Italy, both north and south, as well as in the south of France also attracted scholars from afar; it was probably at Montpellier, for example, that Giordano de Clivi, a future archbishop of Milan, taught rhetoric,[40] and Salerno attracted scholars from north of the Alps. In some schools the charisma of a successful master – Anselm of Laon, for example (d. 1117) – held together in a small town a large body of students, including students from England and Germany; Anselm's school gained a pre-eminent reputation for the teaching of the sacred page. Successful growth points in and

[37] My translation is from the Latin text ed. Hall, pp. 52–4.
[38] Southern (1970), ch. 5, (1982) and (1995).
[39] Landulf, ed. Castiglioni, cc. 14, 22, 25 and 29 (pp. 26, 29, 30 and 32).
[40] Mor (1968); Böries (1970).

after the twelfth century were not predictable. Laon declined after Anselm's death. In England the future lay with Oxford and Cambridge, not Lincoln and Northampton. One may point to the celebrity of Peter Abelard or later of Peter Lombard to account for the growth of Paris as a centre for the study of dialectic and theology, and to the celebrity of Irnerius, the Four Doctors and Gratian to account for the rise of Bologna as a centre of legal excellence. But teachers rarely stayed long in a school before seeking a position elsewhere. Schools needed patrons – royalty and princes, their officials and counsellors, bishops, cathedral deans and chancellors – as well as a student body. The willingness of students to move far from home and to non-traditional centres of study – Paris in place of Laon or Liège, or Bologna in place of Pavia, or Oxford – is a considerable factor. In the case of Paris, which has been particularly well studied,[41] the lifting of restrictions inherited from old ecclesiastical bodies, the amelioration under King Louis VI of cramped working conditions, to be followed under King Philip Augustus by an expansion of the city area and the building of new city walls, made possible a dramatic growth in the number of students, a growth that was not possible on the isolated hill of Laon. In the case of Oxford[42] as in that of Bologna, geographical location, the presence of religious houses and the growth of the work of law courts made possible the stabilisation and continuing development of educational work, including theology and legal pupillage following an education in the liberal arts. Salerno too enjoyed a favourable geographical position at the junction of eastern and western influences, and its capture and sack by the emperor Henry VI in 1194 clearly account for the end of its success as a centre for medical and scientific learning.

When John of Salisbury arrived in Paris in 1136 he found a large number of masters each offering a particular brand of instruction in the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* or in theology, and each quite independent of the cathedral chapter, although some were attached to some other church such as that of Ste Geneviève.[43] These teachers were sometimes freelance and as a student John moved easily, rapidly and voluntarily between them for almost twelve years. His most admired master, Peter Abelard, had once taught in the city, at Ste Geneviève nearby and also privately. John too gave private tuition, to relieve his poverty. Particularly important in Paris at the beginning of the twelfth century was the foundation in 1108 of the canonry and school of St Victor. William of Champeaux, the abbey's founder, had previously been archdeacon of Paris. Peter Abelard mocked William's resignation from his post which he associated

---

[41] Bautier (1981).

[42] Thomson (1999) takes a more positive view of teaching at Oxford in the twelfth century than Southern (1984) and (1976).

[43] John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, 11.10.

with William's failure as a philosopher and with a spurious religious conversion which was intended to procure ecclesiastical preferment.[44] But Hildebert of Lavardin wrote to William to congratulate him on his conversion: 'What you have done until now did not savour of philosophy. You merely gathered knowledge from philosophers; you did not bring forth in yourself beauty of manners (*morum venustatem*). But now, like honey drawn from the comb, you begin to draw forth the pattern of good conduct (*bene agendi formula*).'[45] St Victor, which was situated close to the city on the left bank of the river Seine, enjoyed royal patronage and attracted many noble students and novices. The abbey's school was open to outsiders during the teaching career of Hugh of St Victor (*c.* 1096–1141), who was the most influential among a number of very able masters among the canons. One of Hugh's pupils, Lawrence of Westminster, who acted as the *rapporteur* of his lectures on divinity, wrote that 'the moral excellence of his life (*vitae honestas*) decorates his learning and the saintliness of this teacher illuminates his polished doctrine with beauty of manners (*morum venustate*)'.[46] The life led by the canons attracted Godfrey of St Victor to enter the community around 1155 or 1160; he called it 'faultless' because it was inspired by the 'great examples' of the Fathers of the church. The canons were 'instructed in the salutary ways of the sacred rule, equal in manner of living, dressing, eating and gesturing' (*vita, votis, habitu, victu, gestu pares*). Godfrey was drawn into the community by the 'master's elegance, the assessor's probity, the minister's skill' and he studied ethics and theology.[47]

The seven liberal arts continued to provide, as in centuries past, the framework for initiation into the basic arts and sciences, a framework that included in the *trivium* the three arts of language (grammar, dialectic and rhetoric) and in the *quadrivium* four arts of number (arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy). This framework was the common basis of education in all schools. As a curriculum it was breached in its detail but honoured in its outlines which were enshrined in the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boethius (*c.* 480–524) and in well-known encyclopedic works, especially book 2 of the *Institutiones* of Cassiodorus (*c.* 490–*c.* 583), the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (d. 636), especially books 1–3 and *The Wedding of Mercury and Philology* by Martianus Capella, the African rhetorician (*De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii et de septem artibus liberalibus*, written between 410 and 439).

The teaching of grammar was the foundation of the teaching of Latin language and literature. The basic textbooks were the two *Artes* of Donatus (fourth century) and the *Institutiones grammaticae* of Priscian (early sixth century). Grammar was a basis also of moral instruction, for the study of literature could

---

[44] Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Monfrin, lines 70–6.
[45] Hildebert, *Epistolae*, PL 171, col. 141A.   [46] Bischoff (1935), p. 250.
[47] Godfrey of St Victor, *Fons philosophiae*, 741–84.

assist the formation of good character.[48] To philosophers, grammar also opened the door to study of the philosophy of language and to study of the links between language and reality. Bernard of Chartres, in the account of his teaching given by John of Salisbury,[49] illustrated the link between being and grammar with the image of a white virgin: the noun 'whiteness' (*albedo*) expresses the form of the colour without a participating subject (pure virginity); the verb 'is white' (*albet*) expresses this form being active within a subject (the woman is, for the moment at least, a virgin); the adjective 'white' (*album*) expresses the same form joined to the subject. Nouns, verbs and adjectives demonstrate the nature of being.

Rhetoric was learned from classical literature and underpinned all writing of Latin. The principal manuals of rhetoric were Cicero's *De inventione*, Victorinus' *Commentary* on Pseudo-Cicero's *Auctor ad Herennium* (a fourth-century compendium made by Julius Victor) and the fourth book of Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*. In the twelfth century study also began to be made of Quintilian's *Institutiones oratoriae*. Cicero in *De inventione* I.xxx.49 and the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* II.xxix.46 had discussed the role of examples (*exempla*) in the embellishment of style (*exornatio*); lawyers and historical writers were among those who followed such textbook advice. The study of different styles of writing suited to differing purposes and occasions assisted all varieties of writing from poetry to letters, from histories to charters. Not uncommonly, for example, a historical writer might turn to a page in Sallust to describe a more recent battle or to put speeches into the mouths of medieval military leaders.[50] The exercise of choice in style is especially a feature of the letters written in this period in the course of diplomacy or the pursuit of friendship or vendetta or just to send a message.[51] So finely written were so many letters that their qualities are not the least of reasons why many were collected or arranged by recipients, friends and other readers. Striking examples are the collections made of the letters of Anselm of Canterbury,[52] John of Salisbury,[53] Peter of Blois[54] and Thomas Becket[55] – to mention just four examples from England.

From the late tenth century the study of dialectic had ceased to be largely restricted to the *Categoriae decem*, a work written in the circle of Themistius (d. 388) but thought to be by St Augustine. It was enlarged by the growing availability of the translations and commentaries of Boethius on the *logica vetus* which included the *Isagoge* or *Introduction* of Porphyry and the *Categories*

---

[48] Delhaye (1958); also (1947), (1948) and (1949).   [49] *Metalogicon* III.2.

[50] Smalley (1974), ch. 2: 'The Roman legacy'.   [51] Constable (1976); Van Engen (1997).

[52] Ed. Schmitt. On the making of this collection see Southern (1990), pp. 394–403, 458–81.

[53] Millor and Brooke 1979; Millor, Butler and Brooke (1986).

[54] *PL* 207; ed. Revill.   [55] Ed. Duggan; see also Duggan (1980).

and *Perihermenias* or *On Interpretation* of Aristotle. The study of these works played an important role in the shaping of medieval philosophy even before Peter Abelard wrote the commentaries for which he won an unparalleled reputation.[56] From the early twelfth century, translations of further works of logic written by Aristotle also became available: the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, the *Topics* and the *Sophistici elenchi*, and these became known as the *logica nova*.

The *quadrivium* formed a practical introduction to the use of numbers. Boethius provided guides to the study of arithmetic, geometry and music. Numerical ratios provide the link between mathematics and musical concords. Boethius also made his readers aware of a higher sense of purpose, the correspondence between the liberal arts and the order of the universe: the study of natural science, medicine and astronomy has a numerical basis. The *quadrivium* was also, like the *trivium*, placed in the service of ethics: proportion and harmony in music, in cosmology and physics, have a role to play in the perfection of creatures. In the prologue to his *De institutione musica* Boethius described music as an experience that improves or harms human behaviour. At its best music can promote moderation and virtue and bring the body and the soul into a harmonious relationship.[57] But human music is joined to the music of the *cosmos* and of the celestial spheres, man being made in the likeness of the universal soul. 'Music', wrote Bernard of Chartres in his collection of glosses on the *Timaeus*, 'is given to man not for his delight but for the composition of his manners'; rulers may be brought to mildness by its solace, for 'by the harmony of its tones [music] teaches harmony of conduct'.[58] Hugh of St Victor also followed Boethius: 'The unheard music of the universe consists of the harmonies sounded by the crystal spheres, by the movements of the planets and the changing seasons. Between this and the instrumental music heard through the human ear there is the unheard "music of man" (*musica humana*) which brings into harmony man's body and soul.'[59] Adelard of Bath, likewise, took seriously the ethical role of music which can move the soul and is an important feature of philosophy: the ancients believed that the human soul descended from the stars into the body where it continues to recognise the 'symphony' heard in the heavens. Music brings into harmony the human soul and the soul of the universe.[60]

Knowledge of classical astronomy became more fully available through contacts with Arabs during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Adelard of Bath (*c.* 1080–*c.* 1155) made translations of the astronomical tables of al-Khwarizmi, of the *Abbreviation* of the *Introduction to Astrology* of Abu Ma'shar, of the

---

[56] Marenbon (1993) and (1997a), pp. 21–49.   [57] Ed. Friedlein, pp. 179–86.
[58] Bernard of Chartres, ed. Dutton, pp. 217, 147; cf. p. 178.
[59] *Didascalicon* ii.12, trans. Taylor, pp. 69–70.
[60] *De eodem et diverso*, ed. and trans. Burnett, p. 53.

Centiloquium attributed to Ptolemy and of the *Book of Talismans* of Thabit ibn Qurra.[61] The new astronomy was taken up in the south of France before the end of the 1130s. The arrival of scientific astrology from the Arabs, based on their detailed observations of the heavens, increased the numbers of mathematical tables that enabled astronomers and astrologers both to calculate the positions of heavenly bodies and to draw up horoscopes. Hermann of Carinthia and Peter Alfonsi saw the potential in the study of the planets and stars and in the application of astronomical calculations to astrology, physics, medicine and biology. Predictive astrology provoked debate in the west (as in Islam) on the relationship between the influences worked by the stars and planets on terrestrial life and the role of human free will. Raymond of Marseilles pioneered in the Latin world the study of the heavens as a means of explaining human events as well as natural phenomena; Peter Abelard objected to astrological predictions of human behaviour.[62]

For many allegory and symbolism offered ways of understanding nature and the meaning of life. As Chenu once wrote, schoolmen and mystics, exegetes and scientists, lay people and religious, writers and artists, commonly believed that the world of nature and of history had a significance which was mysterious, moral, symbolical and allegorical.[63] 'Every creature in this world', wrote Master Alan of Lille, 'is like a book, a picture, a mirror held before us.'[64] But the growth of natural philosophy, partly spurred by discoveries in astronomy and medicine, put into question views of the physical world and the universe as a vast collection of objects and histories with hidden religious meanings. Cosmology and cosmogony aroused much interest. The opening of the Book of Genesis provides two accounts of God's creation of the world and of man; the available fragment of Calcidius' fourth-century Latin translation and commentary on part of Plato's *Timaeus* provided another account of the formation of the world. St Augustine of Hippo had found resemblances between Platonic and Christian teaching; some twelfth-century scholars pursued these with unprecedented enthusiasm. The 'souls of the stars' and angels, the soul of the universe and the Holy Spirit, were explained by some – controversially – to demonstrate the harmony of reason and faith, of philosophy and theology. William of Conches and Peter Abelard read the *Timaeus* in the light of an assumption that its true meaning was sometimes hidden beneath a wrapping or envelope (*integumentum, involucrum*). Once the covering is lifted it is possible to find similarities between pagan and Christian outlooks, Plato's world soul being seen as the Holy Spirit who broods over the waters and who brings warmth and life to the earth.[65] A scientific orientation to the study of

[61] Burnett (1987).   [62] D'Alverny (1975).   [63] Chenu (1957), p. 161.

[64] *Rhythmus*, *PL* 210, col. 579.

[65] Jeauneau (1973), pp. 125–92 and (1984); Gregory (1955) and (1974), pp. 38–64.

nature is also to be found in the glosses on the *Timaeus* which William wrote[66] and in the commentary which Thierry of Chartres wrote on the *Hexameron*.[67] William focused on the *littera* to compensate for previous commentaries which were too attached to the *sententia*; Thierry pushed to the side moral and allegorical readings in favour of literal, historical and physical understanding. Abelard, in a deeply religious *Commentary* on the *Hexameron*, focused also on the physical evolution of the universe from forces contained within the four elements of fire, air, earth and water.[68] The study of the creative force of nature (*vis naturae*) also stirred imaginations. The *Cosmographia*, written by Bernard Silvestris (*c.* 1085–1178) and dedicated to Thierry of Chartres,[69] offers an account of creation in which personified Ideas play their roles: *Natura* asks *Noys* (Providence) to endow matter with form. *Noys* separates four elements, establishes nine orders of angels in heaven and places stars in the firmament. To complete the beauty of the creation of animals and plants and the physical universe, *Noys* sends *Natura* to *Urania* who leads *Natura* to God who assents to the creation of human beings. Bernard's exotic amalgam of elements taken from classical mythology as well as from Christian writing – pagan deities are allegorised; matter is not created; angels exist; the waters above the firmament are separated from those below it (Genesis 1:6–7) – stirs questions about the acceptance of pagan themes within a biblical framework. He was not unique: the *Plaint of Nature* (*Planctus naturae*) and the *Anticlaudianus* were written by Alan of Lille (*c.* 1120–1203) in imitation of Bernard's work.[70] In the latter Alan describes how *Natura* seeks to create a perfect human being: she summons the virtues and they agree to visit the heavens, travelling in a chariot, decorated by the seven liberal arts, upwards past the choirs of angels and the Virgin Mary to God's palace where the human soul is created. On returning to the physical world, *Natura* endows the human body with its form. Among the questions bequeathed by these imaginative, learned, ambiguous musings on the formation of the universe and of man was that of whether creation was out of nothing (*ex nihilo*) or was assisted by other forces.

The seven liberal arts were accepted everywhere as the basic framework of learning. A famous series of collections of handbooks of the liberal arts was produced at Chartres from the time of Fulbert (1004 onwards) to that of Thierry who died after 1156.[71] Thierry's collection, the *Heptateuch*, is the most

---

[66] *Glose super Platonem.*
[67] *Tractatus de sex dierum operibus* in *Commentaries*, ed. Häring, pp. 553–75.
[68] *Expositio in Hexameron*, PL 178, cols. 731–84.
[69] *Cosmographia*, ed. Dronke. See also Stock (1972).
[70] *De planctu naturae*, ed. Häring; *Anticlaudianus*, ed. Bossuat.
[71] Van de Vyver (1929).

substantial and displayed the unity of the arts. Faithful to the traditions of Fulbert of Chartres, Gerbert of Rheims and Alcuin of York, Hugh of St Victor, in his *Didascalicon* written towards the end of the 1120s, proclaimed the need to study them all: '[they] so hang together and so depend upon one another in their ideas that if only one of the arts be lacking, all the rest cannot make a man into a philosopher. Therefore those persons seem to me to be in error who, not appreciating the coherence among the arts, select certain of them for study, and leaving the rest untouched, think that they can become perfect in these alone.'[72] But there were differences of opinion and of practice concerning this interdependency as well as concerning the relative interest of particular arts and the selection of the books to be studied.[73] Some masters would have agreed with the presentation by William of Conches, in his *Philosophia*, of an *ordo discendi*, a best sequence in which the arts should be learned. First one should learn eloquence. This requires learning how to write and to pronounce correctly through the art of grammar, then how to prove or falsify what is true or untrue through the art of dialectic, and finally how to embellish words and sentences through the art of rhetoric. Over a century earlier Gerbert of Rheims had also made rhetoric the culmination of the *trivium*.[74] After this, William wrote, one should pass to the study of the *quadrivium* and in the following stages: arithmetic, music, geometry and finally astronomy. Then the study of the Bible may begin.[75] Hugh of St Victor, who noted this sequence, preferred the order grammar–rhetoric–dialectic because dialectic deals with the subtleties of expressions.[76] Some masters showed a preference for particular arts, although it was recognised that it was hardly possible to confine study to one art and exclude others. Peter Helias, renowned as a grammarian, taught rhetoric, not grammar, to the young John of Salisbury. William of Champeaux was teaching rhetoric in Paris when Abelard engaged him in disputes over logic. Peter Abelard wrote, or at least planned to write, works of grammar and rhetoric, but only some of his writings on logic survive today. Thierry of Chartres alleged that his fame in teaching rhetoric caused dialecticians to be hostile to him.[77] The criticism reveals a growing separation between dialectic and rhetoric. Some of the main philosophers of the period – among them Anselm of Bec, Peter Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, even William of Conches – gave little attention to the arts of the *quadrivium*. In his *Dialectica* Abelard candidly admitted complete ignorance of arithmetic,[78] although a story circulated that one *magister Tirricus* secretly rectified this by giving him lessons in mathematics.[79]

---

[72] *Didascalicon* III.4, trans. Taylor, p. 89.   [73] Van de Vyver (1929), pp. 426–52.

[74] Richer, *Historiae* III.46ff (ed. Latouche, II, pp. 54ff).

[75] William of Conches, *De philosophia mundi* IV.41 (*PL* 172, col. 100).

[76] *Epitome in philosophiam*, ed. Baron, pp. 205, 242–4.

[77] Fredborg (1971), pp. 2–3.   [78] *Dialectica*, p. 59.   [79] Luscombe (1969), p. 58.

The liberal arts both evolved and suffered from crises. They evolved and spawned new arts which were subdivisions of the principal seven. They were also frequently in receipt of criticism from different angles, and the *quadrivium* became increasingly neglected. There was a sense of modernity and it was captured in the remark that Bernard of Chartres made to his students, that they were but dwarfs seated on the shoulders of giants but thereby were able to see a little further.[80] 'Human understanding', according to the Philosopher who participated in Abelard's *Collationes* between a Philosopher, a Jew and a Christian, 'increases as the years pass and one age succeeds another.'[81]

In grammar William of Conches attacked Priscian on account of the obscurity of his definitions and his failure to explain the parts of language, that is, the *causae inventionis*.[82] He classified these *causae* himself and Peter Helias developed his scheme in his own *Summa*.[83] The study of syntax, which along with prose, metre and rhyme was a part of the art of grammar, developed in the second part of the twelfth century to the point where the first independent treatises were written about it.[84] Grammar also entered into speculations about theology, for example in the writings of Alan of Lille.[85] New manuals of grammar were written by Papias *c.* 1050, by Theobald of Piacenza, by Osbern of Gloucester and by Huguccio of Pisa at the end of the twelfth century.[86]

Logic likewise evolved to the point where new branches were devised. The modern logic or *logica modernorum* is not to be equated simply with the newly translated and hitherto unknown parts of Aristotle's *Organon* (*logica nova*).[87] A particular development, stimulated by the *Ars disserendi* of Adam of Balsham (Adam du Petit-Pont) was the study of sophisms.[88] New arts were likewise derived from rhetoric: the *ars dictaminis*, the *ars notaria*, the *ars poetriae*, the *ars praedicandi* and the *ars disputationis*.[89] An *ars dictaminis*, an art of writing letters, emerged in Italy during the eleventh century.[90] Its status was strengthened when, around 1070 or 1080, Alberic, a monk of Monte Cassino, in his *Dictaminum radii* and *Breviarium de dictamine*, applied Cicero's teaching on the parts of an oration to the task of composing the different elements which make up a letter and taught this to students.[91] Somewhat later John of Gaeta, who was chancellor in the papal curia from 1089 to 1118, developed the curial style of writing documents and letters in a rhyming prose with cadences. In the twelfth century several treatises were written on the *dictamen*, especially in

---

[80] John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. Hall, III, 4, p. 116, lines 47–50.
[81] *Collationes*, ed. and trans. Marenbon and Orlandi, p. 11.
[82] Hunt (1980), pp. 18–21.   [83] Fredborg (1973).   [84] Hunt (1980), pp. 73–7.
[85] Ziolkowski (1985).   [86] Hunt (1980).   [87] De Rijk (1962–7).   [88] Ed. Minio-Paluello.
[89] Murphy (1974); Kohn (1986); Camargo (1991); Kelly (1991).
[90] Patt (1978).
[91] *Breviarium*, ed. von Rockinger; *Dictaminum radii*, ed. Inguanez and Willard. Cf. Worstbrock (1989).

Italy and at Bologna but also north of the Alps. There was some competition between masters. Adalbert of Bologna, a lay master who wrote the *Praecepta dictaminum*,[92] accused Alberic of being naïf and too rigid.[93] It is no fortuitous coincidence that the twelfth century is a golden age in the writing and exchange of cultivated correspondence. The *ars notaria* was developed towards the end of the twelfth century to meet the practical needs of notaries, and about the same time the *ars poetriae* was given specific definition.[94] Treatises on the art of poetry were written from 1175, the one by Geoffrey of Vinsauf *c*. 1200 being called the *New Poetry* (*Poetria nova*). Neither preaching nor disputation was an innovation at the end of the twelfth century but the appearance of an art for each was new. The *Ars praedicatoria* written by Alan of Lille was followed by hundreds of such textbooks in and after the thirteenth century. The arrival of Aristotle's *Topica* and *Sophistici elenchi* around the middle of the twelfth century facilitated the development of an art of disputation: 'without this book', declared John of Salisbury at the end of a full account of the *Topica*, 'disputation is not an art but a game of chance'.[95]

Whereas the arts of the *trivium* were subdivided and underwent a degree of modernisation and, in the case of dialectic, expansion, the contents of the *quadrivium* were, as we shall shortly see, greatly enlarged by the arrival of newly translated Greek and Arabic texts. In music new treatises were produced by Guido of Arezzo after 1026 (*Micrologus*)[96] and by John of Afflighem before 1121 (*De musica*).[97] But there were also tendencies leading to the disintegration of the *quadrivium*.[98] The teaching of music in church schools as a practical discipline became detached from the teaching of the *quadrivium*. Boethius' approach to the *quadrivium* had been based on arithmetic: all things are composed of number.[99] But even before the arrival of the Latin translation of Aristotle's *Physics* in the second quarter of the twelfth century the considerable extension of knowledge of astronomy and medicine pointed to an increasing emphasis on the study of physics or natural philosophy.

The liberal arts were (in the eyes of many) a part of philosophy and they supported both the study of words and numbers and the practice of the moral life. They were a means of entering upon a vision of the universe of ideas and of things and they offered a gateway to wisdom. Isidore of Seville had defined philosophy as the knowledge of things human and divine joined to the study of living well.[100] One of the most powerful images of philosophy was provided by Boethius in his *Consolation of Philosophy*. Here Philosophy appears in the guise of an awe-inspiring woman, old but energetic, wearing a garment on

---

[92] Ed. Schmale.   [93] Bloch (1972), pp. 587–601.   [94] Faral (1924).
[95] *Metalogicon* III.10, ed. Hall, p. 131.   [96] Ed. Smits van Waesberghe.
[97] Ed. Smits van Waesberghe.   [98] Gagne (1969); Beaujouan (1982).
[99] *De institutione arithmetica* I.2.   [100] *Etymologiae* II.xxiv.1

the hem of which were embroidered the Greek letters *pi* and *theta*. She comes before Boethius as a healer and protector against the forces of evil. She explains the problems of fortune, of human happiness, of evil, of divine providence and human freedom, of the natures and causes of things, of the truth that lies behind appearances, and of the principles of government in society. The work was commented upon by William of Conches;[101] John of Salisbury knew it well;[102] Peter of Compostella extolled the benefits of the figure portrayed by Boethius. Writing between 1140 and 1147, he presented a debate between Flesh and Reason – *Caro* and *Ratio* – under the Boethius-like title *De consolatione rationis*.[103] Adelard of Bath in his work *De eodem et diverso*, written in 1110, brought Philosophy and her seven virgins – the liberal arts – into a debate with Philocosm and her immoral, materialist and hedonist companions; Philosophy claims to be able to liberate the mind from worldly attachments and to lead it to perfection with the aid of the arts of the *trivium* and of the *quadrivium* which Adelard here surveys.[104] Likewise, Conrad of Hirsau in his *Dialogus super auctores* wrote that the arts liberate the mind from worldly ties and lead it to love the things that are eternal.[105] Such outlooks continued to inspire and usually to prevail.

The Stoic division of philosophy into three branches – physics, ethics and logic – was transmitted to the middle ages in the writings of Augustine, Boethius, Isidore, Alcuin and others. John of Salisbury wrote in his *Metalogicon* that ethics was pre-eminent over logic and physics since philosophy is above all a rule of life and a guide on the way to salvation.[106] Physics included both natural philosophy and medicine. Another division of philosophy, derived from Aristotle, was found in the writings of Boethius and Cassiodorus. Philosophy was theoretical and practical, speculative and active. Theoretical philosophy includes physics, mathematics and theology. Practical philosophy consists of ethics, economics and politics. Logic was not included since it was an instrument or technique used in philosophy rather than a part of philosophy as such. William of Conches reproduced this twofold division.[107] On the other hand, Hugh of St Victor wrote: 'In my opinion men of greater discrimination hold that it is not only philosophising which ought to be called philosophy, but also whatever has been established for the sake of philosophising.'[108] Hugh of St Victor accordingly added two more branches, mechanical and logical, and appended twenty-one arts to these four branches. Logic thus becomes part of philosophy and logic comprises grammar, rhetoric and dialectic.[109] Hugh offered encouragement to the study of everything for reasons that are entirely

---

[101] Ed. Jourdain.   [102] Riché (1984), p. 59.   [103] Ed. Soto.   [104] Ed. and trans. Burnett
[105] Ed. Huygens.   [106] *Entheticus*, vv. 279–80, ed. Pepin, p. 145.
[107] *Glose super Platonem*, ed. Jeauneau, pp. 60–1.   [108] *Epitome*, ed. Baron, p. 115.
[109] *Didascalicon* 1.5–11, trans. Taylor, pp. 51–60.

religious: the Fall of man has to be repaired by the recovery of the wisdom which man has lost. Another distinction of the branches of knowledge was into wisdom and eloquence. In his Prologue to the *Heptateuch*, Thierry distinguished understanding and its expression (*intellectus eiusque interpretatio*): the *quadrivium* illuminates understanding; the *trivium* enables it to be communicated reasonably and elegantly.[110] William of Conches believed in the need to cultivate both, although unlike Hugh he did not think that eloquence (which includes logic) was a part of philosophy.[111] John of Salisbury explored this relationship between *sapientia* and *eloquentia*: from the study of letters, and of the ideals of good conduct conveyed in the Scriptures and in the pagan classics, one learns how to live the good life and how to put God above all transient things.[112] A further distinction, often adopted by writers who have traditionally been associated with the cathedral of Chartres, was between the theoretical study of nature and the purely intellectual knowledge of incorporeal being. Boethius had distinguished two kinds of speculation, one concerning *naturalia*, the other *theologica*. Natural speculation is supported by the evidence of nature, theological speculation by *intellectibilitas* alone, that is, the capacity of the human soul to know the divine form without the aid of any *instrumentum*.[113] Although St Augustine of Hippo and others had affirmed that the arts provide a preparation for the study of Scripture and of Christian doctrine and are an aid to its interpretation,[114] and although Boethius had presented the arts of number as four ways leading to wisdom, that is, to theology,[115] and although the arts were widely taught with an ethical focus, there were always streaks of hostile criticism aimed against them and against the study of pagan philosophy. There were tensions between education which was promoted as a training for the ideals of the cloister in the monastic tradition, education as a preparation for the holding of office in a diocese or princely court, and education as a way of escaping provincialism or parochialism and entering upon a wider stage in a lucrative, professional career.[116] Religious scruples repeatedly led critics to claim that a taste for letters or profane knowledge or for the study of pagan philosophy created distractions from the love and service of God and involved the study of false myths and doctrines. Peter Damian (1007–72) quipped that if philosophy was needed to save mankind, Christ would have

---

[110] Jeauneau (1973), pp. 87–91.
[111] 'Commentaires inédits', ed. Jourdain, p. 72; *Glose super Platonem*, ed. Jeauneau p. 62.
[112] *Metalogicon*, esp. 1.21–4.
[113] Cf. Clarembald of Arras, *Tractatus* 11.2–8, ed. Häring, pp. 106–7, 109; also *prologus* 19 and 23 (p. 82); Gilbert of Poitiers, *De trinitate* 1.1.15, 1.2.7, ed. Häring, pp. 46–7.
[114] *De ordine* 11.13.38 (*PL* 32, col. 1013); *De doctrina christiana* 11.31.48 (*PL* 34, cols. 57–8).
[115] *De arithmetica* 1.1 (*PL* 63, col. 1081).
[116] Leclercq (1957), ch. 9: 'La théologie monastique'; Ferruolo (1985), ch. 3.

called philosophers, not fishermen, to be his apostles.[117] Peter opposed Berengar's reasonings on the eucharist and the questionings of dialecticians about the truth of the Virgin Birth. At the end of the eleventh century the growing interest shown by readers in Germany of Plato's *Timaeus* provoked a polemic from Manegold of Lautenbach who insisted that the *Timaeus* is irreconcilable with Christian doctrine.[118] Peter Comestor, the biblical scholar and historian, derided the various branches of philosophy: theoretical philosophy leads to pride; practical philosophy twists the mind; sophistical philosophy kills the soul; only evangelical knowledge offers true wisdom.[119] The relationship between philosophical and theological enquiries was ever in a state of flux. In the writings of Peter Abelard, for example, we find that philosophy sometimes means dialectic and at other times the study of the sacred books which offer true philosophy.[120] For many monks true philosophy was not associated with the reasonings of the gentile writers of pagan antiquity as much as with the monastic life where wisdom was learned and lived in imitation of Christ and where the vanity of the world was put aside. To do this was to live according to reason.[121] However, the emergence of theology as an academic discipline in schools[122] had the effect of weakening this religious sense of philosophy and of routinising the teaching of courses of sentences and of *quaestiones* which led to a clear separation of theology from philosophy as well as of theology from church law. This is not to say that philosophy was not introduced into theology nor that pagan teaching on the virtues and vices was not utilised in Christian moral teaching, but rather that older meanings of *theologia* – Boethius held that *theologia* was part of theoretical philosophy; Abelard used the word only in reference to the study of God and the Trinity – gave way to the sense of theology as knowledge of the entire range of Christian faith and doctrine and as a discipline for which philosophy, if it was to be used at all, might provide an intellectual and technical foundation, although at the price of rousing critics. Walter, a canon of St Victor and a narrow critic, in a work written after 1174 *Against the Four Labyrinths of France*, rejected the arts as being inimical to theology and useless in the study of the Bible.[123] Walter recalled the attacks made by Bernard of Clairvaux upon the 'scholastic nonsense' of four recent theologians (Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, Peter Lombard and Peter of Poitiers – the 'labyrinths') who, he thought, were possessed by the spirit of Aristotle.[124]

---

[117] *De sancta simplicitate*, PL 145, col. 697BC.

[118] *Liber contra Wolfelmum*, ii–iii, ed. Hartmann, pp. 47–51.

[119] Sermon, *'Fili, mel invenisti'*, PL 198, col. 1794B–D.

[120] Compare *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Monfrin, lines 25–6. ('dialecticarum rationum armaturam omnibus philosophie documentis pretuli') with lines 258–62 ("philosophia vel sacra lectio") and line 673 ('vere philosophie lectionem').

[121] Rochais (1951); Leclercq (1952).   [122] Evans (1980).

[123] Walter of St Victor, *Contra quattuor labyrinthos Franciae* IV.I, ed. Glorieux, p. 270.

[124] *Ibid.*, prologue, p. 201.

Criticism was also likely to occur whenever teachers of the arts raised their heads above the texts of the authorities and expounded or explored philosophical issues more fully for themselves. Adelard of Bath wrote *De eodem et diverso* to instruct young noblemen who did not want too arduous an education. John of Salisbury in his *Metalogicon* tells how two of his own teachers, William of Conches and Richard Bishop, abandoned teaching 'when teachers of the arts were promising to impart the whole of philosophy in less than three or even two years'.[125] Peter Abelard encountered opposition for innovating in philosophy as well as in theology. In the fourth Tract of the *Dialectica*, where Abelard writes about the division of hypothetical statements and, in particular, about the transposition or conversion of terms used in hypothetical sentences, he complains of

people who protest strongly at my mention of the conversion of hypotheticals; they are astonished because they have not come across conversions of this type in the writings of Boethius or of anyone else who has demonstrated the nature of consequences. They do not accuse me of error but of a new type of conversion. They cannot show that I have spoken in opposition to authority, but they allege that I may have gone beyond authority. Their chicanery is unreasonable. If they accuse me of adding something or of innovation, how can they excuse any others who, subsequent to the original accounts of any branch of learning, have made developments?

In any case, Abelard continues, what he writes *is* found in the authorities and he provides the evidence by quoting from Aristotle, Porphyry and Boethius.[126]

Others apparently complained that the arts were not as useful as they had been made to appear. During the twelfth century, when demand for larger numbers of trained lawyers, physicians and theologians undoubtedly grew, teachers of the liberal arts became defensive against criticisms of the inordinate amount of time, expense and study that they wished their pupils to devote to what were sometimes seen merely as prerequisites to the vocational subjects which led directly into a chosen career.[127] 'Ever since the law became supreme, the arts have been useless', complained Walter of Châtillon (d. 1203); 'grammar sows but is always in need. Law and medicine harvest a fortune.'[128] John of Salisbury mounted a sustained attack on one Cornificius and his followers, Cornificius being a caricature of a type of teacher who encouraged his pupils to avoid study of the arts, to despise the rules of eloquence and to reject logic in favour of proceeding to the study of medicine in Salerno or Montpellier where they blossomed and subsequently became wealthy as greedy medical practitioners.[129] Godfrey of St Victor complained of the ruin of the *trivium*, and the lack of close attention to the texts, since the death of Hugh of St Victor

---

[125] *Metalogicon* I.24, ed. Hall, p. 54.   [126] *Dialectica* IV.I, ed. de Rijk, p. 496.
[127] Ferruolo (1985), chs. 4–7.   [128] Ed. Strecker, pp. 8, 45.
[129] *Metalogicon* I.1–5, IV.25, etc.

(d. 1141).[130] Concern for the continuance of teaching of the arts in a traditional way was clearly evident in the mid to late twelfth century and it is arguable that the literary quality of writing in Latin after the mid-twelfth century started to go into decline as a result. The burden of a lengthy, integrated programme of preparatory education in liberal arts became less acceptable at a time when systematic legal, medical and theological education was also being developed and when newly translated works of natural science strained the limitations of the number-based arts of the *quadrivium*. With hindsight, the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of St Victor and Thierry's *Heptateuch* can be seen to be monuments to a fading ideal.

The twelfth century, still more than the eleventh century, is the time when translations of works unknown to Latin readers were made out of Greek and Arabic and the horizons of scholarship were enormously broadened.[131] The parts of south Italy and Sicily that still retained living Greek and Arab cultures ceased to be quite so isolated from the rest of Italy and of western Europe, particularly with the coming of the Normans to south Italy during the eleventh century. The court of King Roger II of Sicily (1130–54) and of his successor William I (1154-66) was a blend of cultures: Idrisi, a Muslim, composed his geographical treatise there for Roger in 1154 (*The Book of Roger*) and Eugenius the Amir translated the *Optics* of Ptolemy *c.* 1154; Henry Aristippus (*d.* 1162 or shortly after), who investigated the eruptions of Mount Etna and translated book 4 of Aristotle's *Metereology*, also translated two of Plato's dialogues, the *Meno* and *Phaedo*; the latter also contains praise of William's court. The first translation out of Greek of Ptolemy's *Almagest* was made by a former student at Salerno *c.* 1160, with the assistance of Eugenius, from a manuscript copy brought by Aristippus from the library of the emperor Manuel at Constantinople. The first translation of Euclid's *Elements* was also made in Sicily.[132] There was at the Sicilian court a strong interest in natural science and at Salerno a school of medicine based on Greek and Arab learning and attracting increasing numbers of students from northern Europe, including Adelard of Bath. Adelard dedicated his work *On Identity and Difference* (*De eodem et diverso*) to William, bishop of Syracuse in Sicily; at the end of this work he records a discussion he had with a Greek philosopher in *Magna Graecia*.[133]

Contacts with the Greek empire increased as Italian merchant colonies were established and exchanges between educated Greeks and Latins became more usual within Byzantium; at Constantinople itself from 1045 a series of scholars (Michael Psellos, John Italos, Eustratios and Michael of Ephesus) gave a

---

[130] *Fons philosophiae*, pp. 38–40.
[131] D'Alverny (1982); Dod (1982); Hamesse and Fattori (1990); *Tradition et traduction* (1999).
[132] Murdoch (1966).   [133] Ed. and trans. Burnett, pp. 70–1.

new impulse to the study of Aristotle. New Latin translations were made of his and of other Greek books and were sometimes accompanied by glosses which indicate the practical efforts that were made to penetrate their meaning. James of Venice, Burgundio of Pisa and Moses of Bergamo were present together, as interpreters and delegates of the Latin church, in Constantinople in 1136 at a theological disputation concerning the Trinity held in the presence of the emperor. All of them also forged their own contacts with sources of Greek culture in the Italian peninsula. Some of the translations they made are identifiable and philological methods have been applied to ascertain further examples of their work. But often the identities of the different translators cannot be easily seen among alternative recensions and among anonymous glosses on these. James translated some of the 'new logic' of Aristotle (*Posterior Analytics*, *Sophistici elenchi*), some of his works of natural philosophy (e.g. *Physics*, *The Soul*, *Memory*, *Youth*, *Respiration*, *Death*) and books I–IV.4 of the *Metaphysics*.[134] Burgundio (b.*c.* 1110) was a prominent lawyer in Pisa (and no stranger in Constantinople through his various visits there in a diplomatic capacity) who translated from the Greek works of philosophy such as the *Nature of Man* by Nemesius of Emesa (fourth century; translated in 1165), Aristotle's *Generation and Corruption* and parts of his *Ethics* (before 1150); works of theology, including works written by Saints Basil of Caesarea, John of Damascus (*Orthodox Faith*, 1153–4) and John Chrysostom (the latter to release his son's soul from purgatory), and of medicine such as the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates and works of Galen.[135] Leo of Tuscany was an interpreter in the emperor's household who translated most of Chrysostom; his brother Hugh engaged in polemic with Greek theologians, knew Greek and became a cardinal.

Crusader contacts in the cosmopolitan centre that was Antioch in the 1120s also encouraged translations; Adelard of Bath was one visitor who went there.[136] But above all the growth of Christian dominance in the Iberian peninsula facilitated the making of Latin translations of Arabic books and the writing of works which drew upon Arabic learning. The names of the places of origin of some of the scholars who came to Spain, obtained ecclesiastical benefices there, and forged links with resident Jews and Mozarabic Christians, suggest widespread interest: Adelard of Bath, Gerard of Cremona, Hermann of Carinthia, Plato of Tivoli, who was in Barcelona between 1132 and 1146, and Robert of Chester, who translated the *Algebra* of al-Khwarizmi at Segovia. Hermann, the author of *De essentiis* (1143) and *De astronomia*, translated Ptolemy's *Planisphere* at Tolosa and dedicated it to Thierry of Chartres. Within Spain native translators and writers appear to include Dominicus Gundisalvi and

[134] Minio-Paluello (1972).   [135] Classen (1974); Bossier (1997).   [136] Burnett (1997).

Gundisalvus, canons of Toledo,[137] Hugh of Santalla, Peter Alfonsi, John of Spain and Abraham ibn Ezra. There was considerable interest in Arabic astronomy, astrology, magic, alchemy and mathematics. Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187), who came to Toledo *c.* 1139–44 and became a master and a canon, had among his pupils Daniel of Morley, Thaddeus of Hungary and a Mozarab named Galib; he was a prolific translator to whom at least seventy-one titles were attributed, including Ptolemy's *Almagest*, the *Posterior Analytics* of Aristotle, Euclid's *Elements*, the *Spherics* of Theodosius, and medical works by Galen and Hippocrates.

The new translations did not always make an immediate impression in other parts of Europe, and this is particularly the case with the often anonymous translations made out of Greek of hitherto unknown works by Aristotle (including his *Ethics*), but there was widespread curiosity. Anselm, archbishop of Havelberg, who had been present at the theological debates that took place in Constantinople in 1136, wrote his *Dialogues* with the Greeks about 1150. Shortly before, Cerbanus, a monk in Hungary, translated works by Maximus the Confessor and perhaps by John of Damascus. A future abbot of St Denis (1172–86), William the Physician, brought Greek books to the abbey of St Denis near Paris. Probably, when a choice was available, translations from Greek commended themselves more than translations of the same works from Arabic. The absence of translations of literary works is remarkable: medicine, science, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, philosophy and theology dominated activities, and Arabic sources, including works written by the Arabs themselves, dominated the activities of translators of works of science. If by 'renaissance' is meant the resurrection and rediscovery of older materials, then certainly this period was one of renaissance. But alongside the process of rediscovery lies a broader process of renewal.

As in astronomy and mathematics, a significant series of hitherto unknown works of medicine appeared in translation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[138] Traditional Latin medical texts included practical handbooks which listed and explained remedies to illnesses, such therapies being sometimes also linked to magic. Both before and after medicine began to be regularly taught in such centres as Salerno and Montpellier, knowledge of medicinal and magic herbs was sought and used by monks, women, physicians and others. An eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon manual, the *Lacnunga*, shows the mingling of ancient, classical knowledge with remedies taken from folk culture; the rituals

---

[137] According to Rucquoi (1999), Dominicus Gundisalvi, the translator of Avicenna's *Metaphysica* and *De anima* and of Ibn Gabirol's *Fons vitae* and archdeacon of Cuellar (Segovia) before becoming a canon in Toledo, should be distinguished from Gundisalvus, archdeacon of Talavera (Toledo), the author of *De divisione philosophiae*.

[138] Jacquart (1990); Jacquart and Micheau (1990).

included charms, incantations and Christian prayers.[139] The new works, translated out of Greek as well as out of Arabic, allowed scientific approaches and a better understanding of physiology to be combined with practical knowledge. A wave of translations in the second half of the eleventh century occurred in the area bounded by the abbey of Monte Cassino and the city of Salerno.[140] Alfano, a monk of Monte Cassino, later archbishop of Salerno (1058–85), translated out of Greek the *Premnon phisicon* (*The Nature of Man*) by Nemesius of Emesa,[141] and his translation may have opened the way to a growing interest in the study of human medical sciences as an aspect of the study of natural philosophy. Alfano also compiled from Greek sources a collection of questions about natural science and medicine; other collections of such 'Salernitan questions' were to follow.[142] Constantine the African, who came from Carthage, had contacts with Salerno and became a monk of Monte Cassino (d.*c.* 1087), added substantially to the limited knowledge then available of the works of Galen and Hippocrates. Constantine was familiar with medical texts used and produced in Kairouan (Tunisia) during the tenth century and, still more importantly, he or his circle translated out of Arabic the *Isagoge Iohannitii* or *Liber isagogarum*, an introduction to the works of Galen which provided some knowledge of the four humours (blood, phlegm, bile and melancholy) and of the qualities (heat, cold, moistness and dryness) which characterise bodily temperament.[143] Constantine also translated out of Arabic an encyclopedia of medicine which became known as *Pantegni* and which included a detailed account of 'natural things' in the human body (elements, complexions, humours, members, forces, operations and spirits). These translations stimulated at Salerno an interest in both medical and scientific theory and practice, and also in gaining access to other writings by Galen as well as by Aristotle.[144] Several decades later, and still in Italy, further works of medicine were eventually introduced. Burgundio, as has been mentioned, produced a new translation of Nemesius' *Premnon phisicon* and also translations of ten works of Galen. He received encouragement from a Salernitan master named Bartholomew. Bartholomew and other scholars at Salerno (Petrus Musandinus, Maurus and Urso) developed a tradition of teaching on the basis of the newly expanded medical books. They produced written collections of questions of medical problems[145] and they selected the books on which commentary was given in the classroom. The corpus of their teaching materials, when it became regularised, was called the *Articella*. It consisted of the *Introduction to* Galen (*Isagoge*

---

[139] Ed. Storms. And see Kieckhefer (1989), ch. 4: 'The common tradition of medieval magic'.
[140] Kristeller (1945).   [141] Ed. Burkhard.
[142] For eleven of these collections see *Prose Salernitan Questions*, ed. Lawn.
[143] Jacquart (1986).   [144] Birkenmajer (1970); Jacquart (1988).
[145] *Prose Salernitan Questions*.

ad artem Galeni) by Johannitius, the *Aphorisms* and *Prognostics* of Hippocrates, *Urines* by Theophilus, *Pulses* by Philaretus, and the *Tegni* or *Little Art* (*Ars parva*) by Galen.[146] Later in the twelfth and also in the thirteenth century works by Galen were translated out of Arabic, and between 1150 and 1180 in Spain, Gerard of Cremona made substantial contributions by translating out of Arabic major works of the tenth and the eleventh centuries, including works by al-Razi and Ibn Sina. His contributions were slowly assimilated into western medical teaching and practice. By the close of the twelfth century the *Canon* of Ibn Sina, who was to become the principal authority, started to be cited.

Medicine, law and theology were in time to emerge as higher faculties in universities. We have commented on medicine, and the Roman and canon law form the subject of a separate chapter. Now we turn to theology.

The biography of Burchard bishop of Worms, written shortly after Burchard's death in 1025, shows how Burchard prepared his pupils for the clerical life. They were required to submit written exercises concerning Scripture every day and to include questions to which Burchard gave replies along with his correction of their work.[147] However, the written work for which Burchard became best known, his *Decretum* (*c.* 1012), is a compilation of texts in which the discipline of clerical life and ministry is outlined. During the eleventh century the study of the Bible and of received Christian doctrine did not assume that theology and the law of the church were discrete fields of study or that they were academic disciplines at all. Unlike Roman law, church law lacked an ancient, collected *corpus* of material. Authoritative texts were dispersed in an array of sources. The major turning points were the appearance, around the middle of the twelfth century, of the *Concordance of Discordant Canons* of Gratian of Bologna and of the *Four Books of Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Gratian's work, often known simply as the *Decretum*, was quickly accepted as the principal collection of church law and quickly overtook earlier compilations. Peter's textbook established itself more slowly, but the separation of the subject matter of canon law and of theology, and of the professions of theologian and of decretist, was now irreversible.

The medieval canon law regulated not only the clergy but also the reception of the sacraments which included penance and marriage; it also embraced questions about business life, warfare and heresy. Throughout the eleventh century the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms remained a reliable collection of practical church doctrine, but, as the momentum of reform developed, new compilers strove to identify and to boost canonical traditions which did not support, for example, proprietary churches or lay investiture of bishops and abbots, while

---

[146] Kristeller (1976).   [147] *Vita Burchardi*, chs. 18–19, MGH SS IV, pp. 840–3.

others wrote in their defence.[148] Shortly before and after the years around 1100 theologian-canonists, among them Bernold of Constance (*c.* 1050/4–1100), Alger of Liège (*c.* 1070–1131/2) and Ivo, bishop of Chartres (1091–1116), proposed principles for reconciling or choosing between conflicting canons as well as between conflicting patristic and biblical texts. They scrutinised in particular the law and the teaching of the early church. New compilations included several inspired by reformers who gave particular prominence to canons relating to papal primacy. Among the most important of these are the *Collection of Canons* of Anselm, bishop of Lucca (*c.* 1083),[149] the *Book of the Christian Life* by Bonizo of Sutri (*c.* 1045–*c.* 1095)[150] and the *Collection* of Cardinal Deusdedit.[151] Bernold of Constance, a monk at St Blasien from 1086 and later at Schaffhausen, showed an interest in textual criticism and championed the papal cause vigorously in Germany, for example in writing his tract *On Avoiding Excommunicates*.[152] Alger, although secretary to the schismatic bishop Osbert of Liège (1091–1119) and to his successor Frederick, defended papal reforms; his best work is his *Book of Mercy and Justice*.[153] Ivo of Chartres addressed the problem of contradictions in the prologue to his *Decretum*. From the distinction between judgement and mercy ('all your ways, Lord, are mercy and truth', Psalm 24), he derived principles of interpretation. Laws are either mutable or immutable. The latter are fixed by eternal law and include the precepts to love God and to love one's neighbour as well as the prohibition of murder and adultery. Mutable laws, however, are historically conditioned; they may be enforced or dispensed in the light of current exigencies or modified on grounds of charity in the light of St Augustine's maxim: 'have charity and do what you will'. Hence the importance of being sensitive to circumstances in the study or implementation of law, in order, for example, to be aware of what are the norms and what are the exceptions. Ivo wrote during the papal schism created by the rivalry between Urban II and Clement III and which raised difficult questions about the validity of actions (including priestly ordinations) taken by or against schismatics, questions that could not be addressed without consideration of earlier schisms and disputes. Ivo's works – his *Decretum* and *Panormia* written between *c.* 1095 and 1115 – arise in part through his association with Urban II during the early 1090s. His *Decretum* is dependent upon the texts compiled by Burchard, and these were largely taken from the writings of the Fathers.

Ivo's collections of sources in his *Decretum* and *Panormia* reappear again and again in later compilations such as those of Abelard, Gratian and Peter

---

[148] Ullmann (1955), chs. xi–xii.
[149] *Collectio canonum*, part ed. Thaner, part ed. Pásztor; see also Cushing (1998).
[150] *Liber de vita christiana*, ed. Perels; see also Berschin (1972).   [151] Ed. von Glanvell.
[152] *De excommunicatis vitandis*, ed. Thaner, pp. 1–168.   [153] *De misericordia et iustitia*.

Lombard. Peter Abelard's *Sic et non* (*c.* 1120) reflects the realisation that the accumulation of Christian literature and doctrine over the past millennium had created the need to investigate apparent inconsistencies latent within the writings of the Fathers as well as in the decrees of successive ecclesiastical legislators. Some texts were of spurious authorship or were forged. Different churches in past centuries had favoured different customs and practices. 'Some of the sayings of the Fathers are not only different from each other but even seem contrary to each other.'[154] In addition, there are also discrepancies between the four gospels. In his Preface to the *Sic et non*, Abelard offers guidance to the reader of his compilation of texts which illustrated the differing ways in which 158 theological questions had been treated by past writers. This guidance offers lessons in historical method. The reader of previous Christian writing should ask whether what is read constitutes the usual opinion of an author or one that was later retracted. Where there is conflict between texts written by the authorities, the meaning of the words employed should be carefully examined, for often words have differing meanings among different writers; an apparent conflict of opinion may retreat in the light of a semantic enquiry. Abelard brought his preface to conclusion with the words: 'by doubting we come to enquire, and by enquiry we come to the truth'. Critics quickly noticed that a door was opening to admit sceptical questioners of received traditions. Yet the *Sic et non* is a vivid illustration of a broader academic concern, shared across various disciplines of study, to put some order into the sources available for study and to increase the reliability with which they could be used in a properly critical way. Methodical enquiry into apparent contradictions (*diversi sed non adversi*) should result in their resolution. The title of the great compilation of canon law materials made by Gratian of Bologna best represents this objective: *The Concordance of Discordant Canons*. Gratian's texts include, besides biblical quotations, papal decrees, conciliar canons, quotations from the works of the church Fathers and some secular law spanning the period from before the emperor Constantine I to the Lateran Council of 1139. The making of this work and the identity of the author are both obscure. There were probably two recensions for which different authors may have been responsible, the first being a more compact work by Gratian, a master in Bologna, completed by 1139 at the earliest, the second (used throughout the middle ages and beyond) being an expanded text, completed before 1158 and in Bologna, either by a more mature Gratian or by one or more successors possessing a greater familiarity with the Roman law.[155] Almost all the non-Roman law texts in the first recension were taken from recent collections, including the collection of Anselm of Lucca,

---

[154] *Sic et non*, ed. Boyer and McKeon, *prologus*, p. 89.
[155] Winroth (2000).

the *Book of Mercy and Justice* (*Liber de misericordia et iustitia*) of Alger of Liège, the *Collectio tripartita* (traditionally but unreliably ascribed to Ivo of Chartres), Ivo's *Panormia* and his *Decretum*, the *Polycarpus* written by Gregory of St Grisogono after 1111 and the *Collection in Three Books* compiled from 1111 in central Italy. The success of the new compilation lay partly in the scope of the material – greatly expanded in the second recension – and crucially in the commentary on and resolution of cases (*causae*) which are contained in the famous *dicta Gratiani*, and which lifted the study of canon law on to the level where it could for the first time be taught to students and studied systematically. Likewise, in secular law Italian lawyers resurrected Justinian's corpus of Roman or civil law. They sought to make its text reliable and to provide an apparatus of glosses just as their contemporaries in biblical studies struggled to correct the text of the Vulgate Bible and to review the glosses.

The Bible as well as the liberal arts were at the heart of teaching in the cathedral schools. Within the Bible, the Psalter and the Epistles of St Paul were particularly attractive to commentators including (in the eleventh century) Lanfranc of Bec, Bruno of Rheims and Manegold of Lautenbach. During the twelfth century, glosses accompanying the biblical books and inherited from previous centuries were reviewed and an extensive standardised gloss on the whole of the Bible was produced. This was to be called the *Glossa ordinaria*.[156] The impetus to prepare a commentary on the whole of the Bible, accompanied by a thorough review and rearrangement of available glosses as well as of the text of the Vulgate itself, was chiefly provided within the cathedral school of Laon by Anselm (d. 1117) and his brother Ralph, but the task was to be the work of many writers and spread over several generations and schools. Anselm himself was responsible for arranging the gloss on St Paul and the Psalter, and probably also for St John's Gospel. His brother Ralph compiled the one on St Matthew's Gospel; his pupil Gilbert the Universal (from 1118 bishop of London) produced that on the Pentateuch, the Greater Prophets and Lamentations. Gilbert de la Porrée may have prepared the gloss on the Apocalypse. However, most of the *Glossa* was prepared by unknown scholars. Its acceptance as the standard gloss owes much to the fact of its completion and also its use by Gilbert de la Porrée and Peter Lombard who expanded it by adding more patristic material. Within a few decades the *Glossa* itself began to be glossed, at first in a series of lectures given by Peter Comestor before 1168 and then repeatedly over several centuries in universities. At the same time a change was taking place in the relationship between the presentation of allegorical and of literal understandings of the Bible. There was a growing interest in the literal sense (*littera*) and perhaps this reflected the ethos of non-monastic schools, the fight against heresies, the

---

[156] Smalley (1984); Swanson (2001).

'discovery of nature'[157] and some weariness with far-fetched allegorical fancies. The school of St Victor, Peter Abelard and Thierry of Chartres were especially associated with the literal exposition of Scripture.[158]

In his teaching at Laon, Anselm both expounded the Bible and organised discussions which resulted in the writing of Sentences (*sententiae*) which presented and discussed points of Christian doctrine. Anselm was not alone in also pointing the way to synthesis: collections of *sententiae* came to be made and circulated in a form which reflected a plan to teach more or less the whole of Christian doctrine in a summary and systematic way. In Paris by the middle of the twelfth century these initiatives bore fruit. Collections of sentences began to appear regularly, the best known among many being the *Four Books of Sentences* of Peter Lombard (*c.* 1095/1100–1161). Peter's exegetical writings, which include commentaries on the Psalms (written before 1138) and on St Paul (*Collectanea*, written 1139–41, 1155–8), underpin his *Four Books of Sentences* which were finally completed in 1155–7. Peter, who knew the theological teaching of Hugh of St Victor, taught in the cathedral school in Paris from *c.* 1142 to 1159 and was bishop of Paris for a brief period before his death (1159–60). On the *Sentences* the Lombard's reputation came to rest.[159] From about 1230 they were the principal textbook of systematic theology on which repeated commentaries were made until the sixteenth century.[160] Peter's plan comprised God (book 1), from creation to the fall (2), Christ and the redemption (3), sacraments and the last things (4). The plan reflects recent attempts at systematic arrangement by other masters. The Lombard's eventual fortune in providing a lasting textbook is due to the quality of his presentation of opinions and of authorities and to the usefulness of his comments on these. He is rather dull but he avoided some of the contemporary enthusiasms that led to the reactions against, for example, Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée, and he was very informative. But his enduring success was not at first foreseeable. Many recent and contemporary masters in Paris and elsewhere – among them Anselm of Laon, Peter Abelard, Hugh of St Victor and Robert Pullen – had also written systematic books of Sentences.

The growing numbers of students in urban schools surely underlie the production of more easily available and more digestible written aids to study and teaching in the form of digests and *summae*. In addition, the practice of teaching by means of debating questions arising from *lectio* led to the inclusion of reports of such discussions within collections of questions. Furthermore, there were written compendia, manuals, treatises and *florilegia* which, like

---

[157] Chenu (1957), ch. 1, pp. 21–30: 'La découverte de la nature'.
[158] Smalley (1984); Lerner (1996).
[159] Colish (1994); Southern (2001), ch. 9: 'Peter Lombard: the great achiever'.
[160] Stegmüller (1947).

works of commentary, of sentences and questions, were compilations of arranged material. Typical titles include *introductio* and *ars* in which were provided, and at differing levels of sophistication, abbreviated guides to study.[161] *Florilegia* or anthologies of literary and philosophical texts, and no longer only of patristic and scriptural texts, become a quite common product of monastic *scriptoria* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They show the effort made to arrange 'flowers' of prose and poetry. Rare before the eleventh century, some dozens survive from the twelfth, especially the late twelfth century, and among the most interesting are *florilegia* of classical writings arranged systematically for a moral purpose[162] or to facilitate elegant expression.[163] Some *florilegia* – such as the *Florilegium Gallicum*,[164] the *Florilegium morale Oxoniense*[165] and the *Moralium dogma philosophorum*[166] – are very detailed indeed. Yet books were still a relatively scarce commodity and much teaching and learning required the making of ephemeral notebooks, use of memory and oral discussion or glossing. The names of the authors or the compilers of many works which arose from the activities of teaching and learning were either unrecorded or recorded uncertainly. Surviving copies of the works of masters are rarely abundant and frequently lack evidence of their origin. The *Glosae super Platonem* which have recently been attached to Bernard of Chartres illustrate the difficulty of discovering the authorship of works left by even the most celebrated masters.[167] No part of Abelard's written works on logic survives in more than two extant copies.[168] Some works were probably collectively or successively claimed, such as the book said to have been written in the school of Peter Abelard and which was given the title *Incipiunt nomina nominum*. Several masters put their names to it: *Albricus*, *Mananerius*, *Valetus* and *Garnerus Gramaticus*.[169]

As distinctive schools of thought formed under the leadership of different masters of the schools, competition between masters becomes more evident. In their glosses and sentences the opinions of other masters were debated either anonymously (e.g. 'some say' – *quidam dicunt*) or by name. It has been suggested that, in addition to the school *at* the cathedral of Laon in the days of masters Anselm and Ralph, *c.* 1100 and later, there was then and later a wider school *of* Laon which included writers and students living away from the cathedral school.[170] These largely anonymous writers and students promoted interests that were not all traceable back to Anselm as a single source of influence.[171] A similar claim could be made and qualified for the masters and pupils of a school *of* and a school *at* Chartres. The teaching careers of its

---

[161] De Rijk (1962–7), ii.i, pp. 167–76.   [162] Munk Olsen (1979, 1980).
[163] Rouse and Rouse (1976).   [164] Ed. Gagnér.   [165] Ed. Delhaye and Talbot.
[166] Ed. Holmberg.   [167] Ed. Dutton.
[168] See Barrow, Burnett and Luscombe (1984–5), p. 250 (*Logica 'Ingredientibus'*).
[169] Hunt (1980), pp. 54, 78–9.   [170] Colish (1986).   [171] Southern (2001), chs. 2–4.

principal luminaries, Thierry of Chartres, William of Conches and Gilbert of Poitiers, were largely developed away from Chartres, and neither Thierry nor Gilbert showed the devotion to Plato that had been one of the features, shared by William, of the teaching of Bernard of Chartres *c.* 1120.[172] The pupils of Peter Abelard, who taught at various times in or near Paris but who spent most of his career away from schools, often showed a strong and personal loyalty to him and to what he taught.[173] The existence of groups of scholars, held together sometimes by place but often also by loyalty to particular masters, is well attested by contemporary nomenclature: there was, for example, the 'sect of Drogo' which Anselm of Besate joined in Parma.[174] The *Heliste* are the group of disciples of the grammarian Master Peter Helias, and other named sects include the *Albricani* (followers of the logician, Alberic of Paris), the *Meludinenses* (followers of Robert of Melun), the *Montani* (logicians concentrated on the Mont Ste Geneviève to the south of the city of Paris) and the *Parvipontani* (logicians concentrated around Master Adam on the Petit-Pont in Paris). Perhaps the most enduring 'school' is that of the *Porretani*, the scholars who followed the methods of thought and the ways of writing of Gilbert de la Porrée, who was deeply attached to the theological work of Boethius as well as to the negative theology of Denis the Pseudo-Areopagite. Gilbert taught in Paris until he was appointed bishop of Poitiers (1142–54).[175] A strong feature of his writing and of that of his followers is the unknowable nature of God. What God is (*quod est*) cannot be known. The attributes of God such as power, wisdom and goodness do not indicate the divine being itself but aspects of God's relationship to creation. Perhaps the leading characteristic of this early period of scholasticism is the series of efforts to systematise curricula and codify learning in a range of disciplines. The mid-twelfth century saw the production of enduring syntheses of learning as well as agreements on the texts on which regular commentary should be made: in grammar the *Summa* of Peter Helias; in the study of the Bible the *Glossa ordinaria*; in theology the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard; in biblical history the *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor; in canon law the *Concordance of Discordant Canons* of Gratian of Bologna, and in medicine the *Articella*. These became the dominant collections in each of their fields and a legend formed that Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor and Gratian were brothers.[176] Since the works incorporated a wide selection of quotations from earlier authorities, study of the originals was bound to suffer.

In place of the relative serenity and peacefulness of educational and scholarly activity that marked the age of Gerbert of Aurillac (d. 1003 as Pope

---

[172] Southern (1970), (1982) and (1995); Jeauneau (1995).   [173] Luscombe (1969).

[174] Anselm of Besate, *Rhetorimachia*, ed. Manitius, p. 181.

[175] Van Elswijk (1966); Nielsen (1982).   [176] De Ghellinck (1948), p. 285.

Silvester II), of Abbo of Fleury (d. 1004), of Notker of St Gall (d. 1022), of Burchard, bishop of Worms (d. 1025) and of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres (d. 1028), there followed bouts of polemical strife which, while they do not characterise most of the continuing engagement in teaching and learning, none the less had a considerable impact on their evolution. Outbursts of controversy between scholars were related to the appearance of religious dissent and protest and also to the crumbling of an old ecclesiastical order under the pressure of religious and particularly papal reform. The conflicting challenges which papal reform and the growth of dissent presented to men and women engaged in thought and action are fully described elsewhere in this volume; here we select a few quarrels which illustrate some aspects of the early history of scholasticism.

Disagreement in the eleventh century about the nature of the eucharist was not new, but a quarrel broke out between the monk Lanfranc of Bec and the schoolmaster and grammarian Berengar, the former pupil of Fulbert of Chartres who became a canon of Tours and archdeacon of Angers (d. 1088). It rested upon the nature of the relationship in the eucharist between the bread and wine offered in the mass and the survival of these appearances after their consecration as the Body and Blood of Christ.[177] Berengar found support for his views in a reply written by Ratramnus of Corbie to the tract *On the Body and Blood of the Lord* written by Paschasius of Corbie in 831. But he brought to bear on the issues his practice in the study of the liberal arts. In the logical commentaries of Boethius there was found an orderly view of the world in which substances are accompanied by accidents, and all beings are classified into genera and their species. These categories of thought permitted classification of the reality we see and know, and by the third quarter of the eleventh century the implications had been brought to bear upon the theological doctrines of the Trinity, Christ and the sacraments including the eucharist, and upon the ways in which these were formulated in language. The eucharistic quarrel was about what ecclesiastical authorities had taught concerning the eucharist and about the meaning of received formulae when assessed against the notion of substance and of material or accidental change. Berengar was much esteemed for his explorations of the foundations of language and had not been silenced by the adverse judgements delivered against him in church councils held in 1049, 1050 and 1059, for he acquired many supporters and lobbied tirelessly. But Lanfranc's treatise *On the Body and Blood of Christ*, written in the early 1060s while he was abbot of St Stephen's in Caen, raised the level of interest in these issues. Unfortunately for Berengar, Ratramnus' treatise had become attributed to John the Scot (Eriugena) and Lanfranc was able to use knowledge

---

[177] Southern (1948); Montclos (1971); Gibson (1978); Macy (1984).

of John's own suspect reputation as a theologian to parry Berengar's challenge.[178] Berengar also suffered, at least in Rome, from his association with Count Geoffrey Martel of Anjou (d. 1060) whose lands were laid under an interdict by Pope Leo IX. But both Berengar and Lanfranc had a mastery of the liberal arts: the dispute was more than a conflict between a philosopher and a theologian or between a schoolman and a monk. Each deployed types of argument and discourse that arise from a reading of the *logica vetus* and each came to a different conclusion. Berengar argued that accidents cannot survive a change of essence (e.g. bread into body); the eucharistic formula *hoc est corpus meum* ('this [bread] is my body') is self-contradictory if the essence (bread) has ceased to exist. Implied here is a view of the relationship between language and truth: what grammar cannot state cannot be true. So the consecrated elements are a sign of the Body and Blood of Christ, not the Body and Blood themselves. Finally, in 1079 Berengar submitted and confessed to the Lenten synod in Rome that he had been in error and promised to keep silent about his teaching. But the dispute opened up divisions between other teachers in cathedral schools. Goswin of Mainz, master in the school of Liège from 1044, chancellor from 1050, and retired around 1065, became bitter and disillusioned by the state of affairs. Berengar, he wrote, was the apostle of Satan, one of the heresiarchs who introduce sacrilegious novelties concerning sacred things, an example of those teachers who have no reverence and who dissolve sacred mysteries which are beyond the grasp of reason; they eat the paschal lamb raw or boiled.[179]

The personal quarrels that took place between masters in the schools could take the form of powerful public hostilities. In his surviving works of logic Peter Abelard regularly tested and contested the views of teachers such as William of Champeaux in Paris and Ulger, Vasletus and Roscelin who held schools in the Loire valley.[180] Of the writings of these teachers little survives. But we know enough of Roscelin to realise that Abelard was not unique in being combative in the years before about 1120. In a letter written to Abelard, about the omnipotence of God, Roscelin alleged that Abelard had complained to the canons of Tours that their church was a pit and that Roscelin, their fellow canon and a condemned heretic, had disgracefully insulted such good men as Anselm of Canterbury. In retaliation, and in criticism of Abelard as a womaniser who had suffered the indignity of being punished by castration, Roscelin writes that he used to be promiscuous with his tail but now that he has justly lost it he has taken to pricking with his tongue like a poisonous snake.

---

[178] *De corpore et sanguine domini*, PL 150, cols. 407–42. Berengar, *Rescriptum contra Lanfrancum*.
[179] Goswin of Mainz, *Letter* to Walcher, ed. Huygens; trans. Jaeger, pp. 349–75.
[180] *Dialectica*, ed. de Rijk, Introduction, pp. xix–xxi.

Upon losing the offending part of his body he had become a monk at the abbey of St Denis but then returned to teaching, using his earnings to support his mistress. Abelard is no longer a monk because he is now teaching, nor is he any longer a cleric or a layman. There is no name left for him, not even Peter, for a masculine name loses its meaning once its subject lacks a gender. As a house which has no roof or walls is not a house, so a man who loses his masculinity is no longer really a man. And as Roscelin is attacking an incomplete man he therefore chooses to leave this letter also incomplete.[181]

Teachers had been insulted before by their students and had in turn insulted others.[182] But now examples of aggression were becoming more numerous. The questions reported by Porphyry in the third century in his *Isagoge* about the nature of species and genera had become another heated topic of controversy during the early decades of the twelfth century, at least in Paris. Abelard's autobiography, *The History of My Troubles*, contains an account of this: 'William of Champeaux . . . took a violent dislike to me because I set out to refute some of his arguments . . . Those who were considered the leaders among my fellow students were also annoyed, and the more so as they looked on me as the youngest and most recent pupil'; 'in the course of our philosophic disputes I produced a sequence of clear logical arguments to make him amend, or rather abandon, his previous attitude to universals . . . when William had modified or rather been forced to give up his original position, his lectures fell into such contempt that he was scarcely accepted on any other points of dialectic.'[183] This and many other controversies over the nature of universal nouns – are they words only, or do universal essences also exist? – accompanied the growth of written commentaries and introductions to Boethius' commentaries upon Aristotle's works on logic. Abelard himself modified his own positions repeatedly, and in his later career was also out-flanked by another Parisian master, Master Alberic,[184] but he had unquestionably stirred a growth of philosophical interest in the arts of language and in the relationships between things, words and understanding.

Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, heightened this tension: monks, he wrote, were also students of philosophy and the cloister was a school, but their philosophy was the philosophy of Christ, not of Plato and Aristotle, and their school was a school which taught how to serve the Lord and how to live.[185] 'Why search for the Word among words', Bernard asked, 'when He is already made flesh right before your eyes?'[186] On two notable occasions Bernard launched attacks

---

[181] *Epistola ad Abaelardum*, ed. Reiners. [182] Jaeger (1994), pp. 216–17 gives examples.

[183] *Historia calamitatum*, ed. Monfrin, lines 34–41, 81–5, 96–100.

[184] Marenbon (1997b), pp. 24–5, 52–3.

[185] 'We shall form a school for learning how to serve the Lord', *Rule* of St Benedict, prologue.

[186] *Epistola* cvi (*S. Bernardi opera* VII.266, lines 4–6).

upon masters who he thought were spreading heresies among their followers. He secured the condemnation of Peter Abelard by Pope Innocent II in 1140 but failed to repeat his success against Gilbert de la Porrée in 1148. The fight against Abelard was brought before the bishops in France at the synod of Sens and then to the papal curia to which Abelard unsuccessfully appealed. Bernard built upon the success he had had, during the Anacletan schism in the 1130s, in establishing Innocent as the uncontested bishop of Rome, and he wrote heated letters to members of the papal curia from a position of personal strength.

Read [he told them] that book of Peter Abelard which he calls a book of *Theology*. You have it to hand since, as he boasts, it is read eagerly by many in the curia . . . Read that other book which they call the *Book of Sentences* and also the one entitled *Know Thyself*, and see how they too run riot with a whole crop of sacrileges and errors. See what he thinks about the soul of Christ, about the person of Christ, about his descent into hell, about the sacrament of the altar, about the power of binding and loosing, about original sin, about the sins of human weakness, about the sin of ignorance, about sinful action, and about sinful intention . . . bestir yourselves . . . act according to the position you hold . . . and let him who has scanned the heavens go down even into hell . . . Thus shall the mouth that mutters wickedness be closed.[187]

In another letter Bernard accused Abelard of rewriting the Gospel instead of obeying it: 'I listen to the Prophets and the Apostles; I obey the Gospel, but not the Gospel according to Peter Abelard . . . The Church has no place for a fifth Evangelist.'[188] An oblique reflection of Abelard's frustrations over feeling that he was on the receiving end of unmerited attacks is found in his *Collationes* in a passage (partly quoted earlier[189]) in which the Philosopher notes that 'human understanding increases as the years pass and one age succeeds another'. But, the Philosopher continues, in 'faith – the area in which the threat of error is most dangerous – there is no progress . . . This is the sure result of the fact that one is never allowed to investigate what should be believed among one's own people, or to escape punishment for raising doubts about what is said by everyone . . . [People] profess themselves to believe what they admit they cannot understand, as if faith consisted in uttering words rather than in mental understanding'.[190]

Like Abelard in 1140, Gilbert, bishop of Poitiers, faced the fire of Bernard in 1148. Gilbert was brought to account for the philosophical investigation of divine being that he had undertaken in the course of his deep-going commentaries on Boethius' theological works. A cornerstone of Boethius' thinking about being is that what exists (*id quod est*) must share both being and whatever else is needed to make it what it is (*id quo est* – that by which it exists).

---

[187] Bernard, *Epistola* clxxxviii (*S. Bernardi opera* VIII. 11–12).
[188] *Epistola* cxc (*S. Bernardi opera* VIII.27, lines 10–12).
[189] P. 476.   [190] *Collationes*, ed. and trans. Marenbon and Orlandi, p. 11.

This accords with Priscian's definition of a noun as both a substance and a quality. For example, man is man by his humanity; without the universal noun – humanity – there is no man. However, God is the one being which does not derive from another. Rather, God's being is the being of all other beings. Although Gilbert made a formal distinction in God between *quod est* (God) and *quo est* (divinity), and wrote that God is God by his divinity, he maintained that in God these coincide. For this he was accused of heresy in the presence of Pope Eugenius III and his cardinals at Rheims in 1148 but he escaped censure because of his ability both to hold and not to hold to the view that God is divinity. John of Salisbury has left a vivid, even-handed narrative of this confrontation at which he was present[191] and in concluding his account he wrote:

Some people believed that the bishop was not as sincere as he professed to be . . . because his adversaries had difficulty in understanding him, many declared that he was taking advantage of verbal subtleties and cunningly deceiving the orthodoxy of his judge. Peace was made between him and the abbot, and though many tempted him under pretext of learning from him, he was able to escape their tentacles by referring to the authorities he had to his hand, St Hilary in particular. I recall that I myself on behalf of the abbot entreated the bishop to meet him . . . to discuss the writings of the blessed Hilary amicably and without rancour. He however replied that they had already disputed sufficiently on the matter, and if the abbot wished to reach a full understanding of Hilary he should first seek further instruction in the liberal arts and other preliminary studies.

John does not allow Gilbert the final word, and he adds: 'They were both exceptionally learned and eloquent men but they excelled in different branches of learning.'[192]

These fights are not the whole story of the relationships between monks and schoolmen which were usually harmonious. Bernard of Clairvaux in particular worked generously to establish scholars such as John of Salisbury, Robert Pullen and Peter Lombard in their careers. Yet the distinctive scholastic culture that was taking root in many towns and cities was liable to be rocked from time to time by robust controversy in which monks were among those involved.

We mentioned above that Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, although they studiously avoided being polemical, took two or three generations to become the standard textbook of theological instruction. One of the minefields which Peter had to negotiate included contemporary positions about the person and the natures of Christ. In distinction 6 of book III Peter surveyed three options that were causing 'very great difficulty and perplexity'. The first option, probably the most widely held of the three in his time, was that at the incarnation of

---

[191] *Historia pontificalis*, trans. Chibnall, pp. 15–41.   [192] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

the Word man became God, not in nature or by merit, but by grace; God assumed manhood. A difficulty found with this 'assumptus theory' was a possible confusion between Christ's human and divine natures. The second option was that God the Son, who had one substance and one nature, acquired through the incarnation a second nature and two more substances (a rational soul and a human body) and thereby became a composite person. This 'subsistence theory' was advocated by the Porretans. The third option was opposed to the second in claiming that a human body and a human soul were united to the divine Word – not in a three-sided composition, but in the manner of a garment (indumentum, habitus) which clothed the Word so that He might appear appropriately before human eyes. The 'habitus theory' attracted Peter Lombard more than the other two, but it also found many critics, including Robert of Melun and Maurice of Sully who thought that it devalued, even annihilated, Christ's humanity. There was debate about this at a council held in Tours in 1163 in the presence of Pope Alexander III who later censured Peter Lombard in a decretal issued at Veroli on 28 May 1170, and who was pressed again, although to no avail, during the Third Lateran Council in 1179 to issue a solemn condemnation of the second and the third opinions.[193] In the later years of the twelfth century there was, broadly speaking, a division among theologians in France between the Porretans, who included Alan of Lille and Simon of Tournai, and the followers of Peter Lombard who included Peter of Poitiers, Peter of Capua, Praepositinus and Stephen Langton. The latter group dominated the cathedral school of Notre Dame in Paris; Peter of Poitiers, a pupil of the Lombard, was chancellor from 1193 to 1205 and his own Sentences were modelled on the Lombard's plan. Peter the Chanter (d. 1199), who taught in Paris from 1173 at the latest and became chancellor of Notre Dame in 1183, was also the centre of a cathedral circle of theologians and preachers who devoted themselves to the promotion of social reform, their greatest achievement being perhaps the prohibition of clerical involvement with trials by ordeal in canon 18 of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.[194]

---

[193] Häring (1951); Luscombe (1969), pp. 267–73.   [194] Baldwin (1970).

RELIGION AND THE LAITY

Bernard Hamilton

THE western church in the early eleventh century had emerged from almost 200 years of civil wars and invasions as a dynamic force, capable of rapid and successful expansion in adverse conditions. For since the Carolingian age Catholic Christianity had spread from its heartland in the British Isles, France, the empire, Italy and northern Spain, to become the official religion of Bohemia, Poland and Hungary and it was continuing to expand into the Viking homelands of Scandinavia and their new settlements in Iceland and Greenland.

A uniform though sparse church organisation existed throughout this huge area. All the Christian west was divided into dioceses, though they varied considerably in size; but the provision of parishes was very uneven. All towns had at least one church while some, like Rome, had more than a hundred, but even in parts of the west which had been Christian for centuries many rural areas were still served by the clergy of a central minster. The parish system was only gradually coming into being, and since over 90 per cent of the population lived in the countryside, this meant that a very high proportion of them had no regular access to a church.

Any attempt to generalise about the faith and practice of laypeople in the central middle ages is bound to be tentative. There is no statistical information available such as may later be found in parish registers, while the fairly abundant ecclesiastical legislation is often a better index of clerical expectation than of lay behaviour. Evidence about the religious observance of individuals relates chiefly to rulers and to members of the high nobility. The practice of the rest of the population has to be reconstructed from piecing together the written and archaeological evidence about the provision of churches and clergy, the liturgical evidence about the rites which the clergy performed, the numerous charters which record the legal transactions between laymen and the church, and the anecdotal evidence found in chronicles, saints' lives, literary works, homilies and biblical commentaries, about how laypeople were expected to

499

practise their faith and how individuals did practise it. What follows is based on deductions made from that range of evidence.

Church membership was conferred by baptism and in 'old' Christian areas infant baptism was universal. Because infant mortality was high everywhere, many baptisms must have been performed by laypeople, particularly by mid-wives. Everybody had the right to baptise in case of necessity, by pouring water on the candidate three times while saying in any language, 'I baptise thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.' Those who were baptised in that way might later have the additional baptismal ceremonies performed by a priest, but that was not essential.

Children who grew up in places with no parish church would have learnt about the Christian faith from their parents and from occasional visiting clergy, but their knowledge might well have been sketchy. Those who lived near a church would usually have been catechised by the parish priest and have had the chance to attend mass regularly, and the strong visual elements in the Catholic liturgy were in themselves an important means of lay instruction. But unless they lived near a cathedral, or near a reformed monastery which encouraged lay attendance at chapel, most laypeople would never have heard a sermon, for the majority of priests were not licensed to preach.

Indeed, the general level of education of the lower clergy remained poor. There were, of course, some excellent cathedral and monastery schools which provided the best education available in western Europe, but the clergy who were trained in them did not normally undertake parish work, but were groomed for senior office in the church by being appointed cathedral canons, or chaplains in noble households. Most of the lower clergy were given a practical training in their duties by other priests, who were sometimes their fathers, and therefore their knowledge of the faith was often limited.

It is difficult to be certain how far pagan belief and practice survived in the Christian west. It persisted in some newly converted regions like Norway and Hungary, but in areas where Christianity was well established paganism seems to have merged into folklore, as may be seen, for example, in the older stories, such as *Culhwch and Olwen*, preserved-in the *Mabinogion*.[1] But although the imagination of people in the Christian west may have continued to have a pagan dimension, all the evidence suggests that the church had won the intellectual battle by the eleventh century, and that in general terms everybody accepted the Christian world-picture. They believed that the universe had been created by God; that the devil had marred God's work with man's connivance so that evil had come into the world; that Jesus, God's son, had by his incarnation,

---

[1] The earliest manuscripts date from the fourteenth century, but the orthography and syntax suggest the recension was made before 1100, Foster (1959).

sacrificial death and resurrection redeemed the world; that he had founded the church to continue his work on earth; that man was immortal, and that when he died he would be judged by God and his soul would enter Paradise or be condemned to Hell; and that eternal salvation depended on accepting God's grace in the sacraments and leading the life of Christian perfection. Some people undoubtedly had a fuller understanding of this cosmology than others, but it provided the general framework within which everybody thought about the world in which they lived.

Lay religious practice was quite often limited. Most people knew the Lord's Prayer and considered regular private prayer desirable. Those who lived near a church would sometimes attend mass, although only some members of the nobility appear to have done so as a matter of course on Sundays and feast days. Most people seem to have made some effort to hear mass at the great feasts, notably Easter, but lay communion was comparatively rare in much of Europe. Marriage was not accompanied by a religious ceremony in most places.

It is impossible to tell whether laypeople went to confession at all regularly at this time. Certainly some monastic reformers urged them to do so, and the liturgical evidence suggests the tenants on some monastic estates performed penance and received absolution annually during Lent. It is known that many fighting men were reluctant to use the penitential system.[2] They committed acts of violence in the course of their everyday lives, but the church held that serious and wilful sins of that kind could only be forgiven by making confession to a priest and performing the penance which he enjoined. Such penances were often so lengthy, humiliating and painful that men deferred confession. Although most people seem to have wished to make their confessions when they were dying, priests were not always available and laymen, and on occasion laywomen, sometimes acted as confessors.[3] In the case of those who died unshriven the church authorities normally assumed that they had repented *in articulo mortis* and gave them Christian burial.

A society therefore existed in the early eleventh century in which all laypeople in a general sense accepted a Christian explanation of the universe, which included personal immortality and accountability to God for their actions. But because many of them had received little instruction and had few opportunities

---

[2] Canon law decreed that killing in battle was culpable homicide: Burchard of Worms, *Decretum* VI.23, *De illis qui in publico bello homicidia committunt, PL* 140, cols. 770–1. In the Carolingian era penitents guilty of such offences were ordered never to bear arms again after their reconciliation and this effectively barred fighting men from sacramental penance. I have found no evidence that such a condition was ever imposed in the eleventh century, when warriors seem to have been treated like any other penitents.

[3] Judith, the wife of Henry, Duke of Bavaria, heard his last confession, Thietmar of Merseberg, *Chronicon* II. 40, ed. Holtzmann, pp. 88–91. A wealth of evidence is discussed by Sarah Hamilton, (2001).

to take part in public worship they found it difficult to live by Christian standards. The church taught that however wicked a man had been, he would obtain eternal salvation if he wanted it, although he might have to perform harsh penances after death, but that he could be helped in this by the prayers of the church on earth. This society therefore particularly valued the reformed monasticism which had begun to develop throughout the west during the tenth century because these communities took their religious vocation of intercession for the living and the dead seriously. There were two main types of reformed monastery: communities like Glastonbury, Fécamp and Cluny owned extensive estates and had considerable economic and political power; the monks were noblemen and their time was spent chiefly in performing an elaborate liturgy. The other model was the eremitical form of monasticism favoured by men like St Romuald (d. 1027), which sought to conform to the golden age asceticism of fourth-century Egypt. Such communities had few endowments, tried to avoid secular involvement, and encouraged severe fasting and corporal mortification. Their monks were recruited from a wider social spectrum than those of the great abbeys, but like them devoted their lives chiefly to liturgical prayer.

Although most professed monks were noblemen, the monasteries influenced all classes of society. Abbots of great houses, like St Odilo of Cluny, counselled the rulers of Europe; monks became spiritual directors of devout noblemen and women; and because the monasteries were great landowners they also influenced the religious life of their tenants. Some communities built churches in the villages on their estates, while others encouraged laymen to attend mass and listen to sermons in the monastery chapel. The Burgundian historian Radulf Glaber commented on the vast number of stone churches being built in villages belonging to Cluny in the early eleventh century.[4] The small eremitical communities like Camaldoli and Fonte Avellana also influenced lay society, both by the way in which they lived the Christian life and because they were often called on to give laypeople spiritual direction and sometimes even practical advice.

Reformed monasteries were regarded as centres of Christian excellence, for it was widely believed that the life of Christian perfection entailed renouncing the world, normally by taking monastic vows. This was a very natural reaction in an age when Christian standards of behaviour had only been partially accepted by society at large, which remained extremely violent. This equation of holiness with self-denial meant that the hermit monks were venerated as the Christian elite, whose renunciation of the world was on a truly heroic scale. The outstanding example of this in the eleventh century was Peter Damian, who as cardinal bishop of Ostia was second only to the pope in the Catholic

4 Radulf Glaber, *Opera* III.13, ed. France et al., pp. 114–16.

hierarchy, yet who lived as a hermit at Fonte Avellana. There were, of course, devout laypeople, but in contemporary sources they are represented as seeking to behave like monks while living in the world, though it is difficult to know how accurate such descriptions are since they were almost all written by clergy. The emperor Henry II (1002–24) and Edward the Confessor (1042–66) were both credited with monastic virtues such as regular attendance at divine worship, and also the practice of chastity even though they were both married men.

There were, however, a few groups of laypeople who took their Christian commitment very seriously, but did not try to conform to a monastic way of life in a manner which the church authorities were willing to recognise. They are known to us because their contemporaries accused them of heresy. Reports of this kind begin in *c.* 1000, at the end of a century which had been singularly free from heretical outbreaks. Scholars disagree about the nature of these movements, but they deserve detailed consideration because they were expressions of a new kind of lay piety, and one which the church in this period found it very difficult to contain.

Some of these groups were called Manichees by contemporary churchmen, and all of them were distinguished by an ascetic lifestyle. From 1848 when C. Schmidt published his *Histoire des Cathares* until quite recently, scholars considered such groups as proto-Cathars, western offshoots of the Bogomil heresy which had originated in tenth-century Bulgaria.[5] The primitive Bogomils described by Cosmas the Priest[6] believed that there was only one God, who had two sons, Lucifer and Christ; that Lucifer had fashioned the visible world from the four elements which God had created, but that God had implanted souls in men. Thus the Bogomils tried to explain the problem of evil by claiming that good souls were imprisoned in material bodies which were part of an evil creation. God's other son, Christ, had come into the world in a spiritual body to save men, and the Bogomils claimed to be his true followers. They accepted the New Testament in the same text as Orthodox Christians; but rejected the Old Testament, together with the Orthodox church and its material sacraments, and the cult of the holy cross. They lived austerely, abstaining from sexual intercourse, meat and wine; and worshipped daily in their own houses, chiefly by saying the Lord's Prayer, and confessed their sins to each other. In their dualism and asceticism the Bogomils resembled the Manichees of late antiquity, but there is no proven link between the two movements. Moreover, the Bogomils used an entirely Christian vocabulary and based their teaching exclusively on the New Testament, which the Manichees had never done. In the early eleventh century Bogomilism spread to the Greek-speaking provinces

[5] Schmidt (1848–9).   [6] Ed. Puech and Vaillant.

of the Byzantine empire, where it became more sophisticated. It adopted an initiation rite, conferred only on adults, consisting of baptism in the Holy Spirit by the laying-on of hands, which made it possible to distinguish between the full members of the sect and unbaptised believers. The Byzantine Bogomils also developed a fuller range of dogmatic theology than their Bulgarian brethren.

In recent years some scholars have questioned whether the early eleventh-century western heretics really were Bogomils, since none of them is accused of dualism and none is said to have had links with the Balkans. [7] Some scholars argue that clergy labelled these heretics Manichees because they shared an ascetic lifestyle with the ancient Manichees known through the writings of St Augustine, and because some clergy were expecting heretics of this kind to appear at the end of the first millennium in order to fulfil St Paul's prophecy about the Last Days,[8] whereas in fact these dissenting groups were entirely western and reformist. Their members were ascetic because they desired to lead the life of perfection represented by the reformed monasteries; and unorthodox doctrinal views which are attributed to some of them can be traced to western antecedents and need not imply any contact with Balkan dualism.

How do the reported heresies measure up to these theoretical specifications? Six important outbreaks are recorded in the first half of the eleventh century. The earliest concerns a peasant named Leutard who lived near Châlons-sur-Marne and is said to have put away his wife, broken the crucifix in his parish church, denounced tithes, and taught that 'though the prophets had said many good things, they were not to be believed in everything'. Radulf Glaber, our only source, represents him as a lunatic,[9] yet he attracted a quite numerous following which survived his death for a number of years. Then in *c.* 1018 Adhémar of Chabannes describes how 'Manichaeans appeared in Aquitaine who attracted a popular following'. They advocated celibacy, ate very sparingly, lived like monks, and denied 'baptism, the cross and all teachings which lead to salvation'.[10]

---

[7] For a discussion of recent work see Lambert (1998), pp. 4–13; Barber (2000), pp. 21–33; Lambert (2002), pp. 12–40.

[8] 'Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy; having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth', I Timothy, 4:1–3.

[9] 'iste dicebat prophetas ex parte narrasse utilia, ex parte non credenda', Radulf Glaber II.22, ed. France *et al.* p. 90.

[10] 'exorti sunt per Aquitaniam Manichei, seducentes plebem. Negabant baptismum et crucem et quidquid sanae doctrinae est', Adhémar of Chabannes, *Chronique* III.49, ed. Chavanon, p. 173.

The best-reported case occurred in 1022 when a group of canons of the Holy Cross in Orléans, one of them the confessor of Queen Constance of France, were tried for heresy. It was alleged that they denied that Christ had a human mother, that he truly died or rose again, that baptism could remit sins, that the eucharist was the Body and Blood of Christ, or that the invocation of saints had any value. They claimed to transmit the Holy Spirit by the laying-on of hands, described the Bible as 'the falsehoods of mortal men written on parchment',[11] and claimed to know the true law of Christ through inner illumination. This group did not seek a popular following, but they were prepared to initiate laypeople, and, indeed, were brought to trial on the evidence of Aréfast, a nobleman in the service of Richard II of Normandy, who had penetrated their circle.

Another esoteric group, this time consisting of laypeople, was discovered at the castle of Monforte near Turin by Archbishop Aribert of Milan (1018–45). They held property in common, abstained from meat, did not consummate their marriages, and devoted themselves to perpetual prayer. Their leader Gerard explained that they understood the central articles of the Christian faith in an allegorical sense: 'Jesus Christ of whom you are speaking is the soul, which in the flesh is born of the Virgin Mary, that is to say, it is born of holy scripture. The Holy Spirit is the devout understanding of the holy scriptures.'[12]

A group of lay heretics brought to trial at Arras in 1025 emphasised the importance of good works, accepted the authority of the New Testament alone, and rejected the sacraments of the Church. They taught the need

to withdraw from the world, to restrain the lusts of the flesh, to provide one's food by one's own manual work, not to seek to do anyone harm, and to show love to all those who share an enthusiasm for our way of life. If this righteous behaviour is observed, there is no need of baptism; if it is neglected, then baptism will in no way bring salvation.[13]

Some twenty years later the bishop of Châlons alleged that a group of 'Manichees' in his diocese claimed to confer the Holy Spirit by the laying-on of hands, abstained from sex and from eating meat, and refused to take the life

---

[11] 'ficta carnalium hominum, scripta in membranulis animalium', *Vetus Aganon,* c. iii, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres* i, p. 114.

[12] 'Iesum Christum quem dicis, est animus sensualiter natus ex Maria virgine, videlicet natus est ex sancta scriptura. Spiritus sanctus sanctarum scripturarum cum devotione intellectus', Landulph Senior, *Historiae Mediolanensis* ii.27, ed. Cutolo, p. 68.

[13] 'mundum relinquere, carnem a concupiscentiis fraenare, de laboribus manuum suarum victum parare, nulli laesionem quaerere, charitatem cunctis, quos zelus hujus nostri propositi teneat, exhibere. Servata igitur hac justitia, nullum opus est baptismi; praevaricata vero ista, baptismum ad nullam proficere salutem', *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae,* ed. Fredericq, i, no. i, pp. 1–5.

of any animal because God in the Ten Commandments had forbidden men to kill.[14] Finally, in 1051 the emperor Henry III ordered some heretics to be hung at Goslar because they had refused to wring the necks of chickens, certainly a sign of extreme eccentricity in an agrarian society, and one which suggests that they shared the beliefs of the 'Manichees' of Châlons.[15]

The view that these dissenting groups were made up of laypeople who wished to live by the austere standards of the western monastic reformers presents certain difficulties. The asceticism common to all these groups is not incompatible with that interpretation, but the claim that their rejection of the sacraments may reflect nothing more than their dissatisfaction with the ministrations of unworthy priests is difficult to accept in the case of baptism, which could be and frequently was administered by laypeople. Moreover, the canons of Orléans and the heretics of Châlons are said to have initiated members by baptism in the Holy Spirit through the laying-on of hands. In the western tradition that is the sacrament of confirmation, and it seems strange that the heretics should have cherished this one sacrament when they rejected all the rest. Moreover, nothing in the reformed tradition would account for the aversion from the holy cross evinced by Leutard and by the heretics of Aquitaine; while the refusal by the dissenters of Châlons and Goslar to take animal life is totally alien to the western Christian tradition. Many monks will not eat meat, but to my knowledge no Catholic monk had ever affirmed that it was morally wrong to kill an animal.

Attempts to show that the doctrines professed by the heretics of Orléans and Monforte owed nothing to direct eastern influence are not entirely convincing either. Bautier has analysed the political dimensions of the trial of the canons of Orléans and the ways in which this coloured the sources, yet the fact remains that the heresies of which the canons were accused belong to a Gnostic tradition which has no apparent roots in medieval western thought.[16] Similarly Gorre's view that the replies which Gerard of Monforte made to Archbishop Aribert show strong Neoplatonist influence, perhaps derived from the writings of John the Scot, though persuasive, poses as many problems as it solves.[17] For the group at Monforte were laypeople without the training to read or to understand Neoplatonist works even if they had been available.

Another problem which has not been sufficiently addressed is the use of the Bible by some of these dissident groups. The heretics of Arras considered that the New Testament alone was authoritative in matters of faith; while the

---

[14] Heriger and Anselm, *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium* II.62, *MGH SS*, VII, p. 226.

[15] 'non aliam condempnationis eorum causam cognoscere potuimus, quam quia cuilibet episcoporum iubenti, ut pullum occiderent, inoboedientes extiterant', *ibid.* II.64, p. 228.

[16] Bautier (1975).

[17] Gorre (1985), pp. 198–9. I am indebted to Malcolm Lambert for this reference.

peasant Leutard had a knowledge of the prophets, who were little read in his day even by the regular clergy.[18] These heretics are described as unlearned, that is, unable to read Latin, so they cannot have been using the Vulgate, but there is no evidence that complete vernacular texts of the Bible, or even of the New Testament, existed at this time in any western European country where heretical groups are reported.[19]

Finally, the assumption that contemporary writers applied the name Manichee indiscriminately to dissenters with ascetic tendencies is arbitrary. Mani had denied the first article of the Christian creed, belief in 'God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth'; through the works of St Augustine western scholars remained familiar with this fact long after Mani's teaching had died out there, and when the word was used again in the eleventh century it must be assumed that this was a conscious choice. Critics of this view say that eleventh-century Catholic writers do not accuse the alleged 'Manichees' of dualist beliefs, but the same is also true of Catholic descriptions of some twelfth-century dissidents, whose dualism is questioned by nobody.[20] I would contend that there was no need for Catholic apologists to spell out the dualist errors of opponents they labelled Manichees because Manichees were by definition dualists.

If it is accepted that Bogomil influence was present in the west during the first half of the eleventh century, then many of the problems noted above disappear. The Bogomils might correctly be described as Manichees, because they did not believe that the material universe had been created by the good God. As a direct consequence of this they were extremely ascetic as well as being openly hostile to the Catholic church in east and west. They had inherited from the orthodox Christians a tradition of vernacular scriptures, in Greek and church Slavonic, and they could have used these texts to instruct western converts. While they rejected all the sacraments of the Orthodox church, the Byzantine Bogomils of the eleventh century had one all-purpose sacrament which served as their rite of initiation: baptism in the Holy Spirit by the laying-on of hands. All Bogomils hated the holy cross. Bogomilism was in transition in the early eleventh century. Having begun in Bulgaria as a simple, peasant religion, more characterised by asceticism and anticlericalism than by theological speculation, when it spread

[18] When St Odo of Cluny in his youth became a canon of St Martin's, Tours, he astonished his fellows by wishing to study the prophets, which they considered beyond the call of duty: John of Salerno, *Vita S. Odonis* 1.13, PL 133, col. 49.

[19] *The Cambridge History of the Bible,* II (1969), ch. IX: 'The Vernacular Scriptures': within this chapter see the sections written by G. Shepherd, 'English versions of the Scriptures before Wyclif'; W. B. Lockwood, 'Vernacular Scriptures in Germany and the Low Countries before 1500'; C. A. Robson, 'Vernacular Scriptures in France'; K. Foster, 'Vernacular Scriptures in Italy'; M. Morreale, 'Vernacular Scriptures in Spain', pp. 362–86, 415–91.

[20] See below p. 521.

to the Greek-speaking Byzantine world it developed a systematic theology and a written liturgy. Both the primitive Bulgarian and the more sophisticated Greek forms of Bogomilism could have reached the west in the early eleventh century, and that would explain the diversity of forms of dissent which are reported there at that time. Thus whereas some dissident groups, like those reported in Aquitaine in 1018, resembled the simple, ascetic Bogomilism of Bulgaria, the canons of Orléans and the community of Monforte appear to be the product of contact with a sophisticated group of Byzantine Bogomils who had knowledge of the Neoplatonist tradition.

Critics of this view rightly point out that there is no evidence for the presence of Bogomils in western Europe at that time. But since the sources imply that their teaching reached the west then, Bogomil emissaries must have brought it there, and the most likely explanation is that they appeared to be Orthodox monks on pilgrimage to western shrines. For it is known from Byzantine sources that Bogomilism gained adherents in some monasteries,[21] and it is a fact that many Greek and Slav monks visited the west in the early eleventh century and that some of them were greatly revered, like St Symeon of the Mount Sinai monastery who in 1028 was walled up in a cell near the Black Gate of Trier where he remained until his death.[22] Bogomil teachers working in such a context would have found it comparatively easy to disseminate their beliefs without being remarked as heretics. It was only when those beliefs were taken up by groups of western laypeople that they were seen to be alien and excited adverse comment.

From 1046 the papacy began to direct and coordinate the various movements for church reform. Initially the popes sought to suppress simony, the sale of church offices, and to enforce clerical celibacy, but from the reign of Gregory VII they became more ambitious and tried to secure free canonical elections of the higher clergy. This led to bitter disputes with many western rulers during the next fifty years, which were finally resolved in a number of concordats whereby, although rulers continued to control the appointment of bishops and abbots, chapters secured the right to monitor elections and to appeal to the pope against abuses. By the twelfth century the papacy had become a dynamic power in the western church, but it had lost much of the fervour which

---

[21] Euthymius of Acmonia reports the presence of a Bogomil cell in his own monastery of the Periblepton at Constantinople in *c.* 1050, *Liber invectivus, PG* 131, cols. 48–57. In this edition the work is wrongly attributed to Euthymius Zigabenus.

[22] Their number is attested in Wulfhere's *Life* of St Godehard, who built a hospice near Hildesheim in *c.* 1024 which was frequented by 'Quoddam . . . genus illorum . . . qui vel in monachico vel canon-ico vel etiam Graeco habitu per regiones et regna discurrunt', *Vita posterior Godehardi episcopi Hildesheimensis auctore Wolfherio*, c. 20, MGH SS xi, p. 207.

had characterised the early years of reform. The reform movement had raised expectations among devout lay people which had not been entirely fulfilled, while the increase in the power of the church at all levels inevitably caused some resentment. Favourable conditions therefore existed for the growth of anti-clericalism.

During the twelfth century, except in frontier areas, most settlements of any size came to have a parish church and a resident priest. The labour involved in building churches and the cost of endowing them showed a huge degree of commitment to the church by laypeople all over the west. The existence of parish churches made the routine practice of the Christian life possible for the majority of laypeople. Although most rural priests were poorly educated and not trained to preach they were valued by their parishioners for their professional skills: they could baptise the newborn, offer the mass regularly on behalf of the parish, bless the fields at rogationtide, and, most importantly, bury the dead and pray for their souls. In some areas priests performed weddings, although in many places marriage remained a family affair. No doubt occasional church attendance became more common once every village had its own church, though there is no evidence of widespread regular Sunday attendance at mass.

But the growth of parishes also increased the possibility of conflict between clergy and laity. The cost of maintaining churches and priests was largely met from tithes, theoretically levied on all sources of income, but normally on the principal grain crops, but tithes were frequently impropriated by lay patrons, and this was a source of litigation. Another potential source of tension between the clergy and their flocks was the enforcement of marriage laws, which extended canonical impediments to the sixth degree of consanguinity, that is to people who had a common great-grandparent. It is difficult to know how rigidly or generally these laws were enforced: Spanish kings during the *Reconquista* when trying to attract settlers to dangerous frontier regions suspended some civil marriage laws but upheld the prohibitions about marrying kindred.[23]

Reforming ideals had some impact at a parish level if the local bishop shared them or if a reformed monastery had the right of presentation to the living. Episcopal control of parishes increased in some places, where lay patrons, influenced by reforming ideals, relinquished their advowsons to bishops. Theoretically bishops were obliged to scrutinise all ordinands, and could therefore monitor the calibre of the parish clergy, but the majority delegated this work to chaplains who had to determine whether the candidates were able to read the Latin liturgy and carry out their priestly functions; whether they were in good standing with their communities; and whether there was any canonical

---

[23] Mackay (1977), p. 39.

impediment to their ordination. Such inquiries could be merely formal, and a high proportion of the parish clergy were probably no better trained than they had been before papal reform. Attempts to enforce clerical celibacy among the lower clergy proved largely ineffectual, for many of them had concubines even though they were no longer allowed to marry, as is clear from the frequency with which this practice was denounced by twelfth-century synods. But the reformers did succeed in part of their aim, to ensure that the priesthood was regarded as a vocation and not as a hereditary office, for in twelfth-century canon law priests' sons were illegitimate and might not be ordained without dispensation. But the unreformed life of many of the parish clergy was sometimes a cause of complaint among their parishioners, though usually only among those who had other reasons for being anticlerical.

Society was changing very rapidly in the twelfth century and the church did not keep abreast of that change. One area where this was very noticeable was that of urban growth. Although many towns doubled in size, in many cases new parishes were not set up to deal with the influx of people, often because the clergy in existing parishes were reluctant to relinquish jurisdiction and income despite the evidence of acute pastoral need. This was not universally true: some large towns such as London had many churches, but in others a population explosion met with no ecclesiastical response, as happened at Antwerp in the early twelfth century, where there was only one priest. It is significant that religious dissent took a particularly firm hold in the towns.

The church hierarchy was itself affected by the changes which were taking place in the twelfth century. Thus although one of the main aims of the papal reformers had been to make a clear distinction between clergy and laity, this was to some extent neutralised by the simultaneous growth of literacy in western Europe. In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries there was a huge increase in the number of men seeking instruction in the cathedral schools of northern Europe and the city schools of Lombardy, and since teaching was in Latin everywhere and the northern schools were controlled by the church, students came to be regarded as clergy. In northern Europe they were customarily tonsured as *clerici*, or clerks, and received the legal privileges of the clergy without any of the corresponding obligations. Some clerks never took major orders and were thus able to marry and live as laymen, and the distinction between clergy and laity became blurred.

Although it is sometimes argued that the increase of lay literacy contributed to the rise of heresy, this is not self-evident.[24] Latin literacy had never been a clerical monopoly. There had always been a few lay people who could read the language: *milites literati*, like Baldwin I of Jerusalem (d. 1118), trained as

---

[24] See the important work of Stock (1983), pp. 88–240.

churchmen but were recalled to the world, as well as some learned laywomen, like Adela of Blois. Moreover, throughout much of Italy Latin was still close enough to the vernacular for lay people to have a general understanding of the liturgy. During the twelfth century the number of laymen who could understand Latin increased greatly: large numbers of civil lawyers and doctors were trained, who were good Latinists and could understand the services of the church and, if they wished, read theological works. Some merchants also could read legal Latin, and perhaps follow the liturgy, though they may not have been able to understand literary texts. Outside Italy Latin was incomprehensible to the uneducated, but vernacular literatures were growing, and although probably very few people could read such works they nevertheless reached a wide audince. Trouvères were heard not simply by their patrons but by their entire households, while in towns reciters stood in the streets and entertained the general public; and the works which these men performed sometimes dealt with religious themes, like the *Life of St Alexius* which proved very popular. Vernacular translations of parts of the Bible had been made earlier in monastic schools, but this process was accelerated in the twelfth century, and by the end of it substantial parts of the Scriptures had been translated into most of the main western European languages, although this was not systematic, and a complete vernacular text of the Bible was not available until almost a century later. In the twelfth century no restriction was placed on lay access to the vernacular Scriptures, and people could own texts or listen to them being read aloud. The liturgy was not translated, but vernacular devotional books were written to help laypeople to meditate during mass. The capacity to read and write was a neutral skill, and although the spread of literacy may have aided the growth of religious dissent, it undoubtedly also led to an increase in devotional reading and a deeper understanding of the Christian faith among orthodox laypeople.

The papal reformers attempted to address the spiritual needs of important groups of laypeople. They were particularly concerned about the problems of penance, which, as noted above, tended to cut fighting men off from the practice of the Christian life. The warriors were a socially amorphous group composed of the nobility and great landowners, together with armed retainers and mercenaries recruited from free peasants or serfs. The church had been concerned with the activities of these men since the mid-tenth century, when the rite for the blessing of swords for use in God's service is first found in some German pontificals. In the early eleventh century some devout fighting men, particularly in France, responded to the church's appeals by forming voluntary associations to limit warfare. These are collectively known as the Peace of God movement, and its supporters undertook to respect the lives and property of churchmen and the livelihood of non-combatants.

Thus Urban II's offer of the crusade indulgence in 1095 was made to warriors whose ideals had been shaped by the church for more than a century. This indulgence seems to have been intended merely as a substitute for earthly penance enjoined by a priest for sins which had been repented and confessed, not a guarantee that no further purgation would be required by God after the penitent's death: it was not until the reign of Eugenius III (1145–53) that the crusading indulgence was defined precisely as a plenary indulgence which dispensed from all penance in this world and the next if the right conditions were fulfilled. Yet many crusaders understood it in that way from the beginning, and considered that those who died fighting the infidel would go straight to Paradise as martyrs. The indulgence proved very popular for that reason, since it was a penance which did not conflict with the warriors' sense of honour, and it allayed fears about suffering in the afterlife. But the Clermont indulgence was not an easy option; the harsh, traditional penances were much less dangerous and time-consuming than going on crusade. Nevertheless, it proved popular not only with fighting men but also with non-combatants, and this suggests that the traditional penitential system was a genuine stumbling block to laymen of all kinds who took religion seriously. Part of the reason for this may have been that, whereas traditional penances consisted of mortification appropriate to the monastic life, to go on pilgrimage, face natural hardships and risk death at the hands of the Saracens were actions appropriate to the lay life. The crusade became an established part of western piety: it owed its attraction to a wide range of motives, but the indulgence was the most important religious factor. The movement certainly fulfilled Urban II's pastoral purpose in the long term by turning the warrior class, who had been largely cut off from the sacramental life of the church, into the *milites Christi*, the flower of Christian chivalry.

As Jonathan Riley-Smith has argued, the First Crusade, although it was a lay movement, was described by clergy in quasi-monastic terms.[25] Nor were these completely artificial, because the participants themselves adopted ascetic disciplines in times of crisis. But within a generation a full monastic expression of the crusading ideal had been formulated, that of the Military Orders. The impetus for this came from the laity, when in 1119 a small group of knights, led by Hugh of Payns, took monastic vows to the patriarch of Jerusalem and swore to devote their lives to protecting the pilgrimage routes in the Holy Land. They were the founder members of the Knights Templar, which received its rule in 1129. Subsequently the Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem developed a military wing, which soon came to occupy a dominant, though not exclusive, role in its life; and later in the century similar orders evolved in

[25] Riley-Smith (1986), pp. 135–52.

the Spanish kingdoms, and the Teutonic Knights and also a number of minor orders were founded. Members of these orders took the normal three monastic vows, but, except for the priest-brethren, their *raison d'être* was to fight the infidel. They were full-time, professional soldiers, recruited from all social classes. Although the motives of postulants were undoubtedly very varied, the orders offered religious formation in a congenial context to devout fighting men. The brethren assisted regularly at the monastic office and the conventual mass in so far as their military duties allowed, although it would appear that in the twelfth century few of them, apart from the chaplains, ever became proficient at Latin.

Most members of the western church were peasants, and attempts were also made to provide for their spiritual needs. In the late eleventh century some Benedictine houses, notably the congregation of Hirsau, had begun to profess lay brethren, or *conversi* and this practice was adopted by the Cistercian order in the twelfth century. Unlike monastic servants, lay brethren took vows and lived under a rule. They did not learn Latin and participate in the choir office, but recited a simple vernacular office together at regular hours, and worked as farm labourers. This institution proved immensely popular: huge numbers of *conversi* were professed in the new communities, and as Southern observed, without them the Cistercians could never have undertaken their vast programme of colonising and land reclamation.[26] No doubt men became lay brethren for a variety of reasons, but this development must reflect the existence of a sizeable group of peasants with religious aspirations which could find no satisfaction in lay life. In the monasteries they could use their lay skills, but they were also taught how to pray, and how to grow in the life of perfection.

As these innovations show, the twelfth-century church still considered that the full Christian life entailed renunciation of the world. Such a course was not open to most people, who were married and had secular responsibilities, although it was not uncommon for people to be professed late in life after their wives or husbands had died and when their children had grown up. Other laypeople remained in the world, but became associates of the Military Orders, and in return for benefactions were assured of the prayers of the brethren during their lifetimes and after their deaths.[27]

But some people no longer regarded the contemplative life as the sole Christian ideal. No doubt their attitude was shaped in part by the spirituality of the newly founded communities of Austin and Premonstratensian Canons, who had pastoral aims. Certainly some laypeople in the twelfth century were very concerned about ministering to the needs of the urban poor. For example, rich

---

[26] Southern (1970), p. 258.
[27] Barber (1994a), pp. 258–62; Riley-Smith (1967), pp. 242–6.

burgesses often left charitable endowments stipulating that at set times food should be provided for a fixed number of poor people and that, in accordance with Christ's commandment, their feet should also be washed. Such bene-factors were clearly aware of Christ's teaching about the importance of good works to salvation.[28] Some bishops in the twelfth century tried to encourage lay piety by offering partial indulgences for a variety of activities, like going on pilgrimage, or saying certain prayers. A partial indulgence was always expressed in terms of equivalence to a period of penance (e.g. a forty days indulgence conferred the same spiritual benefits as forty days of traditional penance).

But even without these clerical stimuli, lay piety manifested itself most vigo-rously then as it had done for centuries, in pilgrimages. Except when they were imposed as penances, the church did not consider that pilgrimages were oblig-atory. Men and women undertook these journeys voluntarily as expressions of their own religious devotion and commitment. Pilgrimage continued to be made to well-established shrines like Ste Foy of Conques and St Martin of Tours, and those of St Michael the Archangel, captain of the hosts of Heaven, and therefore popular with warriors, at Monte Gargano in Apulia and Mont St Michel in Normandy. But in the twelfth century new shrines became pop-ular, like that of St James at Compostela, in the extreme north-west of León, who was venerated as an apostle, but also as the *matamoros*, the patron of Christian armies in the war against Islam. In 1164 Rainald of Dassel translated the relics of the Three Kings who had come to worship the infant Christ to Cologne, where their shrine rapidly attracted large numbers of pilgrims who valued the royal *magi* as protectors against sorcery. Canterbury, scene in 1170 of the martyrdom of Thomas Becket, soon became an international cult centre and a healing shrine. But although more people than ever before visited Rome on ecclesiastical business and venerated the shrines of the apostles while there, the city was no longer the chief focus of western pilgrimage as it had been before 1050; that role had passed to Jerusalem.

Pilgrimages to Jerusalem had become popular in the eleventh century par-ticularly through Cluniac influence, but the foundation of the Crusader States made the journey quicker and safer, since it could be accomplished by sea without entering Muslim territory. Thousands of people went there each year and became familiar with the land where God's son had lived among men. But the Jerusalem journey continued to involve self-sacrifice: death or captiv-ity remained genuine hazards, and the return journey from northern Europe could take almost a year if weather conditions were adverse. But people from all ranks of society went to Jerusalem, and this was a personal act of faith in which the mediation of the clergy was unnecessary.

[28] Matthew 25:31–46.

The twelfth century also witnessed a great increase in devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The liturgical observance of her principal feasts, Candlemas, the Annunciation, the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin, had been established in the west for centuries, but in the twelfth century her cult came to assume a uniquely exalted place in popular and ecclesiastical esteem. The reasons for this are complex. Since the council of Ephesus in 431 the church had revered Mary as the Mother of God;[29] but the implications of this were only fully felt on a devotional level in the western church as a greater awareness of Christ's humanity developed there during the twelfth century. This was expressed on an intellectual level in Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo?*, but was experienced by a wider public through the iconography of the suffering Christ in liturgical art and the popularity of pilgrimages to the Holy Land. The growth in devotion to the man Christ Jesus led to an increase in reverence for his mother from whom he had received his human nature. The theological reasons for Marian devotion were set out by scholars like Anselm and Bernard of Clairvaux; but the form in which that devotion was expressed owed much to the idealisation of womanhood found in some twelfth-century vernacular poetry. In the literature and art of the period Mary was still portrayed as the Mother of God, but she also became Our Lady, the perfect example of womanhood. Although this perception originated in aristocratic circles, it was rapidly diffused by the iconography of the Virgin in the stained glass windows and sculptured reliefs of the new cathedrals and churches of the west.

Although there was no diminution of devotion to the other saints, Mary came to be regarded as chief intercessor, with her son, for the whole human race and worthy of greater reverence than any other of God's creatures. Devotion to her took many forms: some monastic communities and some secular clergy recited the Little Office of Our Lady in addition to the Divine Office. Most parish churches came to have a Lady chapel, or at least a Lady altar, and a statue or painting of the Virgin, and laypeople were taught the Hail Mary in its scriptural form.[30] Vernacular lives of the Virgin were written and proved very popular: they drew not only on the gospels, but also on the second-century Protoevangelium, an apocryphal work attributed to the Apostle James. The principal shrines of the Virgin were in the Holy Land, at Nazareth, Bethlehem and Jerusalem, where the church of Our Lady of Josaphat was believed to be the site of her assumption into Heaven; but during the twelfth century western models of these churches were built as devotional centres for people who could not go to the Levant, like the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk.

---

[29] The Council defined Mary as Theotokos, the God-bearer, which has always been translated Mater Dei in the western church.

[30] 'Hail Mary full of grace the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus', Luke 1:28, 42.

Arguably the greatest change in lay piety during the twelfth century was the new way in which people came to think about Christ. The early medieval figure of divine power, the Harrower of Hell and judge of the living and the dead, was giving place to the son of Mary who had lived among men in the Holy Land and died and risen again in Jerusalem, a city familiar to thousands of western people.

In the second half of the eleventh century there seems to have been an almost total absence of religious dissent in western Europe. This period coincides, of course, with the most intense and idealistic phase of the papal reform movement and that almost certainly explains why laypeople who wished to lead the life of perfection did not think it necessary to form secessionist groups, but could instead support the popes in their struggle to purify the whole church. The Patarini of Milan exemplify this trend. They had much in common with some twelfth-century reform movements which will be considered later, and which were driven into schism through the opposition of the church authorities. Though contemptuously named the ragpickers by their opponents, the Patarini had respectable leaders: Arialdus a scholar, Anselm a priest and the noble brothers Landulf and Erlembald. They sought to enforce the observance of the papal reform programme in their own city: they were opposed to priestly concubinage, and urged the faithful to refuse to receive the sacraments from simoniac priests. The Patarini rioted against the imperialist and unreformed Archbishop Guido in 1067 and were given the banner of St Peter by Archdeacon Hildebrand, the *eminence grise* in Alexander II's pontificate. The movement lasted for a generation and spread to Piacenza and Cremona, even though its fortunes fluctuated in Milan. It received the highest accolade of papal approval in 1095 when Urban II declared that Arialdus and Erlembald might be honoured as saints.

There is no evidence of dualist heresy in western Europe in the same period. Some scholars would argue that it did not enter the west at all until the twelfth century, but that is not a view which I share. It would seem to be a fact that persecution had prevented the early eleventh-century dualist movements from taking root, and it is arguable that Bogomil preachers would no longer have met with a sympathetic hearing after *c.* 1050 because anticlericalism and dissatisfaction with the established church had been eroded by the work of the reformed papacy. However, the evidence suggests that the chief reason for an absence of dualism was an absence of Bogomil visitors to the west. For the worsening relations between the churches of Rome and Constantinople during the second half of the eleventh century, coupled with the almost continuous warfare between the south Italian Normans and the Byzantine empire in the same period, together with a disruption of western pilgrimage routes to Jerusalem in the wake of the Seljuk occupation of Asia Minor in the 1070s,

brought about a steep decline in regular contact between Byzantium and the west in the generation before the First Crusade. There is very little evidence of Orthodox pilgrims visiting western shrines during those years, while there was also a marked decrease in the volume of western pilgrims who travelled to the Holy Land by way of the Byzantine empire, and there is no reason to suppose that Bogomil contacts with the west would have remained vigorous at a time when other eastern contacts were minimal.

This changed as a result of Urban II's *rapprochement* with the Orthodox churches, and the First Crusade which he launched led to far greater contact between Byzantium and the west than ever before and opened the way to a new influx of Bogomilism. The peace established in southern Italy by Roger I (d. 1101) and his successors facilitated communications between western Europe and the Byzantine empire. By the early twelfth century there was once again considerable religious discontent and anticlerical feeling present among laypeople in the west as the papal reform movement lost its fervour and with it its popular support. From the curia's point of view the reform movement had achieved much, but at parish level it must often have seemed that little had changed. There is universal agreement among scholars that the twelfth century saw the emergence of two types of dissent in the west: a number of reformist movements which desired to purify the existing church, but which for a variety of reasons often became schismatic; and a single Christian dualist movement of Byzantine origin, known as Catharism, which wanted to overthrow Catholicism and establish a new church in the west.

The indigenous reform movements were dominant in the first half of the century, and each of them came into being through the vision and strength of character of a single man. The first of these leaders was Tanchelm, who may have been a priest and was certainly a *literatus*, and who began preaching in *c.* 1112 and fixed his headquarters in Antwerp. He initially urged his followers not to receive the sacraments from unworthy ministers, a message which had particular force at Antwerp, a growing city where the only priest was living in incest. Tanchelm gained an enthusiastic following and became more radical, rejecting the Catholic church, its hierarchy and its sacraments as useless. Allegedly he claimed to be filled with the Holy Spirit, and symbolically betrothed himself to Holy Church represented by an image of Our Lady. He was killed in *c.* 1115, but his followers remained numerous and strong until Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensian Canons, a noted preacher and holy man, succeeded in reconciling many of them to the church, it would seem entirely by peaceful persuasion. But some remained independent and may have included the heretics discovered before 1122 at Ivoy in the Ardennes.[31]

---

[31] This was suggested by Guiraud (1935), I, p. 3, but there is insufficient evidence to be certain.

Henry of Lausanne, who started preaching near Le Mans at the same time as Tanchelm, is said to have been a Benedictine. When in 1116 Bishop Hildebert licensed him to preach in Le Mans he seems to have been a doctrinally orthodox but radical reformer. He exhorted the people to repent and was particularly successful in converting prostitutes; but he antagonised respectable laypeople by encouraging young men of good family to marry those penitents, and he antagonised the church authorities by rousing the people against corrupt beneficed clergy, and was expelled from the city. He embarked on a preaching career in southern France, which lasted for many years. In 1135 he was brought before Innocent II at the council of Pisa and charged with heresy of a moderate kind, and, perhaps because he was a professed monk, the pope ordered him to enter the Cistercian community of Clairvaux. So far as is known he failed to do so, but returned to southern France where he encountered Peter of Bruys.[32]

Peter had been a parish priest, but in *c*. 1112 he had, like Henry, become a wandering preacher in Provence. His views were more radical than Henry's: he considered infant baptism inefficacious, denied the doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice, taught that good works could not be performed on behalf of the dead, and incited his followers to destroy churches, which he considered unnecessary, and crosses, which as symbols of an instrument which had been used to torture Christ he considered unworthy of reverence by Christians. In *c*. 1138 he was burnt by the mob at St Gilles while attempting to make a bonfire of crosses. Even though he was not accused of dualism, his anti-sacramental teachings, his contempt for church buildings and his abhorrence of the cross are reminiscent of Balkan heretics, though he seems to have had more in common with the militant Paulician dualists than with the pacifist Bogomils.[33]

Henry of Le Mans in his later years became more radical, probably through Peter's influence, and rejected the concept of original sin and the need for a sacramental priesthood. He took over the direction of some of Peter's followers after his death and continued to preach in western France and the Toulousain. In 1145 Bernard of Clairvaux was called in to deal with the spread of heresy there, perhaps because Henry was technically a member of his own community. Bernard found that Henry's followers were numerous and active, but aided by his reputation for having thaumaturgic powers he succeeded in breaking the movement. Henry was later captured but apparently died before standing trial. Moore is right to label him the first real heresiarch, for his influence, unlike

---

[32] The chronology of Henry of Le Mans' career presents problems. I have followed the solution proposed by Malcolm Lambert, itself based on the unpublished PhD thesis of Fearns (1963): Lambert (1992), pp. 44–50.

[33] Paulicians were absolute dualist Christians who had no ascetic tradition but were esteemed as warriors. They were present in the Byzantine empire in the twelfth century. Obolensky (1948), pp. 28–62, 188–96.

that of earlier reformers, was not confined to one region.[34] But his movement lacked organisation and did not preserve its identity for very long after he died.

One religious leader in this period who does not fit easily into either of the main categories is Eon de l'Etoile. It is very difficult to form a clear picture of his teaching from the abundant but hostile source material. He was a Breton nobleman and it is alleged that in *c.* 1145 he claimed to be God's son. He attracted many followers, consecrated some of them bishops and archbishops, celebrated mass himself, and encouraged his faithful to loot churches and monasteries. He and his chief followers were brought before Eugenius III at the council of Rheims in 1148, where he is said to have claimed that he would come to judge the world, and to have displayed a wonder-working staff through which he divided rule over the earth with God. The pope and council considered him mad and placed him in the protective care of a monastery, but some of his followers refused to recant and were burnt by the secular authorities. It is possible that Catholic contemporaries, anxious to dismiss him as a deluded simpleton, may have exaggerated his ignorance. His baptismal name is said to have been Eudes, and his choice of the name Eon, and the fact that he gave some of his followers names of the Æons in the Gnostic pleroma, Wisdom, Knowledge and Judgement, suggests that he had some first- or second-hand contact with the Byzantine or Islamic worlds where interest in Gnosticism was still active. However, Seguy has suggested a more prosaic explanation, that Eon gave his followers scriptural titles, relating either to the Messiah or to the gifts of the Holy Spirit.[35] This, however, would not explain his own choice of name, for Æon, though used in the Septuagint, is not a messianic title.

Each of these movements was overdependent on the forceful character of a single leader and collapsed fairly soon after his death. But they clearly showed how much discontent there was with the Catholic church in large parts of western Europe. Henry of Le Mans is particularly instructive in this regard, for in his long ministry he travelled from northern France to Toulouse and then to Provence, and wherever he went he attracted a large and enthusiastic following. It would be misleading to attribute the popularity of these reformist movements entirely to negative reasons, such as anticlericalism and discontent with abuses in the church system: what seems to have been equally if not more important was that the dissenting preachers offered laypeople an active role in their religious community, and one which was compatible with living an ordinary lay life, and this was a problem which at that time the Catholic church had failed to address.

[34] Moore (1985), p. 83.

[35] J. Séguy, 'Les non-conformismes religieux', *Histoire des Religions,* II: *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade,* p. 1251. I have not been able to see this article, which is cited by Cassard (1980), p. 185, n. 49.

The new dualist movement of the twelfth century was able to capitalise on the same religious discontents and spiritual frustrations within Catholicism, and may have appeared to many laypeople like another reformist sect, but in fact it was very different. Its adherents have come to be known as Cathars – from *katharoi*, a Greek name meaning 'the pure', presumably applied by the sectaries to themselves,[36] though they more commonly called themselves *boni homines*, or good men. There is no evidence that there was any connection between early eleventh-century western heresies and twelfth-century Catharism, even though, as I have argued, both had a common source in Balkan dualism.[37] The earlier movements seem to have died out as a result of persecution before the First Crusade, but the precise date at which Catharism reached the west in the twelfth century remains a matter of controversy.

One of the few Catholic writers to show any interest in the history of Catharism was the Italian inquisitor Anselm of Alessandria. In *c*. 1266 he gave this account of Cathar origins: 'Frenchmen went to Constantinople to conquer land, and found this sect . . . Later on, the French . . . returned to their own land and preached and, as their numbers grew, appointed a bishop of France.'[38] The phrase 'Frenchmen went to Constantinople to conquer land' does not necessarily refer to the Fourth Crusade, since Anselm does not specify which land they were intending to conquer. Both the First and the Second Crusade travelled by way of Constantinople, and since the presence of Cathars in western Europe is securely attested before 1148 it seems probable that Anselm is alluding to the First Crusade. Certainly a group of heretics displaying Cathar characteristics appeared in the west soon after that. In 1114 the brothers Clement and Everard of Bucy, near Soissons, were accused of rejecting infant baptism and the eucharist; of condemning marriage and procreation; and of abstaining from food which was the product of coition. It was alleged that they had their own initiation ceremony, though this was not described; and that they were willing when brought to trial to make an orthodox profession of faith which they presumably understood in an unorthodox sense. Although some scholars would argue that this group were reformist heretics I do not find that view persuasive, because all the errors which they were accused of holding were characteristic of Bogomils. Guibert of Nogent, who helped to examine them,

---

[36] Byzantine writers do not use this term of Bogomils: in the Greek east *Katharoi* was reserved by the Orthodox to describe Novatians. But Bogomils may have used it of themselves: Grégoire (1948); Hamilton (1988), pp. 291–3.

[37] The Balkan origins of both eleventh- and twelfth-century movements are also upheld by Poly and Bournazel (1980), pp. 382–427, and (1991), pp. 272–308.

[38] 'francigene iverunt Constantinopolim ut subiugarent terram et invenerunt istam sectam . . . Postea francigene . . . redierunt ad propria et predicaverunt, et multiplicati constituerunt episcopum Francie', *Tractatus de hereticis*, ed. Dondaine p. 308.

also accused them of orgiastic sex, but that is a *topos* in the description of heresies and does not agree with the rest of his account. He did, however, call the accused 'Manichaeans', which implies that he considered them dualists. Clement and Everard with two of their followers were lynched by the mob while awaiting sentence.[39]

Five years later in 1119, when presiding at the council of Toulouse, Pope Calixtus II denounced those who 'while looking like monks, condemn the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, infant baptism, the priesthood and holy orders and . . . holy matrimony',[40] but he was probably referring to the followers of Peter of Bruys rather than to authentic Cathars.

In 1143 Eberwine of Steinfeld when conducting a heresy trial at Cologne found that the suspects belonged to two distinct groups. One group comprised radical, anticlerical reformers, who denied the validity of all sacraments except adult baptism, taught that there was no purgatory, rejected the invocation of saints, denied the value of penance, and held that valid marriage could only occur when both partners were virgins. The other group, led by a bishop and his companion, claimed to represent the true church because they were vowed to apostolic poverty, led austere lives and were persecuted. Their church consisted of the elect who had been baptised with the Holy Spirit by the laying-on of hands as well as with water. The elect did not marry, or eat the products of coition, and they had the power to baptise others. Those under instruction were called believers and were admitted to the prayers; and there was also an outer circle of hearers who sympathised with the movement. All scholars agree that these dissenters were Cathars, and the group asserted their Byzantine origins: 'this heresy has been hidden from the time of the martyrs until the present day, and has survived in Greece and certain other lands'.[41] Nevertheless, they were not accused of dualism, and this should be borne in mind when considering the opinion that eleventh-century outbreaks of heresy were wrongly labelled 'Manichaean' because their adherents were not said to hold dualist beliefs. The Cathars of Cologne cannot, as is sometimes alleged, have been refugees from Manuel I's persecution of Bogomils, because that only started in the year of their trial.[42] They were seized and burnt by the mob while awaiting sentence.

Some years later Cathars appeared in nearby Flanders. Archbishop Henry of Rheims, brother of the king of France, conducted a vigorous persecution of

[39] Guibert of Nogent, *Histoire de sa vie* III.17, ed. Labande, pp. 428–34.
[40] Mansi 21 col. 226.
[41] 'hanc haeresim usque ad haec tempora occultatam fuisse a temporibus martyrum, et permanisse in Graecia et quibusdam aliis terris', Appendix to the Letters of St Bernard, CDXXXII, *PL* 182, col. 679.
[42] Magdalino (1993), pp. 276–7.

them there in 1162, but this only led to the sect's being further diffused and by 1163 one group of them had re-entered the Rhine valley. This is known from the account of Egbert of Schönau, who was the first Catholic to describe the dissenters as Cathars. The members of the Cologne group, together with others at Bonn examined by him, were burnt by the secular authorities, while some forty Cathars were expelled from the nearby city of Mainz. Another thirty Cathars crossed to England at about this time, and although they only converted one woman, they were brought before Henry II and a council at Oxford and condemned to be branded and outlawed. They perished that winter for want of food and shelter and that marked the effective end of the Cathar attempt to evangelise England. The movement also spread into Burgundy, where in 1167 a group of *Popelicani*, almost certainly Cathars, were tried by the abbot of Vézelay and seven of them were burnt.[43] Although Catharism persisted in northern France and Flanders until the reign of Louis IX (1226–70), it was driven underground by this vigorous opposition, while in the Rhine valley, as in England, persecution would seem to have destroyed the movement before it had become securely rooted; but the situation was very different in southern France and northern Italy.

By 1163 Catharism had reached southern France. Alexander III denounced it at the council of Tours, and assumed that the heresy had originated in Toulouse, probably because of Calixtus II's denunciation of heresy there in 1119. Anselm of Alessandria later claimed that Catharism had entered Languedoc from northern France, which is supported by other fragmentary sources. It may have been present by 1145 when Bernard of Clairvaux preached in the Toulousain and found a group of 'Ariani' there. Even though his biographer does not describe their beliefs, 'Arians' would have been an appropriate label for moderate dualists with an unorthodox Christology, and the term was certainly later used in Languedoc to describe Cathars. William of Puylaurens relates that the Cathar bishop of Toulouse, converted to Catholicism in 1181, was later known as Raymond the Arian.[44]

By 1165 Catharism was sufficiently well established in Languedoc to be a serious source of anxiety to the Catholic authorities. The bishop of Albi convoked a synod at Lombers, attended by the archbishop of Narbonne, four bishops, seven abbots, the viscount of Béziers and the countess of Toulouse, to examine certain *boni homines* and their leader, Oliver. Since Cathars normally called themselves 'bons hommes', it is agreed that this group were Cathars. They rejected the Old Testament and refused to take oaths, both distinctively

---

[43] *Popelicani* seems to be a variant of the word *publicani* used by twelfth-century western writers to render the Greek term *pavlikianoi*, or Paulicians. Borst (1953), p. 247, n. 1.

[44] Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronica*, c. ii, ed. & trans. Duvernoy, p. 28.

moderate dualist characteristics, but they did not admit to any specifically dualist beliefs. Indeed, they made a Catholic profession of faith, which they may have understood in a non-Catholic sense, but refused to confirm it by oath. The outcome of the meeting is not known, but from a Catholic viewpoint it was certainly a failure in the long term because Lombers became the residence of the Cathar bishops of Albi, and the Cathars of Languedoc were popularly known as Albigensians.

The origins of the Cathars in Italy are described in two independent sources, the anonymous *De heresi* of 1200–15, and the *Tractatus* of the inquisitor Anselm of Alessandria written in *c.* 1266.[45] Both agree that the real architect of Catharism there was Mark of Milan who was converted by Cathars from northern France and founded congregations in Lombardy, Tuscany and the march of Treviso. He was initiated in the *ordo* of the moderate dualist church of Bulgaria. *Ordo* described the succession whereby the Cathar sacrament of initiation, the *consolamentum*, had been transmitted from the apostolic age, and it was vital to Cathar claims that all the ministers of the sacrament should have been worthy. Rainier Sacconi, a Cathar minister who became an inquisitor, reports:

On this score all Cathars live in a state of doubt and anxiety about their salvation. For if one of their clergy, and specially their bishop, shall have secretly committed some mortal sin . . . all those on whom he has laid hands have been deceived and will perish if they die in that state.[46]

This anxiety is the key to an understanding of the later history of Italian Catharism. For Mark and his followers became involved in disputes between the Byzantine Bogomils from whom their own faith was derived. From their inception until the twelfth century the Bogomils had all been moderate dualists; and this was still the case when Basil, the leader of the sect in Constantinople, was put on trial in *c.* 1098. But subsequently the Bogomils of Dragovet near Philippopolis, a place often called Drugunthia in western sources, were converted to absolute dualism. I have suggested that this reflects the influence of the strong Paulician community of Philippopolis, for the Paulicians were absolute dualists who had no ascetic tradition.[47] The Bogomils of Drugunthia shared an austere way of life, a liturgy and a common form of organisation with all other Bogomils, but they rejected the moderate dualist

---

[45] Anon., *De heresi Catharorum; Anselm of Alessandria, Tractatus de hereticis,* ed. Dondaine.

[46] 'Proinde omnes Cathari laborant in maximo dubio et periculo anime. Verbi gratia, si prelatus eorum, et maxime episcopus, occulte commiserit aliquod mortale peccatum . . . omnes illi quibus ipse manum suam imposuit, sunt decepti et pereunt, si in eo statu decedunt', Raynerius Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis,* ed. Sanjek, p. 49.

[47] Hamilton (1974).

ordo stemming from Bulgaria and claimed that their *ordo* alone could confer salvation. The Bogomils of Constantinople also came to accept absolute dualism and the Drugunthian *ordo*. Their bishop was *papa* Nicetas: Bogomil, bishops were styled *papa* like their founder, *pop* Bogomil, and this led some Catholics to suppose that there must be a 'pope of the heretics' in eastern Europe, but there is no evidence to support such a view.[48]

In *c.* 1170 Nicetas visited Italy where he denounced the Bulgarian *ordo* and persuaded Mark and his followers to be consoled again in the *ordo* of Drugunthia. The Italian sources do not record that Nicetas crossed the Alps, but according to a southern French source, known as the St-Félix document, he presided at a Cathar council in Languedoc. This source survives only in an abbreviated, seventeenth-century, printed text, but I have argued that it is genuine, chiefly because the information it contains agrees completely with what is now known about the history of southern French Catharism, but which nobody could have known at the time it was published.[49] The document relates that the leaders of the chief Cathar communities of the west, Bishop Mark of Lombardy, Bishop Robert de Spernone of northern France and Bishop Sicard Cellarier of Albi with many of their adherents met together at St Félix-de-Caraman in the Lauragais. Nicetas reconsoled all the Cathar perfect there, reconsecrated the bishops, set up three new bishoprics for Languedoc at Agen, Toulouse and Carcassonne, and advised the Cathar churches to observe fixed diocesan boundaries. There is evidence that some Italian Cathar dioceses had territorial boundaries, and they also may have been introduced by Nicetas.[50] The St Félix document is dated, perhaps correctly, 1167, although a mistake could have been made in transcription. The council must have met after 1165, when Oliver, not Sicard Cellarier, was head of the Cathars of Albi, and before 1177 when Raymond V of Toulouse complained to the chapter-general of Cîteaux about the presence of absolute dualism in his lands. Near-contemporary Italian sources also confirm that there were Cathar communities in Italy by about this time. In 1173 Florence was placed under an interdict because heretics were found there; before 1176 some Cathars from Florence sought refuge at Orvieto in the papal states; while an outbreak of Catharism was reported at Milan shortly before 1176. The council of St Félix was important: it united the infant Cathar churches of western Europe in a single faith and *ordo*, gave them a uniform organisation and affirmed their links with the dualist churches of the Byzantine empire. In the case of southern France the work of the council proved long-lasting: the faith and order which it established in Languedoc were preserved for almost a century and undoubtedly strengthened the southern French Cathars when

[48] Borst (1953), p. 210, n. 28 lists the sources.   [49] Hamilton (1978). See also Zerner (2001).

[50] E.g. the diocese of Florence, Döllinger (1890), II, no. xxi, p. 324.

they faced persecution first from the Albigensian Crusade and later from the Inquisition.

Duvernoy has warned that the narrative sources should not be considered exhaustive, and that Catharism almost certainly did not enter Italy through Mark and Nicetas alone.[51] This may well be true, for there were northern French Cathars there before Mark's conversion, and also Cathars in the Norman kingdom of Sicily about whom little is known.[52] But Mark gave cohesion to the Cathars of Lombardy and Tuscany, and his importance can be seen from the confusion which followed immediately after his death.

In *c*. 1180 Petracius, an envoy from the Bogomil church of Bulgaria, came to Lombardy and reported that Bishop Simon of Drugunthia, from whom Nicetas' consecration derived, had committed fornication and that therefore all the sacraments which stemmed from him were invalid. Bishop Mark died at about that time and his followers were divided about what action to take. Three main groups emerged: the Cathars of Desenzano near Brescia, sometimes known as the Albanenses, remained faithful to the absolute dualist teachings of Nicetas and sent their bishop-elect to be consecrated in Drugunthia; the Cathars of Concorezzo near Milan reverted to moderate dualism and sent their candidate to be consecrated in Bulgaria; the Cathars of Bagnolo near Mantua and those of Vicenza in the Veneto established bishoprics and sought guidance from the moderate dualist church of Dalmatia which differed in doctrine on some points from that of Bulgaria. Cathar bishoprics were also founded at Florence and Spoleto, but their doctrinal allegiance is not known. These divisions proved permanent, and although in time a measure of toleration came to exist between most of the groups the Albanenses remained aloof and refused to recognise the validity of the sacraments conferred by other Cathars. Moreover, the Cathar churches of Lombardy failed to respect each other's boundaries and competed for converts in the same towns. Despite this, Cathar numbers grew rapidly in Lombardy and Tuscany.

From the last quarter of the twelfth century there are adequate sources on which to base an account of the Cathar systems of belief. There are three types of evidence: first the Cathars' own writings; second, the works of Catholic polemicists; and third, inquisition records which, though dating from the 1240s and later, record some testimonies from the late twelfth century. Since the writers of these sources cannot have been in collusion it is reasonable to assume that the points about which they all agree are accurate. The Cathars considered themselves Christian and based their teachings on the New Testament which they accepted as the revealed word of God, and read in the same text as

---

[51] Duvernoy (1979), p. 168.
[52] Joachim of Fiore *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (1527), III.9, 11, fol. 131r.

Catholics, apart from adopting as canonical certain variant readings which supported their interpretation of the faith.[53] Absolute dualists also accepted as divinely inspired the Psalms, Wisdom literature and Prophets of the Old Testament, though they rejected the Pentateuch and the historical books.

At the heart of Catharism lay a diagnosis of the problem of evil which one of them expressed in this way: 'God is very good. In this world nothing is good. It therefore follows that God did not make anything which is in this world.'[54] But they needed to explain why, since the world was evil, man had an affinity with the good God. Because the Cathars had no creed they were able to entertain a considerable diversity of opinions about matters of faith, and because they rejected the Book of Genesis they needed to produce their own creation myths. The moderate dualists' account was quite close to that of orthodox Christians, though there were certain very significant differences. They believed that there was only one God, the Father of Christ and of Lucifer (or Satan), and the creator of angels and of the four elements. Satan had set himself up as god, fashioning the elements into the visible universe, and forming the bodies of Adam and Eve, but he could not give them spiritual life until by a strategem he imprisoned the souls of two angels in them, from whom all human souls were subsequently generated. Satan was the Jehovah of the Old Testament and caused men to worship him as the only god. The good God sent Christ, His son and Satan's brother, into this world to free the angelic souls of men. Most moderate dualists did not think that Christ had had a material body, and it followed from this that he could not have died on the cross or risen from the dead. He was a spiritual being.

Absolute dualists had a more radical explanation of man's place in creation. They considered that the key biblical text was: 'All things are double, one against the other.'[55] There were two co-eternal gods, each of whom had made a heaven and an earth and living creatures. The evil god had invaded the cosmos of the good God and drawn one third of the angelic souls into his own world, imprisoning them in the bodies of men, warm-blooded creatures and birds, and condemning them to a perpetual round of reincarnation, for at death the soul left the body and entered the body of the next creature which it encountered in the act of being born. These Cathars believed that Christ, God's son, had

---

[53] The unique exemplar of the Cathar New Testament contains the pseudo-Pauline Epistle to the Laodiceans, but this was not heretical and was found in various medieval Catholic Bibles. Clédat (1887); Apocrypha, trans. James (1924), pp. 478–80; Harris (1988).

[54] Pierre Garcias of Toulouse examined by the Inquisition in 1247 was alleged to have replied to his brother William's question 'utrum ille Deus qui fuit positus in cruce hec visibilia fecisset', 'Ille erat optimus et nichil horum est bonum. Ergo nichil horum fecit.' *Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc,* ed. Douais, ii, pp. 111–12.

[55] Ecclesiasticus 42.24 (Authorized Version); 42.25 (Vulgate).

really been incarnate, died and risen again as the gospels related, not in this world, but in the 'land of the living', the earth created by the good God; but that between his death and resurrection he had come into this world, the world of the evil god, as a spiritual presence.

All Cathars agreed about the nature of Christ's ministry in this world. He founded the Cathar church, gave it his teaching and entrusted to it the one sacrament of salvation, the *consolamentum*. Through this spiritual baptism the believer received the Holy Spirit, the dominion of evil in his life was ended, and when he died his soul would return to the Paradise of the good God. Absolute dualists taught that the chain of reincarnation was broken in this way, and that the cosmic mission of the Cathar church was to work for the liberation of all angelic souls, so that finally the separation of the good and evil universes would once again be complete. All Cathars believed that the Catholic church was a counterfeit of the true church, and most of them thought that it had been founded by John the Baptist, whom they regarded as an instrument of the powers of evil.[56] They taught that it held out false promises of salvation through material sacraments which had no power to deliver men.

Except in matters of doctrine, moderate and absolute dualists were indistinguishable. Their forms of church organisation were identical: they all had dioceses ruled by bishops assisted by coadjutors known as Elder and Younger Sons. When a bishop died his Elder Son automatically succeeded him, the Younger Son became the new Elder Son, and a new Younger Son was appointed. Each diocese was divided into areas presided over by deacons. The Cathar perfect, or 'good men and women', lived in single-sex communities whose heads were sometimes called elders.

Spiritual baptism was only administered to adults. In a medieval context this meant girls aged twelve and boys aged fifteen or over. Postulants had to live in a Cathar community for at least a year in order to be instructed in doctrine and trained in asceticism. Successful candidates were received into the church normally by the bishop in a simple but highly ritualised ceremony held in a private house because the Cathars had no churches. The only furnishings were large candelabra, to signify the true Light, and a table covered with a linen cloth on which was a gospel book. The bishop stood behind the table with male perfect on his right and female perfect on his left, wearing simple black robes, and the candidate was led before him by sponsors who were perfect. The service was open to the public and was in two parts. The candidate was first solemnly given the right to say the Lord's Prayer, then, after a homily explaining the significance of the sacrament, he was consoled. The bishop placed the gospel

---

[56] This was how Cathars interpreted Christ's words to the apostles: 'For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost', Acts 1:5.

book on his head and said: 'Holy father, receive thy servant [handmaiden] in thy righteousness and send thy grace and thy Holy Spirit upon him [her].'[57] The service ended with many set prayers, including multiple recitations of the Lord's Prayer each accompanied by a profound bow, which reflected the eastern origin of the Cathar liturgy.

This spiritual baptism entailed a total conversion of life. The perfect had to renounce all family ties, social status and personal property. They were required to live in complete chastity and to abstain from all animal products, flesh, fowl, cheese, eggs and animal fats.[58] They were forbidden ever to swear oaths, tell lies or kill any warmblooded creature even in self-defence. Each was assigned a companion of his own sex for life, and was bound by a strict rule: to dress in a black robe and sandals; to pray in set forms fifteen times every twenty-four hours; to fast on bread and water each Wednesday and Friday; to keep the fasts of Advent and Lent, and that of the apostles in midsummer; and to make regular public confession of sins to a deacon. The bishop assigned work to the perfect, and most men, and almost all women, lived in small single-sex communities, supporting themselves by weaving or market gardening, while instructing postulants and working pastorally among believers. Only a few were seconded to preaching and public ministry.

Most believers were not prepared to embrace the austere life of the perfect, and because they had not been consoled they were not bound by the rules of the Cathar church. They could marry, have children, own property, hunt, fight, and even worship in Catholic churches. The only requirement the Cathar church imposed was that believers should kneel and ask the blessing of the perfect when they met them, a ritual known as the *melioramentum*. When they were dying they could call in the perfect to console them and a shortened form of service was used, but since they had received no systematic training in the life and faith of the perfect they were expected to be consoled again in the conventional way if they recovered.

The Cathar liturgy is contained in the *Ritual*, whose use is first attested at Cologne in 1163. It survives in two versions, a complete Provençal text of *c.* 1280 and a partial Latin text of *c.* 1250, but both appear to derive from a Latin archetype.[59] There are good reasons for supposing that the Cathars had received the *Ritual* from the Bogomils: eleventh-century descriptions of the Bogomil liturgy show close verbal correspondences to that of the Cathar *Ritual*, while a fifteenth-century copy of Bogomil forms of prayer, now in the

---

[57] 'Pater sancte susciper servum tuum in tua justicia et mite gratiam tuam e spiritum sanctum tuum super eum', Clédat (1887), p. xx. (The ritual presents some Latin words in unusual forms.)

[58] They were allowed to drink wine and also to eat fish. In this, no doubt, they were following the example of Christ. Duvernoy (1976), pp. 172–5.

[59] Hamilton (1994b), p. 48.

Vatican Library, corresponds exactly to the opening section of the Provençal *Ritual*. The Cathar *Ritual* bears a close resemblance to early Christian baptismal liturgies, and contains virtually no reference to dualism, and it appears likely that the Balkan dualists had obtained a copy of an early Christian liturgy and had adapted it to their own use in the correct belief that it represented the practice of the primitive church.[60]

It is sometimes claimed that Catharism owed its popularity in part to its readiness to give women parity in church life, but this does not appear to have been the case. In theory no distinction was made between the spiritual powers of male and female perfect, and women could validly administer the *consolamentum* and preach. But the practice was quite different: the ordained ministers were all men; women only ever exercised a public ministry as a last resort if no male perfect were available; and even devout male believers were reluctant to make the *melioramentum* in public to women perfect. Peter Biller has quite rightly questioned how attractive as role models ordinary laywomen found the female perfect who regarded their own sexuality with contempt.[61]

The Cathars gained more adherents than other dissenting movements partly because they had a good organisation and did not rely solely on the forceful character of particular leaders, but chiefly because they were in harmony with the religious aspirations of the age. The twelfth-century ideal of Christian perfection was the monastic holy man or woman of austere life. Members of Catholic religious orders like the Carthusians and the Hermits of Grandmont were every bit as austere as the Cathars, but lived in remote places and were not in the public view, whereas the Cathar perfect lived in ordinary houses in towns and villages, where their way of life was a matter of common knowledge. Many laypeople were poorly instructed in Catholic teaching and were therefore probably not aware of the extent to which Cathar beliefs were heterodox, particularly because the Cathars used a conventional Christian vocabulary. Moreover the Cathars addressed problems which troubled most people. The presence of evil in a universe made by an omnipotent and good God was, and remains, a difficulty for many people in accepting orthodox Christian teaching. The Cathars also struck a sympathetic chord with some of their hearers when they criticised the Catholic teaching about the bodily resurrection, and the transformation of the eucharistic elements into Christ's Body and Blood, since doubt was quite often expressed about these matters because they were contrary to sense perception. Finally, the Cathars were certain of a sympathetic hearing when they criticised the corrupt lives of the clergy and denounced the payment of tithes.

---

[60] Hamilton (1988), pp. 293–5.   [61] Biller (1990).

Nevertheless, although people may have thought that the Cathars talked sense, they were probably more convinced by their public rituals than by their preaching. The administration of the *consolamentum* bore a striking resemblance in form though not in language to the ceremony for professing a monk: both rites were public, and both entailed a conversion of life.[62] Yet although the monastic life was viewed as the Christian ideal, it was barred to most people. Those who were married could not take monastic vows, while even single people could only be professed in most communities if they were either of good birth, or rich enough to provide an endowment. The Cathars, in contrast, would console anybody who proved their commitment, irrespective of social or economic status,[63] and would accept married men or women if their partners would give their consent. Furthermore, Cathar believers could lead ordinary secular lives yet be consoled when dying and be assured that their souls would go straight to the Paradise of the good God. The Catholic church could not offer any similar guarantee: for although any dying man however sinful might receive the last rites and be assured of salvation, the penitential fires of Purgatory awaited him unless he died in the rare spiritual state of perfect contrition. Yet no doubt the greatest persuasive to Catharism was the life of the perfect: the degree of commitment which their asceticism signified was indeed impressive.

The spread of Catharism in southern Europe was undoubtedly helped by an absence of persecution. In Italy it took root during the years following 1158 when Frederick I was attempting to restore imperial power and was meeting with stiff resistance from the Lombard League. That was a time when the self-governing communes were reluctant to initiate potentially divisive heresy trials, and by 1183 when the Peace of Constance was signed the Cathars had an established position in many Lombard and Tuscan cities and among some of the rural nobility.

In southern France the Cathars were helped by the degree of political fragmentation.[64] The kings of England, France and Aragon all claimed suzerainty over parts of the area; and the situation was exacerbated by the lack of adequate systems of local government throughout much of the region. The church was weakened because the impoverished nobility confiscated a good deal of its property and impropriated much of its tithe to defray the costs of endemic local

---

[62] I owe this insight to an unpublished BA dissertation by my pupil Christopher Starkie (1993).

[63] But the Cathars were not indifferent to money. The form for consoling the sick in the Ritual of Lyons requires that the dying man or woman shall be asked: 'si es de re endeutatz vas la gleisa ni encolpatz. E si deu lunha re e o pod pagar far o deu. E si far no o vol, no deu esser receubutz', Clédat (1887), p. xxii.

[64] See Bernard Hamilton, 'The Albigensian Crusade and heresy', in D. Abulafia (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, v: *c.1198–c.1300*, pp. 164–81.

warfare; and its problems were compounded by an archaic provincial structure which bore no relation to twelfth-century political realities but which made it virtually impossible for the bishops of Languedoc to take concerted action against heresy. Conventional measures for dealing with Catharism were shown to be inadequate when, in response to a complaint from Count Raymond V, Pope Alexander III sent a legatine mission to Toulouse in 1178. The Cathar bishop was summoned before the legatine synod and condemned as a heretic, but continued his ministry unimpeded because he was protected by the rural nobility. A new legate, Henry of Albano, sent to Languedoc in 1181, realised that a different method was needed. Raising a small army he captured the castle of Lavaur in which the same Cathar bishop of Toulouse and his companion were living, obtained their recantations, and appointed the bishop a canon of St Sernin in Toulouse where he lived for many years. But this initiative, though in a sense it was a precedent for the Albigensian Crusade, had no immediate sequel. Consequently Catharism was able to thrive virtually unchecked in Languedoc until Innocent III's reign. It spread among all social classes, although among the high nobility its support came entirely from women.

Catharism was very like Catholicism in that it equated Christian perfection with renunciation of the world. It was, of course, far more rigorous than Catholicism in that the Cathars did not admit that anybody could be a Christian at all unless they renounced the world. But for people who wanted to take their religion seriously but stay in society Catharism was not a solution, and this explains why, although the Cathars flourished, they did not satisfy the needs of all spiritually discontented Catholics. Reformist movements within the Catholic church continued to develop after the coming of the Cathars and to grow in the very regions where the Cathars were strong.

The most successful was that initiated in *c.* 1176 by Valdès, a rich merchant of Lyons, who adopting a life of apostolic poverty conducted a ministry to the poor of the city. His faith was entirely orthodox, and he commissioned vernacular translations of parts of the Bible and of the works of the Fathers to be used by lay preachers whom he trained. Alexander III examined a Waldensian delegation at the Third Lateran Council in 1179 and, while praising their work, stipulated that they must obtain bishops' licences in order to preach. Inevitably some of them were refused licences, and by *c.* 1184 the Waldensians had seceded from the church. By the early thirteenth century they had spread throughout Languedoc, into Lombardy and Tuscany, and also to Aragon and Lorraine, but although their founder had remained very orthodox his followers became more radical. The movement was led by trained preachers of both sexes who were vowed to a life of poverty and celibacy. Unlike Valdès, they rejected the study of the Fathers and regarded the Bible as their sole authority. Preaching services took the place of the mass as their central act of worship, and they

spread a knowledge of the Bible among illiterate laypeople and encouraged them to learn long passages by heart.

The Humiliati closely resembled the Waldensians. They originated in Lombardy in the 1170s as a movement of laypeople who wished to adopt a life of poverty and austerity and to minister to the urban poor while continuing to live in their own homes. They were orthodox in faith, but went into schism when Alexander III refused to license them as preachers.[65]

In theory the church authorities approved of many of the reformers' aims. They considered it admirable that laymen should wish to lead the *vita apostolica*: Alexander III supported Valdès' lay followers in their desire to preach; while Innocent III praised those who wished to read the vernacular Scriptures and teach others about them: 'the desire of understanding the holy scriptures and a zeal for preaching what is in the scriptures is something not to be reprimanded but rather to be encouraged',[66] he wrote of a group of laypeople at Metz. But despite their goodwill towards orthodox reformers, twelfth-century popes would not themselves license laymen to preach, but upheld the traditional and exclusive right of bishops to grant preaching licences in their own dioceses. This led to conflicts between bishops and reformers, and the church lost many committed people from its communion.

During the twelfth century the church's attitude to the treatment of heretics gradually changed. Traditionally those suspected of heresy had to be reported to the bishop and tried in his court. If they were found guilty and recanted the bishop might make their reconciliation conditional on some public penance, but if they refused to recant he could only excommunicate them. Secular rulers might punish such people, though they were not bound to do so. Thus in 1022 King Robert II had caused some of the canons of Orléans condemned by a church synod to be burnt at the stake. That is the first occasion on which this barbarous penalty is known to have been used for the punishment of heresy in the middle ages. But the church was for a long time reluctant to hand recalcitrant heretics over to the secular arm because the death penalty precluded any possibility of repentance. Indeed, on various occasions between 1028 and 1163 the mob seized heretics awaiting sentence and burnt them, fearing lest the church authorities by their leniency should deprive them of public entertainment. By the late twelfth century the church's attitude was beginning to change, perhaps because of the spread of heresy in areas like Languedoc and Lombardy where the civil authorities refused to intervene. In 1184 Pope Lucius

---

[65] Important new evidence about the origins of the Humiliati is contained in Andrews (1999).

[66] 'desiderium intelligendi divinas Scripturas et secundum eas studium adhortandi reprehendum non sit, sed potius commendandum', *Die Register Innocenz III*, II: *Pontifikatsjahr*, 1199–1200, ed. Hageneder and others, p. 272. This letter is analysed by Boyle (1985). I have used Dr Boyle's translation of this passage on p. 101.

III and the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, as leaders of western Christendom, jointly issued the decree *Ad abolendam* to address the problem of heresy. This changed the procedures for dealing with dissidents by enacting that in future bishops should not wait for heretics to be denounced to them, but should, either in person or through their officials, make regular inquisitions for heresy in those parts of their dioceses where heretics were known to exist. The decree also made it mandatory for those who refused to recant to be handed over to the secular authorities for punishment, the nature of which was not specified, except that any convicted vassal should be deprived of his fief. This legislation was aimed primarily at Cathars: in the bull Waldensians and Humiliati were described simply as unlicensed preachers, not as heretics. This measure did not work, because most bishops were not prepared to spend the considerable time which would have been needed to enforce it effectively, while in Languedoc and Lombardy most secular authorities were unwilling to punish heretics.

What the rise of the Waldensians and the popularity of the Cathars equally show is that there was by the end of the twelfth century a substantial body of laypeople in southern Europe who were dissatisfied with the Catholic church, though for different reasons. Large numbers of people, it would appear, viewed the Cathars with sympathy, because the perfect exemplified the received ideal of Christian perfection, which involved renunciation of the world, and achieved a higher average standard of personal austerity than Catholic clergy did. Cathar believers did not want a more active role in the church, but do appear to have been attracted by the prospect of deathbed conversion which would free them from all suffering in the next world. Reformist groups like the Waldensians met a different need by attracting devout laypeople who were not content with the passive role assigned to them by the Catholic church. It is arguable that the existence of such people was a consequence of the establishment of a parish system which enabled the laity to attend church regularly and practise their faith; but before the foundation of the Mendicant Orders in the thirteenth century there was no general Catholic system of spiritual guidance which would enable laypeople to strive for perfection while living in the world. Nevertheless, although dissenting groups were well supported and vigorous, they only accounted for a minority of the population even in areas where heresy was most widespread. Most laypeople in western Europe in this period were, it would seem, content to practise their religion, with varying degrees of fervour or indifference, within the framework of the Catholic church.

THE CRUSADES, 1095–1198

Jonathan Riley-Smith

THE proclamation of the First Crusade at Clermont by Pope Urban II on 27 November 1095 was marked by the flamboyance which was a feature of his year-long journey through France. A church council, attended by some 200 archbishops, bishops and abbots, was ending. Urban had asked the bishops to bring the leading nobles in their dioceses with them to the council. The invitation had not been very successful and few lay notables from regions other than Auvergne were present. Although winter was approaching, the gathering was mustered out of doors in a field just outside the town. There are conflicting eye-witness accounts of the pope's sermon and of the events that immediately followed, but it is clear that the conclusion of the sermon was the signal for extravagant and obviously prearranged gestures of acceptance made by senior churchmen.

The *casus belli* had been provided by the invasion and occupation of most of Asia Minor by the Turks. The loss of their eastern territories and the threat posed to Constantinople had persuaded the Byzantine emperors to appeal for help from the popes and leading laymen in the west, and in 1074 Pope Gregory VII had proposed that he himself lead an army of 50,000 men to the east. In 1089 and 1091 Urban may already have been considering calling for French and perhaps other volunteers to fight for the Greeks, and in 1090 Count Robert I of Flanders, perhaps in response to a Byzantine initiative, had entered into an agreement to serve the empire with 500 knights for pay. In March 1095, while Urban was preparing for his visit to France and was presiding over a church council at Piacenza, a new appeal had reached him. His response was the preaching of the First Crusade at Clermont eight months later.

He put forward, however, a strategy much more ambitious than the defence of the Byzantine empire and even the recovery of Asia Minor. He proposed the liberation of the city of Jerusalem. The seriousness with which he made Jerusalem a practical goal has been questioned, but there is little doubt that a campaign to take Jerusalem was in the forefront of his mind from the first; this

2. Asia Minor, Syria and the crusades

explains why it seems to have been assumed that it would take as long as three years. The recovery of Jerusalem had obviously been discussed in papal circles for some time: in 1074 Pope Gregory VII had suggested that the expedition he was planning to lead might push on to liberate the Holy Sepulchre. It may be that the idea had first come to the west from Constantinople, since the Byzantine emperor Alexios seems to have suggested aid to Jerusalem as well as to Constantinople in the letters he wrote to French nobles. And it has recently been suggested that there may be truth in the tradition that the wandering preacher Peter the Hermit had begun to summon the French to join an armed expedition to Jerusalem before the council of Clermont. At any rate Urban probably envisaged the crusaders joining a Greek army under the overall command of the Byzantine emperor and marching with it to recover Jerusalem.

There is no doubt that at Clermont Urban proposed a war of liberation with two aims: the liberation of people, the eastern Christians, and the liberation of a place, Jerusalem, from Muslim domination. These war aims place the First Crusade firmly in the context of the struggle engendered by the eleventh-century reformation which was taking place in western Europe; indeed with Rome in the hands of the imperialists and the pope in exile, parallels could have been drawn between the situations of the two greatest pilgrimage centres in Christendom. It is even possible to imagine that the crusade would have taken place, in much the form it did, without the justification provided by the Turkish invasions. The radical reformers in control of the papacy had not been slow to turn to sympathetic nobles for military support. Their renunciation of German protection had led them to search out other, less dominating powers, which could provide the papacy with the defence it needed. The use of the south Italian Normans and the building up in western Europe of a network of *milites sancti Petri* had been accompanied by serious research by scholars, of whom the most eminent was Anselm of Lucca, into the theology of war. It is still not clear how widespread was the influence of Anselm's anthology of writings on Christian violence: it was to some extent in conflict with another, less positive tradition, represented by Ivo of Chartres, until the issue was magisterially resolved in favour of Anselm's approach by Gratian in Causa XXIII of his *Decretum.* But Urban, who had been summoned to the papal curia by Pope Gregory VII, would certainly have encountered academic discussion on the ability of the church to authorise violence.

What is more, the church was already supporting war against the Muslims in Sicily and Spain, and had been using the term 'liberation' of it. From the beginning of his pontificate Urban had been enthusiastically backing a drive to reoccupy Tarragona, 50 miles south of Barcelona, and he had already suggested that those planning a pilgrimage, even to Jerusalem, should instead redirect

their energies to the restoration of Tarragona where they could gain the same spiritual benefits. Once the crusade had been preached he tried, without much success, to persuade leading nobles in Catalonia to fulfil their crusade vows at home, 'because it is no virtue to rescue Christians from Muslims in one place, only to expose them to the tyranny and oppression of the Muslims in another'.[1] And in another letter he equated fighting the Moors in Spain with the crusade in the east.

The goal of Jerusalem made the First Crusade a pilgrimage. In synthesising the traditions of war and pilgrimage Urban gave the idea of penitential warfare, which had emerged in embryo in the past decade or so, substance by linking it to the most charismatic penance then known, pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There is no doubt that the association of war with pilgrimage did appeal to people, but it meant that Urban lost any control he might have had over recruitment; in spite of steps taken to limit participation to nobles and knights, the fact that pilgrimages had always been open to everyone, and particularly the old and sick, made it impossible for the pope to prevent any Christian lay man or woman going if he or she wished to do so. Urban introduced a vow to be taken by crusaders. The melodramatic scene at Clermont provided a model to be imitated on his subsequent journey through France and thousands of times in the succeeding centuries: the enthusiastic crowd, the rousing sermon, the public commitment marked by the attachment of cloth crosses. The emotional public displays would be followed by many private ceremonies at which lords and knights, who had so openly committed themselves, would receive the staffs and scrips of pilgrims from local bishops or abbots.

Urban later wrote that he had been 'stimulating the minds of knights to go on this expedition'.[2] His journey through France, which was his homeland, from Le Puy in August 1095 to Villeneuve-lès-Avignon in July 1096, had a dramatic quality, although it must have been exhausting for him: he was about sixty years old. For much of the time he was, of course, among his own people, and he would have known how to impress them. His enormous train wound its way through country towns, which had never, or had hardly ever, seen a king in living memory. For instance he entered Limoges on 23 December 1095 with a following that included two cardinals, Ranger, archbishop of Reggio, and Bruno, bishop of Segni. He was also accompanied by Archbishop Daimbert of Pisa, who was to be sent out to the east as papal legate and became the first canonical Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, by Abbot Hugh of Cluny and by a flock of French prelates: the archbishops of Lyons, Bourges and Bordeaux,

---

[1] 'Neque enim virtutis est alibi a Saracenis christianos eruere, alibi christianos Saracenorum tyrannidi oppressionique exponere', *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, 1: *Katalonien*, ed. P. Kehr, p. 288.

[2] 'nos enim ad hanc expeditionem militum animos instigavimus', 'Papsturkunden in Florenz', ed. W. Wiederhold, p. 313.

and the bishops of Poitiers, Périgord, Saintes and Rodez, together, of course, with the bishop of Limoges, Humbald of St Sévère. These personages would have had their own riding households. That would have been exciting enough, but the theatricality displayed by the pope must have heightened the dramatic impression given by his entourage. Everywhere he went he dedicated cathedrals, churches and altars. He presided over councils at Clermont (November 1095), Marmoutier near Tours (March 1096) and Nîmes (July 1096), at which his already impressive entourage was greatly augmented. His November sermon in the open air at Clermont was followed by another at Tours on the banks of the Loire in March. He celebrated the feast of the Assumption at the great Marian shrine of Le Puy and the feasts of St Giles and St Hilary at St Gilles and Poitiers respectively. At Limoges he said two Christmas masses, at the abbeys of Notre Dame de la Règle and St Martial. He was crowned, presumably with his tiara, at this time a conical white hat with one circlet of gold and gems around the base, and he then processed, wearing his tiara, to the cathedral of St Stephen, where he presided over the rest of the day's office. He dedicated the cathedral church on 29 December and on the following day the basilica of St Martial; he said mass and then he preached the cross. There is evidence for him wearing his crown elsewhere, at Tours for instance.

Many of the earliest crusaders lived within reach of the stages on the pope's itinerary through France, but many more did not, and it is not clear how the news of his message spread in a form that was sufficiently appealing to encourage men to join up. Most bishops do not seem to have been enthusiastic, although the pope had wanted them to preach the cross. Some monasteries seem to have been centres of recruitment, although the availability of cash, rather than commitment to the cause, may have made some religious communities busier with crusaders than others. Popular preachers like Peter the Hermit obviously contributed. But the news also seems to have spread by word of mouth, down the chains of relatives who made up the extended families of the period. Indeed many recruits were concentrated within certain kin groups, suggesting family predispositions towards crusading, predispositions which, like traditions of benefaction to religious communities, seem to have been carried by women to the families into which they married.

The response was heaviest in France and the French-speaking territories of the empire, but recruits were to be found throughout western Europe. The early appeal of crusading should not be exaggerated: even an estimated figure for all those who took the cross for the three waves of the First Crusade between 1096 and 1101 of about 136,000, of which less than 10 per cent would have been nobles and knights, represents a fraction of the available manpower. Nevertheless the scale of the response, particularly among the nobles and knights, is remarkable

when one considers that most would have known that the journey east and the campaign to follow would be inconvenient, unpleasant, dangerous and extremely expensive. A French knight planning to join the First Crusade, for instance, may well have had to think in terms of an expenditure the equivalent of four or five times his annual income. This explains the large number of sales, vif-gages and renunciations of disputed rights for cash which are to be found in monastic cartularies.

So why did they go? It is difficult now to comprehend the burden of guilt under which these men and women laboured. Locked into a sinful world from which they could not escape and constantly reminded of this by reforming churchmen, they had over the years built up attitudes and traditions of behaviour, particularly in relation to local religious communities, into which the appeal to crusade fitted comfortably. The high theology of Anselm of Lucca was not for them, but the call to crusade could be couched in terms they comprehended as recovery of the local shrine, or as family warfare, a vendetta waged on behalf of their father Christ, whose patrimony had been stolen, and their brothers and sisters, their co-religionists, who were groaning under Muslim tyranny. And they understood that using the expertise in which they had been trained they could benefit not only their own souls, but those of their dead relatives, whose fate imposed obligations on them. Before he would crusade in 1101 Herbert of Thouars sought an assurance from the bishop of Poitiers that the merit he might gain would benefit his dead father's soul.

The first bodies of men and women left for the east even before the pope had finished his preaching tour of France. They were to be succeeded by two other waves of crusaders and between the waves by many little parties travelling independently, so that there was a constant stream on the roads to the east, while trickling back came parties of deserters and the sick. The first crusaders were on the move in the spring of 1096, five months before the date (15 August) the pope had set for the mustering of the hosts and at a time when western Europe was short of food after a succession of poor harvests. Two armies left France, both consisting of large numbers of poor people recruited by Peter the Hermit, supplemented by a strong body of nobles and knights. Three others marched from Germany and the Rhineland, one of them consisting of English, Lorrainer and French crusaders as well as Rhinelanders and Swabians. It was this last army which was responsible for most, but not all, of the pogroms against Jews, an outbreak of violence which almost wiped out the largest Jewish community in western Europe at Mainz and which seems to have stemmed from the crusaders' conception of the crusade as a blood-feud and their inability to distinguish in terms of the disparagement of Christ's 'honour' between those they held responsible for the occupation of Jerusalem in 638 and the crucifixion

in 33. Most of these early crusaders came to grief in Hungary. Only Peter the Hermit's armies reached Constantinople and crossed over into Asia Minor, before being decimated by the Turks.

The second wave of crusaders began to leave in the middle of August, travelling in separate bodies, each comprising men and women from one region or a group of them, under the leadership of important magnates: Hugh 'the Great', the brother of the king of France, Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, Bohemond of Taranto, the elder son of Robert Guiscard, Raymond IV of St Gilles, count of Toulouse, Duke Robert II of Normandy, Count Robert II of Flanders and Count Stephen of Blois. These forces were not armies in the modern sense. Each magnate had, of course, his own household with him, but outside these tight little circles of men the loyalty and therefore submission to discipline of the petty nobles and knights, let alone the poor, was dependent on the leaders' ability to feed and look after them in a dangerous and alien environment, and the crusade was to be marked by a constant shifting of support from one magnate to another as the wealth of individual leaders waxed and waned. This made it hard for the crusaders to agree on a commander-in-chief, which explains why, except for a brief period when Stephen of Blois was made over-all commander – it ended when Stephen ran away – most of the decisions were taken by committees, ranging from the council of the leading magnates down to lesser leaders taking advice from their followers.

This was not what the crusaders had expected. When late in 1096 they began to arrive in Constantinople, desperately short of supplies, the leaders seem to have believed that the emperor Alexios I would take charge. In fact they discovered not only that he had no interest in taking over command or raising a large army to accompany them – in the end he sent only a token party of Byzantine soldiers and clergy, most of whom made off while the crusade was at Antioch – but also that he perceived the crusade leaders to be a threat to him and used every means, including cutting off supplies, to force them and their contingents over the Bosphorus before they could combine with others from the west under his city walls. He also demanded from them oaths of homage and fealty (although he accepted a more limited oath from Raymond of St Gilles) and the promise to return to the empire all the conquests they made which had once belonged to it. In return he distributed largesse, but this merely provided them with the means to buy provisions in the Greek markets. Once the crusade set off across Asia Minor the emperor followed with his own forces at a safe distance; he had got about half-way from Constantinople to Antioch in June 1098 when a false report of the situation of the crusaders ahead and the news that a Turkish army was mustering in Anatolia led him to withdraw even from there, abandoning the crusaders to their fate. It is not surprising that the crusade leaders came to distrust him, nor that, when it came

to it, most of them baulked at handing Antioch, the gateway to Syria and an essential link in their own lines of communication, over to the Greeks.

In early June 1097 all the contingents were assembled in one army before Nicaea, the first important city in Asia Minor in Turkish hands, the capture of which would open the road to the east. The Seljuk sultan of Rum, Kilij Arslan, was taken by surprise, being far away when the siege began. After he had failed to break the cordon round the city, it surrendered to the Byzantines on 19 June. A week later the crusaders set off across Asia Minor in two divisions, one marching a day ahead of the other. On 1 July they won a victory over the Turks at Dorylaeum and on about 10 September they put another Turkish army to flight at Eregli. Two of the younger leaders, Tancred, Bohemond of Taranto's nephew, and Baldwin of Boulogne, Godfrey of Bouillon's brother, veered off to raid Cilicia. They took Tarsus, Adana, Misis and Iskenderun before rejoining the main army, but Baldwin almost at once set off again, this time following a chain of little Armenian principalities east as far as Edessa, where he became the adopted son and partner of the prince and then, after an uprising in the city, sole ruler on 10 March 1098. The region around Edessa was prosperous and from the following autumn he began to supply the crusade, and particularly his brother Godfrey whose stock rose as a result, with money, materials and horses.

Meanwhile the main body of the crusade had struck north, presumably to avoid having to force the Cilician and Syrian Gates, passes through the Taurus and Amanus mountains which could have been held against it. Skirting the main Amanus range, the crusaders came down into Syria from the north, reaching Antioch on 21 October. On the march their horses and pack animals had died in droves: already four out of every five knights had no mounts and most seem to have been forced to carry their own armour and weapons in sacks on their shoulders. They now settled into a siege which was to last for seven and a half months, during which time a region up to 50 miles from Antioch was scoured by parties hunting for food, and foraging centres were set up at great distances. There were occasional military actions – including a major battle in February 1098 when a Muslim relief force was driven off – but most of the crusaders seem to have spent most of their time searching for provisions. Deaths from starvation and disease multiplied, and there were outbreaks of homesickness and panic.

Antioch was betrayed to Bohemond of Taranto and occupied on 3 June 1098, but almost at once the crusaders, now holding a famine-ridden city, found themselves besieged by a large Muslim army, which would have arrived before they were within the walls had it not been held up for three weeks before Edessa. This was the low point of the crusade and there were so many desertions and attempted break-outs that the leaders were forced to seal the

city gates. But at precisely this moment two visionaries reported having seen apparitions, one an encouraging if admonitory Christ, the other St Andrew, who in a series of visitations had revealed the hiding-place under the floor of the newly consecrated cathedral of Antioch of the tip of the lance which had pierced Christ's side at the crucifixion. The crusaders' morale was transformed, and on 28 June they sortied out of the city under Bohemond's command and engaged the Muslims, presumably on foot since they had only 100–200 horses left alive. They won a complete victory, which they ascribed to the intervention on their side of an army of angels, saints and the ghosts of their own dead.

This, the turning point of the crusade, was followed by a long delay, at first deliberate, because it had been decided not to proceed in the summer heat, but later paralytic, as the leaders, deprived of the influence of the papal legate Adhemar of Le Puy, who had died on 1 August in an epidemic, squabbled over the possession of Antioch and the date on which the march should be resumed. In the end it was the ordinary crusaders who forced them to take the road again, and between January and March 1099 the columns began to move south, coming together before 'Arqah, which the crusaders tried unsuccessfully to take. In May they resumed their march, turning inland north of Jaffa and reaching Jerusalem, which fell to them on 15 July and was sacked. On 12 August an Egyptian counterinvasion was turned back in southern Palestine.

As reports of the crusaders' advance filtered back to the west, they were greeted with excitement. Pope Urban took steps to see that those who had taken the cross but had not yet set out should do so, and in the spring of 1099 he commissioned the archbishop of Milan to preach the cross in Lombardy. He died before the news of Jerusalem's liberation reached Italy, but his successor Paschal II continued the work, sending papal legates to preach in France. In the autumn of 1100 and the spring of 1101 the third wave of crusade armies from Lombardy, Germany and France rolled east, but the contingents did not combine and were separately destroyed by the Turks in Asia Minor. These unfortunate crusaders, who included great figures like the dukes of Aquitaine, Burgundy and Bavaria, made their own contribution to crusading thought. Their failure suggested that the Muslim opposition overcome on the way to Jerusalem had been more formidable than it was, and they provided the commentators with what was to become the stock explanation for reverses, with the crusaders themselves being stigmatised as unworthy instruments of the divine plan.

In the winter of 1099–1100 the liberators of Jerusalem began to return to Europe. Some relapsed into old ways of violence. Many found themselves treated with honour in the districts in which they lived. A number found their vocations on or immediately after the crusade and became monks or priests; at least two had taken the step during the expedition. Others founded churches and religious houses on their return, among them Count Robert II of Flanders,

who established a religious community in honour of the aid given at Antioch by St Andrew. Most crusaders had gained nothing tangible from their adventures other than the relics they showered on the churches of western Europe; these included portions of the True Cross, stones from the Holy Sepulchre and the site of the Ascension, at least one sliver from the Holy Lance discovered at Antioch, palms from Jerusalem, hair torn from her head by Our Lady as she witnessed the crucifixion, a hair from Christ's beard, and relics of SS John the Baptist, Nicholas and particularly George.

It is likely that collectively the crusaders had formulated the crusade idea. Pope Urban had preached a war of liberation which was also a pilgrimage, extending to crusaders the protection by the church of their families and properties which was a privilege of pilgrims. He had introduced the vow and the wearing of the cross. He had granted the crusaders indulgences, at that time probably no more than guarantees that the crusade would be so severe a penance that it would make satisfaction for all sin previously committed. He had set the tone for crusading, which was always to be a penitential and liturgical as well as a military activity: the crusade had been marked by processions and solemn rituals, by fasting before major engagements, by departure on new stages barefooted. He had made various utterances about fighting for God or Christ, although it is difficult to assess how seriously these would have been taken at the time. But it was their sufferings and triumphs which had convinced the crusaders that they had been engaged in something that really accorded with the divine plan. They had probably exaggerated the strength of their enemies, but they were not fools. They had known how precarious their position had been, isolated in Asia, far from supply points and without provisions, with most of their horses and pack animals dead, with no proper leadership and encumbered with a large number of non-combatants. And yet they had won through. It is surely no coincidence that it was with the crossing of Asia Minor that some of them began to experience visions and they began to speak of their dead as martyrs. A growing consciousness of their achievement had been accompanied by awe at what they believed was their experience of the interventionary power of God, who had moved to protect and assist them. These convictions, somewhat crudely expressed during the crusade, were written up afterwards by sophisticated scholars, who were able to put them into theologically respectable, if hyperbolic, language: 'Apart from the mystery of the healing cross, what more marvellous deed has there been since the creation of the world than that which was done in modern times in this journey of our men of Jerusalem?'[3]

---

[3] 'Sed post creationem mundi quid mirabilius factum est praeter salutiferae crucis mysterium, quam quod modernis temporibus actum est in hoc itinere nostrorum Iherosolimitanorum', Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 723.

Soon after the liberation of Jerusalem, therefore, an outline idea of the crusade can be seen. It was a holy war on Christ's behalf, waged not only against the Muslims in the east, but also against the Moors in Spain. The participants took vows, wore crosses, enjoyed the early grants of indulgence and shared privileges, especially that of protection, with pilgrims, although the crusader's right of protection was still questionable, if a case involving one of the greatest canonists of the day is anything to go by. In 1106–7 Hugh of Le Puiset, viscount of Chartres, who had joined the new crusade of Bohemond of Taranto, appealed to Bishop Ivo of Chartres for protection against Count Rotrou of Mortagne, who had himself been a crusader. One would have expected Ivo to have known of the latest developments, but his initial reaction was to remit the case to a secular court, that of Countess Adela of Blois. Hugh appealed directly to the pope, who appointed judges delegate to consider the matter. As even these could not agree, an appeal on a point of law was sent to the pope.

There was, in fact, uncertainty, and adding to it was the fact that in the euphoria that greeted the liberation of Jerusalem there was a tendency to attach the concept of crusading to almost any conflict about which a protagonist felt strongly. Count Helias of Maine, who had taken, but did not fulfil, a vow for the First Crusade, was reputed to have defended his county against King William II of England wearing his crusader's cross. Pope Paschal II urged Robert of Flanders, just back from Jerusalem, to fight against those opposed to church reform. In 1106 Bohemond of Taranto toured France to raise support for a new crusade, accompanied by a pretender to the Byzantine imperial throne, and openly called on knights to join him in an invasion of the Byzantine empire, which he later justified to the pope as revenge for the Greeks' mistreatment of the first crusaders and as a means of ending the growing schism between the Latin and Greek churches. His army invaded the empire in October 1107, but was surrounded and forced to surrender in September 1108. In that year a letter composed in Magdeburg presented the Germans' wars against the pagan Wends across the river Elbe as a crusade.

Because of the association between them, moreover, it is hard to distinguish crusades from pilgrimages in the first three decades of the twelfth century. Two crusades were launched to the east in 1107, that of Bohemond of Taranto and a Norwegian expedition under King Sigurd, which helped take the port of Sidon in Palestine in 1110 and was perhaps supplemented with crusaders from elsewhere. An important crusade of 1120–4 took Tyre, and another attacked Damascus in 1129. This had been publicised by the master of the Templars and apparently drew recruits from all over Europe, although the most significant contingent was from Anjou under Count Fulk V.

Meanwhile there was renewed crusading in Spain in 1114, 1116 and especially 1118, when Saragossa fell to a crusade supported by Pope Gelasius II. The

large Christian army, which defeated the Almoravids in battle, contained many southern French crusaders; it was the French rather than the Spanish themselves who up to this time had kept the movement going in Spain. And in May 1135 a council at Pisa, presided over by Pope Innocent II, extended the crusade indulgence to those who fought against the pope's enemies, in this case the south Italian Normans. This gave rise to debate, in which an avant-garde, one representative of which was Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny, argued that violence against fellow-Christians was even more justifiable than that employed against infidels.

Although the church had already taken responsibility for disciplining those who did not fulfil their crusade vows and Popes Paschal II and Gelasius II had backed Bohemond's crusade and the crusade to Saragossa, the papacy was not yet in control of the movement, and the later criterion of papal proclamation does not yet seem to have been considered necessary. A more positive approach was first adopted by Pope Calixtus II, who was the brother of two early crusaders, the brother-in-law of three and the uncle of two. The background to Calixtus' initiative was the defeat of the settlers in northern Syria by the Muslims in the Battle of the Field of Blood in June 1119. Seven months later the government of the kingdom of Jerusalem appealed to the west for help, sending embassies to the pope and to Venice. Calixtus' response was to plan on a very ambitious scale. He almost certainly sent out a general letter calling for recruits, and he decided to promote a crusade in Spain at the same time. In the spring of 1123 the First Lateran Council discussed the strategy and set a time limit of Easter 1124 for departure both for the east and for Spain. Archbishop Oleguer of Tarragona was made papal legate in Spain, where the fighters were to enjoy the same indulgence as that granted to crusaders to the east. A major Venetian expedition helped take Tyre on the Palestinian coast in July 1124. The Spanish crusade was discussed at a council at Compostela in January 1125, presided over by Archbishop Diego Gelmìrez, who issued a call to arms. In the end, however, it was Alfonso I of Aragon who led a daring raid into southern Spain in the winter of 1125–6, reaching the southern coast and bringing back Andalusian Christians, whom he settled in the Ebro valley. Although it was barely mentioned by contemporaries, the importance of the crusade of Calixtus II lies in the fact that a pope had taken the initiative with a strategy of war on more than one front which foreshadowed that of the Second Crusade. It is also clear that now it was not only foreigners but Spaniards themselves who were associating crusading with the reconquest of the peninsula.

Meanwhile a development in Palestine was to transform the crusading movement and to introduce a new form of the religious life into the church. The Holy Order of the Temple of Jerusalem (the Order of the Knights Templar)

was founded in 1120, when a knight from Champagne called Hugh of Payns formed eight companions into a regular community of lay brothers with the task of policing the pilgrim routes through Palestine to Jerusalem, which were still unsafe. Although it may have taken almost a decade for them to become firmly established, the Templars gained the immediate support of the king of Jerusalem and the backing of leading members of the west European nobility: the count of Anjou became a *confrater* (lay associate) within months of their foundation; and the count of Champagne entered the Order in 1125–6. The Templar way of life proved itself to be very attractive to contemporary nobles and knights. For instance, in 1138 the Provençal lord Hugh of Bourbouton gave all his land to the Templars, creating the commandery of Richerenches, and became a professed brother. His wife became a nun and his son joined him in the Order. Ownership of the lordship had been subdivided among several branches of his family; most of it was in Templar hands by 1147. Hugh became master of the commandery in 1145 and ran it until his death in 1151. From the time of his reception into the Order he can hardly ever have gone to Palestine; he certainly could not have stayed in the east for more than six months. He had been relatively old when he had entered and he remained living a religious life on his old estate, content to manage the lands there for the benefit of the fighting convents. His career demonstrates that in the twelfth century the conventual life of the Templars was considered to be spiritually satisfying whether or not the brothers served in the east. But of course it was their obligations in Palestine and Syria which particularly struck contemporaries, among them St Bernard, who persuaded the papal legate and the bishops at the council of Troyes in 1129 to recognise them and draw up a rule for them, and who wrote a powerful and beautiful evocation of them in his treatise *De laude novae militiae.*

At the same time there were critics, and St Bernard wrote specifically to answer them. The engagement of religious in warfare as an act of charity shocked some contemporaries, and it may be said to have contradicted much of the church's early crusade propaganda, the message of which had been that crusading was an activity specifically for the laity, with the church calling on laymen to do what only they were functionally qualified to undertake. It is hard to estimate how strong was the early criticism of the Templars – it was presumably confined to clerical circles – but it is certain that it was drowned in the wave of enthusiasm that from about 1130 swept through the martial classes in European society, leading to a generous endowment of estates, a rapid increase in the numbers of brothers and the formal recognition by the papacy in 1138, a recognition which stressed the charitable nature of the Templars' role. 'As true Israelites and most instructed fighters in divine battle, filled with the flames of divine charity, you carry out in deeds the words of the

Gospel, "Greater love has no man than this, that he lays down his life for his friends" '.[4]

It also affected another body of religious, changing the path they took so that they became brothers of a rival Military Order, which outlived the Templars and survives today. The Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem (the Order of the Knights of St John or Knights Hospitallers or Hospitallers) took on a life of its own soon after the First Crusade, when a pilgrim hospice in Jerusalem, which had been run by the Benedictine abbey of St Mary of the Latins, became independent. It was recognised as such by the papacy in 1113. All institutions in the Holy Land, and particularly those in Jerusalem, benefited from the excitement sweeping through Europe at the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre, but the Hospitallers seem to have had a particular appeal. There is still something especially attractive about their early ideals. They venerated the 'holy poor', the 'poor of Christ', whom they, as 'serfs', acknowledged to be their 'lords'. They gave this veneration substance by caring for the poor when they were sick, and at its height their hospital near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was run on an extravagantly luxurious scale. Two thousand patients, male and female, whose spiritual needs were conscientiously met, could be accommodated in wards, one of which specialised in obstetrics. Every patient had his or her own bed, and little cots were provided for the babies born to women pilgrims. The sick were fed on meat on three days a week and on white bread. The costs of running this establishment must have been vast, but it was putting into practice an approach which was at the same time spiritual – the treatment of every poor person as if he or she was actually Christ – and practical, because medieval nursing was based on the principle that most patients would recover from most diseases, given warmth, cleanliness, peace and a good diet.

The process by which a nursing Order began to convert itself into a Military Order is lost to us. In 1136 the king of Jerusalem gave it one of a ring of new fortresses in southern Palestine, built to hem in the garrison of Ascalon, a port still in Muslim hands. Perhaps related to that major step towards a military role – this was a large and strategically significant castle, even if it was to be garrisoned with mercenaries and fief-knights – is the first unequivocal appearance in the Order of high-ranking nobles, such as had been joining the Templars for twenty years: Count Robert II of Auvergne, who marched straight into high office in 1141, Bernard V Gros of Uxelles, who became a brother in 1148, and Rainald I of Bailleul and Count Guigo II of Forcalquier, who became

---

[4] 'tanquam veri Israelite atque instructissime divini prelii bellatores vere karitatis flamma succensi dictum euuangelicum operibus adimpletis, quo dicitur: "maiorem hac dilectionem nemo habet, quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis" ', *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, ed. R. Hiestand, p. 96.

confratres in the 1140s. The first of the brother knights is perhaps to be found in 1141; certainly they were in existence by 1148, when the Order was taking part in the Second Crusade. Other castles were acquired, especially Crac des Chevaliers (1144), Belvoir (1168) and Marqab (1186). Between 1163 and 1170 the military wing seems to have been expanding fast, although this phase ended with the master suffering from a nervous breakdown and the Order in debt, because of an overenthusiastic support for the king of Jerusalem's invasion of Egypt and also, perhaps, the reconstruction of Belvoir, which was large and put up in a single programme; it is still the earliest datable concentric castle. The militarisation of the Order worried Pope Alexander III in the 1170s, but the evident needs of the Latin settlements in the east, particularly after the disasters of 1187, ensured that there would be increasing pressure to develop the military wing, and statutes issued by a General Chapter in 1206 reveal the Order to be fully militarised, with hospitaller duties overshadowed by military ones. The care of the sick was never abandoned, but until the nineteenth century it was to take second place to the needs of war.

The Templars and Hospitallers were members of great international organisations, the first truly centralised Orders of the church, exempted from the authority of diocesan bishops, at least in theory, and increasingly involved in the defence of the Latin settlements in Palestine and Syria. From the 1130s, they had begun to be given tracts of northern border territory to protect, the most important, and the earliest, being the Templar march centred on Baghras in the Amanus mountains, that barrier to Syria which the First Crusade had marched hundreds of miles to avoid. The Templars also had domains running from Tortosa and Chastel Blanc (Safitha), and the Hospitallers marches around Crac des Chevaliers, Chastel Ruge and Marqab. But the Templars and Hospitallers were not alone in shouldering military responsibilities. The Order of St Lazarus, running a hospital for lepers and a wing of leper knights, took the same road as the Hospitallers, who were also imitated by the Teutonic Knights, founded in 1198. In Spain there came into being the Orders of Calatrava (1158), Santiago (1170), Montegaudio (*c.* 1173), Alcalá (1174), Evora (*c.* 1175; later called Avis) and San Julián del Pereiro (*c.* 1175; later called Alcántara).

The brothers of all these Orders were not, in fact, crusaders. They took permanent religious vows, not temporary pilgrim ones; and the vows made by the Hospitallers did not contain any reference to the defence of Christendom or to war. But they were all closely associated with the crusading movement, and they became ever more closely associated as time went on. They had communities in every western country, running estates to benefit the eastern convents and acting as channels of recruitment, and these European communities were, in a sense, the movement's permanent embassies. The brothers of the Military Orders may not have been popular – from the middle of the twelfth century

they were subjected to vitriolic criticism on account of their wealth, privileges and supposed pride – but it was to them that the papacy turned when it wanted individuals to help supervise the collection of alms for crusades or the subsidising of crusaders.

Any set-back in the Latin east was invariably followed by appeals to Europe for help. The capture of Edessa by Zengi of Mosul on Christmas Eve 1144 resulted in the dispatching of at least four delegations, an embassy led by Bishop Hugh of Jeble which reached the papal court at Viterbo shortly after Eugenius III had become pope in November 1145, a party of Armenian bishops which also visited Eugenius, and envoys from the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of Antioch who travelled to France. King Louis VII, who was pious and serious, had inherited traditions of support for the crusading movement not only from his paternal family – his great-uncle Hugh the Great, whose son Simon of Vermandois was to accompany Louis to the east, had been on the First Crusade – but also through his mother, Adelaide of Maurienne. Her father Humbert II of Savoy had taken the cross for the First Crusade and her mother came from one of the most enthusiastic early crusading families, the comital house of Burgundy: two of Count William Tête-Hardi of Burgundy's grandsons in the male line, William IV of Mâcon and Alfonso VII of León-Castile, were to be on the Second Crusade, together with eight grandsons and great-grandsons in the female lines of descent, King Louis himself and his brother Robert I of Dreux, Amadeus III of Savoy, William V of Montferrat, Rainald I and Stephen of Bar-le-Duc, and Guy II and William of Ponthieu, and four husbands of grand-daughters and great-grand-daughters, Archimbaud VII of Bourbon, Humbert III of Beaujeu, Alfonso I of Portugal and William III of Warenne. Louis' brother Philip had apparently also made an earlier crusade vow, but he had died before fulfilling it. With this background it is not surprising that Louis, who may already have been thinking of making a penitential pilgrimage to Jerusalem, should have been strongly predisposed to respond favourably to appeals from the Holy Land for help.

Because it ended so disastrously, and did not attract the commentaries and personal accounts which had been a feature of the First Crusade, the course of events on the Second Crusade is not always clear to us. The embassies from the Latin east must have reached Louis in the summer or early autumn of 1145, because there is every indication that his next step was carefully planned. He summoned more magnates to his Christmas court at Bourges than usual and 'for the first time revealed to them the secret of his heart'.[5] Geoffrey of La Roche, the bishop of Langres, who had been one of St Bernard's original

---

[5] 'secretum cordis sui primitus revelavit', Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry, p. 6.

monks at Clairvaux and was to be a legate on the expedition, then preached what seems to have been a typical crusade sermon, in which he drew attention to the fall of Edessa and called on those present to join the king in fighting 'for the King of all men to help the Christians'.[6] It is possible that the papal curia had also been involved at a distance with this piece of theatre, because on 1 December Eugenius had issued a letter, *Quantum praedecessores,* proclaiming a new crusade and addressed to Louis by name. This was not the first papal letter proclaiming a crusade, but it is the first to have survived and its form and the careful listing in it of privileges for crusaders was to be a model for those that were to follow. It is unlikely to have reached Bourges by Christmas – indeed there is no evidence that it ever reached its destination at all – but it may have been intended as a follow-up to the enthusiastic reaction for which Louis must have hoped.

In fact the court's response seems to have been muted, probably because Abbot Suger of St Denis, who was proposed as regent in the king's absence, was not happy with the idea. It was decided to postpone a decision until the court was reconvened at Vézelay towards the end of Lent. Meanwhile messengers were sent to St Bernard and to Eugenius, who had been, like Geoffrey of La Roche, one of Bernard's monks at Clairvaux. The pope reissued *Quantum praedecessores* (with a few small changes) on 1 March 1146 and authorised Bernard to preach the crusade.

Vézelay provided the occasion for another melodramatic scene, played, as at Clermont fifty-one years before, in a field outside the town. On Easter Day (31 March) the king first went through a semi-private cross-taking for himself and some of the greater nobles, at which he was given a cross sent by the pope. There was then another cross-taking ceremony, of the familiar public kind, for the rest. St Bernard mounted a dais, accompanied by the king wearing his cross, and preached a sermon which aroused such enthusiasm that he ran out of the bundle of cloth crosses which had been prepared beforehand, and was forced to tear his habit into strips to make additional ones.

After Vézelay Bernard preached the cross in France and Flanders. He then travelled to Germany, drawn partly to restrain a Cistercian monk called Ralph, an effective crusade preacher who had also been encouraging the persecution of Jews, and partly to persuade King Conrad III to support the cause. Bernard's reputation as a preacher and the beauty and power of his surviving sermon-letters led contemporaries and historians to credit him, probably rightly, with much of the success of the crusade appeal, but he was not conducting a recruiting campaign single-handed. He commissioned churchmen such as Abbots Rainald of Morimond, Adam of Ebrach and Gerlach of Rein, and

---

[6] 'ut . . . ad subveniendum Christianis Regi omnium militarent', Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry, p. 6.

Bishop Henry of Olmütz to deliver sermons in places he could not reach. Peter the Venerable, the abbot of Cluny, also preached at least one major crusade sermon. But there is no doubt that Bernard stamped his personality on the ethos of the Second Crusade. His message was sunny and optimistic. In it the crusade was presented as a response to divine love, manifested in the way God had put himself in a position of necessity to provide those Christians who went to his aid with a means of Grace; and in an advanced penitential theology, which the pope endorsed, the indulgence was described not so much as a guarantee that the crusade was a satisfactory penance, but as a privilege in its own right, an act of kindness on God's part, a reward to sinful but well-intentioned men.

During his preaching tour of Germany, Bernard persuaded King Conrad III to join the crusade. Conrad was probably fairly easy to convince – he had already taken the cross in 1124 – but he faced real political difficulties at home, and his decision may have been made easier by the knowledge that his greatest enemy, Welf VI of Bavaria, was also going and so would be out of Germany. Nevertheless Conrad's public commitment could not have been won in a more dramatic and flamboyant way, by means of a powerful sermon, preached by Bernard at the Christmas court at Speyer, in which he reminded Conrad not as a king, but as a man, of future judgement.

With the two most powerful rulers in western Europe committed, the crusade was beginning to look like a really major enterprise. And it began to develop along the lines of Pope Calixtus II's multiple strategy of a quarter of a century before. Eugenius agreed to Alfonso VII of Castile's request for the crusade to be extended to Spain, and he authorised the opening of another front against the pagan Wends east of the Elbe after Bernard had been persuaded by a group of German nobles, mostly Saxons, to support this. Bernard, with typical forcefulness, and the pope, more circumspectly, came near to justifying the crusade against the Wends as a missionary war. Wars of conversion were contrary to canon law, but the fact was that popes and crusade preachers, whose success was dependent on recruiting volunteers, were always tempted to present their audiences with what they wanted to hear; and their audiences, particularly the Germans with a long tradition of wars of conversion, had a muscular view of Christianity.

Eugenius' general letter *Divina dispensatione,* issued at Troyes on 13 April 1147, referred to the eastern and Spanish expeditions at the same time as it authorised the German campaign. Eventually five armies travelled east and four marched in north-eastern Europe. Four expeditions were launched in Spain and Portugal. No related operations on this scale had been envisaged for six centuries. And at the same time, though not part of the crusade, the Sicilian Normans extended the area of North Africa under their control.

Recruitment seems to have been brisk. Although one has the impression that the numbers marching east were smaller than on the First Crusade, this

may be simply because there are fewer narrative accounts, and those we have are less revealing. It is, however, the case that fewer names of crusaders have survived. The bulk of those who have been identified came from France and the French-speaking imperial territories, but the Germans are known to have provided large numbers for Conrad's army as well as for the forces which advanced across the Elbe.

In many respects there were careful preparations. The pope appointed legates for the French and German armies marching east, for the Wendish Crusade, and presumably for Spain as well. He and Louis wrote to the kings of Hungary and Sicily and the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus to let them know of their plans and to ask for provisioning and safe passage. Roger of Sicily offered assistance should the crusade proceed by way of southern Italy. It is not at all clear what his ambassadors were suggesting. From the debate that ensued it seems that the Sicilian option would have avoided Byzantine territory. This would have entailed a voyage, perhaps directly to Antioch, although it is hard to see where the ships would have come from, quite apart from the facts that Conrad was on bad terms with Roger and that, as we shall see, Antioch would not have been prepared for the crusaders' arrival.

Louis raised a levy, the first example of the taxes and associated subsidies that were to be a feature of later crusading; thanks to it he seems to have been relatively well-off for much of his expedition. Conrad supervised the improvement of the roads through Germany to the east; when they reached Regensburg the French were even to find boats ready to carry their baggage down the Danube. There were great assemblies, of the French at Étampes on 16 February 1147 and of the Germans at Frankfurt on 13 March, at which final plans were discussed. The French meeting debated what must have been a last-minute proposal to switch from the overland route by way of the Balkans, Constantinople and Asia Minor to the Sicilian suggestion of transportation by sea, but it eventually decided on the overland journey and agreed that the French force would march on 15 June. The German assembly set the middle of May as the date for the departure of its crusaders, so as to march a few weeks ahead of the French. The two armies, which contained, as usual, many non-combatant pilgrims, were to join forces at Constantinople.

In all this planning, however, there was what seems to have been an amazing oversight. No one had consulted the governments of the Latin settlements in the east; and twelve years later Pope Adrian IV was to point out to Louis in no uncertain terms the damage that resulted. It is barely credible that the settlers, who must have heard of all the planning that was going on in Europe, were kept in the dark, but the reason for this omission may be that the crusaders were intending to march directly from Anatolia to Edessa, bypassing even the principality of Antioch. Perhaps Louis and Conrad, knowing how desperately

the prince of Antioch and king of Jerusalem wanted their forces' presence, feared the importuning that would be a result of too much communication. Only when Edessa had been recovered would they visit Jerusalem as pilgrims. Conrad, indeed, was still planning to raise an army to march on Edessa when, after the destruction of his forces, he was in Palestine in 1148.

The Germans left on the date arranged and, passing through Regensburg and Vienna, entered Hungary, the king of which levied from his church a large sum of money to provide them with cash for the purchase of provisions. This measure, on which the crusaders may have insisted, ensured there was no trouble. And the march through the Byzantine empire to Constantinople was also relatively peaceful. Manuel and Conrad were on good terms, allies against the Sicilian Normans and now related, because Manuel had recently married Bertha of Sulzbach, who seems to have been Conrad's adopted daughter. All Manuel asked was an oath from the Germans that they would not harm his interests, but that does not mean that he was not anxious to ensure that large crusade armies did not combine under the walls of his capital; he even wanted Conrad, and later Louis, to bypass Constantinople and to cross the Dardanelles at Sestus. Conrad refused, but at the end of September, after about three weeks before Constantinople, he agreed to be transported across the Bosphorus, perhaps because the Greeks were embarrassing him by asking him to help them resist Roger of Sicily, who had invaded the Byzantine empire.

Once in Asia Minor, the German army, supplemented by a force of Lorrainers which had now arrived, marched into the interior. At Nicaea it loaded itself with provisions before striking across hostile territory for Konya. That Konya had become its immediate goal is of great interest, because it suggests that already there had been a change of strategy and that Conrad was now making directly for Antioch rather than for Edessa; perhaps the impossibility of a march through central Anatolia had been explained to him while he was at Constantinople. An attempt to solve the perennial problem of the non-combatants by hiving them off into an independent body, which under the leadership of his half-brother Otto of Freising would journey by a separate and theoretically safer route, failed because most of them could not be persuaded to leave the main force. So the German army was very large and its progress was slow. Its supplies were soon exhausted, and somewhere near the site of the First Crusade's victory of Dorylaeum it was ambushed and badly mauled. An orderly retreat back towards Christian territory turned into a disorganised slow-motion rout, with the Turks harrying the columns at will. The demoralised survivors reached Nicaea at the beginning of November and what was left of the German army disintegrated, with most crusaders trying to leave for home. Conrad and the rump that remained with him sent messengers to Louis begging for help.

Meanwhile Louis, who had received the pilgrimage insignia, the oriflamme (in place of a staff?) and the scrip, together with a blessing, from Pope Eugenius himself on 11 June 1147 at St Denis, had been marching in the Germans' footsteps. The French were well supplied by the Hungarians, and with the cash he was carrying Louis was able to keep them provisioned in the Byzantine empire. But throughout the march he was forced to conduct negotiations with the representatives of Manuel, who feared and distrusted him, partly because of his relationship with the prince of Antioch, who was the uncle of his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine, partly because Manuel knew that there was an element in the French army which was hostile to the Greeks. When, a day's march from Constantinople, the French learned that the emperor had made a treaty with the Turkish sultan of Konya, through whose territory they would have to pass, it was even proposed that they launch an attack on Constantinople. For his part Manuel had strengthened his city walls. He tried to insist that the French promise to return to the empire any place that had once belonged to it and to refrain from seizing any town or fortress in Christian territory. The French were prepared to agree to the second condition, but not the first, which is understandable given that their aim was still to recover Edessa, which had once been in the empire.

They waited outside Constantinople for two weeks for the arrival of other armies they knew were on their way. But false rumours of German successes ahead of them made them restive and Louis agreed to cross the Bosphorus, although the continuing negotiations with the Byzantine government held him up on the Asiatic side until the reinforcements arrived. The Greeks finally promised guides and provisions, and they recognised that the crusaders would have to forage where no supplies were available. Louis' troops began to march into the interior, but at Nicaea they heard of the catastrophe that had befallen the Germans, who soon joined them. At this point the decision was made to take another route to Antioch. Conrad had set out on the shortest but most dangerous road to Konya. Louis had been intending to take a somewhat longer way through Aleshehir, but Conrad persuaded him that there was little to be had in the way of provisions along that road. So Louis now decided to march by the longest route of all, close to the sea, but well within Christian territory, and relatively fertile territory at that. Conrad accompanied him as far as Ephesus, where he fell ill, but Louis pressed on, ignoring a warning that Turkish forces were gathering to oppose him. The French found it hard to provision themselves, and the advance to Antalya, which they reached on 20 January 1148, was a terrible experience. The weather was bad. They were subjected to constant harassment from the Turks. Greeks not only guided their enemies, but also attacked the crusaders themselves. The Byzantine towns and garrisons did nothing to prevent the Turkish raids

and even provided refuges for the Turks when they were driven off. The crusaders suffered severely until the Templars who were with them were put in charge of order on the march. At Antalya, the last town in Byzantine Asia Minor, the French found few supplies and the ships promised by the Greeks to carry them to Syria were so few that only Louis himself and a section of his army could be embarked. The rest of the crusaders were left to make their way overland as best they could, and only a few managed to complete the journey.

For most of their march the French had been passing through a region which was supposed to be under Byzantine control, but they had received little in the way of support, and evidence had been accumulating that Manuel's fear of them was so great that he had deliberately connived at their destruction. The experiences of the French crusaders only served to reinforce the impression their predecessors had had of Byzantine duplicity, and once his crusade was over Louis, whose ships were attacked by a Greek fleet as he returned home, threw himself briefly into plans for a new crusade which, like Bohemond of Taranto's, would begin by attacking the Byzantine empire. The events of 1204, when Constantinople was taken and sacked by the Fourth Crusade, were the culmination of a century of ill-feeling for which in the end the Greeks had to pay dearly.

Louis reached Antioch on 19 March and, refusing to take part in any campaign on behalf of the principality, hurried on to Jerusalem to fulfil his vow. Conrad and other German crusaders were already in Palestine, together with reinforcements from Europe. It seems that Edessa was at first still the goal, but a council-of-war decided to try to take Damascus, which had already been attacked by the Christians in 1126 and 1129. On 24 July a large force, under the command of Louis, Conrad and King Baldwin III of Jerusalem, occupied a good position in well-watered suburban orchards to the west of Damascus, but, anxious to press home an attack before the arrival of a Muslim army of relief and knowing that the eastern fortifications of the city were weaker, the leaders shifted camp on the 27th to an exposed site with no water. They were held up, and were therefore trapped in a position from which they could only withdraw. They retired in a storm of recrimination.

Nothing had been gained in north-eastern Europe either. One expedition advanced only to agree to a peace treaty. Another ended by laying siege to a city that was already Christian. Only in the west was there some success. In 1147 the Portuguese took Santarém and Lisbon, assisted in the latter siege by a party of crusaders from the Low Countries, the Rhineland, northern France and Britain, which had stopped off on its sea-voyage to the east. Almería, the chief Andalusian port for trade with Africa and the Near East, fell a week before Lisbon to a combined force of Castilians, Aragonese, southern French,

Genoese and Pisans. Tortosa was taken at the end of 1148 and the last Muslim outposts in Catalonia were overrun in the autumn of 1149.

Apart from the gains in the Iberian peninsula, the vast enterprise had been a fiasco and crusading morale was probably never to sink as low again until the fifteenth century. The viciousness of the attacks launched at this time by critics, especially on Bernard, a 'pseudo-prophet', was hardly equalled in the whole history of the crusades. But there were positive results for the crusading movement. A model papal letter of proclamation had been issued and papal authority over crusading had been clearly established. A developed indulgence, a privilege issued by the church on God's behalf assuring the penitent that the crusade would be regarded by Him as though it were a satisfactory penance, rather than a guarantee that the penance was satisfactory, had been introduced, even though it was to be dropped by the papacy, the penitential theology of which was very conservative, and was only to be revived by Pope Innocent III in 1198. The interest of the rulers of the greater European kingdoms had been engaged, a development which brought benefits to crusading, but also problems for the popes, because the political constraints under which monarchs operated threatened to stultify planning. The first taxation for crusaders had been levied. The difficulty of marching through Asia Minor, with the allied problems of the failure of supplies and the deaths of mounts and pack-animals, had been underlined at a time when the maritime capability of the European ports was almost reaching the point at which it could meet the demands of transporting a crusade. Crusading in north-eastern Europe had been authorised, but at the same time the papal curia had learnted, or was beginning to learn, that a strategy involving simultaneous activity on three fronts was an impossibility. The thirteenth-century papacy was always to be anxious to limit the diversification of effort and resources as much as possible, even when this drew upon its head bitter denunciations from those who felt their needs should have precedence.

Although until 1170 the kingdom of Jerusalem appeared to be confident enough to launch a series of expeditions into Egypt, there continued to be crises in the east. These were invariably followed by appeals to the west for help, and the popes issued encyclicals, formally summoning the faithful to crusade in the Holy Land, in 1157, 1165, 1166, 1169, probably in 1173, in 1181 and 1184. These at least gave the draftsmen at the curia practice in drawing up and reformulating the privileges to crusaders of protection, legal immunity and spiritual benefit, but nothing much ensued, apart from the planning of an income and capital tax by the kings of France and England in 1166 and a few small expeditions, of which the best known is that of Philip of Flanders in 1177. Conversely, although there was spasmodic but quite active military engagement in the Baltic region, where the Danes and Henry the Lion of

Saxony extended Christian control to Rügen and along the Pomeranian coast, and in Spain, where there was bitter warfare with the Almohads, who had succeeded the Almoravids, the scarcity of papal authorisations is striking: only one, in 1171, for northern Europe, and only three, in 1153, 1157–8 and 1175, for Spain, although the defence of Huete in 1172, the high point of Christian resistance, was indulgenced even if not apparently preceded by a specific papal letter.

The lack of response to the calls of the popes to crusade in the east and the popes' failure to support activities in other theatres of war have been interpreted as signs of demoralisation. But it may be that we have been inclined to treat the crusading movement too much in terms of the occasional great campaign, which in the seven centuries of crusading was always an exception rather than the rule. In the thirteenth century, for instance, concentration on the large-scale expeditions to the east in 1202, 1218, 1239-40, 1248 and 1270 would give an entirely wrong impression; there was hardly a year when there was not crusading somewhere. The 'hiatus' from 1150 to 1187 was the period in which the Spanish Military Orders were founded and in which the leading rulers of Europe, Louis VII of France, Henry II of England and Frederick I of Germany, all expressed real interest, even if political conditions conspired to prevent them taking practical action. And a demoralised church and nobility would hardly have responded so fervently to the disasters in the east in 1187, when the largest army ever put into the field by the Christians was annihilated in the battle of Hattin, and the city of Jerusalem and most of Palestine were lost to Saladin.

Crusading, in fact, thrived on disaster. Since, like all Christian war, it required a just cause, the loss of Christian land, and particularly land sanctified by the presence of Christ himself, provided an injury which had to be reversed. Christian sentiment needed the shock provided by Saladin's blitzkrieg and it was especially aroused by reports of the loss of the relic of the True Cross on the battlefield of Hattin. Splinters from this particular fragment, which had been discovered in Jerusalem after its liberation in 1099, had been disseminated throughout Europe and the attachment of the faithful to it seems to have been intense, if the constant references to it in the twenty years following the battle of Hattin are anything to go by.

News of the catastrophe reached the west in the early autumn of 1187. Pope Urban III died, it was said of grief, on 20 October and within ten days the new pope, Gregory VIII, was sending out the proclamation of a new crusade. The themes of this encyclical, *Audita tremendi,* which must have been drafted before Urban's death, were repentance and reformation, instituting a long association between the reform of the church and the success of crusading, which was to be a feature of conciliar decrees from the Fourth Lateran Council to the council of Trent.

It is, therefore, incumbent upon all of us to consider and to choose to amend our sins by voluntary chastisement and to turn to the Lord our God with penance and works of piety; and we should first amend in ourselves what we have done wrong and then turn our attention to the treachery and malice of the enemy . . . And so consider, my dear sons, how you came into this world and how you are going to leave it, how all things are passing and how too your life is transitory, and accept with an act of thanksgiving the opportunity for repentance and doing good, as much as it pertains to you . . . Perhaps the Lord has wished to find out and bring to the notice of others whether there is anyone who has knowledge of him or is seeking after him and might joyfully embrace the chance of penitence offered to him and, in laying down his life for his brothers, may be killed in a brief moment and gain eternal life.[7]

Calls to repentance were a feature of the summons to crusade, particularly those of its most energetic propagandist, Cardinal Henry of Albano, who was legate in charge of the preaching of the cross and left on a preaching tour immediately after the election of Gregory VIII.

The leader of the latest delegation from the east was Joscius, archbishop of Tyre, the only Palestinian city left in Christian hands, who must have reached Rome in the middle of October. He pushed on to France and on 22 January 1188 met King Henry II of England and King Philip II of France at Gisors, a frontier town between Normandy and the French royal domain, where the kings were drafting a truce. Face to face with Joscius, the kings and Count Philip of Flanders and other nobles who were with them took the cross. Following a precedent set on the Second Crusade, when the Wendish crusaders had worn distinctive crosses, they decided that each nation would sport crosses of different colours: the French red, the English white and the Flemish green. Henry and Philip agreed to levy a new crusade tax, the Saladin Tithe.

But relations between them, and also between Henry and his sons, were too tense for there to be the political stability needed to launch a crusade immediately. War between Henry's eldest surviving son, Count Richard of Poitou, and the count of Toulouse soon involved them, and the crisis got worse when Richard rebelled against his father and went over to Philip. Henry died on 6 July 1189 and Richard, who had, in fact, taken the cross earlier than

---

[7] 'Unde hoc universis et cogitandum et eligendum imminet, ut peccata nostra castigatione voluntaria emendemus et per penitentiam et opera pietatis convertemur ad dominum deum nostrum et in nobis primo quod male gessimus, emendemus, deinde foeditatem et malitiam hostium attendamus . . . Cogitate itaque filii, qualiter in hunc mundum venistis et qualiter exituri estis, qualiter transeant universa et pariter transeatis et vos, et penitendi ac bene agendi tempus, quantum spectat ad vos, cum gratiarum actione recipite . . . Voluit enim forsitan experiri et ad notitiam pervenire aliorum, si aliquis sit intelligens aut requirens dominum, qui oblatum sibi penitentie tempus hilariter amplectatur et animam ponendo pro fratribus consumetur in brevi et compleat tempora multa', 'Audita tremendi' in *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, pp. 8–9.

his father had done, faced a storm of protest at the delay. In November he agreed to a mustering of the English and French forces at Vézelay on 1 April 1190. This date was later postponed to 1 July, but at last in the face of public uproar the English and French crusades were becoming certainties.

In comparison, the emperor Frederick I, who was nearly seventy years old and had been on the Second Crusade, had reacted to the news from the east with his usual vigour. As early as October 1187 Henry of Albano had summoned the lay and ecclesiastical nobles of Germany to a council to be held at Mainz on *Laetare Jerusalem* Sunday (27 March) 1188. He had met Frederick in December – Philip of France may also have been present – and no doubt had heard privately that Frederick was willing to go. In a gesture typical of the emperor, and of the crusading movement, the court at Mainz in March was entitled a *curia Jesu Christi,* to be presided over not by Frederick but by Christ himself, and on *Laetare* Sunday Frederick and many German nobles took the cross.

Frederick opted for the land route. The Hungarians, Serbians and Greeks and even the Turks at Konya were informed. The Greeks were assured that the Germans' passage through the Byzantine empire would be peaceful, and they promised to provide guides and supplies. The army, which may have been one of the largest ever to take part in a crusade, began its march from Regensburg on 11 May 1189. Very well organised and disciplined, it was not a force to tamper with, which is what the Byzantine emperor Isaac Angelus, who had been persuaded by Saladin to try to delay or destroy the crusaders, tried to do. The Germans brushed aside the Greek troops who barred their way, forced Isaac to return German envoys whom he had arrested, and proceeded to occupy a large part of Thrace. Frederick became so irritated that he seems to have been considering launching an attack on Constantinople, but in February 1190 Isaac climbed down on almost every point at issue. He guaranteed transport across the Dardanelles from Gallipoli. He promised to provide markets, supplies and hostages, to release the Catholic prisoners he held and to pay reparations. He accepted that the Germans would have to forage where provisions were not available. Almost the only relief for him must have been that the crusaders were not passing through Constantinople.

The Germans crossed the Dardanelles and, in spite of suffering from the same harassment as in Europe, pressed on through Byzantine and into Turkish Asia Minor. Like their predecessors they lost horses and pack-animals and ran out of food, but they took Konya, where they found stores, on 18 May and then reached Karaman, on the borders of Christian Armenian Cilicia, on the 30th. Frederick had shown that provided an army was disciplined it was still possible to lead it across Asia Minor, but then, in a typical fit of exuberance, he tried to swim the River Göksu, which was deep and wide. In mid-stream he got into difficulties and by the time his nobles reached him he was dead. The effect on

his crusade was catastrophic. The army broke up, some crusaders leaving for home, some marching overland to Syria and sustaining losses, some sailing to Antioch and Tripoli. An epidemic broke out in Antioch and the army which joined the gathering crusade before the port of Acre in Palestine, to which King Guy of Jerusalem had laid siege in 1189, was diseased and demoralised. It continued to suffer heavy losses and by the spring of 1191 it had ceased to exist.

Although as early as the First Crusade there had been a substantial naval contribution, it was only with the Third Crusade that maritime activity became really significant. From 1188 onwards fleets regularly sailed from European ports bringing crusaders to swell the army before Acre. Frederick I's was the last major force to use the overland route to the east. Although the land route was to be discussed again in the 1270s, it had proved itself to be too costly and difficult, whereas Europe's shipping capability was now developed enough to meet the needs of a major crusade, such as that led by the kings of France and England.

Richard of England and Philip of France, who like his father before the Second Crusade had been solemnly presented with the oriflamme in the church of St Denis, began their march from Vézelay on 4 July 1190. In England there had been systematic and energetic preparations, a preaching tour organised by the archbishop of Canterbury and the collection of the Saladin Tithe by churchmen and royal officials, who had ruthlessly exploited every opportunity for raising money on Richard's behalf. Richard was, therefore, much better off than Philip, who led a larger army – some 2000 mounted men to some 800 – but had faced opposition over the Saladin Tithe, which outside the royal domain had been levied by the nobles for their own crusading needs.

Richard had expected to find an English fleet at Marseilles, but it was delayed. He sailed to Sicily in hired ships, reaching Messina on 22 September to find Philip of France and his fleet already there. The English and French crusaders wintered in Sicily. Like any crusader faced by the prospect of unpredictable expenses, Richard lost no opportunity of swelling his treasury, and he was now presented with the chance of wringing cash by force from the ruler of Sicily. Part of this money was transferred to Philip, in a generous interpretation of an agreement to share spoil made by the kings at Vézelay before they left. Philip sailed for the east on 30 March 1191 and reached Acre on 20 April. Richard embarked on 10 April, stopping off to conquer Cyprus, the Greek ruler of which had imprisoned some English crusaders whose ships, including a royal treasure-ship, had been wrecked in a storm off the southern coast. He arrived at Acre on 8 June.

The course of the crusade thereafter was to be dominated by political divisions within the Latin settlement, stemming from competing claims for the crown of Jerusalem. As so often in the history of the Latin east, western

relationships, in this case Philip's kinship with one candidate and Richard's feudal lordship over the family of the other, found expression in Palestine, with the European kings supporting different sides. Nevertheless they determined to impose a settlement. After Acre had capitulated on 12 July they divided the city between them in accordance with their agreement at Vézelay. They never intended to hold on to this valuable prize, which had been a royal city, but its possession gave them the muscle needed to arbitrate, because their decision over its allocation could be decisive. Predictably, their arbitration proved itself to be acceptable to no one and was being undermined almost as soon as it had been made. Philip departed for home of 31 July, leaving behind a strong French force which spent much of its time trying to frustrate Richard's crusade, since any territorial gains made by Richard could be used to further the claims of his own candidate.

The terms of agreement for the surrender of Acre had been that the Muslim garrison would be released on the promise of a ransom. The relic of the True Cross lost at Hattin was to be returned and a large number of Christian prisoners were to be freed. In the meantime the crusaders would hold hostages. But the negotiations broke down when the first instalment of the ransom became due, and Richard ordered the massacre of some 2700 hostages in full view of the Muslim army which was still camped close by. He then decided to move against Jerusalem and struck for the south on 22 August. This involved marching 70 miles down the coast to Jaffa, with supply ships sailing alongside. The knights were organised in three columns. Inland from them, on their left flank, footsoldiers provided a protective screen. Half the infantry were periodically rested by allowing them to march with the baggage train close to the shore. In one of the most impressive displays of military leadership and collective discipline of the central middle ages, the army maintained its order until brought to battle by Saladin on 7 October north of Arsuf, a battle from which the Muslims eventually retired, leaving Richard in possession of the field.

Jaffa was reached three days later and its fortifications were restored. Richard began to concentrate his troops there, while opening negotiations with Saladin for the surrender of Palestine to the Christians. In late October he decided to advance on Jerusalem, but he proceeded cautiously: a siege of the city would have been perilous because of the strong Muslim army still in the field nearby. By 3 January 1192 he had reached Beit Nuba, only 12 miles from his goal, but on the advice of local Christian leaders he then withdrew to refortify Ascalon, on the coast south of Jaffa, the occupation of which would hinder any attempt by Saladin to bring reserve troops into Palestine from Egypt.

Richard tried for Jerusalem one more time, reaching Beit Nuba on 11 June, but with too small a force and with his line of communications back to the

coast threatened he withdrew to Acre, only to have to hurry down to Jaffa by sea to relieve the place, which had been nearly overwhelmed by Saladin. By mid-August he had fallen ill and he was worried by reports from western Europe. On 2 September his representatives signed a truce with Saladin for three years and eight months. The Christians were to hold the coast from Tyre to Jaffa. Ascalon's fortifications were to be pulled down before the place was returned to Saladin. Christians and Muslims were to be able to travel freely throughout Palestine. Some of the English crusaders visited the shrines in Jerusalem, but Richard tried to prevent the French crusaders, whom he had not forgiven, from making the pilgrimage. He sailed from Acre on 9 October.

The Third Crusade had a reprise. The emperor Henry VI, who may have felt an obligation to fulfil the uncompleted vow of his father Frederick, took the cross in Holy Week 1195, and at a diet at Bari on Easter Day summoned his subjects to crusade; he promised to finance 3000 mounted mercenaries for the expedition. Pope Celestine III published a new crusade appeal and ordered the German clergy to preach the cross. At solemn gatherings in Germany Henry witnessed the enrolment of the nobility, and in the summer of 1197 an army, probably almost as large as Frederick I's had been, was mustering under the leadership of the archbishop of Mainz for embarkation at the ports of southern Italy and Sicily. Henry, who had not been well and faced political difficulties in southern Italy, had probably already decided that he could not join it. The main body of the crusade reached Acre on 22 September and the Germans occupied Sidon and Beirut, but the news of Henry's death and the certainty of upheavals in Germany forced them to abandon their campaign. On 1 July 1198 a truce was made with the Muslims in which the Christian possession of Beirut was recognised, and by the end of the summer most of the leading crusaders had left for home.

The Third Crusade and the German Crusade of 1197 are rarely given the credit that is due to them. The reoccupation of the coastline from Beirut to Jaffa (Sidon was soon to be back in Christian hands) was a great achievement and it ensured the survival of the kingdom of Jerusalem for another century. It has recently been shown that the occupation of these ports deprived the Egyptian fleet of the means of striking at the shipping lanes from the west that were the lifelines of the Latin settlements, because the operating range of the Egyptian galleys was dependent on adequate supplies of fresh water. Deprived of watering places on the Palestinian coast, the Egyptian fleet could barely reach the killing grounds off Cyprus, and certainly could not stay there any length of time.

Crusading came to maturity around 1200 and dominated thirteenth-century history. The twelfth century had been a period of development and by the end

of it the ideas at least of senior churchmen were consistent and coherent; there was always to be a gulf between the structured thought of the intellectuals and the hybrid ideas of the nobles, the knights and the masses, a gulf that popes and preachers tried to bridge. Causa XXIII of Gratian's *Decretum*, although not specifically concerned with the crusade, had provided the written authorities underpinning the theology of Christian violence, and this had been commented on by canon lawyers and reinforced by a series of papal letters. Belief in the meritorious nature of crusading was now deeply embedded in the minds of European knights, and many families had built up traditions of service to the movement over several generations. Crusading had spread to different theatres of war – it was to be expanded further – and each theatre was beginning to develop its own characteristics: the power of the Castilian and Aragonese kings over the movement in Spain, for instance. The crusade was also now taking on a firmer institutional outline. Papal authority over it was established, and the privileges for crusaders of protection, legal immunity and the indulgence were well on the way to being worked out: they would receive definitive treatment in the letters of Pope Innocent III.

But there were still issues to be resolved. The first concerned finance. It was becoming increasingly obvious that crusading, particularly to the east, was so expensive that large-scale recruitment could only be expected if the payment of subsidies could be organised. Second, the involvement of kings meant the involvement of European politics, and the theme of peace in Europe as a necessary prelude to crusading, which had come to the fore in the 1180s, was to continue to be expressed, although the needs of individual states would always be in competition with those of Christendom at large. Third, the ordinary crusaders, who were not wanted but could not be prevented from demonstrating their enthusiasm, still caused anxiety. Innocent III's solution, the establishment of crusade redemptions whereby the unsuitable could redeem their vows and enjoy the indulgence for money payments, caused scandal and anyway did not provide an answer to public demand, which was to manifest itself in occasional popular eruptions in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. And, most important of all, the papacy was never able to overcome the problem of control. A crusade was authorised by the pope on Christ's behalf and the pope was represented in the army by a legate. But since both pope and legate were priests they could not according to canon law bear arms or physically direct them. Some legates, it is true, played prominent parts in councils-of-war, but they did so because of the force of their personalities, not because they had any authority to do so. For the management of the highest expression of the papal monarchy the popes were in the end dependent on the good will and, what was harder to find, the efficiency of laymen.
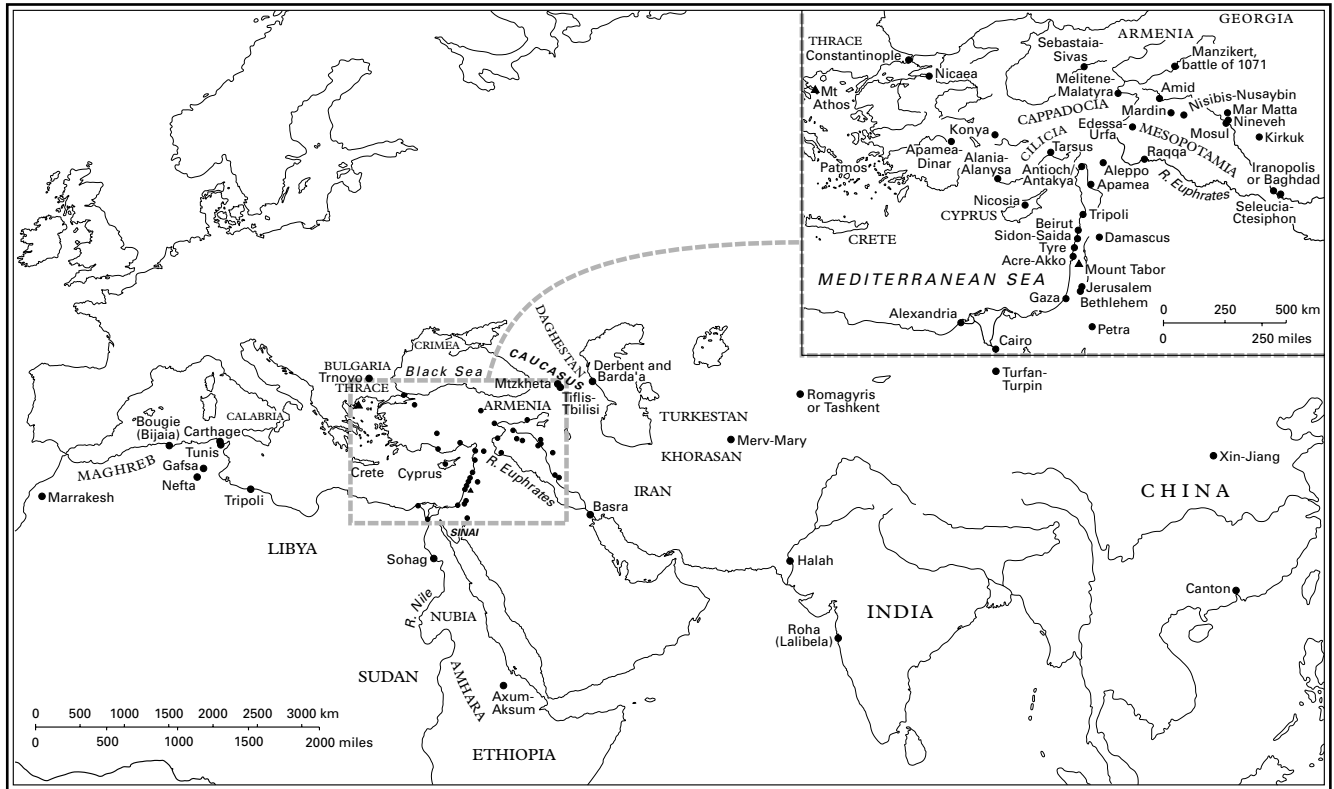
THE EASTERN CHURCHES

Jean Richard

At the end of the tenth century, the empire of the 'Abbasid caliphs was every-where in retreat, and Islam had extended its sway over new regions only in central Asia and on the frontiers of India. In Baghdad the Buyids, and in Egypt and Syria the Fatimids, both Shi'ites, had seized power. The Byzantine emperors had reconquered Anatolia to beyond the Euphrates and the Orontes.

The Byzantine reconquest had contradictory effects. The 'great churches' which had been turned into mosques became cathedrals once more; the number of churches grew, Christian populations were attracted into the reconquered lands, where they escaped the interdicts which they had endured under the Muslims. But the determination of the emperors, especially after Basil II, to impose the Chalcedonian faith on their subjects led to a degree of harassment, even persecution, which often led the Monophysites to seek refuge in Muslim territory.

And the reoccupation was soon jeopardised by the Turkish invasions. These were at first simply raids, in which churches and monasteries were destroyed and priests put to death, before the raiders retired with their booty.[1] However, after the defeat of Romanos Diogenes at Manzikert (1071), the nomadic tribes settled on the pastures, whilst their chiefs occupied the towns. The Seljuks took Nicaea, Konya and Antioch, where the cathedral was turned back into a mosque (1085). Other adventurers occupied other places, taking pains to conciliate the inhabitants; at Shaizar (1082), the first Ibn Munqidh allowed bells to be rung and pigs to be reared.[2] Byzantine governors tried to survive by treating with

---

[1] Michael the Syrian xv, 1.
[2] Ibn al-Qalanisi, *History of Damascus*, ed. Amadroz, p. 113 note.

564

3. The Christian churches of the east

the Turks; one of them, the Armenian Philaretos, briefly established an extensive dominion, with Marash as its centre.[3]

The Turks were Sunnis. However, it was only gradually, under the influence of the vizier Nizam al-Mulk, that a more demanding Sunnism began to revive the measures against Christians earlier enacted by the caliph al-Mutawakkil; the obligation to wear a belt and blue clothes; a ban on restoring churches; the dismissal of Christian officials. These measures were never enforced for long. Nur al-Din, master of Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul and Nisibis, decreed and applied them; but Christians were able to bribe individual officials to turn a blind eye.[4] And Nur al-Din's successor at Mosul soon revoked them. Fatimid Egypt was even less keen to revive the much more rigorous measures taken between 1004 and 1012 by al-Hakim, who had ordered the destruction of Christian churches, including the Holy Sepulchre, and exiled Christians. His successors continued to appoint Christian viziers and functionaries; a monk farmed the taxes levied on Christians under al-'Amir (1128); the Armenian Bahram showed so much favour to Christians that this provided the pretext for the unrest fomented by his rival Ridwan (1137). The Fatimid caliphs attended Christian festivals, and the 'Abbasids showered the Nestorian *catholicos* with marks of honour.[5] The patriarch Michael the Syrian was dazzled by his reception by the sultan Kilij Arslan (1182); he even engaged in a theological disputation with one of the sultan's 'philosophers'.[6] Zengi, when he took Edessa, treated the Jacobite archbishop with favour and even allowed him to restore the bells to his cathedral.[7]

This did not mean that the Christians escaped humiliations; the crosses torn down from the cathedral of Ani (1064) and the Dome of the Rock (1187) were incorporated into door-steps so that everyone would trample on them. The constancy of a young Christian woman who, in 1153, resisted great pressure to declare herself a Muslim, so that she could punish those who had married her to a Christian man, was lauded in several poems; it was still necessary to hand over a large sum to the *qadi* of Mosul to secure the liberation of the bishop (the *maphrian*) accused of having blessed the marriage. Churches were converted into mosques on various pretexts; at Mardin, the conversion of a monk to Islam justified closing the monastery and converting the church into a mosque; the adultery committed with a Muslim woman by a Christian man had the same result for a church whose restoration he had agreed to finance.[8]

[3] Yarnley (1972).
[4] Michael the Syrian XIX, 7: Elisseef (1967), III, pp. 705–29.
[5] Bosworth (1979); Lev (1988).   6 Michael the Syrian, XXI, 2.
[7] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, 422, 424, 425.
[8] Gregory Barhebraeus II, pp. 561–4 and III, pp. 347–52; Michael the Syrian XVIII, 2 and XIX, 7.

The Christians were assumed to be rich, which was not altogether mistaken, and the treasures discovered when certain churches were sacked (the Jacobite cathedral of Edessa in 1146, the Nestorian church of St James of Nisibis in 1179) could only excite greed. The princes resisted the pressures exercised on them by the *ulema* because of the services the Christians could render. However, the latter had to pay in gold for the abolition of discriminatory measures when these were threatened; from 1130, the government of the caliph of Baghdad used this threat to extort considerable sums.[9] The most prominent Christians were accordingly tempted to convert to Islam, in the hope of escaping such exactions and humiliations, even for other motives (such as the *maphrian* Ignatius bar-Qiqi, a high dignitary of the Jacobite church, who was bitterly to regret it, for having succumbed to debauchery). The wealth of the monasteries exposed them to other dangers, such as the pillage inflicted by the Kurds at Mar Matta in 1171.[10]

Provoked by the Turkish invasion, which had caused Pope Gregory VII to consider an armed expedition to assist the Greeks and the Armenians, the First Crusade also aimed to liberate the Holy Sepulchre. The result was the occupation of the coast and a large part of the interior by the Franks. They established their own church which, though a new arrival, took pride of place as that of the dominant society. The Latins dispossessed the Greek prelates of their cathedrals (where, that is, they had not been turned into mosques) and the Greek communities of their pre-eminent position in the sanctuaries. But they very quickly adapted to the situation of the eastern churches, although new to them, and made space for each alongside the Latin church, refraining from the harassment which the Byzantines had inflicted on other confessions (the Franks recognised as Christians, said Michael the Syrian, all who worshipped the cross).[11] At Edessa, four cathedrals existed side by side: the Latin, the Greek, the Armenian and the Jacobite.[12] The Franks adopted the devotions of the eastern Christians, and the monasteries of each confession were able to prosper. Even at the Holy Sepulchre, perhaps thanks to the emotion aroused in 1102 by the failure of the Sacred Fire to descend on Easter Saturday, the coexistence of rites was respected.[13]

However, because of the massive defensive apparatus of their states, the Franks imposed a heavy financial burden on the eastern churches, which was a source of complaint; they have been accused of greed; the churches were not spared.[14] But, apart from theoretical recognition of the primacy of the church of Rome, which presented few difficulties for most of the eastern churches,

[9] Fiey (1980), pp. 232 ff.   [10] Michael the Syrian XIX, 7.   [11] Michael the Syrian XVI, 1.
[12] Röhricht (1887); Segal (1970). [13] See below, note 34.   [14] Lüders (1964).

they respected the prerogatives of their leaders and their various practices. This is why eastern historians have seen their domination as a period of relative tranquillity in the life of these churches.

Nevertheless, it was a period of permanent confrontation, which began with the battle of the Byzantines against the Turks and continued with the crusades. Towns were taken, emptied of their Christian inhabitants, and their churches sacked or destroyed, as at Melitene, Adana and Edessa. The insecurity allowed gangs to pillage monasteries and villages. In 1175, we are told, 'the Turks led the Greeks from their lands in bands of captives, like herds of cattle, to the point where the land of Cappadocia, Armenia, Syria and Mesopotamia was full of boys and girls who became slaves and maidservants of the Turks'.[15] Devastation, deportation and broken family ties were the principal cause of the demographic decline of Christian communities, in particular in Upper Mesopotamia.

Did the eastern Christians have to suffer reprisals inflicted on them by the Muslims following the victories of the Byzantines or the Franks? The cathedral of Merv was sacked on news of the successes of Basil II and, in 1123, the Shi'ite *qadi* of Aleppo, Ibn al-Khassab, caused a mob he had raised to destroy, or turn into mosques, the churches of the various Christian confessions, because Count Joscelin I had destroyed two neighbouring sanctuaries of Aleppo.[16] But this seems to have been exceptional.

Beyond the territories held by the Franks and the Byzantines, the Armenian lords driven back by the latter into the Taurus founded a 'Little Armenia' which gave their church a territorial base; here was born, in 1198, the kingdom of Armenia, which was integrated into the Frankish world without losing its Armenian character. Georgia, after a difficult period, experienced a recovery which made it possible to carry out a religious reform. In Egypt, the advent of the Ayubids was soon made apparent in the enactment of discriminatory measures against Christians, but they were rarely enforced. The Coptic church was able to retain its links with the Christian churches of Nubia and Ethiopia, which remained outside Muslim domination.

In central Asia and the Far East, the formation of the empire of the Kara Khitai, which drove the Seljuks out of Transoxania, had little effect on the distribution of power. This was generally favourable to Christianity, which had been able to progress among the Turkish tribes of the steppe, and hold on to the positions already achieved. The shock which accompanied the creation of the empire of Gengis Khan was not felt until the end of the twelfth century, and had, in the short run, no religious consequences.

---

[15] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, 466.   [16] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, 291.

THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND THE EASTERN CHURCHES IN UNION WITH IT

Adherence to the doctrine defined by the council of Chalcedon was not the only criterion which gave a degree of unity to the Greek church (with the Slav churches of the Greek rite dependent on Constantinople) and those which employed Syriac, Georgian or other languages such as Sogdian in the liturgical celebration. The influence exercised by the patriarch of Constantinople, in matters of dogma and ritual, constituted a very real link, despite the autonomy claimed by some.

The Greek church was closely identified with the definition of the Byzantine empire. This was what allowed the emperors to attach to the patriarchal competence of Constantinople territories which belonged in theory to Antioch (Isauria) or Rome; the latter was still claiming Illyricum at the time of Paschal II, and took advantage of the establishment of Norman domination to put an end to the appointment by Constantinople of the metropolitans of Calabria and Sicily,[17] though continuing to respect the use of the Greek rite; certain episcopal sees were reserved to the Greeks, who, in other dioceses, had a *protopapas (archipresbyter Graecorum)*.[18] The disappearance of the Bulgarian empire led to that of the patriarchate of Trnovo, reduced to the rank of archbishopric in 1020, and the imperial conquests in Armenia were accompanied by the establishment of Greek archbishoprics and bishoprics.

The emperor regarded himself as responsible for ensuring respect for canonical dispositions, hence for deposing and replacing patriarchs, and the careers of high imperial dignitaries were sometimes crowned with a patriarchal throne. However, the patriarch remained able to compel the emperor to respect the rules of Christian morality. Alexis I was refused the right to get rid of his wife, and made to do penance for the violence committed by his soldiers during the capture of Constantinople. On the other hand, the emperor intervened in matters of dogma: for Anna Komnena, her father was a 'thirteenth apostle' by reason of his zeal for orthodoxy; he had John Italos condemned despite the opinion of the patriarch and bishops. Manuel Komnenos pursued Demetrios of Lampe; but he failed when he wanted to make changes to the formula of abjuration imposed on converted Muslims by removing the anathema aimed at Muhammad.

Nevertheless, a certain desire for independence was apparent within the church. Michael Keroularios opposed imperial policy by urging a rupture with Rome; he obtained from Isaac Comnenus the renunciation by the emperor of appointment to patriarchal offices and of any intervention in the management

---

[17] Stiernon (1964). [18] Guillou (1978); Richard (1989), p. 46.

of ecclesiastical property, and the institution of a hearth tax for the upkeep of the clergy. But he claimed as his own certain prerogatives of the emperor and was, in the end, deposed. Isaac's successors continued to intervene in episcopal appointments, confiscate ecclesiastical property when the occasion offered, and assign monasteries to lay *kharistikarioi*.

Patriarchal power was, in fact, collegiate; the synod became permanent and associated bishops and metropolitans with the clergy of St Sophia. Certain metropolitans spent so much time in Constantinople that, in 1079, John Xiphilinos authorised them to give bishops to the vacant sees in their provinces without leaving the capital, to which those who abandoned their dioceses when they were invaded by the Turks were also attracted.[19]

Alexis I had embarked on a reform of the clergy, whose ignorance he deplored. But the emperor and the faithful primarily favoured the monasteries. Isaac Comnenus and Manuel Comnenus probably revived the ban on new donations already issued by Nikephoros Phokas, Manuel preferring to grant annual rents on the treasury rather then landed endowments. But the latter continued and the foundations flourished.

They were associated with the drive for monastic reform. Relaxations of the coenobitic life, disobedience to superiors, lack of stability on the part of the monks, the greed of the abbots (*hegumenoi*) and the grant of monastic property to *kharistikarioi* were all denounced. But the model offered from the end of the ninth century by the monastery of Stoudios continued to inspire founders: for example, in southern Italy, under the protection of the Norman princes, who encouraged the propagation of Greek monasticism in reconquered Sicily, those of Casola or the Patirion of Rossano. In Rome, the practices of these monasteries were considered to define the 'order of St Basil'.[20] In Constantinople, Constantine IX founded St George of Mangana and John II, the Pantocrator. Alexis I wanted to make Patmos, which in 1088 he entrusted to Christodoulos, the model of monastic life: the *typikon* of the Kekharitomeni was inspired by it, especially with regard to the manual labour of the monks. In Cyprus, Neophytos the Recluse introduced a rigorous asceticism to Enklistra. The great monastic ensembles (Mount Athos, the monasteries of the Antioch region and of Palestine) prospered and attest to the expansion of Byzantine monasticism. Manuel Comnenus, according to John Phokas (1185), contributed to the restoration of the monasteries of the Holy Land.

Byzantium saw itself as the depositary of the orthodox interpretation of the faith; the development of the humanism of which Psellos and Xiphilinos were the most celebrated representatives was designed to incorporate the

---

[19] Oikonomidès (1960), pp. 58–9.

[20] Minisci (1958); for Byzantine monasticism as a whole, see Charanis (1971) and Papachryssanthou (1973).

achievements of philosophy into Christian theology, and the harrying of the Neoplatonists or Demetrius of Lampe was intended to prevent the researches of the philosophers from going astray. People turned to the church of Constantinople for guidance on points of faith or discipline: witness the sixty-four questions of the patriarch of Alexandria to which Theodore Balsamon replied in 1195.

The struggle against heresy continued: the Paulicians were condemned to be burned; the leaders of the Jacobite church were brought before the synod and obliged to retract or be shut away in monasteries. Michael Keroularios had called the use of unleavened bread by the Armenians heretical, which also led him to deal harshly with the Latins; it was because he closed their churches in Constantinople and on Mount Athos that Leo IX sent to Byzantium the legates who fulminated against Michael the anathema of 16 July 1054.

The seriousness of this anathema has probably been exaggerated, recent research tending to minimise its gravity. Contacts with Rome were not broken off, and had been resumed by 1068. Nevertheless, the name of the pope was removed from the diptychs, and when Urban II demanded its restoration, in 1088, the patriarchal synod made this dependent on the despatch by the pope of the letter announcing his election and a profession of faith repudiating the errors of the church of Rome; this was to announce that Byzantium refused to see Rome as the mother of the other churches and contested the orthodoxy of the Latins by reason of their formulation of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. The patriarchate stood firm on these points, despite the efforts by the emperors to reach a settlement with Rome: Alexis I wanted a joint Graeco-Latin council which would settle the question of unleavened bread; Manuel I, in 1166, did not alter his church's position.[21] Nor was Manuel able to bring his conversations with the Armenians and the Jacobites to a successful conclusion; orthodoxy refused all compromise.

It had some considerable success among peoples who had hitherto remained pagan: the Vardariotes Turks were converted; the elevation of Kiev into an archbishopric in 1035 definitively sanctioned the conversion of the Russians.

The three patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem had passed under Arab domination in the seventh century; but the Chalcedonian Christians had retained, or rediscovered, their patriarchs, who continued to reside in the three towns. The Byzantine reconquest had restored Antioch to the authority of the emperor, and the patriarch had recovered his cathedral, the 'church of

---

[21] Manuel associated a Latin theologian with the work of the council; cf. Dondaine (1957). Classic accounts of the schism of 1054 and its consequences, e.g. Runciman (1955), need to be reviewed in the light of numerous studies; for a good overview of these see Tinnenfeld (1989). For later contacts between Rome and Constantinople see Stiernon (1962) and (1976).

Cassian'. The patriarchs, and especially the metropolitans of Melitene, tried to exploit their dominant position to undermine that of the Monophysites, whose leaders were several times arrested and brought before the synod of Constantinople. But, at the time of the judgement of John VII (1030), it was maintained that the Greek patriarch of Antioch and his bishops would oppose the latter being judged by the synod.[22] They probably thought that the matter was within the competence of Antioch, not of Constantinople.

In fact, the prerogatives of the see of Antioch were endangered. The patriarch John III (996/7–1021), chosen from among the dignitaries of St Sophia, agreed to be consecrated in Constantinople, renouncing the right of patriarchs to be consecrated in their own cathedral by their metropolitans.

Peter III (1052–6), also a dignitary of St Sophia and consecrated in Constantinople, was a native of Antioch; he annulled the earlier renunciation. He also declared himself a partisan of pentarchy, that is the government of Christendom by the patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria; he sent his synodal letters to the other patriarchs, and opposed the claim of the see of Grado to the patriarchal title. Although he disapproved of the use of unleavened bread by the Latins, he sought to prevent a rupture between Rome and Constantinople and defended against Michael Keroularius the equality of the two sees. But his successors were all recruited from the clergy of St Sophia and consecrated in Constantinople, while the metropolitans were usually Greek.[23] The Byzantine reconquest thus replaced the Syrians, who mostly spoke Syriac or Arabic (Arabic became the language of the Christians of Antioch of the Greek rite, although the liturgy remained Greek), under the authority of the Greeks.

The patriarchate of Jerusalem also passed under the control of Constantinople, as a result of the agreements reached in 1027–8 between the caliph of Cairo and the *basileus*, who received the right to name the patriarch, rebuild the Holy Sepulchre destroyed by al-Hakim, and create an imperial protectorate over the Christians of the Holy Land.

This control seems to have had repercussions for the liturgy. The Melkites retained practices which differed from those of Constantinople; Jerusalem maintained its liturgical traditions; but Theodore Balsamon, in his reply to the patriarch of Alexandria, avoided all reference to the liturgies of St James or St Mark, in favour of that of St John Chrysostom. So local customs tended to disappear.[24]

Antioch was reoccupied by the Turks, but the new patriarch, John V, was also ordained in Constantinople (1088–9) before taking possession of his see.

[22] Michael the Syrian XIII, 5–6.   [23] Michael the Syrian XVI, 1.
[24] For this much discussed question see Nasrallah (1983), pp. 359–67; also (1987).

He recovered his cathedral thanks to the crusaders (1097), but the rupture between Bohemond and Alexis I obliged him to resign his office and make way for a Latin patriarch. The emperor gave him a successor, who never left Constantinople. At Jerusalem, the patriarch Simeon II (1092–9) had to leave, expelled by the Turks. He made contact with the crusaders, but died in Cyprus before Jerusalem was taken. The bishops of the region gave him two successors, John VIII and Sabas, who had previously been bishops in Phoenicia, and a Greek patriarch seems to have continued in Jerusalem up until 1110, though the Latins gave Simon a Latin successor.

The emperor persisted in regarding Antioch as a dependency of the empire, and maintained a regular succession of patriarchs for the town (and probably also for Jerusalem). He also tried to compel the Frankish princes to reinstate these patriarchs in Antioch itself; Alexis I imposed this condition on Bohemond (treaty of Debol, 1108), specifying that the patriarch should be chosen by the emperor from among the clergy of St Sophia; John Comnenus renewed this demand, and Manuel I succeeded in having Athanasius III enthroned in the cathedral of St Peter, on which the Latin patriarch, obliged to leave Antioch for Qusair (1165), immediately placed an interdict. Athanasius perished in the earthquake of 1171, and the Latin patriarch resumed his position.[25] In Jerusalem, which Sabas had left in 1118 to settle in Constantinople, it is not until after 1195 that we find a Greek patriarch residing in one of the monasteries near the town: an attempt by Leontius II to establish himself there, between 1175 and 1185, came to nothing.[26]

Coexistence between Greek and Latin patriarchs was made difficult by the canonical rule in force in both churches prohibiting one city from having two bishops, and the unity of confession professed by Greeks and Latins. The Latins had taken possession of the 'great churches', that is in northern Syria at Antioch, Tarsus, Mamistra, Edessa, Doulichia and Apamea,[27] which had in any case earlier been used for Muslim worship, and had installed their own bishops; but they had established fewer sees than had existed prior to the Arab conquest. This made possible an 'economic' solution; the Latin bishop took the title of the town where he lived; a Greek bishop received that of another episcopal city situated in the same diocese, and the functions of 'vicar for the Greeks' throughout the diocese. We know that at Edessa the Latin archbishop had his cathedral, dedicated to St Mary, St Thaddeus (Addai) and St George, while a Greek prelate had his own cathedral 'for the Greeks and the Syrians (Melkites)', that is St Sophia.[28] At Jerusalem, Meletius, a Melkite, had the title of archbishop of Gaza and Eleutheropolis. More simply, people spoke of the

[25] Hamilton (1980), pp. 172–81.
[26] Hotzelt (1940a), pp. 70–1. Cf. Hamilton (1988).   [27] Michael the Syrian xv. 8.
[28] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon* 452; Segal (1970), pp. 189, 256, etc.

'bishops of the Greeks' at Sidon and at Acre (Ptolemais). It is probable that these bishops swore obedience to the Latin bishop, which had no practical consequences; they ordained the priests of their own rite, who were subject to their jurisdiction alone.[29]

Further, it is not the case, as has been claimed, that the Franks made their Christian subjects pay the tithe; it was levied only on the lords (some of whom might be eastern) and on the Frankish settlers.[30] And in Sinai, whose bishop was regarded as suffragan of the Latin archbishop of Petra (Kera), the diptychs did not bear the name of the pope, but only those of the four patriarchs of the Greek rite.[31]

With regard to the behaviour of the Franks towards the Melkites – whom they called the 'Syrians' (*Syri*) – opinions have differed. J. Prawer thought that the crusaders dispossessed them from their great sanctuaries, leaving them only a precarious position, and that their situation was worse than it had been under the Muslims.[32] This is not the impression conveyed by the stories of travellers like the Russian priest Daniel (1106–7) or John Phokas (1185).[33] The Latins certainly took possession of the Holy Places, at the Holy Sepulchre, Josaphat and Mount Tabor, as well as the property which formed the endowment of these sanctuaries. But they accepted formulae for cohabitation; there was a Greek community, with its dignitaries, at the Holy Sepulchre, and another at Josaphat. Perhaps, in the former case, it had needed an event regarded as miraculous to cause them to renounce an exclusive presence (this is what is reported by Matthew of Edessa with regard to the descent of the Sacred Fire in 1102).[34] At Tabor, the Latins established themselves on the very spot of the Transfiguration; the Greeks were close by. Further, the Greeks alone had a monastery; pilgrims of all rites visited indifferently the sanctuaries served by either party. The great monasteries of the Greek rite (St Sabas, St Theodosius the Cenobiarch) remained in the hands of their communities, and benefited from the liberality of the Latin princes as well as the princes of their own rite.[35] Manuel Comnenus sumptuously decorated the basilicas of the Holy Sepulchre and Bethlehem and restored the monasteries of the Precursor and St Elias. Sinai was particularly venerated. The general impression is not one of a church systematically humiliated.

---

[29] Richard (1985), p. 235.   [30] Richard (1992).
[31] Hamilton (1980), p. 185.   [32] Prawer (1985).
[33] *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel*; John Phokas, 'A Brief Description of the Holy Land, 1185'.
[34] Matthew's account (c.21, RHC Documents Armeniens, I, pp. 54–5), accepted by Hamilton (1980), p. 170, does not correspond with that of Fulcher of Chartres, who was both witness to and participant in this episode: RHC Occ. III, pp. 385–7.
[35] Richard (1986); Mayer (1977), pp. 406–9.

The Franks were mistrustful of the loyalty of the 'Syrians', too prompt, in their eyes, to accommodate to the domination of the Muslims; and Saladin tried to make allies in Jerusalem thanks to a Melkite. But he showed the Melkites no particular favour when he took possession of the Holy City. It was in vain that Isaac Angelus asked him to grant them the Holy Sepulchre. The Muslim princes simply tolerated their presence, as *dhimmi*, whereas they systematically eliminated that of the Franks, whose churches became mosques, palaces or stables, in both Edessa and Jerusalem (it was not until 1192 that they agreed to the presence of four Latin clerics at the Holy Sepulchre). And the Greeks and Melkites were not spared: the great monastery of St Simeon, restored by the Byzantines, and many monasteries of the Black Mountain, were sacked in 1119; their cathedral at Edessa was destroyed in 1146. When the Melkites were under Muslim domination, their lot was not particularly favourable: it does not seem that the Muslims were able to count on their goodwill or use it against the Latins. The latter, what is more, did not reproach them for their collusion with the infidel so much as their 'pusillanimity'; though this did not prevent them from entrusting to 'Syrians' the defence of fortresses or employing them in their armies.

The Melkite community, however, assumed increasingly individualistic features. When the prince of Antioch, Bohemond IV, established a patriarch of the Greek rite in the see of Antioch, the election was not at Constantinople, but at Antioch itself, and of a Melkite, Ibn Abu Saib (1206). Arabic gradually replaced Syriac, which remained the language of the villages. It was in Arabic that the Melkite physician, Abu'l Faraj Yahya ibn Sa'id, who had fled from Egypt at the time of al-Hakim, composed at Antioch, where he died around 1166, the continuation of his *Annals of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*; it was also the language in which his contemporary, Abdallah ibn al-Fadl, who translated the works of the masters of the ascetic life from Greek into Arabic, composed theological treatises;[36] and it was in Arabic that bishop Paul of Sidon, whose dates remain uncertain, wrote a work of apologetics.[37] It was in Sinai, where groups of monks of different origins coexisted, that Greek persisted alongside Arabic, as is shown by the copies of manuscripts produced there.[38]

The particular structure of the patriarchate of Antioch, as it is recorded in the *Taktika*, allowed for the existence of primates, described as '*catholicos*', appointed to 'national' churches. Many of them split off from the Chalcedonian community, among them that of Armenia. But three remained in communion with the Greek patriarch, chief among them that of Georgia.

---

[36] Nasrallah (1983), III, pp. 142–59.   [37] Khoury (1964).
[38] Nasrallah (1983), III, pp. 71–8; Cannuyer (1986), p. 110.

The church of Georgia became autocephalous in the eleventh century. It was the patriarch of Antioch who conceded the Holy Chrism to the Georgian *catholicos* and, in return, received a rent corresponding to the income from a hundred villages. The patriarch John III (996/7–1021) renounced this rent in favour of the patriarch of Jerusalem, Orestes (986–1006), and it was in future the canons of the Holy Sepulchre who went to Georgia to receive it.[39] This mark of dependence having been removed, the *catholicos* Melchisedeq (1012–30), who had been appointed by the king, assumed the additional title of patriarch. Antioch responded by denying the right to self-government of a country which had not been evangelised by an apostle; an account of the peregrinations of St Andrew was then 'discovered' in which he visited the shores of the Black Sea! In the end, Peter III or his successor Theodosius, between 1052 and 1059, recognised the autocephalous status of the *catholicos* though without granting him the title of patriarch. This happened at the same time that King Bagrat IV succeeded in persuading Byzantium to abandon the subjugation of Georgia.

Nevertheless the influence of the Greek church made itself strongly felt, through the intermediary of monasticism. The convent of Iviron, founded by a noble Georgian on Mount Athos, was an active centre of translation: the son of the founder, Euthymios, translated over thirty works from Greek into Georgian.[40] His successor, George Mtasmindeli (d. 1066) frequented the many Georgian monasteries founded in the Holy Land, where Prohoré had built that of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem;[41] in the Black Mountain, near Antioch, where there were nearly a dozen monasteries with Georgian monks (there were sixty at St Simeon);[42] in Constantinople, where the monastery of Romané also welcomed Georgians. They had a monastery, Jallia, in Cyprus. In 1083–4, a noble Georgian in the service of the *basileus*, George Bakuriani, founded the convent of Petric'oni, which served as a seminary to which young men came to be trained before taking up ecclesiastical responsibilities in their own country. It was no longer through the intermediary of Armenian, but through Greek, that Greek thought penetrated Georgia; the Fathers of the church, the psalms, works of exegesis and synaxaria were translated from the Greek. The Georgians also contributed to the intellectual life of Byzantium; George Mtasmindeli defended the position of the Latins in regard to the use of unleavened bread: John Petri'ci felt the influence of the Neoplatonists. So the imprint of Constantinople was superposed on the much older imprint of Jerusalem.

---

[39] Nasrallah (1983), III, p. 86; Richard (1965), pp. 57–8.
[40] Metreveli (1983); Martin-Hisard (1991); *Actes d'Iviron*, 1–2.
[41] Janin (1913); Peradze (1937).   [42] Djobadzé (1976).

This influence was no less visible in the great buildings which the Byzantine master architects helped to construct, including the cathedral of Kutaisi, begun in 1003, and that of Mtzkheta (1010–29).

Georgia suffered badly after 1065 from the Turkish invasions, which destroyed churches, monasteries (Mariam Nishin) and the hermitages of Klardjeti; priests were massacred, important men forced to declare themselves Muslims and King George II had to pay tribute. The recovery was the work of David II, who recaptured Tiflis (1112), Ani (1123) and even conquered Shirvan. But he had to restore a church afflicted and exploited, for example its bishoprics taken over by the aristocracy and made hereditary. It was natural for him to turn to the norms adopted or recommended in the Byzantine world. In 1103, a national council met in the diocese of Ruis and Urbnisi, with the aim of restoring ecclesiastical discipline. It ordered the deposition of unworthy bishops and respect for the ages fixed by the canons for accession to holy orders; it stipulated use of the ritual translated by George Mtasmindeli. The *catholicos* and the bishops were in future to be chosen from among clerics instructed in the sacred laws and letters (which corresponded to the teaching of law and theology as it had been decreed in Byzantium). The bishops were no longer to accept money from candidates for ordination, nor were Christians to sell holy vessels. The practice of Antioch was recalled in the obligation to rebaptise converted Monophysites, but it was the Byzantine *Nomokanon* which was the basic point of reference.

Concern for the training of the monastic clergy, from amongst whom the bishops were recruited, dictated the reorganisation of the monastery of Ghelati, founded in 1014 by Bagrat III, where David built a large church, decorated with a mosaic donated by the emperor Alexis I; John Petri'ci taught there. At the monastery of Iqalt'o, the abbot Arsen, trained at St George of Mangana, was another famous teacher. His knowledge of languages gave him a key role at the council at which David II, once his conquests had made him master of Ani, brought together the *catholicos*, the Georgian bishops and the Armenian bishops and abbots in the hope of achieving a union of the two churches. The council came to nothing, but the initiative attests to the vigour of the Georgian revival.

Georgians were still found in the monasteries of Cyprus, Crete and Syria, and on Mount Athos. John Phokas, in 1185, met stylites, hermits and monks from Georgia at Gethsemane, at St Gerasimo on the Jordan and at St Chrysostom. The monastery of the Cross, briefly occupied by Saladin, was restored by the latter, and the Christians of Mosul were much heartened when they saw their *maphrian* return from Georgia, where he had gone to repurchase prisoners, in the company of Georgian knights carrying crosses above their

banners: the kings of Georgia here inaugurated a tradition which persisted (1168).[43]

The Georgian church was integrated into a structure of feudal character. The *catholicos*, a powerful landed lord, came second only to the king. The chancellery, previously occupied by monks, was headed by the bishop of Tchk-oudidi; the ecclesiastical dignitaries sat in the royal council and the bishops were great lords. This had its dangers; the *catholicos* Michael, at the end of the twelfth century, accumulated bishoprics and the direction of the chancellery. He was careful not to attend the council which Queen Thamar summoned to repress abuses. Nevertheless, in this expanding kingdom, the church was able to make itself heard.

Little is known about the other Christianities of the Caucasus. The Zichi, or Tcherkesses, and the Lesghians of Daghestan had their bishops; the population was Christian, perhaps only superficially. The Muslim conquest forced Christianity back into the region of Derbent and Barda'a.[44] The Alans, nomads in the steppe of Manytch, were largely Christian with a metropolitan of Alania; those deported as far as China by the Mongols took their Christianity with them; but their ignorance and the survival of pagan practices in the territory of the Alans were still deplored in the fourteenth century.[45] The Goths of the Crimea also had a bishop, later regarded as metropolitan, dependent on Constantinople, as were the sees of Alania and the shores of the Black Sea.[46]

We also know from later sources, and from the evidence of al-Biruni, of the presence of Melkites in Khwarizm and in Khorasan (Merv). The patriarch Peter III of Antioch said that in this day there was still a *catholicos* at Romagyris, which has been identified as Tashkent, a see originally created for the Christians deported into Transoxania, and he mentioned archbishops whom he had ordained for this far distant Christianity, probably Sogdian speaking. He also refers to a *catholicos*, depending on his patriarchal see, at Irenopolis, that is Baghdad; the presence of this Christianity, too, dated back to the period of the deportations of Christians by the Sassanids. The presence of Melkites in Mesopotamia and Iran is therefore still attested in the eleventh century, although whether the two prelates effectively resided in Baghdad and Tashkent is open to doubt.[47]

---

[43] Michael the Syrian XVIII, 7.

[44] The 'Alastoi', whom a letter of 1232 included among the peoples who professed the Greek faith (with the Iberians, Abasges, Alans, Goths and Khazars), may have been Lesghians: *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat*, I, 4, no. 1257.

[45] Dauvillier (1953).   [46] Vasiliev (1936).

[47] Dauvillier (1953); Nasrallah (1976); Fiey (1977a).

THE CHURCHES OF ASIA OUTSIDE BYZANTINE OBEDIENCE

The Syrian church, which described itself as orthodox, but which other confessions called Jacobite (after Jacobus Baradaeus, who had organised it in opposition to the Chalcedonian church of Antioch), included all the Monophysites not only in Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, but also in Iran, where, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it had metropolitans at Segestan (Zarang) and Khorasan (Farah).[48] But the patriarch now resided in the upper valley of the Euphrates, to which the systematic colonisation of the region reconquered by Byzantium in the tenth century had attracted large numbers of Syrians and Armenians.[49] The patriarch Athanasius II lived in the convent of Barid, near Melitene, where Basil II tolerated his presence. But the Greek metropolitan of Melitene, at the time of Romanos Argyros, prompted a repression which included among its victims the patriarch John VII (VIII) bar-Abdun; he was taken to Constantinople along with many bishops and monks and condemned to reclusion in a monastery in Thrace, where he died (1029–33). His successors moved to Muslim territory, at Amid. For a while, around 1040, prohibited from living in Antioch, and deprived of priests and churches, the Jacobites were compelled to go out into the villages for liturgical celebrations; many abjured.[50]

With the retreat of Byzantium, and despite the attempt by Philaretos to restore the patriarchal seat to Barid, the patriarchs retained Amid as their special diocese and fixed their usual residence in the monastery of Mar Barsauma, near Gargar, in the area controlled by the Frankish counts of Edessa. Michael the Syrian (1166–99) transferred the patriarchal diocese to Mardin and temporarily abandoned Mar Barsauma for Deir Zafaran. The counts of Edessa had disappeared; the patriarchate now existed under the hegemony of the Seljuks of Anatolia.

These moves were linked to internal difficulties. The arrest of John VII made the Syrians afraid of seeing the patriarchate unoccupied, thanks to Byzantine hostility. The faithful had asked the patriarch to ordain children, for fear of a lengthy vacancy.

On John VII's death, some bishops met clandestinely at Tamanin to elect Denis IV; but when he in turn died, the 'oriental' bishops complained that the election had again been held without their participation and threatened schism. The synod of Gazira laid down that in future no patriarch could be consecrated without the agreement of the *maphrian*, leader of the eastern bishops. Despite this, Athanasius VI was elected by the western bishops alone; the eastern bishops opposed to him John X (IX) bar-Shushan, elected at Mardin, who withdrew, but resumed the patriarchate on the death of Athanasius (1068).

---

[48] Fiey (1973). [49] Palmer (1986). [50] Dagron (1976); Michael the Syrian xv, 1.

The election of John XI, who caused Philaretos to intervene, provoked, in re-
action, the nomination of several anti-patriarchs; unity was not restored until
1095 in the person of Athanasius VII. Michael the Syrian (1166–99) provoked
discontent and four bishops met at Mardin and elected as patriarch his god-
son, Theodore bar-Wahbun; he, having been deposed and imprisoned in a
monastery, escaped and tried to get himself recognised by the Latin patriarch
of Jerusalem, then by the Armenian *catholicos*; the support of Leo II of Armenia
made it possible for him to be accepted by the bishops of Cilicia before his
death in 1193. On Michael's death, his successor Athanasius IX was elected by
an insufficient number of bishops; he was opposed by Michael II, nephew of
the dead patriarch.[51]

The chroniclers leave us in doubt about the quarrels between persons and
monasteries which troubled the Jacobite church. Athanasius VIII seems to have
been a particularly difficult personality, and his dispute with the metropolitan
of Edessa, Basil bar-Sabuni, provoked Frankish intervention. Having taking
refuge in Amid, he came into conflict with the local bishops, and the amir
put him under arrest; he had to be begged by Joscelin of Edessa to return to
his residence.[52] Bishops were frequently deposed; John X (IX), who consecrated
seventeen bishops between 1064 and 1073, deposed five of them. The patriarch
was supposed to summon a synod for this purpose, but it was open to him to
refuse to accept a bishop chosen by his diocesans. The desire for a larger income
was sometimes a factor when sees were merged, which was not uncommon.
The bishops of Kaisun and Samosata 'ravished sees which did not belong to
them', and the synod of 1155 pronounced three amalgamations of bishoprics,
which was a source of scandal.[53]

The eastern dioceses of the Jacobite church were grouped under the authority
of the archbishop of Takrit, who bore the title of *maphrian*, and to whom the
metropolitans and bishops of the old Sassanid empire were subordinate. The
archbishop sought to extend the area of his authority; the synod of Gazira
gave him authority over Nisibis. But his episcopal town, Takrit, suffered badly;
the great churches were turned into mosques in 1089. So the *maphrian*, whose
authority was contested by the great monastery of Mar Matta, east of Nineveh,
had Mosul and Nineveh added to his diocese of Takrit in 1155, and settled at
Mosul.[54] When the patriarch Michael granted the office of *maphrian* to his
nephew Gregory Ya'qub, the monks of Mar Matta opposed him with one of
their own, Karim bar-Masih (1189). Gregory obtained the assistance of the amir
of Sinjar, Karim that of the atabeg of Mosul, both of which had to be bought
with gold. Eventually, the death of the *qadi* of Mosul, protector of Karim,

---

[51] Kaufhold (1990).   [52] Michael the Syrian xv, 12, 14.
[53] Michael the Syrian xv, 4 and xx, 1.   [54] Fiey (1974); also (1963).

enabled Gregory to enter Mosul (1192).[55] It is clear that the rules of the synods prohibiting candidates for bishoprics from seeking (or buying) the support of temporal princes were a dead letter:[56] Joscelin II of Edessa persuaded the patriarch to nominate Basil bar-Shumana as metropolitan of Edessa by refusing to allow the patriarchal election to be proclaimed until the patriarch accepted his choice.

Relations with the great monasteries were often stormy. The latter sought to achieve a similar autonomy to that enjoyed by Mar Matta. In 1174, the monks of Mar Barsauma obtained exemption from the authority of the patriarch, but this decision was ratified only by Michael I, a former monk of the convent; the troubles which ensued obliged Michael first to leave the monastery, then to abolish the privilege (1175). Monasteries proliferated; the bishops supervised their orthodoxy, and Basil of Edessa had been on the point of excommunicating the monks of Pesqin who were suspected of Messalianism.[57]

Relations with the Franks were easier than with the Byzantines; the new arrivals accepted without difficulty the presence of Jacobite prelates and monks.[58] Nevertheless, in Jerusalem, the crusaders seized two villages which belonged to the convent of St Mary Magdalene, because the Jacobite community and its metropolitan had fled to Egypt. King Baldwin I restored them on presentation of their deeds of ownership; a knight to whom they had been granted as a fief reclaimed them, but the Jacobites won their case in return for compensation.[59] Latins and Syrians shared the same devotions; Michael the Syrian recorded the discovery of the bodies of St Thaddeus and Abgar by the first Latin archbishop, and the recovery of their relics, after 1146, to the benefit of the Jacobite cathedral.[60] St Barsauma was venerated by the Latins, and a miraculous cure led a Frankish knight of Antioch to build him a church, which the Syrian patriarch consecrated in 1156.[61] John XIII (X) was consecrated in the Latin cathedral of Turbessel in 1130, and the Latin patriarch of Antioch received Michael I in his residence of Qusair, where Michael conducted ordinations, in 1167.

This did not prevent the Latin princes from extorting money and precious objects from the prelates and monasteries. Joscelin II, however, devoted to St Barsauma, pillaged the convent and seized the treasure, claiming that the monks were concealing riches removed from the Muslims. A suitable rationale was found; only Latin priests handled sacred vessels; and the saint's reliquary was deposited and venerated in the Latin cathedral of Turbessel; but a heavy ransom had to be paid (1148).[62]

[55] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, 236–42.   [56] Michael the Syrian xx, 1.
[57] Michael the Syrian xx, 7.   [58] Michael the Syrian xvi, 1, 2.   [59] Martin (1888–9).
[60] Michael the Syrian xv, 8; *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, 422.
[61] Michael the Syrian xvii, 13.   [62] Michael the Syrian xvii, 9.

The Jacobites had involved the Franks in their quarrels. Basil bar-Sabuni appealed to the Frankish patriarch against the excommunication launched against him by his own patriarch; when the latter refused to absolve him, the Latin patriarch put him under arrest. A Melkite 'philosopher' came from Edessa to mediate; but it cost the Syrian patriarch much silver before he could get the prince of Antioch to release him by making clear that the Latin prelate had no jurisdiction over the Syrians.[63] Theodore bar-Wahbun agreed to submit to the authority of Rome in order to obtain the support of the patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem.

The problem of the union of the churches was in effect posed. According to Michael the Syrian, when Cardinal Aubry called a council at Jerusalem to which he invited Armenians, Jacobites and Greeks, only the latter refused to present their profession of faith, because of the absence of the emperor; the former presented theirs, and it was recognised as conforming to that of the Roman church (1142). However, Denis bar-Salibi had to write an *Expositio missae* in 1169 to enable his co-religionaries of Jerusalem to argue against the Latins. And in 1179, the patriarch Michael presented the patriarch of Antioch, Aimery, with a treatise designed to support the position of the Roman church against the Manicheans at the third Lateran council.[64] The religious debate also extended to the Armenians. John X (IX) refused the invitation to union of the *catholicos* Gregory II, and Bishop Andrew of Mabbug came to Trazark to defend the Jacobite practices attacked by Gregory III.[65] Manuel Comnenus, for his part, sent letters to Michael, to which Michael responded by entrusting to Theodore bar-Wahbun a 'true definition of our orthodoxy'.[66]

These works of apologetics were only part of an abundant literary output. Ignatius, metropolitan of Melitene, was, we are told, versed in the Greek and Syriac languages, which made him able to make translations; he was learned both in theology and in profane literature. John X (IX) never stopped writing, even on journeys; he taught and he copied books. Michael the Syrian, in addition to his impressive chronicle, composed liturgical works and copied books; he rebuilt the monastery of Barsauma after a fire, and built a church at Amid, his literary activity matched by artistic endeavour.[67] The terrible trials which the Syrian church endured in themselves stimulated composition; the elegies on the devastation of Melitene in 1058, and deploring the capture of Jerusalem by

---

[63] Michael the Syrian xv, 2.
[64] Michael the Syrian xx, 7; *Denis bar Salibi, Expositio missae*, ed. Labout.
[65] Gregory Barhebraeus ii, pp. 486–7; Minassiantz (1904).
[66] Michael the Syrian xix, 5, 6; *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, 232–4; Gregory Barhebraeus ii, pp. 542–62.
[67] Michael the Syrian xv, 2, 3; *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, 235. The amount of rebuilding was particularly great in the Tur Abdin. See Krüger (1938); Bell (1982); Palmer (1990).

Saladin in 1187.[68] But it was the fall of Edessa in 1146, accompanied by massacres and the destruction of churches, which provoked a doctrinal controversy over the role of Providence, which pitted Bishop John of Mardin against the deacon James, who later became bishop of Marʿash under the name of Denis bar-Salibi, and who distinguished himself by his commentaries on the Bible and the Fathers of the church, his hymns and his philosophical and theological writings.[69] The Jacobite church remained both active and intellectually fertile.

The 'Nestorian' church was defined by the Christological definition of the distinction of the two natures of Christ which had been given by Nestorius (d. after 451), and which had been adopted by the Christians of the old Sassanid empire, placed under the authority of the *catholicos* of Seleucia/Ctesiphon; its liturgical language was Syriac. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this territorial distribution, thanks to which this church defined itself as 'eastern', was no longer quite accurate. The Tur ʿAbdin was predominantly Jacobite; the two communities coexisted at Nisibis and Mardin. There was a Nestorian metropolitan at Damascus and a bishop at Jerusalem, who was raised to the rank of metropolitan between 1064 and 1072; the Nestorians were numerous in Libya and Tripoli, and present in Egypt. Their pilgrims visited the Holy Land.[70]

The unity of the church was assured in the person of the *catholicos*, who no longer had any contact with the church of Antioch. He was at the head of a very rigidly structured hierarchy. He was elected during the course of a synod (convoked by the bishop of Kashkar, 'guardian of the throne' during the vacancy) attended by the bishops of the province of Seleucia/Ctesiphon, the notables and the clergy of this town and the metropolitans described as 'from the interior': those of Gondisapor, Nisibis, Basra, Mosul, Irbil (after 1176), Kirkuk and Halah. He was consecrated in the ancient cathedral of Kokhe, the old veh-Ardashar, one of the towns grouped round the former Sassanid capital in the ensemble called al-Madaʿin ('the towns'). But he was immediately conducted to Baghdad, where his cathedral and residence were located; the caliph provided for the occasion an escort of honour, and it was his vizier who arrayed him in his starched veil, the sign of his office. The *catholicos* also received a diploma of investiture, the ʿahd (pact) which conferred on him authority over the Christians and responsibility for their observance of the rules imposed on them and their payment of taxes, in particular the annual head tax.

In fact, it was the government of the caliph which controlled the election and authorised meetings of the electoral college. Those who had influence with the

---

[68] Nöldecke (1873); *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, 485.
[69] Michael the Syrian XVI, 3, 4; Van Roey (1960).   [70] Fiey (1969).

caliph imposed their choice on the electors, which did not pass unopposed. In 1021, the metropolitan of Nisibis, Elias bar-Sinaya, refused to record the name of the *catholicos* Isoyaw IV on the diptychs, regarding him as illegitimate; Isoyaw stripped him of the privilege of participating in the election.[71]

The *catholicos* even enjoyed, by virtue of a privilege obtained in 913 (when the Melkites had wished to establish a prelate in Baghdad), the exclusive right to represent Christians of any confession. He reminded the Jacobite *maphrian* of this in 1004 when he came to consecrate a church which had burned down in Baghdad, and again in 1069, when he intervened in a mixed marriage; the *maphrian* was required to make a public act of repentance. Custom demanded that the *maphrian* travel to Baghdad to receive the humeral, mitre and pastoral staff from the *catholicos*.[72]

The *catholicos* had the right to create episcopal or metropolitan sees, conditional on a synod of at least three bishops. He appointed the metropolitans and confirmed their nomination of the bishops of their provinces by conferring on them the 'perfection'. This regime was relaxed for the metropolitans 'from the exterior'; but the bishops and metropolitans were all recruited from among Mesopotamians and Persians. Syriac was the liturgical language throughout the church; but the hymns and gospels were translated into the vernacular; and Arabic was already the normal language of the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia.[73]

The lower clergy were married; they were recruited from the countries where they exercised their liturgical functions. Only former monks could become bishops; the monasteries were still numerous, but they are poorly documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[74]

The church paid the penalty for its 'protected' position. Too boisterous a procession, for example at a burial, aroused the indignation of the *ulama*, who incited the mob to sack churches, episcopal residences or the houses of the principal Christians. And they periodically called for the interdicts proclaimed by al-Mutawakkil to be revived, in particular the obligation to wear a distinctive sign and the prohibition on occupying official positions. In fact the Muslim men of law, who were also the preachers in the mosques, and the Christian 'secretaries' in the entourage of the caliph were engaged in a power struggle. The interdicts were officially reinstated in 1031, 1056 and 1058, and soon forgotten. But in 1091, at the request of Nizam al-Mulk, the caliph's vizier, Ibn Shuqa, rigorously applied these measures, which were enforced until 1105. This resulted in the apostasy – sometimes false – of many Christian secretaries and the dismissal of others; their influence was consequently reduced. It was now the Christian doctors who used their influence in the service of their

---

[71] Fiey (1977b).   [72] Gregory Barhebraeus III, pp. 331–2, 335–8.   [73] Marot (1955).
[74] Fiey (1959) and (1965–8); also several articles collected in Fiey (1979).

co-religionaries. One of them, the monk Ibn al-Wasiti, physician to the caliph, in 1105 obtained the abolition of the distinctive signs, and in 1109 permission to elect a *catholicos*. The favour of the caliph was such that he himself was appointed in 1132. But, at the time of the *catholicos* Elias III (1176–90), the caliph decided once again to bar Christians from official posts. And exactions were common; when the *catholicos* Bar Sawma I (1134–6) could not satisfy the exorbitant demands, the vizier had his residence sacked.

Nevertheless, outside Baghdad, the Nestorians often remained influential, no doubt thanks to their wealth. Thus the Jacobite bishop of Raqqa, in order to promote his claims to become metropolitan, was able to obtain the support of the Nestorians who were 'chiefs and governors of the region of Mardin', that is, auxiliaries of the local amir.[75]

The Nestorians had few contacts with the rest of the Christian world. It is known that those in Baghdad, between 1149 and 1175, buried in the oratory of one of their churches the bodies of captive Franks who had been put to death, probably for having refused to abjure, and who were therefore seen as martyrs.[76] Their relations with the Jacobites were generally peaceful.

Intellectual life again offers a famous name, that of Elias bar-Sinaya, who recorded in his *Sessions* the conversations he held, in 1026, with the vizier Ibn 'Ali al-Maqrizi on the subject of the Christian faith, and which are one of the last examples of a genre which was extremely successful. We owe him also a Syriac grammar, an Arabo-Syriac dictionary and some liturgical treatises.[77] Though he was primarily a Syriac author, Arabic occupied an increasingly important place in the Nestorian church; it was the language in which Mari wrote his *Livre de la Tour*, a history of the *catholicos*.

We do not see a spectacular decline on the part of this church, though it is true that we are ill-informed. Most of the bishoprics seem still to have been occupied in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. It may perhaps have been at this point that there began the reduction in their number which would be obvious a century later, and which first affected the southern regions.

But its influence extended beyond the Arabic- and Syriac-speaking world. It had been a missionary church, in contact with India, central Asia and the Far East.[78] The conquest of Turkestan by Islam probably dealt it a serious blow. But Christians were found in Khorasan, in Sogdiana and in Xin-Jiang. Christian texts were written in Turkish and Sogdian, such as those found in the ruins of the monastery of Bulayiq, near Turfan, which date from the tenth century, or the even older funerary inscriptions of the valley of the Tchou, Kashgar had a bishop between 1176 and 1190. At the beginning of the twelfth century,

---

[75] Michael the Syrian xx, 1; Gregory Barhebraeus ii, pp. 556–70.
[76] Fiey (1980), p. 246.   [77] Van Roey (1963).
[78] Pelliot (1973); Dauvillier (1948), reprinted with additions in Dauvillier (1983).

the whole region passed under the domination of the Kara Khitai, who were Buddhists, but who counted Christians as of their own clan.[79] We know that the khan of a Turkish people of Mongolia, the Keraits, embraced Christianity around 1009, after a miraculous vision; a Christian merchant had interpreted it for him, and the metropolitan of Merv applied to the *catholicos* to relax the rules of fasting in view of their nomadic way of life. The dynasty of the Keraits remained Christian, as did that of their neighbours, the Onguts, and one of the leaders of the Naimans, Kutchlug, was a Christian until his conversion to Buddhism at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Nestorian Christianity had its faithful, its monks and a hierarchy as far east as northern China.

Merchants and monks also carried Christianity to the shores of the Indian Ocean and the China Sea.[80] Christian communities were founded, and remained in contact with the *catholicos*; in India, where the tomb of St Thomas attracted pilgrims, of whom at least one, Bernard the Penitent, came from the west;[81] in the Sunda Islands, in the Malaysian peninsula and even southern China. It was once thought that Christianity disappeared from this country with the massacre of foreign merchants at Canton in 878; they returned, and the recent discovery of the tombstone of a Nestorian bishop responsible for the government of the Christians and Manicheans of the district of Xiangnan at the end of the thirteenth century suggests that Christianity had been established in the locality.[82]

So although the environment of the church subject to the *catholicos* who resided in Baghdad became increasingly less favourable in Mesopotamia and in Iran, its missionary expansion did not slacken in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The foundation of the Mongol empire destroyed many Christian dynasties, but it allowed the survival of hopes which were kept alive throughout the thirteenth century.

The Armenian church experienced severe difficulties as a result of Byzantine policy following the annexation of the Armenian kingdoms. The *basileis* in effect sought to persuade the Armenians to adhere to the doctrine defined by the council of Chalcedon and abandon their liturgical peculiarities. In fact, many Armenians inclined towards the Christological definition adopted by the Greeks; in the tenth century, even some of their *catholicos* moved closer to it. The Armenians who had entered imperial service, of whom many were integrated into the Byzantine aristocracy, and notably those who governed frontier provinces in the name of the emperor, such as Philaretos at Marash, Thoros at Edessa and Gabriel at Melitene, were 'Chalcedonians'. The 'Chalcedonian

[79] Sims-Williams (1981).   [80] Pelliot (1973), p. 255; Enoki (1964).   [81] Colless (1969–71); *AASS*, Apr. II, p. 676 E; see also Devos (1948). Of the many works on Indian Christianities, notable is Brown (1982).
[82] Enoki (1964).

Armenians', who were given the sobriquet *Izati*, had at least one monastery in the Black Mountain, called the Pomegranate, to which Nikon of the Black Mountain retired in 1084.[83] This particular community seems not to have survived the twelfth century: the Armenian church was once again obedient to its *catholicos*.

The *catholicos* Petros Gokadarz (1019–54) did not oppose the transfer of Ani to Byzantine rule (he was at one point even deposed because he was reckoned to be too favourable to Byzantium). He was none the less enticed to Constantinople, where he was detained, and which he left for Cappadocia. The emperor dragged out the election of his successor, Khatchik I, also banished to a Cappadocian monastery after having refused to side with the Greek church. His death was followed by a vacancy which lasted for five years. The new *catholicos*, Gregory II (Vahram Pahlavouni) (1065–1105), faced a difficult situation. King Gagik II had done away with the Greek metropolitan of Sebastia;[84] he himself was to be assassinated; the emperor Romanos Diogenes wished, it was said, to have done with Armenian resistance.[85] And Gregory, attracted by the monastic life, granted the reality of his responsibilities to others who also took the title of *catholicos*; George (1071–3); Sarkis, consecrated at Honi, to whom he sent the patriarchal insignia left by Petros. In 1074, at Ani, he consecrated as bishop his nephew Basil, who proclaimed himself *catholicos* in 1081 and made an act of submission in 1090 to the sultan Malik-Shah. Gregory stayed in Egypt, where he assumed the functions of *catholicos* within the large Armenian community, but returned to Jerusalem (where he endured the siege of 1099), and then to the Black Mountain. However Philaretos, having failed to persuade the successor of Sarkis to join him in Marash, arranged the election in this town of a Paul (1065).[86] Gregory prepared the reunification; he persuaded Basil to recognise himself his coadjutor and, on the death of Gregory, it was effectively Basil who became the sole *catholicos*.

Basil had transferred his residence from Ani to Kaisun, to which an Armenian leader, Kogh Vasil, had attracted a whole party of the Armenian aristocracy. He benefited from the generosity of Baldwin, count of Edessa. When he died, he left his see, as Gregory II had foreseen, to another Pahlavouni, a great nephew of Gregory II, who took the name of Gregory III (1113). However, a group of bishops refused to accept this choice, on the grounds of the latter's extreme youth, and made *catholicos* the bishop of Aghtamar, David Thornikian. A succession of '*catholicos* of the house of the Azdzruni' followed each other at Aghtamar in spite of the excommunication pronounced against them.

---

[83] Lieu (1980). [84] Nasrallah (1983), p. 44; Peeters (1935).
[85] Bartikian (1988); Cheynet (1966).
[86] Four *catholicos* in 1085–6, respectively in Egypt (Gregory), at Honi, Ani and Marash. Matthew of Edessa, 126.

The 'red monastery' (Garmir Vank), previously Jacobite, where Gregory II and Basil had ended their days, remained the residence of the *catholicos* until its destruction by the Turks in 1136. The countess of Edessa, Beatrice, offered them the castle of Hromgla, which became the property of the prelate in 1152 and remained in his possessions until the end of the thirteenth century: the *catholicos* was therefore close to Little Armenia.

The shift of the seat of the *catholicos* corresponded to a shift of Armenian Christianity; in the tenth century, the Byzantines had appealed, among others, to the Armenians to populate the reconquered towns, especially Antioch. In the eleventh century, it was the high officers of the ancient kingdoms who moved, along with thousands of their subjects, to Cappadocia, and the Turkish invasions accelerated the process;[87] they colonised the Taurus Mountains, where the Armenian aristocracy carved out lordships whose populations often remained largely Jacobite, but with the addition of Armenian warriors, burgesses and priests.[88] The plain of Adana received Armenian colonists in its turn. Other Armenians emigrated to Egypt, and Gregory II had to provide them with a spiritual leader (who in the twelfth century bore the title of *catholicos*).[89] Thus it became necessary to instal Armenian bishops in regions hitherto beyond the jurisdiction of the *catholicos*, and where the Armenians mixed with other Christians. They had a monastery (St James) and a bishop in Jerusalem. The first personage of the church after the *catholicos* was the '*catholicos* of the Aghouans', who had to abandon the former Albania (Arran) and transfer his seat from Bardaʿa to Gandza;[90] He presided over the synods and consecrated the *catholicos*. The metropolitan system was weak, each bishop in practice dependent on the *catholicos*. Chosen from amongst the monastic clergy, he usually lived in a monastery. There was a remarkable flowering of monasteries.

Kogh Vasil took from the Syrians the 'red monastery' and six other monasteries near to Kaisun in order to install Armenian monks.[91] The establishment of the Armenians in Cilicia led to the foundation of Trazarg, Skevra and Arthageghin. Their special feature was the position occupied by theologians (*vardapet*) who ran schools and transmitted from master to disciple the tradition of which they were the depositaries. The monasteries of Greater Armenia grouped round Haghpat claimed to be guardians of the traditions of the church, and did not hesitate to enter into conflict with the *catholicos*. A concern for reform was not unknown in this monastic world; the *vardapet* Kevork Meghrik (died 1145) gave a rule to the great monastery of Trazarg.[92]

The Armenian church was always interested in the prospect of a union of the churches. It had long been in contact with the Greeks; Armenians had

---

[87] Dédéyan (1975).   [88] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, 249, 260.
[89] Canard (1955).   [90] Matthew of Edessa, 120, 131.
[91] Michael the Syrian XVII, 1.   [92] Amadouni (1958); Mécérian (1965).

reached the west by the tenth century, and Gregory VII had received their complaints at the time of the Turkish invasion.[93] The Georgian conquests of the twelfth century in Great Armenia had placed many Armenians, and their historical capital, Ani, under Georgian control. The Armenian barons 'of the Mountain' had succeeded in occupying Cilicia thanks to the conflicts between the Franks and the Byzantines and gained admission to the concert of states born of the crusades. Those in the Edessa region, who had summoned the crusaders against the Turks in 1097, and tried to play one off against the other, had had to give way to the counts of Edessa and their vassals, though Armenians continued to be numerous amongst the county's officials. The historian Ernoul asserts that the Rupenid baron Thoros proposed to the king of Jerusalem that Armenian warriors should be settled in the Holy Land to strengthen its defences.

Nevertheless, the Armenians did not sever their contacts with the Muslims; the successor of Thoros, Mleh, allied with Nur al-Din to expel the Byzantines from Cilicia; the nephew of the *catholicos* Gregory IV seized Hromgla with the help of the Turks in 1183, and his uncle had to besiege the fortress. But the same Gregory had only been able to take possession of Hromgla with a diploma of Nur al-Din; and, around 1165, the *catholicos* had to appeal to the caliph of Baghdad to secure the abdication of a competitor who had been enthroned, in Sassun, thanks to the favour of Shah-Armin.[94]

The difficulties with the Greeks, which had led King Gagik II to draw up a defence of the Armenian faith which was accepted by the majority of Armenians, had been aggravated by the attitude adopted by Michael Keroularios with regard to unleavened bread. Gregory II had sought contacts with the church of Rome as much as with the Monophysites of Syria and Egypt; Pope Gregory VII sent him a mitre and pallium, but asked him to remove from the *Trisagion* the words 'who was crucified', as suspect of Monophysitism; the Jacobite patriarch replied with a critique of Armenian practices. In 1142, Gregory III went to Jerusalem, whither the papal legate had invited him to a council; he delivered to the latter a profession of faith and promised Pope Eugenius III to submit to the authority of Rome.

From 1165, hard negotiations opened with the Greeks; the spokesman for the latter, Theorianos, went twice to Cilicia. In spite of the opposition of the monks of Haghpat and Sanahin, the synod of Hromgla accepted a profession of faith confessing the two natures, demanding in return that Byzantium recognise the

---

[93] Dédéyan (1979).

[94] Michael the Syrian XXI, 3; *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, pp. 229–30. This last episode, according to Ter Petrossyan (1982) in his Armenian translation of the *Anonymus*, p. 238, dates from the patriarchate of Gregory IV (1173–93). I owe this reference to Gérard Dédéyan, who has kindly allowed me to see his unpublished thesis (1990), where he reports a veritable protectorate of the Zengids over Hromgla.

legitimacy of the use of unleavened bread (1179). The death of Manuel I put a stop to the discussions, but under Nerses of Lampron they resumed.

In December 1184, Pope Lucius III revived the despatch of the pallium and mitre to Gregory IV. A *rapprochement* with Rome was hoped for by the baron Leo II, who in January 1198 procured the proclamation of the union by the *catholicos* Gregory VI. The historian Kirakos has cast doubt on the sincerity of this move, and it has been suggested that the election of an *anti-catholicos*, Basil of Ani (1195–1206), was a sign of the opposition of Greater Armenia to Gregory; in fact Basil's election took place the day after the deposition and suspicious death of Gregory V, which seems not to have been connected with the question of the union of the churches.[95]

The search for a Christological formulation acceptable to the other churches promoted interest in them. Nerses of Lampron learned Syriac, Greek and Latin; he admired the charity of the Latins whose mass he translated into Armenian, and he also made translations from the Greek. Before him, the patriarch Gregory II earned the surname of Martyrophile by his research into the lives of the saints, which took him to Syria, Egypt, Constantinople and possibly Rome; this enabled him to compose the Armenian synaxary, revised and completed by his nephew Gregory III. Mekhitar Gosch, of Guedik, composed a code of procedure; Hovhannes Serkavan, of Haghpat, reformed the calendar; Kevork Meghrik, of Trazark, reformed the menologe. The *catholicos* Nerses Shnorhali, nephew of Gregory III, completed works of exegesis, and wrote panegyrics, hymns and a great mystical poem; Nerses of Lampron wrote panegyrics, commentaries on the books of Wisdom and liturgical works.[96] Matthew of Edessa and his continuator, Basil the Priest, have left us their chronicle. At the period when the coronation of Leo II restored the Armenian royalty (1198–9), the Armenian church was experiencing a remarkable flowering.

The controversy relating to the profession of faith of the Maronites is not closed; the adherence of the Maronites to Monotheletism is accepted by some historians, but rejected by others. Monotheletes are certainly mentioned in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the patriarch John V of Antioch composed a treatise against them, and the reply made by Thomas, bishop of Kafartab (1089), who claimed to be expressing the doctrine received by the Franks, the Syrians, the Copts, the Abyssinians and the Nubians, strikes a distinctly Monotheletist, if not even Monophysite, note.[97] Also, in 1195, the patriarch Mark of Alexandria questioned the Greek theologian Theodore Balsamon as to how to behave towards Monotheletes and, more particularly, towards a

[95] Tekeyan (1939); Zekiyan (1986).   [96] Mécérian (1965), pp. 176–97.
[97] Breydy (1985), p. 171.

Monothelete priest returned to orthodoxy.[98] It should be noted that none of these texts refers directly to Lebanon; it is William of Tyre, writing around 1180, who assimilates the Maronites to the adherents of the Monotheletist doctrine.[99]

The Maronites were essentially concentrated in one part of Lebanon, between Beirut and Tripoli, and in the mountains; in the twelfth century, they had a monastery at Koutzovendi in Cyprus, and Ricoldo of Monte Croce encountered them at Takrit. They were a relatively numerous community; they had profited from Frankish domination to construct and decorate churches, of which one, Mar Shabta at Magbes, had been built by a Frankish knight. Maronite monks provided the populations of a number of monasteries, some of which served as patriarchal residences, Kaftun and later Yanuh being the most common choice. The archbishops and bishops also seem to have adopted the monasteries, and appear relatively indifferent to the circumscriptions of the old episcopal cities. The rivalries between monasteries gave rise to schisms about which we know very little; later tradition has related them to the divergent attitudes towards achieving union with Rome; and it has been concluded on the basis of the text of the bull of Innocent III dated 1216[100] that bloody disturbances broke out in connection with the union proclaimed in 1182. It may, in practice, have been a matter simply of the definition in the bull of judicial prerogatives which exceeded those of the archbishops, by authorising the patriarch to absolve perpetrators of sacrilege or violence against priests. The causes of conflict could be very diverse; Lebanon retained, under the authority of the counts of Tripoli, the kings of Jerusalem and their vassals, its local leaders (the *rais*) who were bound by close ties to the monasteries; the rivalries between clans could not fail to take on a religious colour.

There is a tradition that the Maronites were able to participate in the council of Jerusalem in 1142 and use the occasion to parade their unity with the doctrine of the church of Rome, like many other confessions. But William of Tyre claims that it was towards 1182 that the patriarch of Antioch, Aimery of Limoges, achieved recognition of this union, which was to be the subject of new discussions between the Maronite prelates and the legate Peter Capuano in 1203.

The activity of the Maronite church is visible not only in the inscriptions and paintings conserved in churches, but in the copying of manuscripts and the translation of the canons and novels into Arabic (which was tending to replace Syriac as the language of the church, and was written in Syriac characters, called *karshuni*); they constituted a collection of juridical and moral texts, the *Kitab al-Huda*.

---

[98] *PL* 148, cols. 977–8; Rajji (1951).   [99] Von den Brincken (1973), pp. 164–76.
[100] Anaissi (1911), pp. 2–5.

THE AFRICAN CHURCHES

African Christianity comprised two geographically distinct parts: the western part (the Maghreb), which depended on the patriarchate of Rome and which, in the eleventh century, escaped the Fatimid caliphs to pass under the domination of other dynasties; the eastern part, consisting of Egypt, where there was the same mosaic of faiths as in Syria, with Nubia and Ethiopia, which were not part of the Islamic empire.

The Latin church of the Maghreb continued to use Latin as its liturgical language and in funerary inscriptions, although the Christians increasingly used Arabic.[101] The archbishopric of Carthage survived, perhaps until after 1192; but the episcopate was skeletal, according to Leo IX only five bishops; Gregory VI was obliged to appoint a bishop of Bougie (Bugia) so that the archbishop had access to two co-consecrators in order to consecrate the bishop of Tunis in 1076; the Muslim kings called for these sees to be filled. Christian communities are mentioned at Gafsa, Nefta and Qalʾa of the Banu Hammad.

It has been assumed that the Almohads destroyed North African Christianity, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin offering the Christians of Tunis, in 1159, the choice between conversion or death. The reality was less clear-cut. In Morocco, under the Almoravids, the number of Christians was temporarily increased by the deportation of the Mozarabs of al-Andalus, who were compromised with Alfonso I of Aragon (1126);[102] but it seems that previously there had been forced conversions; at Marrakesh, a search of the house of a convert revealed a clandestine oratory with all the liturgical furniture and books in Latin characters.[103]

The intellectual life of this Christianity is, to us, a closed book; we should nevertheless note that it was in Carthage that was born (1020) and educated Constantine the African, who travelled in the East, became a monk in Monte Cassino and had some connection with the school of Salerno in southern Italy where he died in 1087.[104] This raises the question of the existence of an educated milieu and of Christian practice of medicine.

In Egypt, Nestorians are known to have been among the victims of the persecution of al-Hakim,[105] and in 1195 the patriarch Mark pondered how he should behave towards them as well as towards the Monotheletes.

More important is the presence of the Armenians, shown favour by their compatriots, whether converted to Islam or not (Badr al-Jamali and his son al-Afdhal; Bahram), who occupied the post of vizier and were surrounded by troups of Armenians. The *catholicos* of Armenia visited, and gave them a

[101] Talbi (1990).   [102] Idris (1974), pp. 182–4.
[103] Lagardère (1986), p. 209.   [104] D'Alverny (1982), pp. 422–5.
[105] Lev (1988). According to Abu Salih, 134, 'The Nestorians were few and of low class.'

'*catholicos*'.[106] They had their own churches; some of them nevertheless entered Coptic monasteries (an inscription in Coptic and Armenian written in 1124 by a scribe called Thoros has been found near Sohag).[107]

The Melkite church suffered the persecutions of al-Hakim, even though he was the brother-in-law of a Melkite patriarch. It found a place again on the death of the caliph and retained links with Byzantium, which many of its patriarchs visited. In the twelfth century, many monasteries and thirteen metropolitans were still dependent on the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria, who exercised a certain influence; it seems likely that it was the Melkite model which inspired the reform projects of Markus ibn al-Kauber, who became a Melkite, and was made head of a monastery in 1184.

However, the letter of the patriarch Mark, to which Theodore Balsamon replied in 1195, conveys the impression of a community scattered all along the Nile, but few in number, which is why the patriarch considered relaxing the rules regarding prohibited marriages. Other problems arose regarding the reintegration of the Jacobites, Nestorians, Monotheletes and Armenians, whom Mark seemed ready to excuse from rebaptism if they returned to orthodoxy.[108] The same was true in the case of the Latin captives who sought religious help. The patriarch was ready to provide it; Theodore asked him to do so only after they had abjured their errors. Mark, and his successor Nicholas, seem to have gone further, since Innocent III thanked the latter for his goodwill towards the captives.[109]

The Coptic church had a large congregation. The patriarch Christodoulos (1047–77), while retaining his residence in Alexandria, transferred his cathedral[110] to the capital of the caliphs, at Fustat (Cairo), in the church of Our Lady 'the hanged' (al-Mu'allaqa). He usually lived in the monastery of St Sergius. It was in Cairo that the bishops, the clergy and the '*archontes*' (the community's notables) met for the election and proclamation of the patriarch. In 1065, there were still fifty-two bishoprics and many monasteries. It had been possible to undo the unhappy consequences of al-Hakim's persecution; already, in the final years of his caliphate, the destroyed churches had been rebuilt and the Christians who had been forced to convert had been able to return to their faith.[111] The interdicts decreed by al-Hakim were abolished.

---

[106] His presence is still attested in 1166 (Gregory Barhebraeus II, pp. 533–6). For his flight and the decline of the Armenian community in Egypt, linked to the elimination of the Armenian militia by Saladin: Abu Salih, 1–12.

[107] P. du Bourguet, in Dinkler (1970), p. 306.

[108] *PG* 148, 965–94; for the reduction in the numbers of Melkites: Abu Salih, 96–7, 129.

[109] *Acta Innocentii papae III*, ed. Haluscynskij, pp. 363, 410.

[110] It just been destroyed: Butcher (1897), II, p. 40.   [111] Bosworth (1979–80).

So the Christians enjoyed a relative tolerance as long as the government of the Fatimids lasted. However, the links between the Coptic church and the Christianities of Nubia and Ethiopia, which were beneficial to the former inasmuch as it enjoyed the protection of the sovereigns of these countries, and their liberality, had its disadvantages; the governors of Egypt held it responsible for any vexations which the Muslims might suffer at the hands of the Nubians and Ethiopians. It was claimed that the patriarch Christodoulos had instructed the metropolitan of Nubia to destroy the mosques, and that he had incited the king of Nubia to cease to pay the tribute due to Egypt; the vizier Yazur threw the patriarch into prison, shut the churches and imposed on the Christians a fine of 70,000 dinars. When Badr al-Jamali was vizier, it was rumoured that the Muslims were persecuted in Nubia; the patriarch was again imprisoned, then released when the rumour turned out to be unfounded.

It is only with the appearance of Saladin and the fall of the Fatimid dynasty that we hear of the restoration of interdicts against Christians – which remained theoretical – and more particularly of confiscations of which they were the victims. Since the Copts had under the Fatimids been tax farmers and controllers of the revenues, they were an obvious target for such measures. The Coptic churches were despoiled of their property (2,923 dinars, 4,826 sacks of grain and 915 acres of land, according to Abu Salih); many churches, especially in Cairo, were burned down or sacked by rioters who attacked the Copts like the Armenians and the Melkites. Nevertheless, the wealthy faithful rebuilt or restored most of these churches.[112]

It is possible that the church experienced a certain laxity. The disciplinary canons promulgated by Christodoulos dealt exclusively with liturgical questions, the respect owed to priests and the problems posed by marriages between Copts and Melkites. In contrast, those of Cyril II (1078–92) denounced the purchase for cash of episcopal office and reminded bishops of their duty. Those of Gabriel II ibn-Turaik (1136–45) attacked negligent priests. These hints of laxity perhaps explain the success of the preaching of the monk Ibn Kaubar, who sought to reform the practices of the church; he wanted to revitalise the piety of the faithful by reviving the confession of sins by the penitent to a priest, and more frequent communion. He was accused of wanting to introduce Melkite practices into the Coptic church; Michael the Syrian wrote a treatise denouncing him as Messalian. He gathered a numerous party and tried to obtain the support of vizier; he sought to dissuade the faithful from paying tribute to the patriarch. Regarded as a troublemaker, he finally left the Coptic church and joined the Melkites (1184).[113]

[112] Abu Salih, 15, 89–90, 106, 119–21, 253.   [113] Graf (1923).

The Coptic church had retained the use of the Greek language in the liturgy, in parallel with that of the Coptic language, by using the liturgy of St Mark. But the change from Coptic to Arabic, traditionally dated to the first half of the thirteenth century, was already visible; according to Michael the Syrian, the patriarch Gabriel II, 'very skilled in the writing and the language of the Arabs', had translated into this language the Old and the New Testaments, the books of liturgy and other works. [114]

The history of Nubian Christianity, which extended upstream from the first cataract of the Nile to beyond the sixth cataract, has been transformed recently by archaeological discoveries which have above all related to the northern part of the country, Nobatia, whose capital was Pakhoras (Faras).[115] We have less evidence for the two other kingdoms, those of Makurra and Alwa, though there is no doubt that they were Christian.

At Pakhoras, it has been possible to recover the list of the twenty-seven holders of the see of this town, who succeeded each other between 600 and 1169. But the interpretation of these discoveries has revived the controversy regarding the faith professed by the church of Nubia. The tomb of bishop John, who died in 1005, was marked by a Greek liturgical inscription; portraits of bishops show them without the humeral, the characteristic ornament worn by Coptic bishops; Marian iconography gives way to the image of the Galaktrophousa virgin. This has led some historians to conclude that the eleventh-century bishops belonged to the Melkite church (which had effectively penetrated Nubia in the eighth century). Other historians have offered equally strong arguments in opposition to this hypothesis; Greek and Coptic were used concurrently in the Coptic liturgy (to which the Nubian church added its own language, Old Nubian); the image of the Virgin suckling Jesus is also found in Coptic Egypt.[116]

The church of Nubia was not autocephalous. It had at its head a metropolitan who resided at Dongola, capital of the kingdom, on whom depended the episcopal sees of the three kingdoms united under the sovereignty of the king of Nubia. The metropolitan was consecrated by the patriarch of Cairo, who could also send his episcopal letters (al-Hakim forbade this, which appears to have been a measure of persecution). Relations between Egypt and Nubia were regular; since the end of the ancient world, they had observed a treaty, the *baqt* ('pactus'), presented by the Muslims as a tribute, since it stipulated the annual delivery of 400 slaves, but which also obliged them to provide the rulers of Nubia with large quantities of grain, wine, fabrics and two horses.

[114] Michael the Syrian XVI, 5.   [115] Michalowski (1967).
[116] The opposing theses are discussed by K. Michalowski, M. Krause and P. V. Van Morsel in Dinkler (1970); also Gamber (1983).

We have seen that the caliphs, or at least their viziers, considered the patriarchs as responsible for the execution of the treaty and the favourable treatment that the Muslims ought to receive in Nubia, where their mosques were to be tolerated; they regarded them as in a position to make themselves obeyed by the metropolitans.

The great Egyptian monastic centres were still influential in Nubia. When King Solomon abdicated, after 1078, to retire to the convent of St Onophrios, near al-Wadi, the caliph invited him to Cairo, and it was in an Egyptian monastery that he ended his days. The Nubians also made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where they are often mentioned. They were in contact with the Jacobite church; a Nubian prince who went to Baghdad in 1147 also met there the Syrian patriarch.[117]

The advent of the Ayubids was marked by a crisis in relations with Egypt. A Muslim rebel, who had seized part of the kingdom, provoked the intervention of the nephew of Saladin, Turan-shah. The latter seized Prima (Qasr Ibrim), and tortured the bishop to make him reveal where his treasures were hidden, and he transformed the cathedral into a mosque (2 January 1173). The Egyptian army withdrew in 1175 and the cathedral was restored to its original purpose; but the cupola, which had been destroyed, was not rebuilt. It seems that, from this date, the Nubian church lost some of its vitality.

Christian Ethiopia communicated with Egypt through the intermediary of Nubia. It was the king of Nubia, George II, whom, in the last years of the tenth century, the king of Axum asked to intercede with the Coptic patriarch to procure the despatch of a metropolitan and bishops in order to restore the religious life of Nubia; this had been threatened by an invasion during which Axum had been destroyed. The territory subject to the Ethiopian kingdom had lost its southern dependencies, probably as a result of the revolt of peoples only superficially subject; the progress of Islam in the countries situated to the east of the kingdom, and among the merchants who frequented the Red Sea, also constituted a threat to Christianity.

Like the Nubians, the Ethiopians were dependent on the Coptic patriarch, who appointed, from among the Egyptian clergy, the metropolitan (*abuna*) placed at the head of their ecclesiastical hierarchy. This appointment supplied the caliphs with a means of pressure which they did not fail to exploit. On the death of the abuna Victor (Fiqitor), an Egyptian called Abdun claimed that he had been sent by the patriarch and took the name of Cyril. When the royal court remained suspicious, he turned to the vizier Badr al-Jamali, showering him with presents, and the vizier ordered the patriarch to confirm his appointment. The trick having been exposed, Cyril was deposed and a nephew of the previous

---

[117] Cerulli (1968), p. 353.

metropolitan, Sawiros (1077–92) was nominated to replace him. Badr al-Jamali took advantage of this to ask that the king of Ethiopia send him tribute, build some mosques and protect the Muslim merchants. When these demands were not accepted (the king built seven mosques, but the Abyssinians destroyed them), the vizier threw the brother of Sawiros into prison, and the patriarch sent two bishops to Axum as a reminder of the minister's demands. The latter had threatened to destroy the churches of Egypt if he was not obeyed; to which the king replied that in that case his army would proceed to destroy Mecca.

The advent of a new dynasty, from the family of the princes of Bugna (one of whom had married the daughter of a king of Axum), that of the Zagwé, seems to have been accompanied by an expansion of Ethiopian Christianity towards Amhara and Choa. This would explain why, in 1137, King Yimra Kristos sought from the patriarch the creation of three new episcopal seats. The caliph refused to accept this, probably because he feared that an increase in the number of bishops would make it possible that even metropolitans might be elected in Ethiopia, which would have weakened Egyptian influence.

The Zagwé kings have been remembered as fervent Christians. Several of them were described as saints (*qeddus*) and became the subjects of hagiographical stories. Yimra Kristos is said to have insisted on the observance of monogamy, often ignored by Ethiopian sovereigns.

The centre of their power had moved from the region of Axum towards Lasta. The capital was no longer in Axum, but in a new town which had been called Roha (it has been suggested that this name might reproduce the Syriac name of the town of Edessa, made familiar to the Abyssinians by the translation into their language of the legend of King Abgar).[118] It later took the name of Lalibela, after King Gabre Mesqal, who reigned around 1180, and it has become famous for its churches carved into the rock. This was a method of construction already widespread in the kingdom of Axum, which was also common in that of the Zagwé. But in their capital, they wanted to present an image of Jerusalem; the sanctuaries carved in the rock, later decorated with paintings, corresponded to those of the Holy City which Ethiopian pilgrims had so often visited. The church of the Saviour of the World, with its five naves and triple sanctuary, was that of the metropolitan, and Gabre Mesqal was buried in that of the Golgotha. Tradition attributes their construction to workers from Jerusalem or Alexandria.[119]

The Axumite tradition also prevailed in the monasteries; but the desire to renew Ethiopian monasticism has been attributed to the Zagwé kings. The progress of Christianisation in the lands newly attached to the kingdom, its implantation deeper and deeper into the pagan south, necessitated the foundation

---

[118] Biddle (1958); Leclent J. in Dinkler (1970), pp. 291–8.   [119] Kaplan (1984).

of new monasteries from which the monks would propagate the Christian life to the surrounding populations who had not abandoned their pagan rites. This was the beginning of a movement which reached its full vigour in the thirteenth century.

We need to be extremely cautious with regard to the possible penetration of Christianity among the peoples of the Sudan, in the direction of Lake Chad. There is no unequivocal evidence of this.

The eastern churches remained lively, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whatever the vicissitudes they experienced. Some were expanding, such as those of Georgia and Ethiopia; others were beginning to lose members; but central Asia still offered a field of missionary activity which was not neglected. The most remarkable feature is perhaps the convergence of efforts directed at the reunion of the churches.

The Byzantine emperors, in the eleventh century, continued to operate within the tradition of the elimination of heresy. Manuel Comnenus, whatever the political objectives he set himself from the perspective of a revival of imperial hegemony, embarked on conversations with the chiefs of the Roman, Armenian and Syrian churches, with a view to reaching agreements. The crusades, meanwhile, put the Latins in direct contact with the easterners, and the council held in 1142 in Jerusalem by Cardinal Aubry illustrates the desire for agreement between the faiths. Good will was manifested by the Syrians and by the Armenians. The emperor Manuel appealed to the wisdom of the Latin theologian Hugo Etherianus, and the patriarch Aimery of Antioch to that of Michael the Syrian. So, over and above the differences which persisted, the eleventh and twelfth centuries also experienced a climate of Christian fraternity.

MUSLIM SPAIN AND PORTUGAL: AL-ANDALUS AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

Hugh Kennedy

THE TAIFA KINGDOMS, *c.* 1010–*c.* 1086

In the year 1000 the caliphate of Córdoba was almost certainly the richest and most powerful polity in western Europe. A prosperous agriculture and a developed cash economy were taxed to support a standing, professional army and an extensive literate bureaucracy. The country was effectively united under the authority of the Umayyad dynasty of Córdoba, the permanent capital and seat of government. Under the rule of the two caliphs, ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Nasir (912–61) and al-Hakam al-Mustansir (961–76) the state had been immensely strengthened. Their legacy was inherited by Muhammad b. Abi Amir al-Mansur (976–1002) who effectively ruled as military protector to the reclusive Caliph Hisham, a period in which the power of Córdoba reached its apogee. Only in Constantinople could a comparable state be found. Unlike those of the Byzantine empire, however, the frontiers of al-Andalus were free from major outside threats: to the north the Christian kingdoms and counties had been repeatedly raided and their armed forces worsted in battle, culminating in the humiliating sack of Santiago de Compostela in 999. To the south, the Berbers of the Maghreb were divided into the clients of Córdoba and their enemies, but none offered a serious challenge. The removal of the Fatimids from Tunisia to Egypt in 969 meant that there was no threat to al-Andalus from the Muslim east.

In the next quarter of a century this was to change with dramatic and, to the Muslims of al-Andalus, terrifying suddenness. By 1025 the political community of al-Andalus, was broken beyond repair. In the place of one government, there was a plethora of small, competing polities, and the Christian states of the north were rapidly seizing the opportunity to exploit their southern neighbours politically and economically.

The reasons for this change have been discussed in the previous volume but some important points should be emphasised. The caliphate of Córdoba was

599
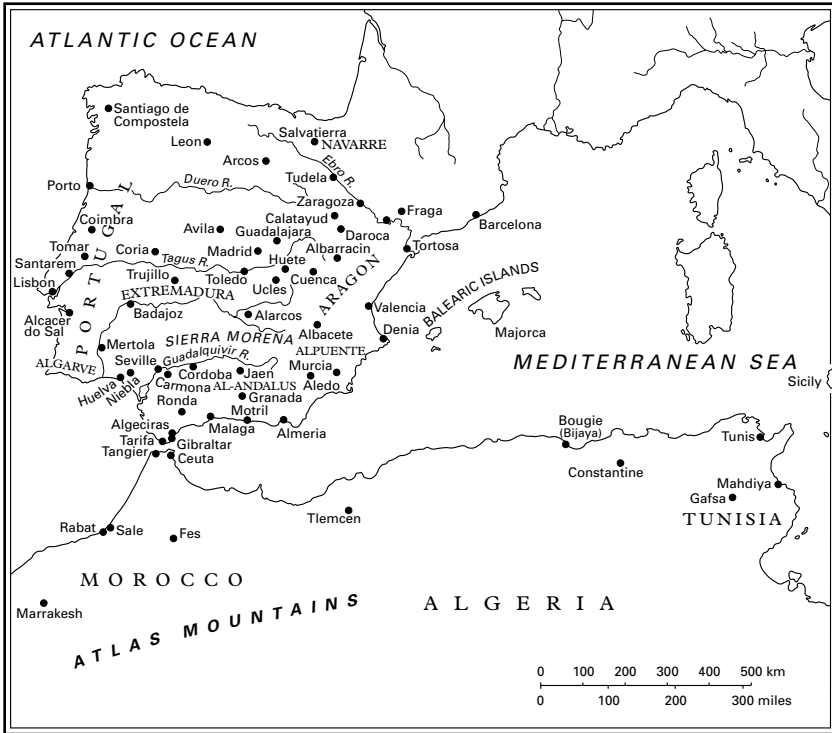
4. Muslim Spain and Portugal

never as centralised as it appears from the Córdoba-based histories on which we depend for most of our information. In the Ebro valley, for example, even al-Mansur had ruled in partnership with powerful local lords, the Tujibi family of Saragossa, while in the upland plateau to the south-east of Córdoba, the Dhuʾl-Nunid Berber chiefs enjoyed considerable immunity in their own areas. In some areas, the break-up of the caliphate simply allowed these submerged political structures to emerge on the surface.

The second important factor was the effective demilitarisation of most of the Muslim population of al-Andalus. When the Muslims had conquered the Iberian peninsula in the years after 711, they had effectively been a nation in arms. Gradually, however, this position began to change. As early as the tenth century, the geographer lbn Hawqal had noted that the native Andalusis showed no enthusiasm for warfare.[1] In the tenth century they were progressively excluded from the armed forces which were recruited from *saqaliba* (a term originally used to describe slaves of Slav origin but later all slaves of northern origin) and, increasingly under al-Mansur and his immediate successors, from Berbers from North Africa. The *saqaliba* came as individuals and were integrated in the fabric of the state but the Berbers were often recruited in small tribal groups which preserved their own identities and served under their traditional leaders. These Berber troops aroused strong resentment, especially among the people of Córdoba, who increasingly felt that they were arrogant and overbearing. Under firm management this army proved effective and was able to hold its own against the Christians but, faced by a collapse of government at the centre, it rapidly disintegrated into different, hostile groups, each anxious to secure a share of the resources of the peninsula for its own use.

Such a crisis came immediately after the death of al-Mansur's son and successor, al-Muzaffar, in 1008. He was succeeded by his brother, ʿAbd al-Rahman, known as Sanjul (Sanchuelo) after his maternal grandfather, Sancho of Navarre. He made the mistake of trying to have himself installed as caliph in place of the *fainéant* Hisham II. The Umayyad family had been the one real focus of unity among the Muslims, and the removal of this figurehead fatally undermined the legitimacy of the state. Furthermore, ʿAbd al-Rahman openly showed his reliance on the Berbers to the exclusion of other groups. This in turn led to an explosion of popular anger which resulted in the death of ʿAbd al-Rahman and, ultimately, in the siege and destruction of Córdoba by the Berbers between 1010 and 1013. By 1013 the power of Córdoba was broken and the Umayyad pretenders who struggled for the title of caliph from 1013 to 1031 had neither the military backing nor the resources to extend their transient power beyond

---

[1] Ibn Hawqal, *Surat al-Ard*, ed. Kramers, pp. 108–9, 113.

the immediate environs of the city itself. In 1031 the ancient office of caliph, now more a liability than an asset, was suppressed by the Cordovans.

With the collapse of the caliphate, al-Andalus broke up into a number of different states, each with its own court and capital. Their rulers were known to the Arabic historians as *muluk al-tawaʿif* or kings of the regions, hence the common description of them as Taifa kings. In some ways this political disintegration had the effect of spreading wealth and power in the peninsula. A regional capital like Saragossa could boast the rich and luxurious palace of the Aljaferia, Valencia became an important centre for the first time since the Muslim conquest, and Toledo, Granada and Seville were all the seats of cultured courts. But the political impact for al-Andalus was disastrous. The successor states to the caliphate essentially tried to model themselves on the system created by ʿAbd al-Rahman III and al-Mansur, with mercenary armies and professional bureaucracies, as well as inflated and expensive courts. The result of this was a fierce competition for resources which inevitably meant that each Taifa kingdom was the enemy of its neighbour, attempting to incorporate it or seize valuable territory from it. Rulers were impelled to make alliances with other Muslim states or, more disastrously, with the Christians, to try to overwhelm their neighbours. It is this competition for resources, rather than any ethnic or party differences, which accounts for the political instability of the Taifa period and the fatal inability of the Andalusis to unite against the increasingly powerful Christian states of the north.

It is not immediately clear why the Christians were able to seize the military initiative so convincingly at this period. As early as 1008, different factions in Córdoba had been seeking Christian military support, and throughout the Taifa period the Muslims seem to have found it virtually impossible to resist Christian arms. Part of the reason may have been the introduction of heavier horses and armour among the Christians in Spain in the eleventh century as elsewhere in north-west Europe, and their military effectiveness can be compared with that of the Normans in southern Italy at the same time. However, there were also other factors at work. The armies of the Taifa kings seem to have been very small. With the Muslims on the defensive, *saqaliba* were no longer available and al-Andalus was no longer an attractive prospect for Berbers. Remarkably, the Taifa kings seem to have made very little attempt to replace these military elites with locally recruited troops and there seems to have been no effort to broaden the basis of military participation by encouraging Andalusis to participate in the *jihad* or holy war. Instead, the most common response of the Taifa monarchs to Christian aggression was to accept the payment of 'parias', in effect tribute, to buy immunity from attack. This in turn merely increased the problems they faced and the fiscal burdens resulting from the parias led to social discontent without providing any increased security.

The Taifa kingdoms can conveniently be divided into groups according to their origins and character. One group of rulers can be described as Arab patrician families who succeeded to power in areas where their families had long been influential. The most conspicuous of these were in the wealthy riverain cities of Seville, Saragossa and, with some differences, Córdoba. At the time of the collapse of the administration in Córdoba after 1010, the leading landowner in Seville was Isma'il b. 'Abbad who was also *qadi* or judge of the city. In times of confusion or uncertainty in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, *qadis* frequently emerged as representatives of the interests of urban populations.[2] In 1019 Isma'il was succeeded in his position of power by his son Muhammad, who by his death in 1042 was king of the most powerful of all the Taifa states. Like the 'Abbadids of Seville, the Tujibis of Saragossa claimed descent from an ancient Arab family. They had emerged as the leading dynasty in Saragossa and the middle Ebro region in the early tenth century and had survived the centralising efforts of both al-Nasir and al-Mansur so it was natural that al-Mundhir b. Yahya al-Tujibi assumed power after 1010. He was succeeded in 1021–2 by his son Yahya but family feuds seem to have precipitated a crisis and in 1038–9 the family were replaced by another related family of Arab origin, the Hudids, who ruled until the city finally fell to the Christians in 1118. Córdoba, although greatly reduced in wealth and size, was still an important city. When the caliphate was abolished, the city was ruled by a group *(juma'a)* of local notables, headed by the Banu Jahwar family, whose forebears had been leading members of the military and bureaucratic elite of Córdoba for the preceding two centuries.

Away from the major river valleys, the uplands of the Meseta were dominated by Muslims of Berber origin whose ancestors had come to al-Andalus at or soon after the Muslim conquest and it was the leaders of these groups who now took power. The best documented of these are the Banu Dhu'-Nun whom we hear of in the area of Cuenca and Uclés from the ninth century on. Like the Tujibis, their influence had survived the rise of the caliphate in the tenth century and they now emerged as the leading power in the area. In about 1018, however, Isma'il b. Dhi'l-Nun, lord of Uclés, was able to take over the city of Toledo, and from then until the fall of the city to Alfonso VI in 1085 the family ruled the old Visigothic capital. We know much less of the origins of 'Abd Allah b. al-Aftas who took control of Badajoz in 1022 and made it the capital of a large kingdom in the western Meseta and Portugal, but the evidence suggests that he too came from a local Berber family. The Banu Razin were another such family, who gave their name to the little upland town of Albarracin which was their capital from the early eleventh century until it was taken by the Almoravids in 1104.

---

[2] M. Fierro, 'The Qadi as ruler', in Marin and Garcia-Arenal (1994), pp. 71–116.

In these two groups, the coming of the Taifas represents continuity with previous structures, rather than a real break. In other areas, however, the new elites which had emerged under al-Nasir and al-Mansur attempted to carve out a position for themselves. In the aftermath of the collapse of the government of Córdoba, *saqaliba* leaders attempted to set up states in Badajoz and the Levante around Valencia but they were unable to sustain themselves and were soon displaced by Berbers in Badajoz and a descendant of Al-Mansur in Valencia though *saqaliba* dynasts did manage to cling to power until 1060 in Tortosa and 1075–6 in Denia.

Much more successful were the newly arrived Berber leaders. The best known of all the Taifa kingdoms is the one established by the Zirid family in Granada, not only because it was large and powerful but because of the 'Memoirs' written by the last king of the family, 'Abd Allah b. Buluggin (1073–90) after he had been deposed by the Almoravids.[3] This work provides a fascinating and unique insight into the tortured world of Taifa politics and constitutes one of the most revealing historical documents of eleventh-century Europe. The Zirids had not arrived in al-Andalus until the time of al-Mansur's son al-Muzaffar (1002–8) but they rapidly established themselves as the most aggressive and warlike of all the Berber groups. Their determination was reinforced by the fact that they were exiles from North Africa and could never return. From 1013 onwards Zawi b. Ziri and his followers, about 1000 in number, took control of Granada, then a small fortress which they developed into their capital, and made the kingdom of Granada, which also included the south coast around Málaga, into one of the most powerful of all the kingdoms, and deadly rivals to the 'Abbadis of Seville. Other mercenary groups, notably the Banu Birzal in Carmona, also seized control of towns in Andalusia but none of them enjoyed the power or longevity of the Zirids.

The political history of the Taifa period is dominated by rivalries and mergers between the kingdoms and the slow but inexorable and, ultimately, irreversible progress of Christian domination on the other. At the beginning of the Taifa period there were some thirty independent political units, some little more than village states, others like Seville and Saragossa, substantial regional powers. By 1080 only nine of these survived, Almería, Badajoz, Granada, Majorca, Seville, Toledo, Saragossa and the two tiny and remote mountain states of Albarracin and Alpuente. In terms of expansion, the most successful of the kingdoms were 'Abbadid Seville, Hudid Saragossa and Dhu'l-Nunid Toledo. Under the rule of al-Mu'tadid (1042–69) Seville took over Mertola in 1044–5, Neibla in 1051, Huelva and Saltes in 1051–3, Algeciras in 1054–5, Silves in 1063, Ronda in 1064–6, Moron in 1065–6, Carmona in 1066–7 and Arcos in 1068–9. In

---

[3] See 'Abd Allah b. Buluggin, *Al-Tibyan*.

1076–7 Córdoba was finally incorporated into the ʿAbbadid domains. Thus by 1080 the kingdom of Seville dominated the whole of the south-west of the peninsula. At the same time the small states of the Levante were taken over by Saragossa (Tortosa 1061–2, Denia 1076) and Toledo (Valencia 1065).

The consolidation of political power did nothing to reduce the destructive rivalries among the more important kingdoms. Typical of these was the warfare between Toledo and Saragossa for control of the city of Guadalajara which lay on the frontier between them. Both sides then made alliances with Christian powers, the Dhuʾl-Nunids with Navarre and the Hudids with León-Castile, which enabled the forces of the Christians to ravage Muslim lands at will.

For most of the Taifa period, however, the Christian powers were more concerned to tax than to conquer the Muslim states to the south. After the middle of the eleventh century the payment of large sums of 'parias' by Muslim rulers became common. In 1051 the ruler of Lleida was paying tribute to the Catalans to protect him from his relatives in Saragossa. In 1058 Fernando I of León-Castile made an agreement with the Aftasid ruler of Badajoz for the payment of 5000 *dinars* per year; in 1060 he began to collect tribute from Saragossa and in 1063 from Seville. By 1073 even Granada, far to the south and surrounded by other Muslim territory, was obliged to pay.

ʿAbd Allah b. Buluggin saw the extraction of parias as the prelude to conquest but the Christian powers were surprisingly slow to begin territorial expansion at the expense of their neighbours to the south. In the west, the Muslims lost Coimbra in 1064 and Coria in 1076 while in Aragón Barbastro fell briefly into Christian hands in 1064. However these were all minor gains and it was not until Alfonso VI was presented with a major political crisis in Toledo that the Christians made an important gain. In 1082 there was a rebellion in the city against the feeble rule of Alfonso's protégé al-Qadir, and the king felt obliged to assert his control. In 1084 he began a loose siege of the city which fell to the Christians on 25 May 1085 after al-Qadir was promised the throne of Valencia as compensation and the inhabitants were guaranteed freedom of worship and security of their possessions.

The fall of Toledo precipitated a general crisis in al-Andalus. It is clear that there was widespread discontent with many of the Taifa kings among the *ulama* and other religious figures who were responding to popular disillusion with high taxation and the perceived humiliation of Muslim arms at the hands of the Christians. The loss of Toledo concentrated the minds of other Taifa kings, including al-Muʾtamid of Seville, who must have been particularly dismayed when Alfonso VI raided his kingdom as far south as Tarifa in the summer of 1083. No one could be in any doubt that al-Andalus was doomed without outside help.

THE RISE OF THE ALMORAVIDS *c.* 1050–1118

Compared with the history of al-Andalus, the history of Morocco in the tenth and eleventh centuries is obscure. There were no major intellectual centres and no native historical tradition. The only significant cities, Tangier, Fes and the commercial centre of Sijilmassa on the northern fringes of the Sahara, were insignificant in comparison with Córdoba or Seville. The country was dominated by Berber tribes, many of them only superficially Islamised.

This position began to change from about 1050 with the emergence of the Almoravid movement. The name Almoravid comes from the Arabic *al-murabitun*, meaning those who bind themselves together in defence of the Faith. The movement had been founded by one ʿAbd Allah b. Yasin, a Berber from the tribe of Gazzula in the western Sahara who had visited al-Andalus and returned profoundly convinced that his fellow tribesmen were not true Muslims. He imposd a fierce puritan morality on his followers and a simple and rigourist view of the Islam which many seem to have found attractive. Following the example of the Prophet himself, Ibn Yasin began to organise military expeditions against other Berber tribes who he claimed were infidels.

The Almoravids were a religious movement, not a tribe, but Ibn Yasin owed his success in large part to connections with a tribe, the Lamtuna from the Sanhaja confederation of Berbers and their gifted chiefs, the Banu Turgut, notably Abu Bakr and his cousin Yusuf b. Tashfin. When Ibn Yasin was killed fighting the Barghwata Berbers in 1059, the Banu Turgut assumed control of the movement. Unlike the later Almohads, however, this was a purely secular leadership and the Almoravid rules were dependent on the *ulama* of Morocco and later of al-Andalus to provide religious and legal guidance and endorsement.

Despite the death of Ibn Yasin, Almoravid forces continued to advance in Morocco. In 1070 the Almoravids began the construction of a new military base and capital city at Marrakesh, north of the Atlas Mountains. Shortly afterwards Abu Bakr left to campaign in the areas south of the Sahara and Ibn Tashfin took charge as sole leader. In a series of campaigns, Sale was taken in 1073, Fes and Tlemcen in 1075, Tangier in 1078 and Ceuta in 1083. Part of their success was due to the efficient and tightly knit leadership of Ibn Tashfin and his close relatives but the Almoravids were also successful because, as a religious movement, they could attract recruits from a wide spectrum of Berber tribes in a way no leader of a single tribe was able to do: the religious ideology was an integral part of Almoravid success.

By 1083 the Almoravids had reached the Straits of Gibraltar and were in undisputed control of Morocco. By pure coincidence, this was also the year in which Alfonso VI led his immensely damaging raid into the territory of

Seville and appeared on the north side of the Straits at Tarifa. Two years later, after the fall of Toledo, the Muslim rulers of al-Andalus were faced with a stark choice, to accept the inevitability of Christian conquest or to seek help from uncouth co-religionists in Morocco. According to the most probable account, representatives from al-Muʾtamid of Seville, al-Mutawwakil of Badajoz and ʿAbd Allah of Granada went to seek the support of Ibn Tashfin who responded by agreeing to lead an expedition in 1086.

From the start the Almoravid initiative was dogged by the fact that the Andalusis and Moroccans had very different aims. The Taifa kings hoped that their new allies would defeat the Christians and restore the status quo, but Ibn Tashfin was reluctant to embark on any longer-term commitment unless he was given overall command. None the less, the first invasion was a major success. The Almoravid army, perhaps 12,000 strong, crossed the Straits in July 1086, Alfonso hastily abandoned his siege of Saragossa and marched south to meet them. On 23 October the two armies met on the plains north-east of Badajoz at a site known to the Christians as Sagrajas and the Muslims as Zallaqa. The result was a triumph for the Almoravids and their Taifa allies, Alfonso's forces were entirely defeated and the king retreated to the north. The Almoravid forces then returned to their homeland.

Despite the scale of the victory, it soon became apparent that the balance of power had not significantly altered and the Castilians still demanded and received parias. In 1088 a new Almoravid expedition was planned. This time the objective was the castle of Aledo which was held by the Castilians and which threatened communications between the Guadalquivir valley and the Levante. Ibn Tashfin and the Taifa kings set up a joint siege but things did not go well. The feuds and rivalries between the kings, each hoping for Ibn Tashfin's support, seriously undermined the Muslim war effort. At the same time, it became apparent that there was considerable popular feeling in al-Andalus that the Almoravids would be more effective and more just rulers than the native kings. In November 1088, after four months of futile blockade, Ibn Tashfin returned to North Africa, determined that the fiasco would never be repeated.

In 1090 Ibn Tashfin returned again, not as an ally but effectively as a conqueror. None of the Taifa kings was able to put up any serious resistance. The Almoravids took Granada in 1090, Seville and Almería in 1091 and Badajoz in 1094 without a struggle and the last kings were taken into exile in Morocco. In the Levante, the newcomers were faced with more determined opposition, not from the local Muslims but from the Christians led by El Cid. When Al-Qadir had been ejected from Toledo he had been installed as king of Valencia but his rule was unpopular and in 1092 the *qadi*, Ibn Jahhaf, deposed and executed him. Instead of calling in the Almoravids, however, Ibn

Jahhaf tried to set himself up as a latter-day Taifa king. In doing so he was opposed by most of his subjects, who looked to the Almoravids for protection, and El Cid, who had been away at the time of the coup but now returned to take control. Ibn Jahhaf tried to play the two off against each other but, for reasons which are not entirely clear, the Almoravid force sent in 1093 retreated without achieving anything and Ibn Jahhaf was left to face the wrath of El Cid who took the city in May 1094 and had the unfortunate *qadi* burned alive. From 1094 until his death in 1099 El Cid ruled Valencia as an isolated outpost of Christian rule, defeating several Almoravid attacks. It was not until 1101 that his widow Jimena was obliged to abandon the city and the Almoravids took control.

With the capture of the tiny kingdom of Alpuente in 1104, the Almoravids now ruled the whole of al-Andalus with the exception of the kingdom of Saragossa, which remained as a buffer state in the hands of its Hudid rulers until 1110. With the exception of Valencia, however, the Almoravids had recovered none of the areas which had fallen to the Christians in the eleventh century. Despite the victories of their field armies at Sagrajas in 1086 and again at Uclés in 1108, they seem to have lacked the expertise and the organisation to mount major sieges, without which they could not hope to take Toledo or any of the other Christian fortresses in the Duero valley.

The establishment of Almoravid rule in al-Andalus was in the main peaceful. The total numbers of Almoravid soldiers is uncertain but in one account there were said to have been 17,000 horsemen distributed around the peninsula. Whether the total is accurate or not, they were clearly a fairly small proportion of the total population. They continued to live a separate life, distinguished by the custom, inherited from the Sahara, of veiling the males, hence they were often known to the Andalusis as *al-mulathimun* (the veiled ones). They seem to have been confined to military and administrative roles and probably did not compete with native Andalusis in trade or agriculture.

Almoravid rule also promised major tax reforms. Islamic law made a number of provisions on taxation based on the Qur'an and the Prophet's own practice. These included the kharaj tax on land, a jizya or poll-tax on non-Muslims, and a tithe on the wealth of the Muslims. The disadvantage with this system was that these Quranic taxes bore heavily on agriculture as opposed to trade and that they never produced sufficient revenues to sustain a bureaucratic and military state. The Taifa kings had been obliged to raise non-Quranic taxes, sometimes known as *magharim* from a number of different sources, including markets and commerce. The Almoravids promised that such taxes would be abolished and, faced with the appeal of religious correctness combined with lower taxes, many people in al-Andalus were happy to throw in their lot with the newcomers.

Almoravid rule was maintained by a partnership with the *ulama*, the civilian and religious elite of the cities of al-Andalus. As the treatise of Ibn ʿAbdun[4] reveals, much of the everyday administration was conducted by the *qadi* of the city and his subordinates working in partnership with the Almoravid military governor. The *qadis*, chosen largely from urban patrician families, who were, or claimed to be, of Arab descent, were major figures in the political life of the period and men like Abu'l-Walid b. Rushd of Córdoba (d. 1126) and Abu Bakr b. al-ʿArabi of Seville (d. 1148) played an important role in mediating between the Almoravids and the Andalusis. When the Almoravids lost the support of this group in the 1140s, their power rapidly declined.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ALMORAVIDS, 1118–45

The years between the incorporation of the kingdom of Saragossa into the Almoravid empire in 1110 and the loss of the city to Alfonso I of Aragon mark the high point of Almoravid power in the Iberian peninsula. Thereafter problems began to emerge. One of these was a failure in leadership. On his death in 1106 Ibn Tashfin was succeeded by his son ʿAli who ruled until 1142. He was a pious and mild-mannered man. He was also something of a recluse, spending his time in Marrakesh and only making three short visits to al-Andalus in the whole of his reign. Command in al-Andalus was held by members of the Banu Turgut, the ruling family: some of these like ʿAli's son Tashfin, who was commander from 1126 to 1138, were efficient and competent but the fact remained that real power stayed in Marrakesh and that al-Andalus was something of a side-show: when the capital was threatened by the growing Almohad movement in 1138, Tashfin was withdrawn from al-Andalus to help to defend the core of the empire in North Africa.

To an extent, the Andalusis had made a contract with the Almoravids: they would accept them as rulers as long as they were able to defend them from the Christian threat. During the 1120s it became apparent that the Almoravids could no longer keep their side of the bargain. In 1118 Saragossa, only incorporated into the Almoravid empire in 1110, was lost to the Aragonese and with it the middle Ebro valley and ancient Muslim settlements like Tudela and Calatayud (1121) and Daroca (1122). Equally damaging to Almoravid prestige was a major raid led by Alfonso I of Aragon in September 1125 through the Levante to the lands around Granada and Córdoba and to the south coast at Motril. He returned north in the spring of 1126, having achieved no permanent conquests but having demonstrated the inability of the Almoravid forces to defend their subjects. He also took back with him many Mozarab Christians

---

4 Ibn ʿAbdun, *Seville musulmane*, French trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris (1947).

to settle his newly conquered lands in the Ebro valley, so further weakening the demographic and tax-base of al-Andalus.

The appointment of Tashfin b. Ali as commander in al-Andalus in 1126 in the aftermath of Alfonso's raid led to a restoration of Almoravid military power. In 1134 Alfonso I of Aragon was killed during an unsuccessful attempt to take Fraga in the lower Ebro and the Muslim frontier was effectively stabilised. When Tashfin was recalled to Morocco in 1138, leadership of the Muslim cause was taken over by another branch of the Almoravid ruling family, the Banu Ghaniya, who managed to prevent major Christian advances until the mid-1140s.

The Almoravid regime collapsed not in Spain but in Morocco. From 1125 onwards the Atlas mountains were controlled by Almohad tribes – impregnable in the mountain fastnesses but uncomfortably close to Marrakesh. The Almoravids were able to defend their capital but the Almohads gradually expanded their hold of the mountain areas. The Almoravids came increasingly to rely on the Catalan mercenary Reverter to defend them against their Muslim enemies, further undermining their claims to be champions of Islam. After a period of stalemate in the 1130s, the Almoravids' position declined rapidly in the early 1140s. Reverter was killed in 1144 and Tashfin b. Ali, who had succeeded his father in 1143, died in battle in western Algeria in 1145. The last shadowy Almoravid rulers managed to hold on in Marrakesh until 1147, when they were finally overwhelmed by the Almohads.

THE ALMORAVID TO ALMOHAD TRANSITION, 1145–8

The débâcle of the Almoravids in Morocco obliged the Muslims of al-Andalus to try to arrange their own defence. There is evidence that the Almoravids had long been resented by the local population. In 1121 there had been an uprising against them in Córdoba after a local woman had been assaulted in the streets. At first 'Ali b. Yusuf had attempted to crush the disturbance by force, but seeing how fierce the resistance was, he accepted a compromise arranged by the local *ulama*. From 1144 anti-Almoravid sentiment became more open and in Badajoz there was violence between the Almoravids and the local people. From other cities they left peacefully for Morocco. By 1148 only Granada and the Balearic islands remained under Almoravid control: Granada fell to the Almohads in 1155 but the Balearic islands remained in the hands of the Almoravid Banu Ghaniya and the base for repeated raids on Almohad North Africa.

In the absence of central control, the Andalusis were obliged to look to local leaders and there emerged a new generation of short-lived Taifas. It is noticeable that the old military elites of the caliphal and Taifa periods seem to have almost

entirely vanished. The only exception was Sayf al-Dawla b. Hud, son of the last Taifa ruler of Saragossa, who attempted with some success to establish his power in the Levante. However, he was defeated and killed by the Castilians at Albacete in 1147 and his attempt to revive the family fortunes failed. In some cities, Málaga, Jaen, Valencia and Córdoba, the *qadis*, usually members of well-established local urban patrician families, took over as effective rulers. In Córdoba the people expelled the Almoravid governor and assembled in the mosque to elect the *qadi* Ibn Hamdin, not just as judge but as secular ruler as well. Elsewhere, local military men of obscure origin who were probably minor figures in the Almoravid hierarchy took over. Among these was Sidray b. Wazir in Beja and the Banu ʿAzzun in Ronda, both families who were to serve the Almohads for many years as the backbone of their Andalusi forces. The most successful of these military men was Muhammad b. Saʾd b. Mardanish. His father had led the successful Muslim defence of Fraga in 1134, and in 1147 Muhammad was able to take over command of the Andalusi forces in the Valencia area. Until his death in 1172 he was able to maintain an independent kingdom, relying heavily on Castilian support against the Almohads but none the less remaining an indigenous Muslim polity. Most remarkable were the Sufi *Muridin* of the Algarve region, led by Ahmad al-Qasi of Silves. This Sufi movement began as a religious reaction to the austere and rigourist Almoravid view of Islam, but from 1144 Ibn Qasi transformed it into a political movement and made himself ruler of the Algarve.

Given time and security, al-Andalus might have developed a new indigenous political system but these new rulers were faced with the reality of Christian pressure on their northern frontiers which allowed them no real time to consolidate their power. Disasters came thick and fast. In the west Santarém and Lisbon fell to the Portuguese in 1147, in the centre Alfonso VII of León-Castile took Calatrava and Almería in the same year, while in the north-east the last Muslim outposts in the Ebro valley were lost, Tortosa in 1148 and Lleida and Fraga in 1149. As in the early 1080s, the Andalusis had to look to North Africa to ensure their survival.

THE EARLY ALMOHADS *c.* 1120–63

Like the Almoravid movement, the Almohads were an Islamic religious revival movement which transcended tribal divisions and so was able to unite many of the Berber peoples of North Africa with a common ideology. However, like the Almoravid empire, the Almohad state was essentially a dynastic organisation, ruled by the family of the first caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. The origins of the Almohad movement have been carefully preserved by the piety of Almohad

writers, notably in the memoirs known as the *Kitab al-Ansab* composed by a leading member of the early Almohad elite known as al-Baydhaq.[5]

According to this tradition, the Almohad movement was founded by one Muhammad b. Tumart, a Berber from the Sus area south of the Atlas mountains who went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned convinced that the Islam of the Maghreb needed radical reform. On his return journey he attracted a number of followers, notably 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Kumi from the Tlemcen area. He arrived at Marrakesh in 1120 but his message was rejected by the Almoravid leaders and he returned to his native Sus. Here he began to establish a religious community among the Berbers of the High Atlas which rejected both the religious and secular authority of the Almoravids.

The differences between Almoravid and Almohad beliefs do not seem to have been very great: both were sternly puritanical in their interpretation of Islam. Almohad apologists, anxious to distance themselves from their Almoravid rivals, accused them of anthropomorphism, of being dominated by women (probably because of their custom of veiling of men) and a number of minor differences. The Almohads also proclaimed the absolute unity of God and hence were called *muwahhidun* from which the Spanish Almohade is derived. However, after his rejection in Marrakesh, Ibn Tumart did make one important religious innovation: he had himself proclaimed *mahdi* by his followers. This term, equivalent in some ways to the Christian messiah, meant that he could claim divine authority for decisions on Muslim law and practice in the Almohad community and also that contradicting him was equivalent to opposing the will of God.

In 1130 the movement suffered a major set-back. The Almohads attempted a direct attack on Marrakesh but were repulsed with heavy casualties. Shortly after this defeat, the Mahdi Ibn Tumart died. This was a moment of crisis for the Almohad movement and it could easily have disintegrated entirely, but, just as Abu Bakr and 'Umar had seized the initiative on the death of the Prophet 500 years before, so 'Abd al-Mu'min now had himself proclaimed caliph. The accession of 'Abd al-Mu'min established the dynasty which was to rule the Almohad empire until its final collapse. Ibn Tumart does not seem to have left any children and his brothers were marginalised and discredited, but 'Abd al-Mu'min made no claim to succeed as *mahdi*; as Abu Bakr had been first *khalifa* (caliph) to the Prophet, so he was first caliph to Ibn Tumart.

'Abd al-Mu'min continued to develop the Almohad ruling structure on the lines established by Ibn Tumart. From the beginning the basis of Almohad power lay in the tribes of the High Atlas and the Sus, most importantly the Hintata, whose leader Abu Hafs 'Umar was effectively second in command, the

---

[5] Al-Bayahaq, *Kitab al-Ansab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, pp. 18–152 (Arabic); pp. 25–276 (French trans.).

Gadmiwa, the Ganfisa and the Harga. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin himself came from the Tlemcen area in western Algeria, from the low-status tribe of Kumiya, and he may have relied on Abu Hafs ʿUmar to secure the loyalty of the Atlas Berbers. Ibn Tumart had established a rather elaborate hierarchy consisting of an inner Council of Ten, who were his original followers, and a Council of Fifty, mostly Berber tribal leaders.[6] There is no record that these councils functioned as such under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin and members were not replaced when they died, but the descendants of the Ten and the Fifty remained as a hereditary privileged caste in the Almohad state. In addition the Almohad hierarchy consisted of *huffaz* and *talba* (literally those who remember the Qurʾan and students). Originally these were propagandists for the Almohad cause but under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, *hafiz* was a title given to governors and military men who did not come from the Almohad tribes and *talib* to *qadis* and preachers who publicised Almohad doctrines. Under ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, power in the Almohad regime was concentrated in a hereditary elite consisting of the sons of the caliph, the sons of Abu Hafs ʿUmar and the descendants of the Ten and the Fifty. It was a closed elite but, until the 1220s, a homogeneous one and internal conflicts were very few.

The triumph of Almohad arms in Morocco was complete by 1147. After the suppression of a widespread rebellion of the Berber tribes of the Sus in 1148, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was able to turn his attention to other areas. Two fields of action offered themselves, al-Andalus to the north and Tunisia (known in medieval Arabic as Ifriqiya) to the east. Throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Almohad energies and military power were divided between these two fronts, North Africa usually, but not always, receiving priority. Fighting on two fronts seriously weakened Almohad commitment to the cause of the Muslims of al-Andalus, and caliphs were seldom able to spend more than a year or two consecutively fighting the Christians there. The problem was compounded by the very centralised nature of the Almohad political apparatus: no serious military initiative could be undertaken without the presence of the caliph and, if the caliph was in Tunisia, the Almohad authorities in al-Andalus could do little more than mount minor defensive campaigns against the Christians.

Despite the desperate position of the Muslims in al-Andalus, Almohad intervention was at first slow and tentative. A first expedition, led by a deserter from the Almoravids, Barraz b. Muhammad al-Massufi, landed in 1147 on the invitation of Ibn Qasi and other local rulers in the Algarve, alarmed by the loss of Lisbon in the same year. In January, 1148 Seville was occupied and the city was to remain the capital of Almohad al-Andalus. In 1149 the people of

---

[6] Hopkins (1958), pp. 85–111; Kisaichi (1990).

Córdoba offered their submission to avoid the loss of their city to Alfonso VII. The incorporation of these areas of al-Andalus into the Almohad empire was largely achieved peacefully. Neither the caliph nor his sons participated in the expeditions, and the Almohads acted in alliance with local Andalusi military leaders like Sidray b. Wazir and the Banu ʿAzzun.

North Africa remained the focus of the caliph's concerns. From 1151 he began the development of a new military base at Rabat, a site with a good water supply and pasture which was to serve as a gathering place for Almohad armies before they set out on major expeditions. In 1152–3 he launched his first major expedition to the eastern Maghreb, taking Bougie (Bijaya) and Constantine. In what is now eastern Algeria, he came into contect with the Arab tribes, the Banu Hilal and the Banu Riyah who had come to the area in the previous century. They were defeated in battle and numbers of them were settled in the plains of Morocco to provide cavalry for the Almohad forces. According to Almohad sources, however, these Arab troops were a constant source of disruption and much less reliable than the Berbers and Andalusis who formed the bulk of the Almohad forces. Even more dangerous in the long run, the tribes of Algeria and southern Tunisia remained unsubdued and were to prove dangerous and persistent enemies to the Almohads, especially when allied with the Banu Ghaniya of the Balearic islands. There was never a time when the Almohads could feel secure in their control of this area.

On his return from the east, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin embarked on a major reorganisation of the state. He had some fifteen sons who appear in the historical record, and many of these were now given commands and provincial governorates; these *sayyids*, the title by which members of the ruling family were known, were to be the backbone of the administration.

The Almohad army was composed of a number of different elements, with different cultures and at least two different languages, Arab and Berber. The Almohad tribes from the Masmuda tribes of the High Atlas formed the core of the army. They continued to fight in tribes rather than being distributed in other formations and the bulk of them probably fought on foot. Then there were the Arab tribes, notably the Banu Hilal and the Banu Riyah recruited from the eastern Maghreb. In al-Andalus, locally recruited troops served under their own commanders alongside the Arabs and Berbers. From 1186 onwards there were also Ghuzz Turks, recruited in the Middle East, who presumably served as mounted archers and whose privileged status provoked some resentment among old-established groups.

On major campaigns, the Almohad armies may have numbered over 100,000 but the state never developed mechanisms for paying this number or supplying them on campaign. On the campaign against Huete in 1172, on which we

are fairly fully informed,[7] the Almohad army seems to have numbered about 20,000, half Arabs and half Berbers. For most of them, payment came in irregular donatives rather than regular salaries and they were expected to support themselves by foraging and pillage. When things began to go wrong, the army rapidly broke up in chaos. There is some evidence that elite groups like the Ghuzz were given fiefs (*'iqtas*) but we have no idea how general this practice was. Many must have joined Almohad campaigns in the hope of booty or spiritual rewards, and leading and disciplining these armies proved very difficult; the organising of a prolonged siege of a fortified city was almost beyond their capabilities. The military failure of Almohad arms in al-Andalus was ultimately the result of the very rudimentary administrative apparatus.

On his return from the east, 'Abd al-Mu'min began to address Andalusi affairs and two *sayyids* were sent with some troops. In 1155 Granada was surrendered to Almohad forces. Almería, taken by Alfonso VII in 1147, was recaptured in 1157, and Ubeda and Baeza were restored to Muslim rule. The death of Alfonso the same year and the division of the kingdom of León-Castile into two kingdoms provided the Almohads with further opportunities, the more so because the weaker Leonese were often prepared to make alliances with the Almohads to save themselves from being overrun by their Christian neighbours. Despite these successes, al-Andalus was far from secure and in 1158 the town militia of Ávila raided as far as the walls of Seville. The Muslims were no more united than the Christians and Ibn Mardanish maintained his independence in Valencia and the Levante with the support of the Castilians.

The caliph, however, continued to regard Tunisia and the war against the Normans of Sicily, who had occupied some of the coastal towns, as his first priority. He left Marrakesh in October 1158 and, after one of those leisurely progresses which were characteristic of Almohad military activity, he arrived at Tunis in July 1159. The city soon surrendered and he then went on to the much stronger city of Mahdia. Here the Normans, sheltered by the fortifications built by the early Fatimid caliphs in the tenth century, held out for some six months before surrendering. The caliph then spent some time attempting to set up an administrative system in the central Maghreb before finally returning to Marrakesh in the summer of 1160.

Only at this stage, some thirteen years after the first Almohad intervention in al-Andalus, did the caliph himself direct his attention in that direction. He came as far as Gibraltar where he met the leading Almohad administrators in al-Andalus and caused the fortifications to be built before returning to Marrakesh in the spring of 1161. While he was there, the vulnerability of Almohad rule was dramatically demonstrated when supporters of Ibn Mardanish seized the

---

[7] Ibn Sahib al-Salat, *Al-Mann bi'l-Imama*, pp. 399–424, Spanish trans. pp. 204–24.

town of Carmona, only 40 kilometres from the capital at Seville, at the end of 1160 and held out for a year before the city could be retaken. In 1162 supporters of Ibn Hamushk seized Granada in a surprise attack and it required a major military expedition despatched from Marrakesh to reassert Almohad control. Both these humiliations were inflicted by Andalusi Muslim opponents of the regime: the Almohad armies had yet to launch any expeditions against Christian-held territory.

In 1163, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin seems to have decided to launch a major expedition to al-Andalus. He assembled an army, said to have numbered 200,000, at Rabat in May 1163 but before this vast and unwieldy force could be set in motion he died and his son and successor was obliged to spend the next years consolidating his hold on power rather than undertaking major new initiatives.

In the thirty-three years in which ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had led the Almohad movement, his achievement had been immense. He had led the Masmuda Berbers of the High Atlas from their isolated mountain villages to being the ruling caste of an empire which stretched from the Gulf of Sirte to the Atlantic and the Algarve. He had maintained his loyalty to the teachings of Ibn Tumart, but moderating them so that he did not alienate the mass of the Muslim populations over whom he ruled. He had established an administration which was simple compared with the hierarchical bureaucracy of tenth-century Córdoba, but still effective, and he led a heterogeneous army which had proved its worth campaigning in Algeria and Tunisia. At the same time there was a darker side to his rule. His rise to power had been accompanied by brutal purges of anyone in the Almohad tribes whose acceptance of his rule was in doubt and by the ruthless persecution of Ibn Tumart's brothers. His armies had been successful against the Normans and Arabs in Tunisia but had failed to crush Ibn Mardanish in the Levante, still less roll back the tide of Christian conquest in Spain and Portugal.

THE CALIPHATE OF ABU YAʿQUB YUSUF, 1163–84

ʿAbd al-Muʾmin was succeeded by one of his numerous sons, Abu Yaʿqub Yusuf, then governor of Seville. His accession was essentially the result of a *coup d'état* within the ruling family. The original heir had been another son, Muhammad, but he had been eased out by a third brother, Abu ʿHafs, ʿUmar, who had emerged as the leading power behind the throne during the old caliph's last years. For reasons which are not clear, Abu ʿHafs claimed the office not for himself but for his own full brother, Abu Yaʿqub Yusuf. However, Abu ʿHafs remained his brother's most influential adviser and supporter. From this time on, the descendants of the other brothers were increasingly marginalised

and only the Almohad empire was run by the families of Abu ʿHafs and Abu Yaʿqub.

The new caliph was twenty-five years old but already had political experience as governor of Seville. He was an interesting character. A product of his father's emphasis on educating the Almohad hierarchy, he was an intellectual and a renowned bibliophile with a strong awareness of history. However, he was less successful as a military leader, lacking determination and energy at crucial moments.

The new caliph's first preoccupation was to establish himself in power in Marrakesh: two of his half-brothers who had opposed his succession met mysterious deaths but the deposed Muhammad was allowed to live in retirement in Marrakesh. He was also dogged by illness which meant that he could not provide any active leadership. In 1166–7 the Almohads were faced by a rebellion among the Gomara Berbers of north-west Morocco.

Despite these distractions, the Almohads moved to take action in al-Andalus. Their main objective was to destroy the power of Ibn Mardanish and his son-in-law Ibn Hamushk who were threatening Córdoba. In 1165 a force of Almohads and Arabs led by two of the caliph's half-brothers defeated Ibn Mardanish at Fahs al-Jullab near Murcia but they were unable to go on to attack the city and the threat still remained. In 1168 Ibn Mardanish's men were able to raid as far west as Ronda. Ibn Mardanish may have been the most serious challenge the Almohads faced in al-Andalus but he was not the only one. In the west, the Portuguese guerrilla leader Giraldo Sempavor (the Fearless) led a series of successful raids in Extremadura, culminating in the capture of Badajoz in 1169. Fortunately for the Almohads, the king of León, Fernando II, was as alarmed as they were by Giraldo's conquests, and by 1170 the Leonese Almohad alliance had more or less stabilised the position, although Badajoz remained an isolated outpost, supplied from Seville by heavily guarded convoys.

In 1171 the caliph himself finally arrived in al-Andalus to begin a major campaign. Apart from ʿAbd al-Muʾmin's fleeting visit to Gibraltar in 1160, this was the first time an Almohad caliph had visited al-Andalus in the quarter of a century since they had taken power in Morocco. A large army, said to have been composed of 10,000 Almohads and 10,000 Arabs, was recruited for the expedition and they crossed the Straits in the summer. The caliph was fortunate in his timing for early in 1172 Ibn Mardanish died, of natural causes. His position had already been weakened by the defection of Ibn Hamushk, and his own brother, and his family now decided to make peace with the caliph. They acknowledged Almohad rule in Murcia and Valencia but Ibn Mardanish's brother Yusuf was allowed to retain the governorate of Valencia until his death, and the family were recruited into the Almohad elite. Al-Andalus had been

united by agreement rather than conquest and Almohad rule meant little
change in the government or social structure of the Levante.

With the pacification of al-Andalus, the caliph was now free to embark on
an expedition against Christian Spain. In the summer of 1172 he launched an
expedition against the small fortress town of Huete, about 50 kilometres west
of Cuenca. We know more about this foray than any other Almohad military
expedition because Ibn Sahib al-Salat, an Andalusi working in the Almohad
civil service in Seville, was an eye-witness and wrote a full account of it in his
chronicle.[8] Despite the presence of some 20,000 Muslim troops and almost
all the leading figures in the empire, the expedition was a complete fiasco. The
siege of Huete was abandoned after a few days in July and the army then made
its way as best it could through Cuenca and across the mountains to the plains
of the Levante where it broke up. After the Almohad army had failed to take
this tiny outpost, it could not pose any real threat to Toledo or any of the other
cities lost to the Christians since 1085.

Part of this failure was due to poor leadership: at crucial moments the caliph
did not appear on the battlefield and was preoccupied with theological dis-
cussion. But the problem went deeper than personal failings. The Almohad
army was really three armies, the Almohad Berber forces, the Arab troops re-
cruited in the western Maghreb and the local Andalusi militias. They fought
under their own leaders in their own units and the soldiers spoke two different
languages, Arabic and Berber. In these circumstances rivalries and misunder-
standings were inevitable, and our source, Ibn Sahib al-Salat, is bitterly critical
of the Arab contingents. The Almohad government also seems to have found it
impossible to organise a supply train. This large army was expected to maintain
itself by foraging or buying provisions along the way but forage soon ran out
and markets could not be found. In addition, most of the troops were paid
very irregularly and soon ran short of money. After the retreat from Huete, the
Almohad army gradually scattered, driven by the need to feed itself. The failure
to take Huete shows that the Almohad state was too administratively underde-
veloped to launch and sustain the sort of prolonged campaign of siege warfare
which would have been necessary to recapture territory from the Christians.

The caliph remained in al-Andalus until 1176, the longest continuous visit
by any Almohad sovereign, but he seems to have stayed in Seville and no
major military expeditions were mounted. Instead the Christians continued to
advance: Beja was lost temporarily in 1172, retaken in 1174 but finally lost in
1178. In 1177 Cuenca, isolated from the rest of al-Andalus and neglected by the
Almohads, was taken by the Castilians. Both Leonese and Castilians contin-
ued to raid deep into Andalusi territory around Seville and the Guadalquivir

---

[8] See Hopkins (1958), pp. 85–111.

valley and it was only the continuing rivalry between Castile and León which prevented further Christian advances.

After his return to Marrakesh, the caliph occupied himself in building projects until in 1180 he began a major campaign in Tunisia. The main problem was the bedouin Banu Riyah in the Gafsa area. At first, the expedition was a success, Gafsa was taken and the Banu Riyah submitted and agreed that they would be transported *en bloc* to al-Andalus to participate in the Holy War. The caliph then left his brother al-Hasan as governor of Tunis and began his return to Marrakesh. On his departure, the agreement with the Riyah soon came to nothing and, though some joined the Almohad armies, many remained to defy the Almohad administration and oppress the local settled Berber populations. When they had outside allies, the Banu Riyah were to emerge as a real threat to the Almohad empire.

It was not until the autumn of 1183 that the caliph felt able to respond to the increasingly desperate cries for help from his Andalusi subjects. He assembled a large army and reorganised the administration of al-Andalus, appointing his sons to the governorates of the four main cities, Seville, Córdoba, Granada and Murcia. In June 1184 the army crossed the Straits and headed directly for Santarém, the Portuguese outpost on the Tagus river. As at Huete twelve years before, a siege was begun but, hearing of the approach of a Leonese army (the Leonese had recently made peace with the Portuguese), the caliph lost his nerve and ordered a retreat. In the confusion, the garrison made a sortie and surprised and wounded the caliph in his scarlet tent. As the Muslims retreated slowly to Seville, Abu Ya'qub Yusuf, second Almohad caliph, died of his injuries.

THE CALIPHATE OF ABU YUSUF YA'QUB AL-MANSUR, 1184–99

The caliph was succeeded by his son, confusingly named Abu Yusuf Ya'qub, who will be referred to by his honorific al-Mansur (the victorious) to avoid confusion. He seems to have had none of his father's intellectual interests – it was he who ordered the disgrace of the great philosopher lbn Rushd (Averroes) to placate orthodox Muslim opinion – but he was a much more determined soldier and military leader. Unfortunately, the Arabic sources for his reign are very meagre: we know almost nothing of the internal affairs of the Almohad empire during this period and even the great triumph at the battle of Alarcos in 1195 is hardly reported.

His first move was to return to Marrakesh and secure his authority in the capital. Having done that, the main problem he faced was not the creeping advance of the Christians in al-Andalus but a major rebellion in the eastern

Maghreb. When the last of the Almoravids, the Banu Ghaniya, had been driven out of mainland al-Andalus, they had taken refuge in the Balearic islands. At first they were prepared to submit to Almohad overlordship but in 1184 there was a coup, the old leader Muhammad b. Ishaq b. Ghaniya was deposed by his brothers, and the new leader, ʿAli, rejected Almohad authority. This would not have mattered much, since the Balearic islands were marginal to Almohad concerns, except that ʿAli made contact with the partisans of the Hammadid dynasty, Sanhaja Berbers like themselves. The Hammadids had ruled much of western and central Algeria before the Almohad conquest and were keen to re-establish their position. ʿAli also found allies among the bedouin of southern Tunisia who were now restless again. He sent messengers to the ʿAbbasid caliph in Baghdad, pledging his allegiance, and in return was granted the titles held by his Almoravid predecessors, and Saladin was instructed to send soldiers to support him. This Almoravid resurgence, uniting as it did all the main enemies of the Almohads in the central and eastern Maghreb, threatened to undermine the empire in its heartlands.

Al-Mansur was obliged to mount a major campaign to put an end to this menace. He left Marrakesh in December 1186 and reached Tunisia in the spring of 1187. At first things went badly for Almohad arms and the caliph's cousin was defeated by ʿAli b. Ghaniya at ʿUmra, but later al-Mansur defeated the allies at al-Hamma in southern Tunisia in October. Early in 1188 he finally took the rebel stronghold at Gafsa after an assault which showed that the Almohads could deploy siege engines to take a fortified city if the circumstances were right.

As al-Mansur made his way back to Marrakesh, he became aware that the defeat at ʿUmra had encouraged opposition, even within the Almohad ruling family. The governor of Murcia made overtures to Alfonso VIII of Castile, perhaps hoping to set up a client kingdom as Ibn Mardanish had done, and the governor of Tadla in central Morocco had joined the conspiracy. The caliph acted ruthlessly and both the suspect *sayyids* were taken and executed, the first time members of the ruling family had been put to death. For the moment all was quiet but it was a forerunner of the internal rivalries which were to tear the Almohad movement apart in the first half of the thirteenth century.

On his return to the capital, the caliph began to turn his attention to al-Andalus where the position of the Muslims was once again critical. In the summer of 1189, Sancho I of Portugal, aided by northern crusaders on their way to the Holy Land, took the city of Silves, so establishing a Christian outpost on the southern shore of the Algarve. At the same time Alfonso VIII of Castile raided the Guadalquivir valley around Seville. The response of the local Almohad authorities was feeble and inadequate: only the arrival of the caliph could reverse the position.

Al-Mansur crossed the Straits in the spring of 1190 and launched a raid into Portugal where the Muslim army destroyed Torres Novas and made an unsuccessful attempt to take Tomar. As at Huete in 1172, the army soon began to run out of food and the caliph was forced to return to Seville by the end of July. He spent the winter in Seville and launched an expedition early the next year. The first objective was the small coastal town of Alcacer do Sal (Arabic Qasr Abi Danis) south of Lisbon. Siege engines were brought by sea, the town was taken and a Muslim garrison installed. On the way back the caliph was able to retake Silves.

With the position in the Algarve stabilised al-Mansur returned to Morocco. Here he occupied himself with the massive extension to the city his father had founded at Rabat, which had become the normal assembly place for Almohad armies before going on major expeditions. He was also obliged to send men and resources to Tunisia, where the Banu Ghaniya were once again encouraging the dissidents and he was laid low by illness. In these circumstances, he had no opportunity to follow up and consolidate his modest successes in al-Andalus.

In 1195 he once again crossed the Straits. In mid-July he led his large army through the Sierra Morena to the Campo de Calatrava. Alfonso VIII led the Castilian army south to meet him, as Alfonso VI had come to meet Ibn Tashfin at Zallaqa in 1086. Despite the fact that it was a major triumph for Muslim arms, the Arabic sources give little account of the battle which followed at Alarcos on 17 July.[9] It is clear that Alfonso suffered a major defeat, that his army was obliged to beat a hasty retreat to the north, and that all the castles in the Campo de Calatrava fell into Muslim hands with the exception of Salvatierra which held out until 1211.

Instead of following up this victory, however, the caliph returned to Seville and spent the winter building and gardening at his new palace of Aznalfarache (Arabic Hisn al-Faraj) across the river from the main city. The next year he led a raid to Extremadura, taking a number of small towns including Trujillo and then moving up the Tagus valley as far as Toledo. Here the army ravaged the countryside but there was no attempt to set up a formal siege or to maintain a presence over the winter and the Muslims returned to Seville. In 1197 there was another show of force when the raiders reached as far as Madrid and Guadalajara but, once again, no sieges were undertaken and no permanent gains were made.

This represented the apogee of Almohad power in the peninsula, but it was also the last time a Muslim army was to reach the Tagus valley. In the spring of 1198 the caliph was obliged to return to Morocco, where he was once

---

[9] For the sources, Huici Miranda (1958), pp. 138–216.

again laid low by illness and where he died early in 1199, leaving a young and inexperienced son, al-Nasir to succeed him.

Al-Mansur's death marks the end of the greatness of the Almohad caliphate. The next quarter of a century saw the major defeat of Muslim arms at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 and the inexorable Christian expansion into the heart of al-Andalus. The death of al-Nasir in 1213 led to a series of succession disputes which divided the Almohad elite. As the rulers bickered, their subjects began to look for new rulers who would protect them more effectively and in al-Andalus the beleaguered Muslims turned to local warlords to try to keep the Christians at bay.

After the fall of Toledo in 1085, al-Andalus was not militarily viable and, without outside support, it would soon have been conquered by the Christians. Similarly after the fall of Lisbon, Almería and the last Muslim outposts in the Ebro valley in 1147, the position of the Muslims was critical. In both cases the North African invaders were able to postpone the disaster but not to re-establish al-Andalus. With a few minor exceptions, no city which fell to the Christians was ever reoccupied by the Muslims. In the end, the Almoravids and Almohads lacked the administrative and political structures to organise siege warfare and effective garrisons. Their armies raided for booty, but were unable to govern or defend. At the same time, they remained outsiders and, however cultured members of the Almohad elite were, they remained Berbers, whose roots were in Morocco. When hard decisions had to be made, both the Almoravids and the Almohads concentrated their resources in Morocco, not al-Andalus, and al-Andalus was left, in the words of al-Mansur himself, 'an orphan'.

THE JEWS IN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN

Robert Chazan

THE eleventh and twelfth centuries, for Jewish life in Europe and the Mediterranean basin, were characterised, above all else, by diversity and flux. Jews were spread across this vast and heterogeneous area in enclaves that differed considerably from one another in size, antiquity, economic foundations, political and social relations with the non-Jewish majority, and religious and intellectual creativity. More important yet, patterns of Jewish living shifted markedly during these two centuries. The innovation well documented in majority society is – not surprisingly – amply attested in the Jewish minority as well. The end result, in Jewish life, is a period of considerable change, some highly beneficial, with positive reverberations in subsequent Jewish experience, and some profoundly deleterious, with harmful impact through the following centuries.

For a broad sense of the distribution of these Jewish communities, we can do no better than to follow in the path of the twelfth-century Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela. Benjamin has left us a rich, albeit often cursory, record of his journey from Spain into the Middle East.[1] While it is not altogether certain where his first-hand observations end and his reporting of hearsay evidence begins, there is little doubt that, for the area of interest to us, he has left his own personal impressions. Benjamin made his way down the Ebro river from his native Tudela through Saragossa and Tortosa to the Mediterranean. He then proceeded up the Spanish coast and into southern France, across the Italian peninsula and into the Byzantine empire, and across the Mediterranean and into Syria and Palestine. On his return journey, he probably visited Egypt.

All through his journey, Benjamin encountered Jewish settlements of varying sizes and characteristics. In the more westerly areas, the Iberian peninsula and southern Europe, the largest communities were composed of 300 Jews; in Italy, he encountered communities of 500 and 600; the Jewish communities of Thebes and Constantinople numbered 2000 and more; along the eastern

---

[1] Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*.

Mediterranean, he found 3000 Jews in Damascus and 5000 in Aleppo; in Egypt, he records Jewish communities of 3000 in Alexandria and 7000 in Cairo. Broadly speaking, Benjamin affords a reliable sense of Jewish communities spread all around the Mediterranean basin, with larger Jewish enclaves in the more easterly areas, the locus of the oldest Jewish settlement as well.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in ways that cannot be accurately gauged from the available evidence, Jewish population distribution was slowly shifting, with the aggressively developing areas of western Christendom attracting Jews from the eastern Mediterranean and the yet more easterly centres of Jewish life in Mesopotamia. In the course of this shift, an increasing number of Jews came to live in Christian societies, so that Christian attitudes towards Jews, on both the official and popular planes, came to have greater significance for Jewish affairs. At the beginning of the eleventh century, the vast majority of Jews lived within the sphere of Muslim power; by the end of the twelfth century, the proportion of western Jewry living under Muslim and Christian domination had been altered, as a result of the expansion of Christian authority over areas heretofore controlled by the Muslims and of Jewish movement from Muslim to Christian territory.

The Jewish communities spread all across Europe and the Mediterranean basin differed from one another in more than simply their size and antiquity. They diverged in their economic activities, their relationships to the non-Jewish majority, their communal life, and their cultural and religious pursuits. Again, however, there is more than simply divergence; more striking yet is the sense of rapid change during these two centuries. Patterns of economic activity were altered, at least in some areas; procedures for protection and control of the Jews by the political authorities were modified; relations with the non-Jewish majority took on new dimensions; the governance of Jewish life from within matured; there was, in particular, significant innovation in the religious and spiritual life of the Jews.

Such transition is never easy for those living through it, even when the innovations are overwhelmingly positive. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, some of the change affecting the Jews was quite positive; other aspects of change were highly problematic. This was surely a period of exhilaration and excitement, on the one hand, and a period of dislocation and discomfort on the other. Throughout this chapter, there will be considerable emphasis on the process of change, out of a sense that it constitutes the most remarkable feature of these two centuries and that its results held important implications for subsequent Jewish life in the western world.

One of the inescapable results of the focus on flux is a highlighting of Jewish life in the more westerly areas of Europe, at the expense of those areas further east where traditional patterns remained basically stable. One set of Jewish

communities profoundly affected by change was that of the Iberian peninsula, which, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, passed from the control of the Muslims to the hands of the Christians. This momentous shift entailed considerable danger for the Jews and considerable opportunity as well. An influential Jewish work composed during the middle decades of the twelfth century, the *Sefer ha-Kabbalah* (*The Book of Tradition*) of Abraham ibn Daud, reflects tellingly the internal Jewish sense of radical transition on the Iberian peninsula. A multi-dimensional work, ibn Daud's history represents, in part, a dirge for a Spanish Jewry whose history, according to the author, had come to an end.[2] The same conviction of tumult and change, out of which Jewish life on the peninsula was being destroyed, is reflected in the poetry of ibn Daud's great contemporary, Judah ha-Levi.[3] To be sure, the perceptions of these two giants were exaggerated. Iberian Jewry was able to survive the broad shift taking place and re-establish itself successfully under Christian rule. These perceptions, however, illuminate for us the profound sense of dislocation felt within the Jewish communities of the peninsula at this critical juncture.

As Abraham ibn Daud contemplated the Jewish world of his day, seeking to identify locales where the living and learning of the Jews might continue, one of the areas that caught his attention was northern Europe. He seems to have known very little of Jewish life in this emergent northern European civilisation; he had heard enough, however, to afford him some hope. Here, ibn Daud was correct. A new band of Jewish communities was in the process of establishing itself across northern Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In effect, the Jewish communities of northern Europe, that area from England in the west through Germany and Poland in the east, owe their genesis to the notable development of this area during these two centuries. At the beginning of the eleventh century, northern European Jewry was in its infancy; by the end of this period, while still numerically small, this young Jewry had already taken its place as a major force on the world Jewish scene, responsible for spiritual and intellectual creativity that was already widely recognised and that would profoundly influence subsequent Jewish life around the globe.

THE MATERIAL CIRCUMSTANCES OF JEWISH LIFE

The foundations for Jewish existence lay, of course, in the realm of economic activity. Here there were deep differences between the Jewish communities in the eastern and older areas of Europe and the Mediterranean basin and those of the rapidly developing western sector. The reality of larger and older Jewish communities in the eastern Mediterranean – Egypt, Palestine, Syria and

---

[2] Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*.   [3] Judah ha-Levi, *Selected Poems*, esp. pp. 2–43.

the Byzantine empire – is matched, not surprisingly, by a sense of diversified economic activity. Larger communities necessitated more and varied economic outlets to support their numbers; older communities tended to be well rooted and well integrated economically into their environments.

Our knowledge of Jewish economic activity in the eastern sectors of the Mediterranean basin is generally limited, with one major and extraordinary exception. The remarkable treasure trove of materials in the Cairo Genizah has made possible the reconstruction of everyday Jewish life in Egypt in a way not possible for any other medieval Jewish community. In particular, the rigorous and at the same time imaginative research of S. D. Goitein has illuminated numerous facets of Jewish life in Egypt, including the economic activities that undergirded the existence of the community.[4] What Goitein has found is that the economy of the Jews was multifaceted and well balanced. Jews occupied every rung on the economic ladder, from the lowest to the highest, from unskilled labour to highly skilled professions such as banking and medicine. Goitein was able to depict in great detail the limited agricultural and more extensive industrial activities of the Jews, and in even greater detail the commercial enterprise of Jewish traders – local, regional and international. He was, in particular, much interested in the evidence of long-range commerical ventures that took Jews from the westernmost areas of Europe into the Far East.[5] Jewish bankers were prominent throughout the Near East, with some of the Jewish banking houses achieving great wealth and economic power. Jews were commonly involved in the practice of medicine, often serving beyond the bounds of their own community. Near Eastern Jewry produced numerous outstanding physicians, noted for both their practical abilities and their theoretical work. Some of these, such as the famous Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides), were invited to serve in the ruling courts. Then as now, the desire for the best possible medical care effaced normal societal boundaries and constraints.

Economic diversification in the eastern Mediterranean basin had many important implications, including a basic stability in Jewish affairs and the absence of any economic imagery that might tend to stereotype Jews in a harmful manner. This economic diversification had significant impact on internal Jewish life as well. It meant a wide range of socioeconomic levels within the Jewish community, with the potential for friction between groups of Jews divergent in resources and status.

As we turn our attention further westward, we find a somewhat altered pattern of Jewish economic activity. The Iberian peninsula under Muslim rule

---

[4] Goitein (1967–93).
[5] See the charming collection published by Goitein (1973).

seems to show the economic diversification already noted. It is possible that, in this frontier area of Muslim control, the Jews may in fact have played a more prominent role than they did in the older Islamic societies of the eastern Mediterranean. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, we encounter a number of well-placed and highly visible Jews in the Muslim courts of Spain. The most striking of these powerful Jews were the tenth-century Hisdai ibn Shaprut and the eleventh-century Samuel ibn Nagrela.[6] With the beginning of Christian reconquest of the peninsula, the Jews seem to have helped in providing the urban skills necessary to maintain prior standards of living and governance. Jews may, as a result, have been yet more important in industry and commerce than they had been under Muslim rule of the peninsula. Lack of a well-established Christian urban class and the dangers posed by a potentially hostile Muslim urban population may have afforded unusual importance, at least for a transitional period, to the Jewish urban enclaves of Spain.[7]

Northern Europe presents a radically different picture of Jewish economic activity from both the antiquity and stability of the eastern Mediterranean and the shifting circumstances of the Iberian peninsula. The Jews attracted to this developing area came as urban immigrants, very much concentrated in commerce.[8] Christian and Jewish sources, both limited to be sure, indicate a specialisation in business affairs. Jewish businessmen were involved in local commerce and in more wide-ranging buying and selling, sometimes across northern Europe and sometimes beyond. This developing area was afflicted, like most developing areas, with considerable insecurity. Traders, because of their perambulations and their possession of seizable goods, were particularly exposed to the insecurities of the period. Thus, the economic success of a small out-group like the Jewish traders depended heavily upon the protections provided by the political authorities. By and large, the more farsighted and effective authorities were interested in fostering the business activities of these Jews and went to considerable lengths to protect them and their business affairs. This governmental support was hardly disinterested. In return, the authorities derived a double benefit: broad economic invigoration of the territories over which they presided and more specific tax benefits from a group that could be assessed with relative impunity.

The economic development of this young Jewry took place rapidly. By the middle of the twelfth century, there is considerable evidence of a shift in Jewish economic specialisation across northern Europe from commerce

---

[6] The fullest portrait of medieval Iberian Jewry under Muslim rule has been provided by Ashtor (1973–84).

[7] The fullest portrait of medieval Iberian Jewry under Christian rule has been provided by Baer (1961–6). The period of transition is covered in I, pp. 39–110.

[8] For a survey of this early period, see Chazan (1987), pp. 11–37.

to moneylending.[9] This transition was occasioned by a combination of the economic needs of a rapidly maturing society and the strenuous efforts of an increasingly puissant Roman Catholic church to enforce the traditional prohibition of the taking and giving of usury – defined as anything beyond the principal of a loan – among Christians. This ecclesiastical effort projected lending against usury as a major social and religious blight and paved the way for the Jews, not bound by the canonical prohibitions, to find a useful and lucrative niche for themselves in a burgeoning economy. Jews played a significant role in the banking of northern Europe during the second half of the twelfth century, particularly in the more westerly areas of northern Europe, England and France. Successful Jewish financiers built large and profitable business networks.

Once more, this economic achievement required the active collaboration of the political authorities, and again there was an effective *quid pro quo*. The authorities supplied invaluable protection and support. In the moneylending business, effective intervention in support of Jewish creditors' claims on lands put up as surety for loans was crucial. In the western areas of northern Europe, the authorities developed, by the end of the twelfth century, a highly sophisticated system for protection of the Jewish lending business. In return, these authorities assured themselves of increasing access to the profits generated by the lucrative lending business. More than one Christian moralist of the period excoriated the Christian rulers of northern Europe for what they perceived – not unfairly – as a business partnership between the Jews and their lords, a partnership through which these Christian rulers in effect profited handsomely from Jewish usury.

While the profits of this moneylending business were considerable for the Jews involved, the new economic specialisation entailed a number of significant liabilities as well. Three problematic aspects of this new enterprise are particularly noteworthy. In the first place, it aroused considerable consternation in ecclesiastical circles. The sources of this concern were many, particularly the normal ecclesiastical responsibility to serve as a vehicle for broad social protest and, in all likelihood, some sense of guilt over the church's role in fostering the new Jewish economic speciality. Weightier yet was the animosity the new specialisation evoked all across majority society. Moneylanders are never popular; moreover, the church had successfully created potent negative stereotypes of this economic activity. The traditional image of the malevolent Jew – bequeathed from earliest Christian history – reinforced the animosity towards the Jewish moneylander while, at the same time, gaining further strength from the new economic activity of the Jews. Jewish moneylanding deepened the already considerable hostility felt toward the Jews of northern Europe. Finally,

[9] For a brief description of this shift, see Chazan (1997), pp. 19–40.

the new economic speciality reinforced the alliance between the Jews and their secular lords to the point of suffocation of Jewish interests. The temptation to exploit Jewish profits, particularly when such oppression was likely to be hailed as laudable in many majority circles, was almost irresistible. The Jewish moneylending business developed quickly and declined with similar rapidity. The last years of the twelfth century and the first years of the thirteenth saw the onset of a shift that would, by the middle of the thirteenth century, bring ruin to those Jewish communities that had too quickly made moneylanding the mainstay of their economy.

By the eleventh century, the arrangements governing the existence of the Jews as a minority grouping in Muslim and Christian societies were already well worked out. In the Muslim sphere, which continued to house the majority of Jews in the western world, these arrangements went back to the earliest days of Islam. The *dhimmi* status of the Jews entailed an obligation on the part of the Muslim authorities to provide requisite protection for Jewish life, property and religious practice; in return, the Jews were obliged to exhibit loyalty to these authorities, to pay required taxation and to comport themselves in an appropriately secondary manner. This bare outline of the formal relationship of the Muslim majority to the Jewish minority tells us little of the varied and nuanced realities. The fundamental relationship adumbrated in the notion of Muslim–*dhimmi* relations was sufficiently loose to allow for considerable flexibility in the everday circumstances of the Jewish minority – and indeed other minorities as well.

A number of factors conspired to make the circumstances of the Jews in the Muslim sectors of the eastern Mediterranean and north Africa, at least through the period of our concern, relatively stable. The three most important factors impinging on the immediate shaping of Jewish *dhimmi* status during the eleventh and twelfth centuries were: the antiquity of Jewish settlement in the area; the multi-religious and multi-ethnic composition of society in this sector of the western world; the relative stability of this region through the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[10]

By the eleventh century, Jewish settlement in the eastern Mediterranean was millennia old. While there has often been a tendency to neglect the factor of longevity of settlement in discussion of Jewish circumstances, surely differences in majority perception of long-established Jewries and recently immigrated group of Jews had to be considerable. Long-established Jewries were free of the stigma of recent immigration that, joined to traditional anti-Jewish imagery, had the potential for generating substantial anti-Jewish animus.

---

[10] For synthetic treatments of the status of the Jews in the medieval Muslim world, see Goitein (1955) and Lewis (1984). See also the collection of documents provided by Stillman (1979).

In addition, the Muslim world of the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa had long housed a wide variety of groupings. While the Jews constituted a readily identifiable community, they were in no sense singular in their divergence from the regnant Muslim faith. Indeed, in many ways, the Jews held advantages over some of their non-Muslim neighbours. In particular, the lack of Jewish political control anywhere in the western world and their seeming lack of political ambition made the Jews considerably more trustworthy than their Christian neighbours, who could always be suspected of potential disloyalty and willingness to cast their lot with Christian aggressors against Muslim rule.

Finally, the crusades notwithstanding, the eleventh and twelfth centuries constitute a relatively stable period in the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa. On the assumption that dislocation and declining circumstances bode ill for minority communities, it seems equally reasonable to suggest that relative tranquillity and maintenance of the status quo work to the advantage of minority groupings like the Jews.

In fact, the eleventh and twelfth centuries show little disruption of Jewish life in the eastern Mediterranean basin and North Africa. There is evidence of brief governmental persecution of Jews (and Christians as well) in early eleventh-century Egypt. This seems to have been a rather idiosyncratic aberration, with no lasting effect on the still-thriving Jewish community of Egypt. North African and Iberian Jewry seems to have suffered considerable persecution at the hands of the unusually intolerant Almohads during the twelfth century. How far this intolerance resulted from a specific religious vision and how much it was influenced by the aggressiveness of western Christendom, particularly its impressive gains on the Iberian peninsula, is not clear. It is also not clear how lasting the damage was. As we have noted, Abraham ibn Daud, who saw directly the ravages of Almohad persecution, felt himself witness to the destruction of once-flourishing Jewish life and culture in Spain. While this was a reasonable short-term assessment, the rapidity with which Jewish life was reconstructed under the new Christian rulers of the peninsula suggests that the impact of Almohad persecution – as dramatic as it might have been – was ultimately quite limited.

As noted, Muslim societies were complex, with a number of religious and ethnic communities living side by side. It is clear that there was considerable interaction between the Muslim majority and the Jewish minority. While Jews tended to live in their own residential enclaves and socialise within their community, Jewish neighbourhoods were not exclusively Jewish, and there was substantial social interaction between Jews and their Muslim (and Christian) neighbours, for business and outside of the business sphere as well. In particular, there was intellectual interchange of a profound nature. This fairly

comfortable reality was of course facilitated by the full use, on the part of the Jews, of the Arabic language for both everyday and intellectual affairs. The Jewish communities of the medieval Muslim world show the highest level of linguistic integration, with Jews using Arabic for their oral discourse, for their mundane written communication and for the composition of a wide range of intellectual and religious works.

There is, to be sure, occasional evidence of popular Muslim antipathy towards Jews, particularly at points of general tension or at points when Jews were perceived to go beyond the bounds of the normal constraints imposed upon them. A prime example of such occasional antipathy is the animosity engendered by the remarkable political and military eminence of the Jew Samuel ibn Nagrela in the eleventh-century Muslim principality of Granada. Granadan Muslims deeply resented the exercise of both political and military authority by a Jew. This antipathy eventuated in an outbreak of riots againt the rule of Samuel's son and successor, Joseph ibn Nagrela, in 1066. Such Jewish authority, such antipathy and such violence all constitute the exception, rather than the norm. Generally, the Jews in the orbit of Islam were hardly the target of unusual animosity. By this, I am not suggesting a total lack of negative stereotypes. Given the pervasive religious commitments of the period, Jewish *dhimmi* status certainly entailed negative perceptions of religious dissidence, and Muslim tradition did include pejorative views of Jews. What I am suggesting, rather, is that these negative stereotypes rarely reached an extreme point and rarely contributed to outbreaks of popular anti-Jewish violence. During the period of upheaval that marked the fall of the Umayyid caliphate in Spain (the 1010s), for example, there was bloodshed all across the Muslim sectors of the Iberian peninsula, a bloodshed from which the Jewish minority community remained fairly well shielded.

When we turn our attention to the Christian areas of western Europe, the situation is altered in a number of significant ways. In order to discuss responsibly Jewish circumstances in the Christian territories of western Europe, we must begin by drawing a critical distinction between the older and larger Jewish communities of southern Europe and the newer and smaller communities of the north. There were such palpable differences between the circumstances of these two Jewries that any effort to conflate them can only result in gross distortion. Indeed, in speaking of the Jews of southern Europe, we should draw a further distinction between those Jews who had lived continuously under Christian rule (the Jews of most of southern France and Italy) and those Jews who were in the process of passing from Muslim to Christian rule (the Jews of most of the Iberian peninsula). Again, since our emphasis is on changing circumstances, we shall focus on the Jews who lived through the shift in power in Spain from Muslim to Christian control and on the new Jewish settlers in northern Europe.

Jewish circumstances in the Christian ambience were somewhat more com-
plicated than in Muslim territory.[11] In the traditional imagery of Christianity,
Jews and Judaism occupy a decidedly more central and more negative place than
they do in the thinking of Islam. While none of the three western monotheisms
was highly appreciative of the truth claims of the others, the broad tendency to-
wards negation of alternative faiths found in all three was intensified in the case
of the Christian stance towards the Jews. This heightened antipathy flowed,
in part, from the direct emergence of Christianity from a Palestinian Jewish
matrix, engendering a profound rivalry not matched in the later development
of Islam. More specifically, the imagery of Christian Scriptures allocated to
the Jews a central, powerful and negative role in early Christian – and indeed
in cosmic – history. The image of Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion
of Jesus created a sense of the Jews that was both potently negative and so
axial to Christian thinking as to be inescapable. To be sure, the possible inter-
pretations of this imagery were many, and not all such interpretations served
to heighten animosity towards real-life contemporary Jews. The potential for
negative impact was considerable, however.

The accession of Christianity to a position of power in the Roman empire
during the fourth century forced the leaders of the church and of secular society,
for the first time, to define the position to be accorded to Jews and Judaism
in a Christianised society. This was a critical juncture in the history of the
Jews in the western world, and, fortunately for continued Jewish existence in
this sphere, the position that developed was one of moderation. Judaism was
recognised, in effect, as a legitimate religious system, and Jews were accorded
the right to practise their faith. The condition imposed on these Jewish material
and spiritual rights was that Jewish behaviour in no way bring harm upon the
Christian faith and society that had accorded this legitimacy. Precisely how this
harm might be understood was inevitably to be defined in various ways over
the centuries, with constructions both more and less restrictive for the Jews.
The legitimacy of the Jewish religion by no means precluded efforts on the part
of the regnant faith from carrying its message to the Jews, although once again
the intensity of the commitment to missionising would vary considerably over
the ages. The end result was a theory of religious legitimacy, with concurrent
imagery that possessed the power to spark serious animosity towards the Jews
accepted within Christian societies.

Once more, as was the case with the Islamic principles of behaviour to-
wards the Jews and other *dhimmi* groupings, there was considerable room for
latitude in the actual day-to-day treatment of specific Jewish communities.

---

[11] See the extended comparison and contrast of Jewish circumstances in the medieval Muslim and
Christian spheres in Cohen (1994).

On the Iberian peninsula, the factors affecting Christian treatment of the Jewish minority, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were complex and contradictory. On the one hand, the potential for activating traditional animosities towards the Jews was considerable, particularly given the proto-crusading exhilaration engendered by the drive towards reconquest of the Iberian peninsula. While we are not privy to details, Pope Alexander II, in 1066, was moved to warn the Christian warriors crossing over the mountains from France to aid in the Christian reconquest to restrain themselves from acts of violence against Jews.[12] That the wresting of the peninsula from Muslim hands might have been accompanied by anti-Jewish sentiment is hardly shocking.

While the general violence of the period and the specific potential for anti-Jewish agitation boded ill for the Jews, there were counter-factors operative as well. Most important were, again, the sense of longevity of Jewish settlement and the perception of the Jews as potentially useful allies. Jewish settlement of the Iberian peninsula, by the time we reach the transitional period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was almost a millennium old. There could hardly be any inclination to view these Jews as problematic newcomers. More important, while the victorious Christian warriors may have been guided by general antipathy to non-Christians and moved readily to anti-Jewish feelings, those charged with responsibility for governing after the military conquest and with maintaining the level of material and cultural life in areas reverting to Christian rule had to seek assistance for this effort among the non-Christian population. Given the heights of civilisation reached in Islamic Spain and the role played by Muslim, Jewish and Christian urban elements in achieving such levels of civilisation, the newly empowered Christian rulers of large sectors of Spain had to utilise the skills of at least some segments of the non-Christian conquered population. Once again, the Jews recommended themselves as potentially far more loyal than their Muslim counterparts. In effect, the Jews, for a second time, played the role in Spain of transmitters and preservers of material and cultural achievement.

The Christian rulers of northern Spain, cognisant of their needs and of the potential Jewish contribution, went to considerable lengths to reassure the Jews of the newly acquired areas, offering them appealing inducements to remain in the conquered cities and to assist in the maintenance of urban life. The charter proferred to the Jewish community of Tortosa, immediately after its conquest in 1148 by the count of Barcelona, Ramó Berenguer IV, provides a fine example of such reassurance. Jews were offered land within the town, with the promise of further terrain for additional Jews, considerable tax relief, and favourable

---

[12] For this document, see Chazan (1980), pp. 99–100.

laws and status.[13] While we cannot track in great detail the Jewish response to these overtures, the overall sense is rapid Jewish acceptance of the victorious Christian authorities and the positive conditions they offered. In particular, it seems that some of the leading courtier families of Muslim Spain quickly found their way into the good graces of the new Christian rulers, or perhaps these new Christian rulers quickly found their way into the good graces of the old Jewish courtier families, thereby facilitating the transition for Jewish life from Muslim to Christian rule. Thus, despite the sense of catastrophe shared by such observers as Abraham ibn Daud and Judah ha-Levi during the middle decades of the twelfth century, by the end of the century an orderly transfer of Jewish allegiance to the new Christian rulers of most of the northern sector of the peninsula was well under way.

There were two elements in Christian society that would eventually come to play a potent and negative role in the fate of Iberian Jewry, the Roman Catholic church and the Christian burgher class. In this early stage of the re-conquest, however, neither element was particularly influential. The church was of course concerned with maintenance of both the traditional safeguards for and the traditional limitations on Jewish life in Christian society. However, given the wide-ranging concerns of the ecclesiastical leadership during this critical period of flux, the issue of the Jews does not seem to have loomed large on the church agenda. The Christian burghers may well have been resentful of some of the privileges accorded to their Jewish neighbours and competitors at this juncture, but there is no evidence of either significant anti-Jewish agitation or anti-Jewish violence. Like the church, the burghers were pre-occupied with more pressing issues and concerns at this precarious point in time.

The last set of Jewish communities to which we shall direct our attention is the cluster of new settlements that began to develop across northern Europe from the closing decades of the tenth century on. Prior to the late tenth century, northern Europe – England, northern France, Germany – was, by and large, free of permanent Jewish settlement; with the rapid development of the region from that point on, Jewish immigrants began to make their appearance in increasingly significant numbers. That this area should have remained beyond the bounds of Jewish settlement for so long is not hard to understand. While Jews occasionally travelled across northern Europe for business purposes, there was little incentive for Jews to leave their Mediterranean ambience for areas that lagged so badly in the level of civilisation. It is likewise easy to understand why Jewish attitudes towards this area should have begun to change during the closing decades of the tenth century. With the rapid vitalisation of northern

---

[13] For the document, see Chazan (1980), pp. 70–1.

Europe, it became interesting and appealing to ambitious and venturesome traders, Jews willing to try their luck in a developing region.

The imagery of a developing area is both appropriate and illuminating. Jews were attracted to a hitherto backward region out of a sense of the economic opportunities it might provide. These Jews had to contend with some of the normal difficulties associated with developing areas, in particular a high level of physical insecurity. Violence was rampant across northern Europe during this exciting but turbulent period. As itinerant traders, the Jewish immigrants were particularly vulnerable to such violence. Their Jewishness may have put them in a yet more precarious situation. In order for Jewish settlements to implant themselves successfully in this promising terrain, it was critical that there emerge effective political leadership in northern Europe and that this political leadership commit itself to fostering Jewish presence. Fortunately for the immigrating Jews, such interested and effective political leadership did develop, and it was the alliance between these authorities and their Jewish clients that actualised the potential for successful Jewish settlement. Once again, there developed a symbiotic relationship profitable to both parties. The authorities provided physical safety for the Jews and support for their business affairs; the Jews, in turn, constituted a valuable set of urban allies, provided general stimulation for the economy, and contributed directly and substantially to the coffers of their royal and baronial protectors.

With the evolution of Jewish economic activity in the direction of money-lending by the middle of the twelfth century, the alliance between the political authorities and their Jewish clients was sharply intensified. These authorities provided the support that enabled the Jewish lenders, at least in England and northern France, to build their business on the advancing of loans against land. Despite the profitability of this business and the brief emergence of highly successful individual Jewish lenders and Jewish lending networks, the costs of this specialisation were extremely high. Eventually, it so intensified the alliance between the authorities and the Jews as to endanger the smaller and weaker partners with radical exploitation.

While the Jews, their political allies and the Roman Catholic church interacted, across northern Europe, in ways that are not at all unprecedented, what is particularly striking in this new area of Jewish settlement is the unusually high level of anti-Jewish sentiment manifest from early on. In part, this antipathy flowed from some of the traditional church imagery of the Jews. Such imagery was, however, a constant in medieval Christian societies and does not explain why anti-Jewish sentiment should have run deeper in this area than elsewhere. A number of additional factors come to mind fairly readily. The Jews of northern Europe were immigrants and were clearly perceived as such. Since immigrants are rarely popular figures among the settled elements in society,

traditional Christian anti-Jewish stereotypes were much exacerbated by the animosities generally felt towards newcomers. With the move of these Jewish immigrants into the unpopular moneylending business, a third explosive antipathy was added to the mix. Finally, Christian burghers anxious to expand the independence of their towns and cities very much resented the Jewish alliance with baronial and royal authorities. The combination of these four elements – traditional Church stereotypes, Jewish immigrant status, Jewish economic activity and the effective alliance with the political authorities – resulted in an unusually high level of anti-Jewish feeling in the rapidly developing areas of northern Europe.

Identification of these four elements surely does not serve as full explanation of the potent hostility directed at the Jews of northern Europe. In addition to pinpointing specific aspects of Jewish existence that many in the Christian majority found objectionable, we must also be sensitive to the underlying anxiety level of majority society. In a broad way, this rapidly developing northern European civilisation – despite its remarkable efflorescence – was highly vulnerable and saw itself surrounded by a multiplicity of threats, some real and some imagined. The sense of threat much intensified concern with a variety of out-groups, including the Jews. This anxiety and heightened sensitivity to out-groups and the dangers they purportedly posed were increasingly prominent through the second half of the twelfth century, when precipitous growth and occasionally exaggerated enthusiasm and self-confidence gave way to a more balanced sense of achievement and vulnerability, leaving many in society feeling profoundly threatened.[14]

The most obvious negative stereotype of the Jews was the sense of their otherness and enmity. During the 1096 attacks, spun out of the popular agitation accompanying the First Crusade, the slogan of those bent on perpetrating violence against the Jews went something like the following:

Behold we travel to a distant land to do battle with the kings of that land. We take our souls in our hands in order to kill and to subjugate all those kingdoms that do not believe in the Crucified. How much more so [should we kill and subjugate] the Jews, who killed and crucified him.[15]

In effect, the crusading focus on the sacred sites of Christendom, in particular the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, aroused animosity against the Muslims who had allegedly maltreated that shrine and – yet more potently – against the Jews whose earlier actions had created the shrine.[16]

---

[14] See Moore (1987).

[15] This version of the crusading slogan is taken from the oldest of the Hebrew First Crusade narratives. It can be found in Chazan (1987), p. 225.

[16] For the thinking that animated the 1096 attacks, see Riley-Smith (1984), pp. 63–81.

Central to the crusading slogan was a sense of the Jews as the profoundest enemies of Christendom. Such a view was not advanced by the ecclesiastical leadership that initiated the crusading enterprise or by the major secular authorities who led the First Crusade; it was, however, deeply felt by some of the popular forces that coalesced across northern Europe to lend (unsuccessfully) their support to the crusading venture. Once this sense was articulated and acted upon during the spring months of 1096, no one – the ecclesiastical leadership, the secular authorities or the Jews themselves – could be oblivious to the potential of crusading for sparking anti-Jewish sentiment and activity. With the organisation of the Second Crusade, all three interested parties took steps to prevent repetition of the 1096 explosion of anti-Jewish feeling and action. The rationale for toleration of the Jews was reformulated and powerfully reiterated by the spiritual leader of the Second Crusade, Bernard of Clairvaux.[17] Beyond this important clarification of the status of the Jews, Bernard and the major rulers involved in the crusade took steps, successfully, to obviate a repetition of the bloodshed of 1096. The Jews as well were alert to the danger and protected themselves effectively. In a general way, crusading continued to provoke heightened animosities towards the Jews of northern Europe, but the organised crusades were almost devoid of significant anti-Jewish violence.[18]

Clearly, however, the animosities that had exploded in 1096 were not stilled by either the programmatic statements of Bernard of Clairvaux or the effective interventions of the leadership of both church and state. These animosities took new forms during the course of the twelfth century, when an enhanced sense of Jewish enmity emerged. Not only were the Jews perceived abstractly as the historic enemy of the Christian faith, they were felt to carry that enmity within themselves at all times and in everyday circumstances, ever poised to pounce on unsuspecting Christians and do them harm. As noted, the shift into the moneylending business served, in some measure, to sharpen this sense of Jewish animosity – moneylenders are rarely perceived as kindly and benign figures.

This intensified perception of Jewish malevolence expressed itself in a new and damaging stereotype. Jews were regularly accused of responsibility for the death of Christians, particularly Christian youngsters. The recurrent emphasis on the young age of the alleged victims is significant. It suggests the dastardliness of the Jews in fastening upon weak victims and – yet more important – reflects the baselessness of the alleged Jewish aggression. The image of the Jews as murderously hostile spread rapidly and endangered seriously the Jews of northern Europe.

[17] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Letters* 363, 365 (*Sancti Bernardi opera* VIII, pp. 311–17, 320–2). See Chazan (1980), pp. 101–4.
[18] See Chazan (1987), pp. 169–91.

It is interesting and instructive to note the protective statement elicited by the Jews from the late twelfth-century king of France, Louis VII. Approached by the frightened leaders of Paris Jewry in the wake of the particularly troubling Blois incident of 1171, King Louis rejected the accusation of gratuitous Jewish murder, offering the following reassurance: 'Therefore, be assured, all you Jews of my land, that I harbor no such suspicions. Even if a body be discovered in the city or in the countryside, I shall say nothing to the Jews in that regard. Therefore, be not frightened over this matter.'[19] This reassurance was received with grateful enthusiasm by the leaders of Paris Jewry. That it was necessary and that it should have been greeted with such jubilation indicate clearly how dangerous the new perception was.[20]

This new perception of the Jews as murderously hostile underwent yet further embellishment. During a century known for its power of imagination, certain clerical authors spun out the notion of Jewish malevolence in effectively fanciful directions. The initiator of this new sense of the profundity of Jewish hatred and hatefulness was Thomas of Monmouth, a monk of Norwich, who devoted his energies and abilities to making an extended case for the saintliness of a Norwich youngster, who had, according to Thomas, been slain by the Jews in 1144. The sainthood of the youngster, William of Norwich, was proven by the unique nature of his sweet childhood and by the evidence of miracles performed at his grave. Thomas' most telling argument for William's sainthood, however, was the evidence he claims to have uncovered as to the ritualised style of the murder. In copious detail, Thomas paints a picture of the Jews of Norwich ritually re-enacting their historic sin of crucifixion. The Jews are portrayed as fiendishly torturing the young lad and then raising him onto a cross. The portrait of Jewish inhumanity is stunning, augmented by Thomas' claim that this bestial behaviour was not at all localised and capricious, that such despicable brutality was rooted in the Jewish religious tradition.[21] The eleventh and twelfth centuries in northern Europe saw the emergence of unusually intense antipathy towards the Jews.

While this new antipathy was held fairly well in check by the authorities, they themselves were in no way immune from some of the same feelings. King Philip Augustus of France, the son of the monarch who had taken a decisive stand in 1171 against the new imagery of the Jews, came to share the conviction that Jews engage in ritualised murder of Christian youngsters, at least according to his clerical biographer Rigord of St Denis.[22] Towards the

---

[19] See Chazan (1980), pp. 115–16.

[20] For full discussion of the new stereotype of the Jew as contemporary enemy, see Chazan (1997), pp. 41–94.

[21] Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*. See the study by Langmuir (1984).

[22] Chazan (1980), pp. 288–9.

end of the twelfth century, we encounter a few instances of baronial and royal action predicated upon Jewish culpability for murder of Christian youngsters. In 1171, in the town of Blois, an accusation was levelled against a Jew of that town by a Christian, who claimed that he had witnessed the Jew slipping the body of a Christian youngster into the rapidly flowing waters of the Loire river. Support for the claim lay in the fact that the witness' horse had been frightened and had refused subsequently to drink from the river. The situation in Blois was complex, involving *inter alia* the count's Jewish mistress. In any event, the count, Theobald of Blois, a major figure in mid-twelfth-century French political life and brother-in-law of King Louis VII, eventually ordered the burning of more than thirty Jews, based on the alleged culpability of that Jewish community for a crime for which no evidence was ever produced.[23] Two decades later, the son and successor of Louis VII, Philip Augustus, was responsible for the burning of more than eighty Jews in a neighbouring principality, again on the basis of allegations of Jewish culpability in the death of a Christian.[24] Prosecution of Jews on this charge by major political authorities constitutes a decided turn for the worse in the critical alliance between the Jews and their baronial and royal protectors.

In a more general way, King Philip Augustus, whose reign spans the final decades covered in this volume and the opening decades of the thirteenth century, reflects a number of deleterious shifts in the earlier alliance between the authorities and the Jews. Three changes deserve special attention. The first is the espousal of popular anti-Jewish canards, as already noted. The second involves support for some of the limitations on Jewish behaviour lobbied for with increasing intensity by the leadership of the church. By the first decade of the thirteenth century, Philip Augustus had begun to enact for example some of the restrictions on Jewish usury that the church had demanded. Finally, Philip Augustus was among the first to expropriate Jewish goods on a massive scale, well beyond the bounds of normal and reasonable taxation. We might close the brief discussion of the reign of this important king by noting the precedent-setting expulsion of the Jews from his domain. While he eventually reintroduced the Jews into his land, in the process exploiting their financial activities more consistently and effectively, the precedent he set was a chilling one, to be emulated by a number of his successors and by rulers elsewhere across northern Europe.[25]

Thus, the overall sense which emerges is that of northern European Jewry developing with remarkable rapidity during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, this rapid development was compromised in some measure by the

---

[23] For analysis of this event, see Spiegel (1967) and Chazan (1968).

[24] For an analysis of this event, see Chazan (1969).

[25] On the important reign of Philip Augustus, see Chazan (1973), pp. 63–99, and Jordan (1989), pp. 1–90.

evidence of profound and intensifying hostility flowing from many sectors of Christian society, by increasing agitation for limitations on Jewish activity from the leadership of the church, and by deterioration of the crucial relationship between the Jews and their baronial and royal overlords. By the closing decades of the twelfth century, the zenith of Jewish fortunes in this rapidly developing area had been passed and the decline that was to express itself more forcefully through the thirteenth century was well under way.

Looking back over the foregoing discussion, we find, as suggested at the outset, a striking combination of diversity of Jewish circumstances and rapid change. Older, larger, better-established and more stable Jewish communities ringed the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; the newer and smaller Jewish settlements further westward underwent considerable transition during the two centuries addressed in this volume. In particular, the Jewish community of Spain lived through the beginnings of the reconquest of the peninsula, encountered in the process considerable danger, but emerged successfully from the period of flux by fashioning an effective alliance with the new Christian authorities. The community that underwent the most radical change of all was surely the young Jewry of northern Europe. Founded in the late tenth century, this young Jewry grew rapidly during the eleventh and early twelfth centuries and flourished down into the middle decades of the twelfth century. It quickly encountered powerful new pressures during the second half of the twelfth century, pressures destined to eliminate Jewish life from the western areas of northern Europe by the early fourteenth century and to weaken drastically Jewish life in Germany at that juncture as well. To be sure, the new branch of the Jewish people created during the eleventh and twelfth centuries exhibited considerable hardiness and creativity. Its failure to strike roots in the more advanced westerly areas of northern Europe – England and France – did not mean the end of its history. On the contrary, it continued its existence in the central areas of northern Europe and built for itself a new and more lasting centre in the late-blooming kingdom of Poland in eastern Europe. The branch of the Jewish people roughly designated Ashkenazic was a creation of the tenth to twelfth centuries; the obstacles it encountered during the latter decades of this period weakened but did not destroy this nascent community.

LIFE WITHIN THE JEWISH FOLD

Our focus thus far has been on the material circumstances of Jewish existence – its economic foundations, the political framework within which the Jews lived, and their relationships with the majority populations in whose midst they found themselves. The time has come to turn our attention inward, to examine central features of Jewish life within the relatively self-contained Jewish

community. We should note at the outset that living within a more-or-less autonomous community was in no way unique to the Jews during this period. All through Europe and the Mediterranean basin, societies were organised into a congeries of such self-contained groupings. In both Islamic and Christian territories, the hierarchies of church and state anticipated such a pattern of Jewish living, buttressed the authority of the Jewish community and exploited that community for their own purposes. To be sure, the broader heterogeneity of the Muslim world tended to make the Jewish community less conspicuous than it was in the more homogeneous Christian ambience. In no area, however, was the existence of a semi-independent Jewish community questionable or problematic.

Throughout Europe and the Mediterranean basin, the locus of power within the Jewish world lay in the local Jewish community. Jewish enclaves of all sizes regularly evolved an effective self-governing apparatus designed to perform a variety of functions and to serve a variety of interests. The sources of power for this self-governing apparatus were threefold. The non-Jewish authorities, for their purposes, were very much interested in fostering Jewish semi-autonomy, which lifted a number of burdens from their shoulders. The Jewish self-governing apparatus meant, in effect, that the Jews would police themselves and that they would raise and deliver the requisite tax levies. At the same time, the Jews themselves were committed to such internal organisation. For the Jews, well aware of their vulnerable minority status, the organised Jewish community offered the most effective possible purveyor of a range of necessary services, both for relating to the non-Jewish world round about and for meeting a range of internal needs. Finally, medieval Jews perceived the semi-autonomous Jewish community and its agencies to be part and parcel of the religious tradition to which they were intensely committed. They found the roots of their system of self-government in that religious tradition and looked regularly to their religious literature for guidance in organising and administering their communal affairs.[26]

The tripartite undergirding of Jewish communal authority is nicely reflected in the set of sanctions at the disposal of the Jewish community and its leadership. These sanctions functioned implicitly at all times in communal life, but are most visible at those points when challenges were mounted against the duly empowered leaders. When these leaders were challenged, the first line of recourse was to religious suasion, with the communal leadership arguing that acceptance of its dictates constituted a normal responsibility of every Jew. Rejection of the rulings of the communal leadership was seen as a severe breach of Jewish law.

[26] The classic study of internal Jewish communal organisation is Baron (1948).

When appeal to the religious underpinnings of communal authority was unsuccessful, the next step involved exploitation of the cohesion of the community as a whole, specifically invocation of the sanction of excommunication. In effect, Jews who were willing to accept the authority of the duly constituted leadership were ordered to refrain from contact with those Jews who were in the process of challenging that leadership. This set of sanctions was somewhat problematic, and there was some reluctance to invoke the weapon of excommunication, which was powerful but fraught with dangers. There were two threats associated with its utilisation. The first involved the possibility of weak response to invocation of the ban of excommunication. Successful use of the ban meant that members of the community would support the leadership and enforce its decree; a lukewarm communal response in effect laid bare grievous weakness on the part of the communal leaders. On the other hand a thoroughly effective ban meant the possibility of total isolation of the recalcitrant Jews, leaving them with no recourse but to abandon the specific community physically or – yet worse, from the Jewish perspective – to abandon Judaism altogether in favour of one of the other faith alternatives. Thus, the ban of excommunication was a potent and effective weapon, but one to be used sparingly and judiciously.

Yet more potent and yet more dangerous was a third sanction: appeal to the non-Jewish authorities. Such appeals did take place during the middle ages, and Jews who overtly challenged the authority of their communal leadership could find themselves at the mercy of the baronial or royal authorities. The leadership of the Jewish community was, wisely, most reluctant to appeal to these outside authorities. The communal leadership had at its disposal powerful weapons, but, as is usually the case, judicious use of these weapons was always a necessity.

The same tripartite foundations of Jewish communal authority are reflected in the groups that achieved power within the community. In effect, two groupings reached the pinnacle of power within the Jewish community, the elites of religious learning and of wealth and power. The standing of the rabbis in the medieval Jewish world was primarily a function of their religious learning. They were the guides to fulfilment of the demands of Jewish law. Thus, given the religious underpinnings of the Jewish communal structure, it was inevitable that the rabbis would play a significant role in leadership. The need for community cohesion and the support of the non-Jewish authorities brought to the fore the elite of wealth and power. Wealthy Jews exercised economic power within the Jewish fold; a formal leadership role in the Jewish communal apparatus simply recognised the reality of such economic power. Since the support of the non-Jewish authorities was critical to the Jewish community and since the elite of wealth and power was likely to have the most ready access into non-Jewish

court circles, the internal tendency towards the ascendancy of the wealthy was reinforced.

The question that remains concerns the relationships between these two elites, the elite of rabbinic learning and the elite of wealth and power. A variety of possibilities and realities existed. In some instances, the two authorities were merged in the same individuals or families. Even when separate groupings were involved, the two elites generally meshed well and cooperated effectively. To be sure, on occasion, they fell into strife and contention, with each leadership faction jealous of its own prerogatives.

The range of services provided by the semi-autonomous Jewish community was broad and encompassing. On the one hand, the communal structure served as a kind of foreign office for the Jewish community. One of the communal organisation's most important functions involved the assessment and collection of taxes earmarked for the non-Jewish rulers. Since such taxation was assumed by both Islamic and Christian authorities to be an integral element in the symbiotic relationship between ruler and ruled, effective collection of such funds was a critical function of the communal apparatus. Beyond this, the organised community served as a vehicle for representing the non-Jewish authorities to the Jews and vice versa. In particular, it was the responsibility of the empowered Jewish leadership to advance the concerns of its Jewish constituency before the non-Jewish authorities that exercised extensive control over Jewish life.

Complementing these 'foreign affairs' functions was a set of internal activities as well. The communal leadership preserved peace and harmony within the Jewish community, settling disputes through the medium of the Jewish courts and policing the internal affairs of the Jews. The organised community bore responsibility for providing a panoply of services, ranging from social to educational to religious. Within the Jewish world of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was full awareness of the range of these activities and pride in the capacity of the communal structures to provide such services.

The level of effectiveness of the communal structures varied considerably, depending on a number of considerations. The size of the individual communities certainly had an impact. In a very general way, the larger the particular community the greater its fiscal resources and its political leverage. At the same time, enhanced numbers brought in their wake the danger of diminished personal contact, failure of communication and internal divisiveness. Communal organisation in the smaller and more homogenous Jewish enclaves was particularly tight and effective. Socioeconomic heterogeneity also played a role in the level of cohesion and effectiveness in a given community. There was considerable internal tension and conflict in some of the large and economically diversified Jewish communities in the Muslim world. When socioeconomic

tensions were paralleled by religious and cultural cleavages as well, there was potential for extensive intra-communal conflict.

Although individuals of great wealth and social standing were potentially useful agents of the Jewish community, such individuals also presented the possibility of excessive independence and abuse of authority. While there was a decidedly democratic – or at least democratically oligarchic – tinge to the internal life of the Jewish community, the opportunity for occasional abuse of power by well-placed individuals did recurrently manifest itself.

Although the local Jewish settlement was the locus of most power in the medieval Jewish world, political maturation inevitably entailed the evolution of centralised Jewish authority, both out of the needs of the non-Jewish rulers and out of the needs of internal Jewish life. In the eastern Mediterranean, centralised Jewish authority was a reality well before the eleventh century, two major agencies of such centralised authority long antedating the year 1000. The first of these agencies was the exilarchate. The office of *rosh golah* derived its authority internally from purported Davidic descent; in more practical terms, its powers flowed from the support of the ʿAbbasid caliphate. At its height, the exilarchate was a potent institution, exercising authority over Jewish communities from Mesopotamia westward through the Mediterranean basin. By the eleventh century, the declining fortunes of the ʿAbbasid caliphate entailed serious erosion in the authority of the *rosh golah*. In effect, the range of communities heedful of his authority was increasingly circumscribed, with regional officials stepping in to fill the vacuum left by the dissolving power of the exilarch. As areas of the once unified Muslim world declared their independence from the caliphate, it was in the interest of the new Muslim rulers to find for their Jews a successor authority that would eliminate links to the Mesopotamian centre and would provide an effective conduit of authority between these new Muslim rulers and their Jewish subjects.

There was a second centralised authority that existed in the medieval Muslim world, again long antedating the eleventh century, the great rabbinic academies of Sura and Pumbaditha. Tracing their roots back into the third and fourth centuries, these academies, located like the exilarchate in Baghdad, the capital city of the ʿAbbasid caliphate, served as the training grounds for rabbinic leadership and as the instance of last resort for clarification of uncertain aspects of Jewish law. Again, given the centrality of adherence to this law in medieval Jewish life, the power of such a rabbinic authority of last resort was enormous. Rarely in its history has the Jewish world possessed the kind of unifying rabbinic institutions embodied in these academies. Queries were sent from around the Jewish world for the judgement of one of these two great centres.

Not surprisingly, the loss of centralisation in the broader Muslim world had an impact on the standing of these great academies, although their fate was

hardly linked to that of the caliphate so directly as was the fate of the exilarchate. None the less, in more gradual fashion, the Jews of the westerly sectors of the Mediterranean basin begin to loosen the grip of the great academies by the twelfth century. One of the functions of Abraham ibn Daud's *Safer ha-Kabbalah* was to proclaim the intellectual independence of Iberian Jewry from the Mesopotamian academies. Similarly, part of the thrust of Maimonides' great compendium of Jewish law was to proclaim growing independence from the hegemony of the Mesopotamian academies. Once again, we sense a Jewish world in flux.

Our depiction thus far of a diversified set of Jewish settlements located in a larger political and social context, yet organised internally towards maximising Jewish power and safety and for ensuring the preservation of Jewish tradition, alerts us to one of the central tensions in medieval Jewish existence, the simultaneous cultural relating to both the Jewish past and the surrounding contemporary non-Jewish environment. Two broad generalisations are accurate with respect to this tension. On the one hand, Jews all through the Mediterranean basin and all across the European continent were linguistically integrated into their environment. While Hebrew remained in use as a language of the Jewish intellectual heritage, of the liturgy and of some measure of written communication, the spoken language all across this vast area was that of majority society. Even migrating Jews, such as those who were the founders of early Ashkenazic Jewry, quickly abandoned the language with which they immigrated in favour of the language of their new milieu. At the same time, Jews all across this vast area saw themselves as the possessors of unique religious truth adumbrated in a rich historical and literary tradition; the societies in which they found themselves were judged aberrant in their religious vision and deficient in their historical and intellectual achievement. While these two generalisations define the polarities in the relationship of the Jews to their cultural environment, there was much latitude left for a variety of stances towards this non-Jewish cultural ambience, ranging from enthusiastic acceptance of many of the cultural forms popular in the environment to a strong recoiling from the outside world, its norms and forms.

The set of Jewish communities best integrated culturally into their environment was undoubtedly the Jewry of the Muslim areas of the Mediterranean basin. In this Jewry, Arabic came to play a role in literary productivity more extensive than that accorded by any other medieval Jewry to the language of the non-Jewish majority. Cultural creativity in almost all genres was expressed in Arabic. The Bible was translated into Arabic for Jewish use; important works of biblical commentary were produced in Arabic; studies of Jewish law were written in Arabic; philosophical and scientific speculation was couched in Arabic. That works in the newer cultural pursuits, like scientific and philosophic

speculation, were composed in Arabic is perhaps less surprising than the utilisation of Arabic in some of the more traditional domains of Jewish literary activity. Indeed, the appearance of new Jewish cultural interests, like scientific exploration, philosophical rumination and secular poetry, reveals yet another dimension of cultural accommodation. Many – but surely not all – segments of the Jewish community in the Muslim ambience were profoundly attracted to the culture of the larger environment. Such attraction did not mean, for the majority of the Jews thus attracted, desertion of the Jewish community, its faith and its culture; these Jews were convinced that Jewish tradition was fully compatible with the best in general culture, indeed that Jewish tradition was considerably reinforced by its integration with current cultural norms.

Jews in the Christian ambience of western Europe were somewhat less well integrated, both linguistically and culturally, into their environment. Hebrew played a more central role in the literary creativity of these Jewish communities than it did among the Jews in the Muslim world, and there is far less evidence of attraction to the new genres of culture and literature than among the Jews in the Muslim ambience. The Jews in the Christian orbit show more than simply lack of attraction to the language and cultural forms of surrounding society; they exhibit a pronounced tendency towards overt resistance to and denigration of majority culture as well. This is not to say that the Jews in the Muslim milieu were accepting of Islam or uninterested in articulating their disagreement with it. There was, inevitably, considerable expression of disagreement with the regnant Islamic faith, and with the Christian faith as well, by these Jews. However, the frequency and intensity with which the regnant faith was disputed and militantly rejected was clearly more pronounced in the Christian orbit. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as western Christendom experienced surging militancy in its stance towards other faiths, expressed *inter alia* in crusading and intensified polemics, the Jews in this part of the world sharpened their opposition to the vision that dominated the life of the majority society in which they found themselves.[27]

A literary expression of this Jewish engagement with Christianity was the emergence, during the twelfth century, of polemical writing as a significant genre of Jewish literary creativity in the Christian world. While anti-Muslim and anti-Christian sentiments had been embedded in prior Jewish literature, the perceived need to address systematically the claims of Christianity, to rebut those claims and to provide a Jewish counter-attack against the Christian faith indicates a new sense of engagement with an aggressive Christian milieu. The late twelfth century provides us with our first two significant works of anti-Christian polemics, the *Safer ha-Berit* of the well-known Joseph Kimhi and

---

[27] For a sense of the intensified Christian polemic of the twelfth century, see Abulafia (1995).

the *Milhamot ha-Shem* of the unknown Jacob ben Reuben, both of southern French provenance.[28] Of the two, the latter is by far the more impressive. Couched in appealing dialogue format, the work purports to be the result of extensive conversation between a Jew and a friendly but insistent Christian cleric. The first chapter of the work addresses a number of broad theological issues; the second to tenth chapters proceed through major books of the Hebrew Bible, combating Christological claims associated with key verses; the eleventh chapter mounts an attack on the New Testament and its religious thinking; the twelfth and closing chapter argues that the messianic coming must surely lie in the future rather than in the past. This is a carefully organised and thorough defence of Jewish belief and a sharp attack on Christianity; it remained influential throughout the middle ages.

The young Jewry of northern Europe seems to have felt most distant from surrounding culture and most challenged by it. While it has left us no twelfth-century polemical works, the sense of engaged rejection of Christian claims and strong restatement of Jewish counter-views emerges both from the later thirteenth-century polemical works, which often cite twelfth-century rabbis and their purported discussions with Christian clergymen, and from the biblical commentaries of twelfth-century Ashkenazic Jews, which are replete with allusions to Christian claims and with rejection of these claims.[29] The most impressive evidence of this Ashkenazic engagement with Christianity and rejection of it comes not from literature, however, but from the patterns of Jewish behaviour during the violent assaults associated with the First Crusade.

The assaults of 1096 have already been noted, as evidence of the powerful antipathy that greeted the migrating Jews early in their settlement in northern Europe. What is of interest at this juncture is the Jewish response to this First Crusade violence.[30] The attacks on the Jews of the Rhineland in 1096 were clearly and accurately perceived by these Jews as fundamentally religious in nature, no matter what other factors may have been involved. What was particularly striking to the Jews was the call to conversion, which was omnipresent during these assaults. While conversion always resulted in the saving of life and while those who did convert under duress were quickly permitted to return to the Jewish fold, the antipathy to Christianity among the Rhineland Jews and the need to proclaim publicly and powerfully unyielding allegiance to Judaism were so intense that these Jews performed one of the most remarkable acts of martyrdom in the history of the Jewish people. Jews took their own lives and the lives of their kinsmen, moved by radical interpretation of traditional Jewish

---

[28] Joseph Kimhi, *Sefer ha-Berit* and Jacob ben Reuben, *Milhamot ha-Shem*. The latter has not yet been translated into English.

[29] See especially the thirteenth-century *Sefer Nizzahon Yashan*.

[30] See Chazan (1987), pp. 85–136.

symbols. No opportunity was lost to vilify the opposing faith and to restate as dramatically as possible the commitment of men, women and children to the God of Israel. The behaviours and symbols that developed so spontaneously during the spring months of 1096 show us a Jewry deeply engaged with what it perceived to be an aggressive and dangerous foe and anxious to proclaim as forcefully as possible rejection of this competing faith system. To be sure, it can well be argued that, in their militancy and radical symbolism, these Jews in fact betray considerable immersion in their environment and absorption of its spirit.[31] While that in fact seems very much the case, what should be emphasised for our purposes is the overt rejection of the surrounding culture, so much sharper and more intense than what we encounter among the Jews in the medieval Muslim world.

The Jews of Europe and the Mediterranean basin thus found themselves, through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, poised between two cultures, that of the majority society that surrounded them and their own heritage, which dominated the life of the Jewish community that encapsulated them. Sometimes the thrust was towards amalgamation of the two, sometimes towards rejection of the external in favour of the internal. In either case, these Jews were profoundly stimulated by one of the most creative epochs in western history, and the end result, within these Jewish communities, was an outburst of cultural achievement rarely equalled in the annals of the Jewish people. In the most traditional disciplines of Jewish culture, innovative approaches were introduced, with striking results. At the same time, radically new avenues of intellectual and spiritual searching were essayed. The net result is dazzling; the achievements in both the old and new domains influenced Jewish life for centuries to come.

A few broad characteristics of this cultural efflorescence should be noted. The first has to do with the geography of this creativity. The Jewish minority all across Europe and the Mediterranean basin participated richly in the intellectual and spiritual innovation. Indeed, one of the features of this period was enhanced movement from area to area, with gifted individuals and groups bringing the fruits of one area's creativity elsewhere. The most striking example of this movement of cultural creativity was the migration of Moses ben Maimon from his Spanish birthplace to a haven in the eastern Mediterranean, bringing with him the fruits of his more westerly upbringing and reinforcing that legacy with immersion into the intellectual life of his new home. Every area under consideration in this chapter participated in the remarkable creativity of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

---

[31] This argument is made in Chazan (1987), pp. 85–136. It is extended to the patterns of Jewish historical narration that emerged in the wake of 1096 in Chazan (2000).

Noteworthy also is the wide-ranging creative activity of many of the out-standing individual figures of this period. Scholars of the twentieth century often speak of a 'twelfth-century renaissance'. While there has been considerable debate concerning the merits or shortcomings of this designation, many of the giants of eleventh- and twelfth-century Jewish creativity do in fact show a kind of 'renaissance' style, a boundless energy and activity that enabled them to produce in widely disparate areas of human achievement: Samuel ibn Nagrela – warrior, statesman, traditional Jewish scholar, poet of distinction; Solomon ibn Gabirol – superbly sensitive poet and innovative philosophic speculator; Solomon ben Isaac – Bible commentator supreme, guide to the intricacies of the entire talmudic corpus; Jacob ben Meir – political activist and leader, in-novator of a new-style talmudic study destined to dominate traditional Jewish learning down to the present; Judah ha-Levi – physician, philosopher, perhaps the greatest of the medieval Jewish poets; Moses ben Maimon – surely the most staggering of all – communal leader, expert physician, master of Jewish law, the most accomplished and influential of the medieval Jewish philosophers. These are but a dominant handful of wide-ranging geniuses; their numbers could be easily augmented. The wellsprings of their unusual energy and ability are not recoverable to historical analysis; it would be folly, however, not to recognise the reality of such an abundance of remarkably gifted and multi-dimensional figures.

Let us look briefly at cultural creativity in a few of the areas of Jewish intellectual endeavour, both traditional and innovative. The area of intellectual activity most central to the life of the Jewish community and to the curriculum of the institutions of Jewish learning was the study and exposition of Jewish law. As we have already seen, the Jewish community attempted to order itself according to the dictates of *halakhah* (Jewish law), and the same was certainly true for individuals within the community, who strove to organise their familial and personal lives in accordance with the demands of *halakhah*. Exposition, clarification and expansion of Jewish law took place in three key modes: the posing of vexing questions of Jewish law to legal experts and the eliciting of their responses, which then took on the force of legal norm; the careful study of the classics of Jewish law, in particular the mammoth Babylonian Talmud, in the course of which new understandings of the law were inevitably generated; the recurrent codification of an ever-expanding corpus of legal decisions and textual insights. In all three modalities of Jewish law, the eleventh and twelfth centuries show remarkable creativity.

In the realm of responsa literature, the literature of legal query and author-itative response, probably the most significant development was the decline of the Babylonian academies, the decreasing reliance on their expertise for the clarification of legal norms, and the efflorescence of more localised authorities,

who became the addressees for the legal questions that beset their contemporaries. The responsa of many of the rabbinic leaders of this period came to occupy an honoured place in subsequent Jewish legal history.

Yet more exciting developments were taking place in the realm of talmudic study and commentary. While talmudic study had been the staple of the Jewish curriculum for many centuries, the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw innovations that set the course for this field of Jewish intellectual activity for centuries to come. The two most important developments in this sphere took place, in a striking way, in the young Jewry of northern Europe. The first was the authoritative commentary of Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes. A native of Champagne in north-eastern France, Rashi (the acronym by which he is most widely known) made his way to the great early Rhineland academies and then returned to his native soil to continue and expand the Rhineland legacy he had absorbed. Rashi's commentary to the Babylonian Talmud is a remarkable achievement; it has become so much the standard commentary that, over the centuries, to study that difficult text has meant inevitably to be guided through its intricacies by Rashi's observations on the meaning of terms and the flow of the argument. It is worth noting in passing that problematic terms were often translated by Rashi into the French vernacular of his environment, affording both an index of the linguistic assimilation of his community and a valuable source for the Old French of that period.

Out of Rashi's immediate following, indeed out of his family, came a remarkable further development in talmudic study, the school of the Tosafists. These twelfth-century students of the talmudic text (with Rashi's commentary assumed) intensified their investigation of the Babylonian Talmud, in particular insisting upon the internal coherence of the entire vast corpus. The search for coherence and consistency opened new vistas in the understanding of the talmudic text, eventuating in numerous collections of Tosafist glosses, including one (seemingly a late thirteenth-century compilation) that collected some of the major statements of the earlier figures and came to serve as the authoritative statement of the school. The innovative dialectical methodology elaborated in the twelfth-century academies of northern Europe, like the earlier commentary of Rashi, came to dominate subsequent talmudic study worldwide.[32] Rashi and the Tosafists set a new course for a venerable discipline.

Similar innovation is notable in the domain of halakhic codification. The changing patterns of intellectual and religious authority within the Jewish world, the proliferation of responsa literature and the findings of innovative talmudic exegesis conspired to create riches of legal material that begged for

---

[32] The classic study of this development is by Urbach (1986). It is to be hoped that this important work will eventually be available to a broader readership through an English translation.

effective assimilation and presentation. All across the Jewish world, efforts at encompassing the new learning in clear and usable legal manuals abounded. For the purposes of this extremely brief review, the work that forms the capstone to this new effort was undoubtedly the *Mishneh Torah* of Moses ben Maimon.[33] Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* is a legal compilation with a political agenda and an innovative style. Its majesty lies in at least five directions: the author's control of copious rabbinic materials; the strikingly decisive posture adopted towards problematic issues of Jewish law; the unusually clear Hebrew idiom into which Maimonides was able to adapt the linguistic mélange of both talmudic and post-talmudic legal literature; the coherent organisational format he was able to create and into which he was able to force a rich and loose body of material; the expansion of *halakhah* to include significant issues of belief and behaviour often relegated to a non-halakhic limbo by others. The majesty of the achievement has inspired, ever since, awed respect; its innovativeness and assertiveness have resulted in considerable criticism and distancing. It certainly never achieved, across the Jewish world, the kind of comfortable reverence won by the exegetical efforts of Rashi and the Tosafists.

   While the study and expansion of Jewish law was the cornerstone of intellectual activity all across the Jewish world, study of the Hebrew Bible occupied a highly respectable second place. For Jews, the Bible was, in part, the wellspring of the law to which they were committed; beyond its legal import, it offered the broadest possible guidance for human living through a combination of direct statement of principles and the indirect but potent modelling provided by key hero figures. In addition, the Bible, as the revealed word of God, formed the ultimate base for debate with the other western monotheistic faiths. In argumentation with these other faith communities, the authority that overshadowed all others was the truth directly communicated by God to his human adherents. In a variety of ways then, accurate understanding of the biblical legacy was a *sine qua non* for medieval Jewry; this centrality is again reflected in the little we know of the curriculum of Jewish schools and in the fuller information we have of Jewish literary output.

   The eleventh and twelfth centuries constitute a period of outstanding creativity in Jewish biblical exegesis. While the exegetical format is ostensibly simple and straightforward, leaving little room for innovation, in fact biblical exegesis offered the widest possible latitude for the penetration of new styles of thought and new issues. During this period, the scientific impulse so broadly observable in both the Muslim and the Christian spheres gave rise, *inter alia*, to a concern with language and philology that made its way into biblical

---

[33] Numerous books of Maimonides' majestic code are available in English translation in the Yale Judaica Series. See the overview provided by Twersky (1980).

exegesis with considerable impact. The commentaries of the Spanish Abraham ibn Ezra, which have been widely utilised ever since in the Jewish world, provide our best sense of the rich insight that accrues from a cautious and rather hardheaded philological approach to the biblical text.

Once more, it was the northern French Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes who was successful in constructing a biblical commentary that met a variety of needs and that won, as a result, the admiration and devotion of subsequent generations, down to the present.[34] Rashi's Bible commentary has been every bit as popular as his commentary on the Babylonian Talmud. With the exception of the Bible itself, it has been the most widely printed Hebrew book of all times. The popularity of the Rashi commentary seems to reside in its fairly simple style and in its eclecticism. While Rashi was aware of some of the philological advances made on the Iberian peninsula and utilised them effectively, there is none of the arid intellectualism often felt in the commentaries of Abraham ibn Ezra. Instead, Rashi seems able to shuttle with ease among philology (including again a propensity for translation of opaque terminology into the French of his milieu), concern with the simple and unadorned meaning of the text, and inclusion of traditional rabbinic insight. The end result is a commentary that addresses the widest possible range of issues and thereby speaks to a broad spectrum of Jewish readers.

In the field of biblical exegesis, as in the field of talmudic study, Rashi seems to have inspired the emergence of innovative work on the part of a set of successors. In northern France, during the twelfth century, a school of Bible commentators very much devoted to Rashi's concern with the plain meaning of the text developed and flourished. While there are clear linkages between this tendency among Jewish commentators and parallel inclinations in the Christian ambience of the period, modern scholarship has yet to unravel all the complexities of these linkages.[35] The work of Rashi and his northern European successors shows considerable awareness of the biblically grounded arguments of the contemporary Christian world and goes to considerable lengths to rebut these arguments, based on what the Jewish authors perceived as the simple and contextually accurate meaning of the biblical text. We have noted, at an earlier point, the first full-length Jewish polemical works, stemming from twelfth-century southern France, and their heavy concentration on biblical exegesis. Clearly, all across the Jewish world, the internal needs of the Jewish community, the external pressures exerted by the rival faith communities and the intellectual advances of the period combined to make this an epoch of unusual creativity in explication of the Bible.

---

[34] For a translation see Rashi, *Commentary*, trans. Rosenbaum and Silbermann.
[35] For path-breaking work in this area, see Smalley (1952). Cf. the recent essays in Kamin (1991).

Ongoing study of the Talmud and the Bible constitute the most traditional of Jewish intellectual activities. At the same time that these traditional disciplines were being pursued, new avenues of cultural activity were being opened, very much under the influence of the broader societal ambience. While Jews had, for centuries, been involved in the composition of liturgical poetry, the poetic creativity of the medieval Muslim world inspired significant stylistic innovation in synagogal poetry and the introduction of secular poetry into the mix of Jewish cultural activities.[36] Written in Hebrew, this new secular poetry addressed a wide range of human experience, some highly stylised and some fresh and full of genuine feeling. Some of the stylised topics included nature poetry, wine songs, lavish encomia to wealthy and powerful patrons, poetry addressed to love objects of all kinds. Stylisation never completely obscured the personality of the poet. Thus, the aggressive self-confidence of the eleventh-century warrior-statesman-poet Samuel ibn Nagrela lies at the core of his self-centred vision of the world, while the melancholy of his struggling and sickly contemporary Solomon ibn Gabirol finds expression in the projection of his own profoundly personal torment onto the world about him.

The height of poetic achievement during this period – and indeed for medieval Jewry in its entirety – came in the twelfth-century poetry of Judah ha-Levi. Master of the Hebrew idiom to a remarkable degree and schooled in the poetics of the period, Judah ha-Levi's vision of a Jewish world gone awry and his sense of core Jewish experience very much bound up with the Holy Land enabled him to harness his poetic facility to a compelling programme and to create out of the combination poetry of the highest order. Indeed, with much of his poetry, the facile distinction between religious and secular poetry breaks down, with the personal vision of the poet so intensely if idiosyncratically religious as to blur altogether the lines of demarcation. The eleventh and twelfth centuries constitute the height of achievement in this newly developed outlet for medieval Jewish cultural creativity.

The same is true for philosophic speculation. While the tenth century had seen the kindling of concern with philosophic issues, the eleventh and twelfth centuries brought that concern to its highest level of sophistication. The denotation 'philosophy' covers a broad range of intellectual endeavour. In its purest sense, Jewish philosophic speculation involved a dispassionate search, very heavily indebted to Greek tradition in its Arabic formulation, for fundamental metaphysical truth. A striking example of such a search for metaphysical truth can be found in Solomon ibn Gabirol's *Fountain of Life*. The work was

---

[36] See the valuable translations and commentaries in Scheindlin (1986) and (1991). See also Brann (1991).

so neutral in its relation to the monotheistic traditions that its author, whose identity had been obscured, was variously considered to be either Muslim or Christian. Only modern scholarship has re-established the author as the Jew ibn Gabirol. Such ignorance as to the religious identity of the author indicates a work occupied with the broadest levels of philosophic speculation. At the other extreme, there is the well-known 'philosophic' dialogue, the *Kuzari*, written by Judah ha-Levi. This ostensibly philosophic work in fact includes sophisticated argumentation against the kind of broad speculation encountered in ibn Gabirol, emphasising instead immediate and irreducible historical experience.

While these two works show us the extremes of eleventh- and twelfth-century Jewish philosophic endeavour, in fact the most widely documented tendency lies somewhere in the middle, in the realm of philosophic defence of Judaism and its traditions. For neither the first nor last time in their history, the Jews, stung by the perceived disparity between their own heritage and outside intellectual currents of power and appeal, set about to construct a reasoned case for the congruity of the Jewish faith and the regnant intellectual system. The master synthesiser between traditional Judaism and Graeco-Arabic philosophy was Maimonides, who expressed his synthesis in a variety of settings, ranging from his halakhic and exoteric *Mishneh-Torah* to his speculative and esoteric *Guide of the Perplexed*.[37] The core of the Maimonidean approach lay in command of both traditions and in efforts at a synthesis that would prove the broad compatibility of the two. As was true for the innovative sphere of secular poetry, so too philosophic speculation was satisfying – and sometimes indispensable – for certain segments of the Jewish world, while at the same time problematic and threatening for others. Although the stature of Maimonides in the traditional discipline of Jewish law precluded widespread attack on him directly, the assault on his students and their alleged distortions of his doctrine began by the end of our period and serves subsequently as a convenient barometer of intra-communal tensions within the Jewish world. Once more, philosophic speculation was also linked to the ongoing tensions among the three monotheistic faith communities, with each claiming that its religious vision – and only its religious vision – is compatible with philosophic truth.

One last area of Jewish creative endeavour deserves mention, an area that does not fall conveniently into the categories of traditional or innovative. Mystical speculation had long been an element in Jewish spirituality. The twelfth century, in both southern and northern Europe, saw an upsurge in mystical thinking that was destined to explode into a high level of creativity during the

---

[37] Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*.

thirteenth century. In southern France, the twelfth-century *Sefer ha-Bahir* signals the onset of invigorated mystical speculation, and in northern Europe the German Pietists elaborated both a pietistic programme and a richly symbolic mystical vision.[38] The relation between this upsurge and the mysticism of the broader ambience has not yet been fully clarified, since the traditional terminology in which mystical speculation is couched makes it extremely difficult to assess external influences. Unlike the spheres of secular poetry or philosophic rumination, where the basic stylistic influences of external cultures cannot be gainsaid, identifying sources for traditionally formulated mystical doctrines is difficult and perhaps even impossible. In any case, the mystical speculation of this period did not achieve the level of accomplishment reached in secular poetry or in philosophy; on the other hand, while creativity in these two innovative spheres fairly quickly subsided, the mystical innovativeness of the twelfth century serves only as prelude to more profound achievement during the following century and more lasting impact on subsequent medieval Jewish spirituality.

Thus, in whatever direction we turn, whether towards the most traditional of Jewish intellectual disciplines or the most innovative, these two centuries are revealed as an epoch of extraordinary intellectual and spiritual exploration and achievement. Deeply engrossed in their own tradition and, at the same time, profoundly stimulated and challenged by a vital majority ambience, the Jews of this period created at a level rarely achieved in their history.

SOME CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The eleventh and twelfth centuries constitute a period of flux for the heterogeneous Jewries of the Mediterranean basin and Europe. Probably the most significant factor influencing the shifts in material fortunes of the Jews was the growing ascendancy of Christendom over the Islamic world during these two centuries. While this ascendancy was part of a much longer process, destined to play itself out over a number of succeeding centuries, the changes that took place during these two centuries already affected profoundly the Jews, in part by converting areas once under Muslim sway to Christian rule and in part by stimulating migration of Jews from areas of Muslim hegemony to Christian territories. Despite subsequent shifts in Jewish population patterns, the ever-increasing percentage of world Jewry living in the orbit of Christendom became a major fact of Jewish existence.

---

[38] For the developments in southern France, see Scholem (1987). For developments in Germany, see Scholem (1946), pp. 80–118, and Wolfson (1994).

On the spiritual plane, the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw remarkable creativity all across the area, in both Muslim and Christian sectors, a creativity that extended itself into the minority Jewish community. In a dazzling variety of spheres of Jewish culture, some venerable and some innovative, Jews re-engaged their classical literature in innovative ways and opened exciting new domains of cultural achievement. Many of the works created during this vibrant period became staples of the subsequent Jewish curriculum, maintaining their central place down to the present. Many of the new approaches and techniques likewise were permanently absorbed into traditional Jewish teaching and learning. Even those innovative activities such as philosophic speculation and secular poetry, which seem short-lived, found new significance during the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jewish engagement with modernity.

Innovation and creativity were surely hallmarks of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; unfortunately (for the Jews and other minority groupings as well), the same two centuries also exhibit a number of destructive tendencies. The vibrant Christendom that gained additional Jewish settlers through the process of armed conquest and through its attraction to immigrants shows significant signs of intolerance. On the Iberian peninsula, scene of important military triumphs and a major relocation of Jews, acceptance of these new Jewish subjects passed comfortably enough, with the Jews making a substantial contribution to the newly Christianised areas and finding in return a useful niche therein. Further northward, an entirely new Jewry was created, in the aftermath of the remarkable vitalisation of a hitherto backward area. Here, from the beginning, there were ominous signs. By the end of the twelfth century, this young Jewry had already run a course of birth, growth and development, and the onset of decline. The new Jewry created across northern Europe was destined for ongoing existence and indeed expansion; it was by no means destroyed by the turnabout in the more advanced westerly areas of northern Europe; none the less, its subsequent history was adversely affected by some of the negative developments of the eleventh and twelfth centures. The elimination of Jews from precisely the most advanced territories of north-western Europe was itself a blow to this young Jewry and to Jewish history altogether. Moreover, during this creative epoch, a number of devastatingly negative stereotypes of Jews were adumbrated, with frightful consequences for subsequent Jewish fate. To focus on the most damaging of these images, the stereotypes of the Jewish moneylender – allegedly rapacious, cruel and destructive – and, more broadly, of unending Jewish hostility to Christians and their faith has wrought havoc with Jewish life ever since.

Change and creativity, innovation and imagination have the potential for both positive and negative results, for producing both good and evil. The innovative and creative eleventh and twelfth centuries brought in their wake, for

the Jews of the Mediterranean and European worlds, a complex combination of both. Jewish life on the material and spiritual planes was stimulated and challenged. New communities developed; old communities were altered; new cultural patterns were created; old cultural patterns were invigorated; old majority ambivalences about Jews were reinforced; new and potent anti-Jewish stereotypes were born. By the early thirteenth century, much had changed in Jewish life, for both good and ill. A vigorous and creative two centuries left a mixed legacy for the subsequent history of the Jews.

LATIN AND VERNACULAR LITERATURE

Jan M. Ziolkowski

THE extraordinary achievements in thought and literature that took shape during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries reached different regions of western Europe in different forms and at different times. This rather obvious observation holds particularly true of literatures in languages that were late to acquire written forms. For instance, the typical characteristics of the twelfth-century Renaissance are established in the two major languages of France – Occitan (commonly known as Provençal) and French – well before the middle of the century, whereas with extremely rare exceptions they do not appear in the languages of Christian Spain – Galician-Portuguese, Catalan and Castilian Spanish – until the thirteenth century; and the corresponding efflorescence of medieval German courtly literature occurred late in the twelfth century and early in the thirteenth. The twelfth-century Renaissance eluded the English language (virtually the only extant verses were composed by Godric, a hermit and future saint who died in 1170), which came last in the triad of languages that were commonly used in England; but the century left an ample deposit in Anglo-Norman French and Latin literature. French and, even more, Latin served as the *koine* among the scholars who commuted incessantly across the Channel.

As the last statement suggests, neither the nature nor the timing of the literary flowering during the twelfth century can be understood without attention to the linguistic situations of the areas under consideration. Most important is to recognise the complex and fruitful diglossia that obtained in many locales; for a learned language has seldom coexisted so prosperously with vernacular dialects as Latin did with several of the Romance languages in the twelfth century. Even as the national languages rose out of the welter of dialects, Latin not only survived but even spread. This symbiosis remained in force even once the vernacular languages came into use in written forms, which happened rapidly during the twelfth century in much of Romance-speaking Europe.

658

The convivial relationship began to deteriorate in the thirteenth century, at the same time as scholasticism took hold in the Latin ambient, with the result that many creative poets came to show a clear predilection for the vernacular languages over Latin. In an anecdote that illustrates one reason for this emerging preference, Gerald of Wales (1147–1223) recorded that Walter Map (*c.* 1140–1209) had often told him:

Your writings are far more praiseworthy and lasting than my words; yet because mine are easy to follow and in the vernacular, while yours are in Latin, which is understood by fewer folk, I have carried off a reasonable reward while you and your distinguished writings have not been adequately rewarded; because learned and generous princes have long since vanished from the world.[1]

Another way of appreciating the shift is to compare the language choices of writers in the first and second halves of the century – for instance, to compare Peter Abelard (1079–1142), who as a young man in the early decades of the twelfth century was renowned for Latin love poems but who turned to pious Latin poetry as an older man, with Denis Pyramus, who as a young court poet later in the century wrote sirventes, chansonettes, rhymes, and saluts d'amour in French and who continued to employ the spoken language once he turned monk and composed a life of St Edmund. Such comparisons can also be drawn among prose writers in the first and second halves of the century. For instance, it is difficult to imagine the philosopher Gilbert de la Porrée (*c.* 1080–1154) operating in any language but Latin, whereas it is not surprising to find one of his four favourite pupils, Jordan Fantosme, electing to write his chronicles (1174–82) not in Latin but in French.

The cultural unity of western Europe resulted from many forms of commonality, not only of religion but also of Latin language and literature: a phrase such as *omnis latinitas* conveyed more precisely the shared culture than did the geographical designation *Europa*.[2] Latin was the means that enabled people from Latin Christendom to transcend the localism of myriad dialects and to converse across frontiers. Appropriated by the church from the late Roman empire, Latin underpinned the educational work that equipped the learned class to serve church and state.

---

[1] *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 'Prooemium secundae editionis', in Gerald of Wales, *Opera* v, 411: 'Et quanquam scripta vestra longe laudabiliora sint, et longaeviora, quam dicta nostra, quia tamen haec aperta, communi quippe idiomate prolata, illa vero, quia Latina, paucioribus evidentia, nos de dictis nostris fructum aliquem reportavimus, vos autem de scriptis egregiis, principibus literatis nimirum et largis obsoletis olim, et ab orbe sublatis, dignam minime retributionem consequi potuistis.' Trans. adapted from Webster (1940), p. 275, in Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, rev. edn Brooke and Mynors, p. xxii.

[2] See Sheerin (1987) and Hexter (1987).

Fulfilling many of the same functions as classical Arabic does among Muslims in the modern Arab world, the scriptural language served as an essential mode of communication in religion, education, and certain administrative and commercial contexts. It was in Latin that a monk from Denmark could lodge a complaint or file a petition against a German bishop at the papal court in Rome, that a student from Italy could communicate with a peer from the Low Countries at a school in France, or that a churchgoer in England could witness a performance of a liturgical play that would be staged on another occasion in Sicily. Until the twelfth century the very notion of literacy usually entailed knowledge of Latin in most areas of western Europe. As used most often, a *litteratus* was a man who had been instructed in basic Latin grammar. Since the majority of *litterati* were clerics, to be a *laicus* or layman connoted lack of Latin and illiteracy.

The vernacular languages were unquestionably living but during many centuries they had not yet become fully literary languages. In contrast, although Latin was not entirely alive (no one spoke it from the cradle as a mother tongue), it remained in frequent use as a prestige language that offered speakers and writers the rich possibilities of a literary tradition prized for its antiquity and authority. The extent to which Latin was known and employed can be exaggerated, as it was already in the twelfth century: for instance, Guibert of Nogent (1053–1124) claimed that whereas in his childhood there had been a severe shortage of qualified Latin teachers, by his prime the entire populace of France, even down to the peasantry, glowed with enthusiasm for grammatical training.[3] Yet such hyperbole does indicate the esteem in which Latin literacy was held, and not exclusively among clerics. In the twelfth century, knights too desired to be regarded as *litterati*.

At least among educated men (women such as Heloise and Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) still represented relatively rare exceptions) the application of the prestige language was not limited to writing. The Latin Quarter in Paris received its name because within the bounds of this religious and academic precinct Latin functioned as the main channel of communication, both oral and written. The sole international language available to western Europe, it was the vehicle not only for business but also for pleasure. It is not easy to conceive what the success of Arthurian romance would have been had Geoffrey of Monmouth (*c.* 1100–54) not produced his *Historia regum Britanniae* in a *lingua franca* that facilitated its promulgation to the intelligentsia throughout Europe. His Latin was disseminated both swiftly and widely: in 1139 Henry of Huntingdon (*c.* 1085–1155) saw a copy at Bec, by 1151 Geoffrey Gaimar

---

[3] Compare Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Preface, ed RHC Occ. iv, 117–18, with *De vita sua* i, 4, ed. Bourgin, p. 12.

had translated it into French verse, by 1155 Robert Wace into Norman French verse, and by about 1205 Layamon into English verse. Nor was Latin's role restricted to prose. The same Geoffrey who is best known for his history in Latin prose also wrote an account of Merlin's life and learning in Latin hexameters.

The sort of popularity that imaginative Latin verse could enjoy is embodied in the word *pamphlet*, derived from the title of a twelfth-century romantic comedy: so many copies of this short work circulated that people were reminded of the *Pamphilus* whenever they handled a small brochure-like manuscript, the medieval equivalent of a paperbound book. To gain an impression of the international scope that Latin had, all one need do is to track the manuscript tradition of a few important lyric poems and to see their passage from country to country, from century to century, before their enshrinement (or entombment) in modern editions.

Among lay people such great veneration was aroused by the mystery of Latin grammatical training, the authority of its texts and the technology of its books that *grammatica* became a source of magical allure: one derivative of the Latin word is the Scottish *glamour*. Yet for all its respectability Latin was not the only prestige language. To understand the linguistic and cultural situations in twelfth-century Europe entails examining relationships not only between Latin and vernaculars but also among various vernaculars. In the southern expanse of the Romance-speaking territories Occitan was esteemed as a courtly language long before the local colloquials that eventually became Catalan and Italian were commonly written. Until the late thirteenth century most Catalan poets wrote in Occitan as troubadours. In England Norman French was favoured over English dialects. In the British Isles, English and Celtic dialects were far from dead.

Over the course of the twelfth century more and more of the literate populace grew sensitive to the affective uses of their vernacular languages – to the emotional ties and connotations of mother tongues – or to the advantages and practical feasibility of representing such uses in writing. With characteristically twelfth-century curiosity and willingness to experiment, these people took to including vernacular sections within their literary compositions. The evolution makes itself evident first in the *Sponsus* ('The Bridegroom'), a play of the late eleventh or early twelfth century that dramatises the parable of the five Wise and five Foolish Virgins. Although most of the text is Latin (forty-seven from the total of eighty-seven verses), the learned language alternates with frequent moments in the Limousin dialect of Occitan which heighten the drama – especially the refrain in which the foolish virgins mourn their sinful slumbers ("Dolentas, chaitivas, trop i avem dormit") and also the speeches in which the devils hold forth.

During the next hundred years the vernacular languages were employed in a number of mainly Latin liturgical plays to express the sorrow and regret of several biblical women, particularly the Marys.[4] At the close of the late twelfth-century Monte Cassino Passion Play the Virgin Mary gives voice in Italian to her sorrow at the death of Jesus: what better way to convey a mother's grief than to employ a mother tongue! Her vernacular *pianto* may be even older than the rest of the play, which is itself the earliest surviving Passion drama in the west. Likewise, in the Passion Play contained in the famous *Carmina burana* manuscript the Virgin Mary makes her lament at the foot of the cross in German. For similar reasons, in his play on the resurrection of Lazarus (*Suscitatio Lazari*) the poet Hilary of Orléans (first half of the twelfth century) placed at the end of laments by Mary and Martha brief French refrains which must have brought home to his audience the pathos and poignancy of the situation as the learned language by itself could not have done. In the same Benediktbeuern Passion Play that includes the Virgin's German lament, the poet chooses German as the language in which Mary Magdalene rues her sinfulness. Although generalising about such heterogeneous plays is hazardous, it is fair to observe that in all of them the vernacular provides a connection with real human life that is less apparent in the Latin. This linguistic divergence should come as no surprise, since part of the value attached to Latin was precisely the timelessness that derived from its longevity and from its status as one of the three sacred scriptural languages: Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

Towards the end of the twelfth century vernacular poets grew attuned to different registers even within families of spoken languages. The most ingenious of these poets in exploiting the resources of various vernaculars was Raimbaut de Vacqueyras (*c*. 1155–1207), who stages a bilingual *contrasto* (*c*. 1186) between a knight who speaks in Occitan and a woman of humble class who communicates in a modified Genoese dialect. His *tour de force* was a multilingual *discordo* (late twelfth century) in which he plays upon the sundry associations of no fewer than five languages (Occitan, Italian, French, Gascon and Ibero-Romance). Such diversity resulted not simply from the linguistico-geographical vagaries of a career that led Raimbaut on a trajectory from Provence to battles in Sicily and to the Fourth Crusade, but also from the growing recognition among courtiers that most of the vernacular languages and dialects had special virtues and capacities. This recognition culminated a century later in Dante's assessment of courtly language in *De vulgari eloquentia*.

The early twelfth century presided over a revolution in learning, accompanied by a burgeoning of both fresh ideas and novel means of communicating them.

---

[4] Woolf (1972), pp. 43–4.

These new ideas and channels of communication took longer to infiltrate the formal study of literature, which rested upon old and deep foundations in the monastic schools, than to penetrate such younger disciplines as law and medicine; but, however slowly, the reading and writing of literature did evolve. The change is most obvious in the creation and spread of the three principal medieval rhetorical genres, with systematic exposition first of letter-writing (*ars dictaminis* or *dictamen*), then of verse-writing (*ars poetriae*), and finally of preaching (*ars praedicandi*). It also appears in the less photogenic but even more basic and vital process of textual analysis. By the twelfth century a broad consensus among schoolmasters supported the systematic analysis of standard authors and texts: when reading any given work, they and their students were supposed to analyse the title, nature of the content, authorial intention, style, moral or didactic usefulness, and branch of knowledge.

As the principles of literary production and analysis evolved, so did the curriculum of set texts. For instance, such old standards as the distichs of Cato, verse fables of Avian and prose of Romulus, elegies of Maximian, *Ilias latina*, and eclogue of Theodulus no longer sufficed. The library catalogues and reading lists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries provide evidence of increasing interest in the poetry of Ovid, satires of Horace, Persius and Juvenal, and prose of Cicero. The growth in the cultivation of the Latin Classics was such that the century has been justly recognised for its distinctive humanism. The respect and appetite for Ovid in particular led to the generation of a substantial pseudo-Ovidian corpus, not to mention many attempts to foster appreciation and acceptance of genuine Ovidian texts through glosses, commentaries, and the cullings of extracts or 'flowers' that are known as *florilegia*.

The exaltation of such suspect authors as Ovid provoked a backlash from moralists who viewed such secular learning with distrust or outright contempt; but the gravest threat to the revered school authors – the *auctores* whose words and concepts endowed their users with *auctoritas* – came from the spreading interest in dialectical methods of analysis. Whereas Chartres and especially Orléans were associated with literary studies and the Classics, Paris was the centre for training in dialectic. In the thirteenth century a French poet, Henri d'Andeli, cast the rivalries as a battle, *Bataille des sept arts*, in which Orléans and the proponents of classical literature suffer defeat at the hands of Paris and the dialecticians.

The skirmishes over grammar and dialectic, over knowledge through reading canonical texts or intelligence through learning methods of reasoning, and over the relative weight to be accorded ancient and modern authors were waged fervently in the schools. Whereas in the age of Charlemagne and his successors most formal education had been restricted to monasteries and monastic schools, by the end of the tenth century the cathedral schools had become a force to

be reckoned with; from the mid-eleventh to the mid-twelfth century they expanded greatly. In comparison with monasteries, cathedral chapters allowed their members a rule that was looser and a life that was far less constrained by the burdens of religious duties. Yet whether young men were destined for ecclesiastical service or lay careers, all of them were still supposed to be clerics, functionally literate in Latin although native speakers of at least one vernacular dialect.

By the end of the century the earliest universities had been well established in France, Italy and England. Education had progressed from being groups of boys under the tutelage of a single teacher to crowds of young men who worked with an assortment of masters. The exuberance manifested itself not only in the vast and varied products of Latin literary culture but also in the rapid refinement of the Romance vernaculars. This refinement was accompanied by a newfound confidence in the value of vernacular cultures as well as in the languages. According to Chrétien de Troyes (second half of the twelfth century) in his *Cligès*, medieval France had inherited the distinction in chivalry and learning that had belonged in earlier times to Greece and Rome.[5] Chrétien's outlook can be construed as the secular, vernacular equivalent to Hildebert of Lavardin's (1056–1133) understanding of Rome in his two elegies on the city: although the magnificence that had been pagan Rome had largely crumbled into ruins, the glory that was Christian Rome was prospering as never before. More generally, the distinctively twelfth-century optimism of combining reverence for the past with recognition of the present's advantages comes to life memorably in the oft-cited image of 'dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants': however deficient twelfth-century men found their own aptitudes in comparison with those of their intellectual and cultural forebears, they cherished a belief that none the less their perspectives surpassed those of their predecessors. As the beneficiaries of the university and other institutions that the twelfth century created without the benefit of Athens and Rome, we should perhaps credit them with even greater powers of perception than they allowed themselves.

The relationship of the twelfth century to ancient Graeco-Roman culture went beyond a simple revival. At least since the Renaissance of the fifteenth century many scholars have been indoctrinated to accept classical antiquity as the pre-eminent model of culture and have tended therefore to perceive the middle ages as a cycle of cultural collapses and classicising renewals, which are sometimes termed renaissances or renascences. Yet the classics were hardly the only wellspring of energy and discontent among the literate in the twelfth century, who grappled with a past that was based equally firmly on Christianity – on the Bible and patristic writings, not to mention medieval additions

[5] *Cligès*, lines 28–42, ed. Micha, p. 2, trans. Staines, 87.

to the already sizeable sea of Christian literature. Furthermore, the classics were never imitated as closely in the twelfth century as they were to be during the Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the classicising of John of Salisbury (*c.* 1115–80), if classicising it can be called, is a far cry from that of Petrarch. However much we admire the humanism that comes to the fore occasionally in his *Metalogicon*, *Policraticus* and many verse works, however much we are impressed by John's admiration of Vergil, Ovid, Seneca and Cicero, we must not be led into mistaking twelfth-century humanism for the later humanism – nor into judging the one by the other. John of Salisbury was no Petrarch, but by the same token Petrarch was no John.

Classical models continued to loom large but they were supplemented by new outside influences that gained entrance into Europe through such gateways as the crusades, Spain, Italy and Greece. There is an irony in the fact that the hostile spirit of the *Chanson de Roland*, and the self-awareness of Christian Europe that came through the crusades, marked the start of a process that strengthened the eastern imprint upon Europe; for much more than silk and spices was imported from the east. Europeans had many sorts of contact with Christian Greeks and Islamic peoples, especially but not solely Arabs. Although by the twelfth century Muslims had been dislodged from Sicily, they continued to occupy substantial expanses of the Iberian peninsula. Slaves changed hands between Christians and Muslims: Duke William IX of Aquitaine, seventh count of Poitou (1071–1127), the first known poet of secular lyric in France, owned Muslim women slaves whom he had acquired from Spain. The ties between many parts of Romance-speaking Europe and the westernmost reaches of Islam are potentially very significant for the literary history of both parties. Particularly noteworthy are the Arabic and Hebrew strophic poems known as *muwashshaḥa*s that were composed in eleventh- and twelfth-century Spain, since more than five dozen of them are capped by verses in a local Romance dialect. Most of these concluding colloquial verses, designated as *kharja*s, appear to derive from women's love-songs.

Whatever the means of transmission, the vital schools of medicine at Montpellier and elsewhere in the south of the Romance-speaking territory offer evidence that at least some fruits of classical Islamic culture were appropriated by Christians. Although sincere efforts to become versed in Islamic culture and to appreciate it remained rare, many enterprises to translate texts, too transitory to merit the name of 'schools' of translation, flickered in and out of existence in places where Arabic or Greek manuscripts could be located, often with Jews as the linguistic mediators. Usually the texts being rendered into Latin were scientific and philosophical, but under extraordinary circumstances they dealt with matters of religion. For instance, Peter the Venerable (1092/4–1156),

Abbot of Cluny, coordinated a project to make available in Latin the central documents of Islam.[6]

Outside Christendom, the crusades brought Europeans and Arabs together, not only in conflict but also in more mundane aspects of cohabitation. Such contact solidified the attraction of many Europeans to the Orient, envisaged as the home of exotic flora and fauna as well as people and practices. This attraction stands out in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (*c*. 1200–10), in which the father of the hero is married for a time to a Moorish queen, and in the anonymous *Herzog Ernst* (composed towards the end of the twelfth century), much of which recounts wonders of the east encountered by Duke Ernst in the course of a crusade. It also is salient in the haunting *ritmo cassinese*, preserved in a Monte Cassino manuscript of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; as we have it, this allegorical dialogue between a mystic from the east and another person from the west concludes with the westerner rendering a reverential capitulation to the easterner. To cite a third example, the appeal of the east can be seen as well in *Le Jeu de St Nicolas* (*c*. 1200) by Jean Bodel of Arras (*c*. 1165–1210), in which the poet, who was prevented by leprosy from taking part in the Fourth Crusade, indulges his fascination with the east by depicting conflicts between Muslims and Christians in a Levantine setting.

Pilgrimages to Jerusalem led other Europeans to the Middle East and supplied an additional route by which music, tall tales, stories and other culture could be conveyed. To take an example that demonstrates how farflung the wanderings of these pilgrims could be, the Icelander Nikulás Bergsson (d. 1159) made a pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Land in the middle of the century. On the basis of his experiences, he drew up a guide for pilgrims.

In many regions of Europe Christians lived in close proximity to Jews. These Jews, with their extensive family and economic relations abroad, represented another important conduit through which insights about non-European cultures passed. In addition, like their Arabic-speaking counterparts, the Jews in Spain sometimes recorded information about European literature that would not otherwise be available; for both Muslims and Jews incorporated swatches of local Romance vernaculars into their lyric poetry.

It is likely that Jews sometimes carried cultural innovations and trends from one culture to another even within Europe. Jewish communities in Germany as well as in France employed French as their usual language until the twelfth century.[7] Furthermore, Jews could have transmitted knowledge of French culture far afield. Indeed, a thirteenth-century fragment of the Old French *Aliscans*, the *chanson de geste* on the topic of William of Orange (second half of the twelfth century) that constituted the basis of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*

---

[6] Kritzeck (1964). 　　[7] Poliakov (1974), p. 35.

(*c.* 1210–20), was found in the Genizah of the Cairo synagogue.[8] To take a different example from later in the middle ages, the expression *bobbe-mayseh* used in the Yiddish of Polish Jews commemorates the adventures of Sire de Beauvais, which had enjoyed a great vogue under the name *Bova-Buch* among German Jews.[9]

Although regular intellectual and literary exchanges between Jews and Christians would have been rare, occasional Christians aspired to what is now termed Christian Hebraism: they studied Hebrew or consulted Jewish Bible scholars. Abelard's exposure to Hebrew, although he urged others to study the language closely, was only superficial; but scholars at the school of St Victor in Paris appear to have gone beyond dabbling to serious language study. Still more Christians manifested no interest in Hebrew or Jewish writings for their own sake but relied upon Jews to translate philosophical and scientific texts from Arabic. Religious studies by Jews, which were tolerated in number of cities, reached an acme in the commentaries on the Bible and the Talmud that were produced by Rashi in Troyes; these commentaries remain standard in Jewish education. Also worth mentioning are the occasional outpourings of Jewish poets in the European vernaculars: one of the earliest poems in Italian is the so-called Jewish-Italian elegy, a plaint that was produced by a member of the Roman Jewish community. Finally, a trickle of converts from Judaism helped to introduce Eastern stories, learning, lore and customs to the Latin world. Most notably, Petrus Alfonsi (1062–*c.* 1140), a Spanish Jew who took up residence in England not long after turning Christian, produced the *Disciplina clericalis*, the oldest medieval European collection of oriental stories and fables.

For more than a century scholars have debated the hypothesis that Arab doctrines of love and the forms and contents of Arabic love poetry contributed to the emergence of troubadour poetry in Provence and neighbouring regions. It is possible that the courtly Hebrew love poetry of Spanish Jews also played a role, both as a phenomenon in its own right and as an intermediary for Arabic poetic techniques.[10] The golden age of Spanish Jewry extended from the eleventh century into the first half of the twelfth, ending definitively when the Almohads captured Córdoba in 1148.

Little about literary relations in the twelfth century is conclusive, in large part because much more literature has not been preserved than is still extant. The attrition has been particularly grim in the case of the vernacular languages. The overwhelming majority of truly popular literature has disappeared. The songs that were crooned in taverns and the tales that were told by the fireside have been lost, except when they chanced to be reworked in either the learned

---

[8] Braunholtz (1898).   [9] Poliakov (1974), p. 35.   [10] Goldstein (1971), p. 20.

language of Latin or the courtly language of a vernacular that had developed a written form.

Some vernacular literatures have vanished forever, like stones hurled into a deep lake. To recover the contours of these lost literatures, it is necessary to consider the ripples they left in the literature that does survive, namely, the Latin literature. The vernacular can be extracted from the Latin in various ways: the Old Norse stories and sometimes verses that stand behind Saxo Grammaticus,[11] the English alliterative verses that Henry of Huntingdon transmuted into Latin,[12] the Italian poems commemorating battles of local importance that were embedded in Latin chronicles,[13] and the German woman's love-song that serves to cap a Latin letter in a manuscript from about 1160.[14] These transmutations permitted the content and sometimes even the style of primarily oral literature to survive.

In spite of all that has perished, the amount of twelfth-century literature that remains is impressive. Among the vernaculars the two most important by virtue of their later influence on Italian, Spanish, German and English literature were the tongues of southern France, *lenga d'oc* (French *langue d'oc*, modern English Provençal or Occitan), and of northern France, *langue d'oïl*. In no small part because of its literature, France stands out in the twelfth-century Renaissance much as Italy would do so in the fifteenth century. Although after the twelfth century the cultural force of Occitan was weakened through the combined efforts of the papacy and the French monarchy, before the Albigensian Crusade the language of the south held equal sway with that of the north. Yet in the *De vulgari eloquentia* Dante drew a serviceable distinction between the two major linguistico-cultural divisions of France: he regarded both as courtly languages, but he identified the *langue d'oc* as pre-eminent for lyric, whereas the *langue d'oïl* was best for narrative. Of drama Dante said nothing. In associating the south with lyric and the north with narrative, Dante was perpetuating a distinction that had been enunciated already by Raimon Vidal de Besalù (1160–1210) in his treatise *Razos de trobar*: 'The French language is superior and more appropriate to the composition of romances and pastourelles; but the language of Limoges is superior for composing verses, *cansos*, and *sirventes*; and throughout all the lands of our language, songs in the Limousin tongue have more authority than those of any other language.'[15]

---

[11] See Ziolkowski (1991), pp. 201–2.
[12] *Historia Anglorum* II.30, II.34, III.39 and IV.29, ed. Arnold, pp. 56, 60, 95 and 132: see Ziolkowski (1991), p. 200.
[13] Migliorini (1984), p. 73.   [14] Dronke (1977), p. 94.
[15] *Razos de trobar*, ed. Marshall, p. 6, lines 72–5: 'La parladura francesca val mais et [es] plus avinenz a far romanz e pasturellas, mas cella de Lemosin val mais per far vers et cansons et serventes. Et per totas las terras de nostra lengage son de maior autoritat li cantar de la lenga lemosina que de neguna autra parladura'.

The lyric production of the *troubadors* (masculine) and *trobairitz* (feminine) who composed in the *langue d'oc* encompassed a number of distinct genres, which were closely imitated first among the *trouvères* of northern France and then less directly among foreign singer-poets such as the German Minnesingers who were conditioned by the poetry of both southern and northern France but who also possessed their own native traditions.

The range of poetic possibilities was expanded through the addition of others that the *trouvères* of the north supplied or popularised. What follows is an attempt to characterise only the major lyric genres that are known to have been cultivated in the twelfth century. From the earliest records of their poetry, troubadours and trouvères display an acute awareness of the genres available to them – and a bold willingness to test the confines of the genres. Thus, of the eleven extant poems of William IX five can be classed without difficulty as love lyrics and one is a verse testament directed to his son and friends, but another five are ribald burlesques that defy easy classification.

Of the genres favoured among the aristocracy, the most prestigious was the *canso* (corresponding to the French *chanson*). Dante observed (*De vulgari eloquentia* 2.3) that as the noblest form of true lyric the *canso* receives the greatest care, whether it is preserved in memory or in manuscripts. Among the aristocracy, the *canso* was typically a love poem – the sort of medieval lyric that for many of today's readers conjures up visions of castles in which poets sing, and minstrels play, the praises of beautiful damsels, as a coterie of rivals, supporters and slanderers gathers round.

The chief feature of the *fin' amors* ('fine love') or *verai' amors* ('true love') that the *canso* extolled was not sexuality but rather an amalgam of romantic passion and reverence for the beloved that ennobled and improved the lover. How unprecedented this love (which continues to be described by a nineteenth-century neologism as 'courtly love' and to be regarded as a twelfth-century invention) was, how seriously it manifested itself in actual behaviour rather than merely in implied literary codes of conduct, and how it suited the social and psychological needs of women and men are questions that have generated endless, and probably bootless, scholarly debate.

As formulated in literature, *fin' amors* entailed an obedience of the male lover to the beloved that took the characteristically medieval form of feudal service: from William IX on, the Occitan poets and their inheritors in other traditions styled themselves as servants offering 'obedience' to *mi dons* 'my lord'. This posture must have been as revolutionary in their culture as the presentation of erotic passion as military service by love poets had been to ancient Rome. With varying degrees of irony, this service was recorded first in the lyrics of the troubadours and then in Chrétien's *Lancelot*, the Tristan romances and Andreas Capellanus' *De amore* (written between 1174 and 1238).

In German lyric, the Minnesingers of the final quarter of the century adapted the strophic forms of Occitan and French poetry that had been in vogue since the first half of the century. The three foremost of the German poets were Friedrich von Hausen (*c.* 1180–90), Heinrich von Morungen (*c.* 1190–1220) and Reinmar der Alte (*c.* 1180–1200). Whereas the first two experimented with genres such as *alba*, *pastourelle* and crusade song, the third devoted himself almost entirely to *Minnesang*, the Germanic correspondent of the *canso*.

As the mention of *alba* and *pastourelle* reminds us, matters of the heart were not restricted to the *canso*. The *salut d'amour* is a love epistle from a lover to his lady, a form that lent itself well to the expression of courtly love. Its name derives from the greeting – in formal Latin rhetoric, the *salutatio* – with which it opens. Like the *planh*, it employs techniques that correspond closely to those codified in twelfth-century Latin rhetoric.

As its name indicates, the *alba* (French *aube*) is a dawn song that celebrates the theme of lovers who must part after a nighttime tryst: the song is bracketed between the joy of coming together and the pain of parting. Sometimes in the form of a dialogue, its conventions include the awakening of the lovers by the night watchman (*gardador*), their cursing the early arrival of daybreak, their fretting over the peril of betrayal by vicious gossips (*lauzengers*), and the repetition of the word *alba* at the end of each couplet. Although brief examples of *alba*-like poems can be found in the eleventh and perhaps even in the tenth centuries, the apogee of this form was the twelfth century (and as much in Germany as in Provence).

The *pastourelle* or *chanson d'aventure* (Occitan *pastorela*) was cultivated more widely in the *langue d'oïl* than in the *langue d'oc*. It is a narrative that contains a dialogue between a man – often a knight – and a young woman – usually a shepherdess and therefore of a lower class – whom he chances to meet and attempts to seduce. The outcome of these debates is never certain: the knight may prevail by persuasion, charm or outright force and rape; the shepherdess may resist successfully, or a third party – in the guise of the girl's parents or fellow shepherds – may drive off the unwanted suitor. Typically, the *pastourelle* leaves the audience in suspense about the result of the knight's suit until the end. To enrich the task of interpretation, the *pastourelles* are frequently ironic. Because the *pastourelle* imposes a high style of poetry upon a material that seems to have issued from folklore, it is often regarded as a popular or popularising genre; but its popular origins did not prevent it from attaining poetic form in the learned language. More than a dozen medieval Latin *pastourelles* are extant.

Although formally indistinguishable from the *canso*, the *sirventes* (French *serventois*) is characterised in content by its furious satire, the targets of which could be the morals of people in general or of women in particular, the clergy,

or the poet's personal enemies; political activities connected with noblemen, the church or the crusades; or literary activities of rival poets. Not all the literatures that were later shaped by the Occitan poetic tradition developed satiric traditions that correspond closely to the variety but consistent satire of the *sirventes*, although many of the same concerns come to the fore in Middle High German in the didactic or gnomic verse known as *Spruchdichtung*.

Equally varied in content was the type of dialogue known in Occitan as *tenso* (French *débat*). Although a *tenso* could also grapple with topics of religion, politics or literature, most often it took up fine points in the etiquette of courtly love. Its usual form was to present successive pairs of identical strophes, with the first being assigned to one interlocutor and the second to another; but another possibility was to create a diptych of two interlocking *sirventes*.

Whereas the *tenso* allowed dialogue to develop naturally, the *partimen* or *joc partit* (French *jeu-parti*) is a formal debate. The speaker who initiates the debate offers his respondent the choice of two positions and is obliged to defend whichever of the two the respondent does not accept. At the end the speaker and respondent alike submit to judgement, usually from the lord or lady.

The *planh* is a funeral lament. In many respects closely related to the Latin tradition of the *planctus*, the *planh* expresses the grief of the poet at the death of his patron, his lady or one of his fellow poets. Its usual form is tripartite, with an initial outpouring of grief leading first to praise of the deceased and then to a plea for intercession with God.

Besides the genres that are discussed and attested abundantly in the poetry of the troubadours and trouvères, the common folk in the same areas had songs and dances that failed to be recorded in the native languages except in refined versions for different audiences (*ballade, dansa*). Sometimes a popular genre can be reconstructed only on the basis of contemporary Latin adaptations and later vernacular manifestations, both of which fail to capture fully the spirit of the unadorned popular forms. For instance, traces of the medieval dance song can be perceived behind items in the *Carmina burana* and behind later rondeaux and carols.[16] Other similar survivals could be weaving songs (*chansons de toile*), songs of unhappy wives (*chansons de la mal mariée*), washing songs, popular May songs, and, most significant because of its wide geographical distribution, women's song (*winileodas, cantigas de amigo*).

So plentiful and rich was the Latin literature of the twelfth century that few of the Occitan or French genres, even the ones that are viewed as deriving from folklore, do not have either sources or analogues in it; but the Latin literature

---

[16] Dronke (1977), pp. 188–9.

remains less well known, mainly because fewer people can attempt to read it than the medieval versions of various modern languages.

The imperative to juxtapose the Latin and vernacular literatures is especially strong in the study of lyric poetry, since under many circumstances the lay courts in which vernacular poetry was cultivated would have been in contact with ecclesiastical courts and monasteries. A case in point may be the court of Poitiers, from which emanated many of the innovatory Occitan poetic genres in the first half of the twelfth century. Given the longstanding connections of the court with the cathedral of Chartres and the monastery of Cluny, it is tempting to imagine flows of ideas, poetic techniques and music among these different centres of cultural activity. Such flows would not preclude recognition of Arabic Spain as another possible tributary. On the basis of the information presently available, both types of influence seem likely. Symbolic of the present inability to rate one of the influences over the other, it is no longer possible to accept the conventional etymology that derives *trobador* from an unattested Latin word **tropator* ('a person who produces tropes') without at least acknowledging the existence of an alternative from the Arabic verb *ṭaraba* ('to sing, chant').

The late eleventh and twelfth centuries offer particularly fertile ground for an examination of Latin and vernacular poetry together, since Latin verse during this time expanded to include rhyme schemes and rhythmical measures based on systematic repetition of word accent that bear many resemblances to similar schemes and measures in the Romance languages. No doubt poems in Latin and the vernaculars were often set to the same melodies as well.

The signal achievement of extant tenth- and early eleventh-century Latin lyrics (to judge from the extant corpus) was connected with the liturgy – with the gradual matching of the musical and the verbal in sequences and tropes on religious topics. In the succeeding period this matching reaches new heights, not only in religious poetry but also in secular poetry. Among religious poems the sequences of Adam of St Victor (1110–92) are universally rated highly. In addition to their formal perfection, the sequences have an intricate content that draws upon the mystical theology of Adam's fellow Victorine canons, Hugh of St Victor (*c.* 1096–1141) and Richard of St Victor (d. 1173). Among collections that comprehend both religious and secular poetry, the generic and formal variety of the *Cambridge Songs* that seems extraordinary in the middle of the eleventh century becomes the norm over the course of the twelfth, attaining its best-known expression in the *Carmina burana*; although the *Carmina burana* manuscript is thirteenth century, the texts contained within the collection constitute a *summa* of twelfth-century Latin poetic production.

The *Cambridge Songs* anticipate later developments in several respects. One of them is in the blending of Ovidian features with the Song of Songs in the

presentation of love. Although few other Latin poems of the mid to late tenth century are as provocative in their treatment of love as the *Invitatio amicae* (incipit 'Iam, dulcis amica'), poetry that shows signs of being intended for intimate French courts not too far removed from that of later Provençal courts can be found among Loire valley poets such as Baudri of Bourgueil (1046–1130) and Marbod of Rennes (*c*. 1035–1123). Both wrote Latin occasional poems of considerable elegance to praise Matilda and Adela of Blois, respectively the wife and sister of Henry I of England. The habit of writing Latin occasional poems was fixed in England not long after the Conquest by two French-born poets, Reginald of Canterbury (d. after 1109) and Godfrey of Winchester (*c*. 1050–1107). Like the Loire valley poets (he was linked with Hildebert), Reginald shows signs of having cultivated a close-knit circle of friends who cherished Latin friendship poems and letters. The use of Latin literature to celebrate and strengthen the ties of friendship reaches its loftiest heights in the writings of Lawrence of Durham (d. 1154), a native Anglo-Latin writer.

Most genres of troubadour poetry related to love have analogues in Latin poetry of the twelfth century, but usually *mutatis mutandis* because of influences from the Bible and classical Latin literature that left a deeper imprint upon medieval Latin than upon vernacular poetry. For instance, Ovid's verse techniques and poetic motifs entered even more freely into Latin epistles than into the vernacular *saluts d'amour*: whereas a vernacular poet would describe love service in terms that were associated mainly with feudal service in the spoken language, a Latin poet would resort to the military metaphors that carried with them connotations from Ovid and others. Furthermore, medieval Latin verse was likelier to be conditioned by rhetorical practices inculcated in the schools, such as antitheses or head-to-toe anatomies of the beloved. Beyond belonging to a different literary tradition, the Latin love poems are often directed to different audiences; for instance, an appreciable number take the form of occasional poems exchanged by nuns with monks or clerics such as Hilary of Orléans and Hildebert of Lavardin. These poems could be contrasted with those to prostitutes, such as the ones written by Hugh Primas of Orléans (*c*. 1093–1160) or the one in the *Carmina burana*, or with those to young boys. The nature and extent of gay literary subcultures have been much debated recently.

In satirical literature Latin had every jot the heterogeneity of its Occitan equivalents. The satires of Horace, Juvenal and Persius were increasingly familiar reading in the schools, but although they enriched the range of allusive depth available to Latin poets, they did not in any way trammel their freedom to strike out in new directions. Authors from the monasteries attacked the schools and courts, those from the schools railed against the monasteries and courts, those from the courts disparaged the schools and monasteries – and

those from all three places mocked the peasants. Since Silver Latin literature, there had been no comparable recrudescence of satiric literature.

The topics that elicited especial vituperation from satirists were nepotism, simony and other forms of ecclesiastical corruption; hypocrisy of every feather among monks of all orders; mindless conservativism or incautious innovation in the curriculum and canon of set readings; and decadence of courts. Thus everyone who could communicate in Latin, whether monk or cleric, schoolman or courtier, could find a brand of satire to support his own way of life and to censure that of his foes. Additionally, like the authors of *sirventes*, the Latin satirists had ample energy to venture beyond professional rivalries to criticise outside groups, such as laymen and women, and to lampoon personal enemies. Furthermore, they had the grounding in school rhetoric and the training in generating invectives as homework assignments to make them very efficient polemicists.

Alongside grammar and rhetoric, Latin scholars had to study dialectic. These three areas of learning constitute the *trivium*, the verbal arts essential in the upbringing of an educated person. Despite their associations with elementary education, these three arts had not yet been *trivial*-ized. The *quadrivium* of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music to which they were supposedly subordinate was far more often praised than mastered. The exposure of students from an early age to the give-and-take of dialectical training must have contributed to the popularity of Latin debate forms in the twelfth century.

Even more than Occitan, Old French and most of the vernaculars, Latin had an extensive literature of funeral laments, *planctus*. These poems often served to memorialise the achievements of the powerful and the learned – of royalty, noblemen, popes and prelates and of schoolmasters and scholars. Characteristically, Abelard struck out in his own direction when he composed his group of six *planctus*, choosing to put the laments into the mouths of women and men from the Hebrew Bible whose circumstances seem somehow bound up with the vicissitudes of his own life, but never in a transparent way.

In the twelfth century the panoply of resources and techniques that a school-trained poet could employ was codified by textbook authors such as Matthew of Vendôme, Geoffrey of Vinsauf (d. *c.* 1210) and Gervase of Melkley, who were channelling one small flow from the heritage of classical rhetoric in their new manuals of poetics. These examples and prescriptions set standards for later vernacular as well as Latin poets. Furthermore, they represent a tendency towards systematising that also characterised the vernacular literary theory: the Icelander Snorri Sturluson compiled his manual of skaldic lore around 1200, Raimon Vidal de Besalù his *Razos de troubar* not long after.

Like Occitan and Old French lyric, most Old French narrative can be classified by genre. One dominant form was the *chanson de geste* ('song of deeds'). Of the

roughly one hundred *chansons de geste* composed from the eleventh through to the end of the fourteenth century, the major poems date from the twelfth century. The most famous – and perhaps the earliest extant – exemplar is the *Chanson de Roland*. Despite its early date, it exhibits the complex structure and competence of a genre that had existed more than a short while. Like most of the other *chansons*, it is in assonating decasyllabic verses which are grouped into strophes of varying length, known as *laisses*. The *laisses* are arranged to shed light on each other, through amplification, repetition, parallelism and antithesis.

By and large the *chansons* take as their themes exploits of war that relate to earlier French history, particularly of the Carolingian period. Some glorify the lineage of a particular noble family, especially as the noblemen fight internal or external enemies on behalf of an incompetent and ungrateful king. Others show two noble families locked in conflict with each other or one rebel nobleman defending himself against a king. Especially relevant here are those *chansons de geste* that celebrate the victories of Christians – especially Charlemagne – over infidels. The *chansons* tended to be associated with each other in vast interlocking narrative cycles.

In the case of the *Chanson de Roland*, the events of Roncesvaux have only a vague historical basis: on 15 August 778 Count Roland of Brittany was killed when the rearguard of Charlemagne's army was attacked by Basques as it crossed the Pyrenees back towards France. Apart from a few terse mentions in ninth-century records, the tale of Roland disappears from view until the earliest of the manuscripts in which it is transmitted, an Oxford manuscript transcribed in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

When the tale re-emerges, it has taken on an altogether new form, one which exalts feudal relations. The action centres upon the struggle of a vassal on behalf of his lord and the subsequent obligation of the lord to avenge the death of his vassal. Around this central vassal–lord relationship are clustered other vassals, who aspire to win honour and fiefs from their battles for their lord. The epic is replete with the trappings of feudalism, such as symbolic gauntlets and swords. Conspicuously lacking is the idealised love between men and women that typifies both twelfth-century lyric and twelfth-century romance.

Whereas the *chansons de geste* present warriors and warfare on an epic scale, the romances that were created in the second half of the twelfth century deal as much with chivalric behaviour as with rules of battle, as much with women as with men, as much with solitary adventures as with mass conflicts, and as much with enchanted otherworlds as with the bloody reality of either the supposed here and now or the ostensibly historical past. Furthermore, whereas the epics seem to have resulted from centuries of oral transmission and recomposition, the romances are the creations of individual artists who belong to a literary rather than an oral tradition.

Jean Bodel offered a straightforward tripartite schema of French narrative in his *Chanson des Saxons* (*c.* 1198). These three bodies of narrative are the 'matter of France' (stories of Charlemagne and his peers), 'matter of Britain' (stories of Arthur and his knights) and 'matter of Rome' (adaptations of classical Graeco-Roman myths, histories, stories and legends).[17] The 'matter of Britain', which encompasses most of the *chansons de geste*, does not encompass much that would tally with a modern sense of medieval courtly romance. As has already been discussed, the *chansons de geste* deal with conflicts between families and nations, rather than with the individual destinies of knights who mature personally as much off the battlefield or tournament ground as on it. The first Old French romances, which date from the third quarter of the twelfth century, are romances of antiquity that represent the third of Jean Bodel's three categories: the anonymous *Roman de Thèbes* (*c.* 1150), which expands Statius' *Thebaid* on the basis of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in telling of the Seven Against Thebes; the anonymous *Roman d'Eneas* (*c.* 1155), based on Vergil's *Aeneid*; and the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de Sainte-Maure (*c.* 1165–70), based on the late classical texts by Dares and Dictys. To be added to these are three lays which adapt episodes in Ovid's *Metamorphoses, Philomena* by Chrétien de Troyes, *Piramus et Tisbé* (*c.* 1165–70) and *Narcisus* (*c.* 1165), as well as a cycle of poems that deals with Alexander and his wondrous experiences in the Orient (early twelfth century and later). These narratives, mostly in octosyllabic couplets, achieved a major success in merging an epic macrocosm of heroic activity with an emotional microcosm of Ovidian eroticism and sentiment.

It is indicative of twelfth-century culture that a few of these topics were being reworked by Latin poets at roughly the same time as the French poets were working: to cite a few examples, Simon Chèvre d'Or (Aurea Capra) (mid-twelfth century) and Joseph of Exeter (d. *c.* 1210) were only two of a few Latin poets who recast the Trojan legend in hexameters, while Walter of Châtillon (*c.* 1135–*c.* 1179) was responsible for a triumphant, definitive reshaping of the ancient Alexander legend in his hexameter epic, the *Alexandreis*. But the romances of antiquity differ as much from their medieval Latin counterparts as the Romance languages do from Latin itself; and the invocation of this linguistic difference is pertinent, as the very word *romance* points to the language of the texts as a distinguishing characteristic. *Romanz* came to have its present meaning through being restricted from a linguistic medium (*romanz* at first designated Vulgar Latin or Proto-Romance dialects) to a literary term.

---

[17]   Bodel, *Chansons des Saxons*, lines 6–7, ed. Menzel and Stengel, 1, p. 29:

> N'en sont que trois materes à nul home entendant:
> De France et de Bretaigne et de Romme la grant.

In the twelfth-century Old French romances, the classics undergo a thorough medievalisation. In the *Roman d'Eneas* the fights around Troy resemble chivalric encounters, with the chief combatants being princes, barons and dukes. The soldiers are knights-errant, aspiring to win the love of their lady loves. Even fine points of medieval chivalric ceremony are evident: Prince Pallas is dubbed a knight by his father and girded with a sword by Eneas (lines 4811–12). The adaptation of classical 'matter' to medieval tastes and applications also necessitates changes in the religious atmosphere. Despite the unavoidable anachronism, the actors move in a world which bears Christian features: for instance, the prophet Calchas is rendered into medieval terms as a bishop (lines 1003–10). Perhaps most important of the medievalisations is that the poet focuses a good measure of his attention on the women, Dido and Lavinia, and on their illicit romantic passions.

Latin poets were not disposed to take all of these latitudes in their recasting of ancient materials, presumably because their works, being intended for Latin audiences with close school affiliations, were likely to be compared closely in both content and style with the originals. Even so, the Latin adapters provoked a hostile reaction in some quarters, as when Alan of Lille (*c.* 1125–1203) – couching his criticisms in suitably classical terms – takes to task his rivals, Joseph of Exeter and Walter of Châtillon, for their respective epics on the Trojan war and on Alexander the Great: 'There our own Ennius in a patch-work poem writes for the mob and thunders forth the fortunes of Priam. There Maevius, daring to raise a dumb mouth to heaven, tries to portray the exploits of the Macedonian leader in a dark and shadowy ode.'[18]

The medievalisation in the presentation of the ancient stories may have satisfied political aims on the part of poets, particularly of the poets who composed their texts for Norman rulers; for these poets may have coopted the myth of Trojan origin in order to imply that the Norman Conquest was not itself a usurpation but instead an ousting of usurpers. Thus the notion of *translatio studii* (the transfer of learning from Greece through Rome to France) was inextricably connected with the concept of *translatio imperii* (the related transfer of military power).[19] Adding further interest to these two concepts is that they were often expressed in works which professed to be actual translations.

---

[18] *Anticlaudianus* 1.165–9, ed. Bossuat, p. 62; trans. Sheridan, pp. 52–3:

> Illic pannoso plebescit carmine noster
> Ennius et Priami fortunas intonat; illic
> Mevius, in celos audens os ponere mutum,
> Gesta ducis Macedum tenebrosi carminis umbra
> Pingere dum temptat.

[19] *Cligès*, lines 28–42, ed. Micha, p. 2; trans. Staines, p. 87. See Freedman (1979) and Jongkees (1967).

Yet the idea of Trojan genealogical origins was used to legitimate dynasties and ethnic groups outside France (the Icelander Snorri Sturluson even ventures an euhemerist explanation of the Scandinavian gods that pinpoints their ultimate origins in Troy!), and the story of the Trojan war won favour with the nobility outside French-speaking territory. Much more than Herbort von Frizlar's plodding imitation of Benoît in his *Trojanerkrieg*, the fate of Heinrich von Veldeke's Middle High German *Eneit* is instructive. Veldeke presented his unfinished translation of the Old French *Roman d'Eneas* to the Countess Margaret of Cleves on the occasion of her marriage to Landgrave Ludwig III of Thuringia in 1175. From the countess the manuscript was abducted by Ludwig's brother, Count Henry, from whom the poet could not retrieve it for nearly a decade (completed after 1184 but before 1190). To these counts and landgraves the *Roman d'Eneas* would have been meaningful more as an idealised expression of courtly love and chivalric knighthood than as a justification of dynastic origins. To support ambitions for crusade and empire, they would have done better to commission translations of such works as *Chanson de Roland*, as Duke Henry the Lion and his wife had done in the case of Pfaffe Konrad.

If initially narrative poets had been willing to apply their talents to the 'matter of antiquity', soon they ventured away from close adherence to classical models. An early manifestation of this willingness to seek new materials is Marie de France, who is likely to have composed her *lais* between 1160 and 1170. In octosyllabic couplets, the *lais* transport us into a world of magic and adventure, a world of folklore with loud echoes of the Celtic past, a world of romantic love that draws from both Ovid and the *romans d'antiquité*.

Not too much later, but in a different cultural context and geographical location, Icelanders undertook to increase their repertory of lives of saints and biographies of kings by composing prose sagas, most of which are concerned with the activities of men who lived in Iceland from its discovery until shortly after its conversion to Christianity (AD 1000). The finest of these family sagas were produced in the first half of the thirteenth century.

The most important cluster of non-classical topics that attracted the narrative poets was – as Jean Bodel signified – the 'matter of Britain' which appears in romances of the Table Round, the *romans bretons*. Many characteristics and deeds of major Arthurian heroes are attested earliest in Welsh and Irish works of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries: here we encounter Arthur, Parsifal, the Grail and Tristan. These stories were ultimately transmitted to Chrétien de Troyes and other French poets by two routes. One led from Wales to Anglo-Norman or Latin writers and singers who lived nearby. The other radiated from Brittany, if we accept the hypothesis that a substantial number of Breton singers and storytellers travelled to the courts of northern France and England.

In 1136 Geoffrey of Monmouth finished his *Historia regum Britanniae*, which aroused an immediate sensation to a large extent because of the homage it pays to Arthur and his court. At roughly the same time a Breton or Welsh *jongleur* Breri (Bleheris) is attested at Poitiers.

Wherever the Arthurian stories originated, their brightest future lay first in Latin and then shortly thereafter in continental vernaculars. As the stories were appropriated by clerics and redefined for courtly audiences, the genuinely oral tradition lost its significance as a form of entertainment and edification for the courts. The Norman rulers of northern France and Britain would have had even more powerful ulterior motives to celebrate legends of Arthur than coopt stories of the Trojan war. The legends of Arthur's conquests on the continent would have served to justify the goals of Norman expansion, while the glowing portrayal of Arthur's resistance against Germanic invaders would have encouraged Celtic peoples in Brittany, Scotland and Wales to support the progress of the Norman Conquest. On a humbler plane of patriotism, extolling Arthur and his court supplied Britain with heroes on a par with Charlemagne and his peers.

Although Geoffrey of Monmouth was ultimately either the father or the midwife of the Arthurian romance (even in the twelfth century opinions on this issue were sharply divided), Latin was not destined to serve as the language of romance. Bits and pieces of romance-like lore appear in Walter Map's *De nugis curialium*, but it and two full-blown Latin prose romances, *De ortu Waluuanii* and *Meriadoc*, that are possibly twelfth century are exceptional. The Arthurian romances that were foundational to the later tradition were written in Old French.

The first and in many regards foremost of the poets to enshrine Arthur, Guenevere, Lancelot, Yvain and Gawain in courtly literature was Chrétien de Troyes. The wealth of Arthurian and other inspirations at the disposal of twelfth-century narrative poets is clearly visible in the introductory verses to *Cligès*, where Chrétien catalogues his œuvre: 'The man who wrote of Erec and Enide, translated Ovid's *Commandments* and his *Art of Love*, composed *The Shoulder Bite*, and wrote of King Mark and the blonde Iseult, and about the metamorphoses of the hoopoe, the swallow, and the nightingale, takes up a new tale about a Greek youth of the line of King Arthur.'[20] Alongside the reference to an Arthurian romance that still survives, this passage refers to four

---

[20] *Cligès*, lines 1–10, ed. Micha, p. 1; trans. Staines, p. 87:

> Cil qui fist d'Erec et d'Enide,
> Et les comandemanz d'Ovide
> Et l'art d'amors an romans mist,
> Et le mors de l'espaule fist,
> Del roi Marc et d'Ysalt la blonde,

adaptations of Ovidian material, two from Ovid's amatory works and two from the *Metamorphoses* (the Shoulder Bite would appear to be the story of Tantalus' son Pelops, while the metamorphosis of the birds equates to Ovid's tale of Philomela); a version of the Tristan romance; and a romance based on eastern materials that Chrétien coordinated loosely with King Arthur and his court.

Chrétien, whose name implies that he was a native or long-time resident of Troyes, wrote most actively from 1165 to 1190. During this quarter-century he received support first from Countess Marie of Champagne, the daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and her husband Henry the Liberal, and then from Count Philip of Flanders. As such patronage would lead one to conclude, Chrétien wrote for aristocratic audiences, and his writings revolve around aristocratic heroes; but the manner in which he presents his heroes assumes a mutual curiosity and respect between him as a school-trained cleric and his audience of courtly laymen.

Part of Chrétien's genius lay in his ability to endow promising stories with a firm structure and to elicit from them a sense of deep, mystical meaning. In his terminology, he aimed for an internal concord of *matière, conjointure* and *sen*. The sort of harmony that he attained is not remote from that of the most successful Latin narrative poets of his day, such as Alan of Lille and Walter of Châtillon. The romances of Chrétien exercised a bracing effect on poets throughout Europe. To take German-speaking lands as a case in point, Hartmann von Aue (*c.* 1160/70–after 1210) was inspired by Chrétien in his chivalric romances, most notably *Erec* and *Iwein*. Not much later, Wolfram von Eschenbach was encouraged either directly or indirectly by the example of Chrétien's unfinished Grail romance to create his *Parzival* (*c.* 1210), in which the naive young hero, Parzival, gains wisdom through his sufferings until at long last he merits peace and fulfilment.

Loosely allied with the 'matter of Britain' was the story of Tristan and Iseult. As with the Arthurian legend, that of Tristan and Iseult appears to have originated in the Celtic lands, passing from Ireland through Wales to Brittany, acquiring different elements and a new shape at each step of the way. The legend focuses upon the adulterous love between Tristan and the Irish princess Iseult, which is stirred by a magic mishap: the two unwittingly drink a love potion that was intended for Iseult and her future husband, Tristan's uncle Mark. From this point on, the two lovers cannot resist each other, although in

> Et de la hupe et de l'aronde
> Et del rossignol la muance,
> Un novel conte rancomance
> D'un vaslet qui an Grece fu
> Del linage le roi Artu.

making love they run constant danger of betrayal by jealous spies and engage in dishonourable treason towards their feudal lord.

The story of Tristan and Iseult, raising questions of love, adultery, loyalty and salvation, obsessed poets of the twelfth century. The longer versions fall into two classes; one (Thomas of Britain, 1155–70, and Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan c.* 1210) resembles Arthurian romances in style and structure, attitudes towards love and attention to the interior life of major characters, whereas the other (Eilhart von Oberge, *c.* 1170–80, and Béroul, *c.* 1190) comes closer to *chansons de geste* and fabliaux in focus on rapid action and earthy humour. In addition to the romance-length versions, poets such as Marie de France were responsible for *lais* devoted to single episodes. But not all twelfth-century romancers approved of Tristan: in the earlier-cited prologue to *Cligès* Chrétien de Troyes admits to having written a Tristan poem, but he designates it pointedly as a poem about King Mark and Iseult rather than about Tristan; and his *Cligès* may be read profitably as an anti-Tristan, in which the essential contours of the Tristan romance are retained while the sanctity of matrimony as a social institution is also preserved.

Beyond the triad of genres that Bodel identified, twelfth-century narrative poets had many genres at which to try their hands. For a start, it should be pointed out that, besides the secular literature towards which modern readers and scholars have gravitated, the twelfth century left a much larger body of sometimes equally attractive religious literature. The lives of early saints were reworked continually in Latin prose and verse, and hagiographic literature almost always holds a prominent place among the earliest texts to survive in western European vernaculars. Although some of the saints had mainly a local appeal, others were beloved throughout Europe. Of this latter group none is more important than the Virgin Mary, whose miracles appeared in ever more frequent and comprehensive collections from the beginning of the twelfth century. These collections became the special province of Latin and French writers in England: Prior Dominic of Evesham produced a prose collection in the first half of the century, William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1080–*c.* 1142) followed not long afterwards, Nigel of Canterbury (also known as Nigel Wireker and Nigel de Longchamps: *c.* 1130–1200) wrote a Latin verse collection, and Adgar contributed an Anglo-Norman version in the last third of the century. Although some of the miracles were drawn from old Greek and Latin sources, many of them are fresh and reflect a new confidence in the power of the Virgin to protect everyone who seeks her assistance. As if to drive home the point that her protective powers extended throughout the world, and perhaps to spread the economic benefits of pilgrimages to her shrines, the miracles take place in towns all over Europe.

The narrative compilations had their lyric counterparts in Marian lyrics, which begin to be written in Middle High German in the second quarter of the twelfth century. More than the miracle collections, the lyrics emerged from, and were directed towards, personal devotion. But the two forms – Marian lyric and narrative – were by no means mutually exclusive. They even merged brilliantly in the writings of Gautier de Coincy, who studded his *Miracles de Notre Dame* with clusters of his Marian lyrics. Devotion to the Virgin Mary manifested itself in many other genres also; for instance, Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus* includes a splendid litany of praises for her.

Not all twelfth-century narrative literature aspired to the sublimity of Marian or Arthurian tales; some of it was sublimely ridiculous. Although narrative poems in which the protagonists were talking animals had been composed earlier in the middle ages, it was not before the middle of the twelfth century that an ingenious Latin poet, usually identified as one Nivardus of Ghent, took the best that had been created by his predecessors, gave the animals proper names, and arranged their adventures into a coherent cycle. But 'coherent' is too stinting a word to describe this masterful and massive epic of 6574 hexameter lines, which is trenchant in its satire, incessant in its displays of learned rhetoric, and almost Joycean in its fascination with vocabulary.

As the title that has been assigned to the Latin poem indicates, the central figure is the greedy but hapless wolf Ysengrimus; in the shorter Old French poems which came from the hands of various poets from the last quarter of the twelfth century (1179–1203) and which are known collectively as the *Roman de Renart*, the hero is instead the wily fox Renart. There is no overestimating the success of the vernacular beast literature, which elevates animal trickster-tales to new heights and which transmutes comically and satirically into animal terms many of the concerns about human society and relationships that were treated solemnly in *chansons de geste* and Arthurian romances. So popular was Renart in France that his name displaced the older word *goupil* as the standard designation for a fox! In Germany the fox was also the hero of many poems, the earliest of which was written by the Alsatian Heinrich der Glîchezaere around 1180. In most of the tales the fox is the protagonist, remarkable for his sly ability to outwit the stupidity and greed of other animals, willing to flout the power even of the lion king.

Another form of narrative poetry that falls outside Bodel's tripartite division and that is related somehow to then-contemporary popular culture comprises the Middle High German adventure novels in verse to which the now-discredited label *Spielmannsdichtung* was formerly applied. The earliest, and one of the most successful, is *König Rother*, about two expeditions by King Rother of Apulia to Constantinople to woo the daughter of Emperor Constantine. Written *c.* 1150, the poem was not the work of a minstrel but

rather, it seems, of a Bavarian priest. Towards the end of the century a cleric in the Bamberg region wrote *Herzog Ernst*, which outstrips *König Rother* in its fantasies of the east, if not in the rank of its protagonist. Probably at approximately the same time the long *Salman und Morolf* was composed, describing the adventures and misadventures of Solomon and his brother Morolf as they strive to bring back Solomon's runaway wife.

Despite the lack of inhibitions that the vernacular poets displayed in their creation or adaptation of previously unknown or unwritten genres, a few narrative genres were left the nearly exclusive domain of Latin poets – for the time being. One of these genres was the allegorical epic, which featured the activities of personified abstractions such as Lady Nature. Building on foundations laid in late antiquity by Prudentius, Boethius and Martianus Capella, the allegorical poets of the twelfth century constructed imposing verse or combined prose–verse epics that were later succeeded in the vernaculars by the *Roman de la Rose* and Dante's *Commedia*. Three of these compositions that deserve to be noted are Bernardus Silvestris' *Cosmographia*, Alan of Lille's *De planctu naturae*, and Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*.

Bernard Silvestris, otherwise associated with the school at Tours, dedicated his *Cosmographia* to Thierry of Chartres. The author or probable author of allegorical poems, commentaries and versifications of juridical enigmas, Bernard was a profoundly learned, creative thinker and man of letters. His *prosimetrum* presents a view of the universe which, although informed by an eclectic knowledge of scientific writings and creative literature, moves in the new directions to which the sometimes controversial adjective *Chartrian* has been attached.[21] The work falls into two books, the *Macrocosmus* that relates the manner in which Nature secures the formation of cosmos from seeming chaos and the *Microcosmus* that describes how Nature goes about winning the assistance of other cosmic women to create man. The creation of both universe and man is presented in Neoplatonic terms. By the close of the *prosimetrum*, Bernard has painted a philosophically expansive portrait of the universe and the individual human being, of change and stability, of death and renewal, and of body and soul.

A generation younger than Bernard, Alan of Lille was born in the second or third decade of the twelfth century and died in 1203. During an active career as a teacher in Paris and Montpellier and as a monk in Montpellier and Cîteaux, Alan was a prolific writer of theology, both practical and speculative, and of poetry. The multiplicity of his activities earned him the title of *doctor universalis* among his contemporaries. Among the poems, his most

---

[21] The fundamental study is Clerval (1895). The importance of Chartres has been questioned by Southern (1970), (1979) and (1997) and defended by Häring (1974), among others.

important works are two long poetic allegories. The *De planctu naturae* (1160–70), which is written in an alternation between verse and prose (*prosimetrum*), is a dream vision that comprises two parts, the first a description of creation as depicted upon Lady Nature's robes and the second a dialogue in which the dreamer hears from the goddess a mythic explanation for her torn garments and her weeping. Later (1181–4) Alan devised another long fictional work, this one in the dactylic hexameters of an epic. The *Anticlaudianus* offers an ambitious sequel to the events of Alan's earlier allegory and to Claudian's late classical *In Rufinum*, which portrayed the creation of a man through the collaboration of vices and furies. In Alan's elaborate poem the opposite process occurs. Lady Nature sets out to concoct a remedy, a man both heavenly and earthly, to set right the decadent state of creation. To achieve this feat, she requires the assistance of several allegorical figures who must ascend to heaven to obtain a soul, return to the body fabricated on earth and endow it with human qualities, and fight a concluding battle against evils intent on destroying the new man. The extensive travels enable Alan to present an exhaustive cosmology.

Besides lyric and narrative, the twelfth century left a rich dramatic literature. Whereas the debt of much narrative poetry to classical Latin models is beyond dispute, the contribution of classical drama to medieval plays and acting is unclear. Terence was the only ancient dramatist whose plays circulated widely in the middle ages; although Plautus' name was familiar to many, few had access to his comedies.

Of the twenty or so Latin poems known as *comoediae* which were composed in England and northern France from the twelfth century and later, a few profess to imitate Roman comedies. Two of the best known of these *comoediae* are the anonymous *Pamphilus*, which tells of a young man who with the help of an old bawd persuades his beloved to sleep with him, and the *Geta* by Vitalis of Blois (first half of the twelfth century), which relates a version of the Amphitryon story (but probably not directly drawn from Plautus) in which the cuckolded master and his servant are presented as would-be dialecticians! Like many of the other so-called elegiac comedies (the term reflects the elegiac distichs in which they were written), these two contain many scenes that would lend themselves to live performance. Yet none of the comedies is purely dramatic in form; because all of them contain at least a veneer of narrative, they could have been intended as 'closet dramas' for recitation rather than for truly dramatic representation, and they could have been termed *comoediae* simply because they have the happy endings that suited the definition of comedy espoused by many medieval encyclopedists. Furthermore, in humour, attitudes towards sexuality, and characters in the *comoediae* have suggestive affinities with

a purely narrative genre, the Old French fabliaux that were written down in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Thus, for all their dramatic possibilities, the *comoediae* seem to fit less readily with theatre as we know it than with the outpouring of humorous literature that came about in the twelfth century – the bawdy jokes and anecdotes; mock confessions, liturgies and wills; humorous debates; and many parodies. But this conclusion may reveal more about the limitations of our own theatre than about the non-theatricality of the *comoediae*.

Equally dubious is how strong the links were between popular entertainment of a low sort in the twelfth century and the mime-plays and farces – the *fabulae Atellanae* – of Roman antiquity. Important stock characters, gestures and scenes could plausibly have been transmitted in subliterary form for nearly a millennium before resurfacing; but then again any hypothesised resemblances between the little that is known of twelfth-century entertainment in this vein and the little known of its ancient equivalent could be coincidental. A question also hovers over the extent and significance of ritual survivals – mimetic dances, ritual combats, mock combats and killings, rites and revels to celebrate misrule and turn the world upside-down ('Feast of Fools'), and dancing rituals connected with seasonal festivals. Were the repeated condemnations in ecclesiastical sources a mere reflex, or did they aim to suppress practices that were still commonplace in the twelfth century?

Whatever their sources of inspiration, religious plays of considerable variety and quality remain from the twelfth century. Miracle or saint plays, which were concerned with saints and their miracles, are represented in both macaronic Latin-French and purely vernacular plays on St Nicholas by Hilary and Jean Bodel. Biblical plays are found in the mid-twelfth-century Norman or Anglo-Norman *Mystère d'Adam* (*c.* 1160) and the somewhat later Anglo-Norman *La Seinte Resureccion* (*c.* 1175), both lively and dramatic compositions that would have called for complicated props and staging (probably outside churches).

The only wholly vernacular play extant from the twelfth century is the fragmentary Old Castilian *El Auto de los Reyes Magos* (*c.* 1155), which takes as its theme the Visit of the Magi – and which handles this theme in a manner unlike any Latin text: the three wise men are individualised in soliloquies and are pictured as doubting the authenticity of Christ's birth and as determined to put the infant to the test, whereas Herod manifests still grimmer doubtfulness while setting the stage for the delightful comedy of his squabbling counsellors. Alongside this play may be placed such macaronic compositions as the Benediktbeuern Christmas play, which presents the *Ordo prophetarum*; the *Mystère d'Adam*, which treats of the Fall of Man; and the *Sponsus*, which enacts the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

Among the entirely Latin plays a few pieces of exceptional beauty and creativity stand out. Earliest in the twelfth century are two plays of *Daniel* (*c.* 1140); latest are the Benediktbeuern Christmas and Easter plays, which form part of the famous *Carmina Burana* manuscript. Between these chronological poles are situated two plays that merit discussion. First, the anonymous *Ludus de Antichristo* (The Play of Antichrist), written *c.* 1160, is innovative in both form and content, employing a variety of rhymed verse patterns as it stages a simultaneously eschatological and political drama in which five allegorical personifications play roles alongside many other characters: by conquering the entire world, the Holy Roman Emperor prompts the arrival of Antichrist, who first dominates everyone except those he executes but who then is destroyed by God. Quite possibly the play was designed for performance before the Holy Roman Emperor himself, Frederick Barbarossa. The spectacle is as vast as any empire, demanding nearly three dozen soloists to produce the requisite song and four armies to create the battle-scenes. When performed, the play would have ranged around a staging area (*platea*) girded by eight structures (*sedes*) representing the Temple of the Lord and the stages for kings and other notabilities. Although the *Ludus de Antichristo* exercised no influence on later medieval drama, it stands out as a monument to the freedom with which twelfth-century playwrights were willing to experiment.

Equally impressive is the *Ordo virtutum*, a lyrical morality-play created by Hildegard of Bingen around 1150 – a fully developed morality-play that antic-ipates by more than a century any other extant example of the genre.[22] Apart from the patriarchs and prophets who make cameo appearances in the pro-logue, the play involves the personified abstractions of the Soul, the Devil and more than a dozen Virtues, and stands at a midpoint between Prudentius' *Psy-chomachia* and the English morality play *The Castle of Perseverance* (first quarter of the fifteenth century) in its concern with a battle between the Virtues and the Devil over control of the human Soul.

It goes without saying that many twelfth-century plays have been lost. Of some we have no notice whatsoever. Of others we have only tantalising ac-counts, often in the form of denunciations. A Norman master of a choir-school enters an abbey to express his contrition over the loss to fire of a number of copes that he had borrowed for a dramatic production by his pupils. A German monk condemns a group of monks for showing no enthusiasm for monastic life except when they were producing plays. A German abbess expresses her regret that plays have degenerated into riotous clerical imitations of knightly life.[23]

---

[22] Dronke (1986), p. 169.   [23] For further details, see Tydeman (1978), pp. 63–4.

Although surveying the major languages and genres is essential to appreciating the literature of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, another interesting approach is through the people who composed and performed the poetry. Minstrels who worked in many of the vernacular languages have left scant records, since it was not the normal practice to record their compositions or even their names; Wace's mention of Taillefer, a minstrel who sang of Roland and Oliver to Duke William at the Battle of Hastings, is the exception that proves the rule. But however scant the data about specific individual minstrels, we can take the poems that have chanced to survive and the general observations about minstrels in laws and other documents to gain a sense of their activities and social standing.

In an age when poems served not only as entertainments but also as advertisements, editorials, rallying cries and news announcements, poets of both humble and high status were a political force that no potentate could afford to overlook. To prod his supporters into ransoming him from captivity, Richard Cœur de Lion sent forth his famous prison song. To rouse prospective soldiers into fighting to win Jerusalem and the Holy Lands, poets were moved to produce Crusade Songs in Occitan but more so in French, German and Latin. Out of a similar conviction in the efficacy of song, but with a less beneficial result, King Henry I of England (d. 1135) is reported by Orderic Vitalis (1075–1142) to have had a rebellious Norman nobleman imprisoned and blinded, specifically because the rebel's mocking songs had provided comfort to the king's enemies.

Especially since the boundary between history and story (French *estorie*, Latin *historia*) was as fluid as it has ever been, poetry offered emperors, kings, nobles and others a means of glorifying their regimes and of preserving their memory for the future. In addition to this commemorative function, poetry provided entertainment and served meaningful functions in religious ritual and cult. But the importance of poetry did not always translate into stable fortunes for the poets. The begging poem, particularly the poem in which the poet pleaded for a coat to sustain him against the winter's cold, was a topos that had precedents in late classical Latin verse;[24] but records of court expenditures confirm that funds for such acquisitions were indeed disbursed.[25] Probably the poets who received fur coats from kings and noblemen were the privileged few. Most were compelled to lead itinerant lives for more meagre rewards from lesser patrons. Even the Archpoet (born *c.* 1130), a Latin poet whose major patron was Barbarossa's chancellor, had to follow an itinerary that took him from Cologne through Vienne to Pavia and Milan. The troubadours were no

[24] Latzke (1968) and (1970). [25] Bumke (1991), pp. 484 and 495.

less mobile: Raimbaut de Vacqueyras spends time not only in Provence but also in Italy, Spain, mainland Greece and Byzantium; and Peire Vidal travels from the south of France to Italy, Spain, Hungary, Cyprus and the Holy Land.

Poets at the courts of emperors, kings, princes, nobles and bishops had to vie for patronage, sponsorship and other support, and consequently it is not surprising that one encounters many eulogies of largesse and mordant criticisms of stinting patrons. The poets competed not only with one another, as Latin poets struggled for attention against vernacular poets, but even more with jesters, mimes and acrobats. The Archpoet, the quality of whose verse justifies one sense of his name as 'the poet above all other poets', depicts vividly his unworthy competition – the low entertainers who would swarm in hopes of a reward at major celebrations, such as coronations.[26]

As a result, some performers seem to have developed repertoires that encompassed both the beauty of belles-lettres and the baseness of buffoonery: the line between a humble singer or storyteller (French *jongleur*, Occitan *joglar*) and a *juggler* was porous, as the ultimate etymological identity (Latin *ioculator*) of the two terms indicates. The performer belonged to a large class of entertainers whose skills ranged from juggling and acrobatics through dancing, miming and masking to singing and storytelling. In Latin these common entertainers were designated indiscriminately as *mimi*, *histriones* and *ioculatores*. At any rate, a distinction must be drawn between the troubadour who created the words, verse scheme and melody of a lyric, and the minstrel who sang or accompanied such lyrics without necessarily having the creativity or technical skills to compose any of his own.

The situation among ecclesiastical writers, especially those who were monks, differed considerably. Whereas it appears that laymen such as Herbort von Fritzlar and Wolfram von Eschenbach would have depended on their patrons even for copies of the poems they reworked,[27] monks and canons who wished to produce poetry or other forms of literature could have secured necessary supplies from monastery or chapter libraries and scriptoria. For them to attach a formal dedication of an accompanying introductory letter to one of their works did not necessarily indicate a patron–client relationship of the sort that most lay poets required for their livelihood.

But it is important to draw distinctions among the different ranks of poets. At the top were the nobility, most often men and only rarely women, who tried their hands at vernacular lyric poetry, especially love poems. Representing the highest order of these amateurs are William IX of Aquitaine and Henry VI of Germany (1165–97), of whose *Minnesang* only eight strophes are extant. In

---

[26] II.1–11, ed. in Watenphul and Krefeld, p. 54.   [27] Bumke (1991), p. 473.

northern France are the great noblemen Conon de Béthune, the Chastelain de Coucy and Gace Brulé.

Lower in the hierarchy stood the clerics and lesser noblemen who produced lyrics or vernacular romances for their patrons. Most romances of antiquity and of Arthur and his knights were written almost exclusively by clerics such as Benoît de Sainte-Maure, the authors of the *Roman d'Eneas* and *Roman de Thèbes*, Wace, Chrétien de Troyes, Herbort von Fritzlar and Gottfried von Strassburg. Knightly authors of vernacular romances such as Hartmann von Aue were clearly in a distinct minority. The Archpoet, who was of knightly birth, is one of the rare Latin lyric poets who probably belongs in this group. Of similar standing but in an altogether separate world were the clerics affiliated with centres of administration of learning, who would have composed mainly in Latin. Despite slow-dying legends about wandering scholars who led wild lives of footloose bohemianism, many of the Latin poets for whom we possess biographical information, such as Hugh Primas, Serlo of Wilton (d. 1181) and Walter of Châtillon, were teachers in towns where universities were taking shape. Their students may have led lives that correspond to latter-day fantasies of Goliards, but their students were not generating a large share of the poetry that has been tagged as Goliardic. The gaiety, obscenity, irreverence and simplicity of some poems should not lead us to assume that all the poets spent their days and nights drinking, gambling and womanising in taverns.

To find men whose lives bore a stronger resemblance to wandering minstrels, we should consider the landless lesser nobles (*ministeriales*) who depended on the support of patrons and who earned their daily bread through literature, song or related forms of entertainments. These men ran a constant risk of slipping into the lowest class of entertainers, the *menestrailles* or minstrels; to put the matter in Occitan terms, a troubadour who fell on hard times could be reduced to working as a *joglar*. These minstrels devoted most of their activity to the humbler genres of vernacular poetry such as *Spruchdichtung*. But even a *joglar* of humble origins could become a troubadour, if his own compositions met with sufficient success: Marcabru and Bernart de Ventadour achieved such elevation.

Most extant twelfth-century literature was directed to a privileged audience, either of bishops, monks and clerics in the case of Latin or of kings, knights and clerics in the case of the vernaculars. At the beginning of the *Roman de Thèbes* the anonymous poet pointedly excludes those who are not knights or clerics from meddling: 'and now everyone should remain silent concerning this matter, unless they are clerks or knights, for no one else can appreciate it

any better than a donkey appreciates harp music'.[28] When confronted by the complexities of such coterie-poetry as the troubadours sometimes produced (*trobar clus*), the uninitiated would indeed have been as uncomprehending as donkeys.

The sort of literary appreciation that the poet has in mind belonged to the fortunate few, sometimes being passed down like a family trait or heirloom. The most striking instance would have to be William IX of Aquitaine and his descendants. William IX was the first troubadour whose poems survive. His son, William X, was the patron of the brilliant troubadour Marcabru. Eleanor of Aquitaine, the granddaughter of William IX and the daughter of William X, was the greatest supporter of poets in the family. Among the many poems which seem to have connections with her court are Wace's *Roman de Brut* (1155), the earliest adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* into the vernacular; Wace's *Chronique des ducs de Normandie*, Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, Girart de Rousillon's composite Old French/Occitan lyrics and Philippe de Thaon's *Bestiaire*.

The literary achievement of Eleanor's courts was dispersed throughout Europe by her children: Henry; Richard Coeur de Lion, who composed poetry; Countess Marie of Champagne, who patronised a host of poets and other writers; Countess Alix of Blois; Duchess Matilda of Saxony, wife of Henry the Lion in Brunswick, who is mentioned in the *Rolandslied* as an encouraging force and who may have patronised Eilhart von Oberge; Queen Eleanor of Castile; and Joanna, Queen of Sicily and Countess of Toulouse.[29]

Literary patronage was more than a one-family affair, of course. Kings or emperors and the high officials who wielded power with them had many reasons to display generosity towards poets and other entertainers, and their knights followed suit on a reduced scale. For instance, both Frederick I and his archchancellor Rainald of Dassel underwrote the Archpoet – even though the poet professes that his activities in taverns and gambling dens tested sorely the patience and generosity of his sponsors. It has also been long recognised that bishops played a major role in encouraging literary activity: William of the White Hands, who served at one time or another as bishop of Chartres, archbishop of Sens and Rheims, cardinal, and regent of France, was dedicatee of Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* as well as of Peter Comestor's

---

[28] Lines 13–16, ed. Raynaud de Lage, 1:

> Or s'en tesent de cest mestier,
> se ne sont clerc ou chevalier,
> car ausi puent escouter
> conme li asnes a harper.

[29] On the importance of Eleanor of Aquitaine's family, see Lejeune (1958a, 1958b).

(*c.* 1100–79) *Historia scholastica* and Peter of Poitiers' (*c.* 1130–1205) *Sententiae*.[30] Last but not least, the monasteries, although in some respects declining from their earlier heyday, could provide large, loyal and responsive audiences to motivated authors.

Writing for small noble courts had the advantage of providing to a sophisticated audience whose members shared many of the same social values and cultural experiences. At the same time, it carried with it dangers, especially in view of the intimacy (or pose of intimacy) that many of the poets claimed with the noblewomen who provided them patronage and the inspiration of love. The poets had to satisfy at least three sets of people, with potentially very different expectations: the lord and his retinue, the lady and her followers and the lesser noblemen who belonged to neither of the preceding factions. To protect themselves from the danger of exposure and its consequences, the Occitan poets who wrote of their loves employed a system of codenames (*senhals*) to designate the supposed objects of their affections, substituting for their real names such phrases as *Bel Paradis, Fin Joi, Mon Desir* and, last but not least, *Mi Dons*.

How much freedom poets had in choosing their topics and themes is a complicated question, especially in the case of the poets who composed romances. Are these poets sincere when they claim to have been assigned their stories by patrons, or are they flattering people from whom they hope to secure reward? Not even the clerics who were attached to cathedrals could compose all forms of literature with impunity. For instance, it has been plausibly proposed that the poets who wrote songs for the Feast of Fools had to ingratiate themselves with two opposed audiences: the young men who craved the liberties of a world-upside-down ritual and the older men who by virtue of their ecclesiastical office controlled the funds necessary for financing the festivities.[31]

Rather than striving to satisfy two incompatible audiences, the poet could choose instead to employ different registers in writing for different listeners. The fact that William IX had such registers at his disposal already in the first years of the century constitutes one further signal of extensive vernacular literary traditions that left few records before the twelfth century.

However rich the potentials and achievements of Latin and vernacular literatures before the late eleventh century, the period that spans the twelfth century and the decades on either side of it reaches a high point in many forms of European literature – in the lyric poetry of the troubadours, trouvères and Minnesingers, in the *chansons de geste*, in the romances of antiquity and the Arthurian court, in saints' lives and in drama. Latin writers competed vigorously

---

[30] Haskins (1927), p. 49.   [31] Schmidt (1990), p. 45.

but productively with vernacular poets, a revival of classical learning took place simultaneously with a new eagerness to explore hitherto unrecorded resources of popular culture, and people living in Europe engaged in an active and not always hostile confrontation with the worlds and religions outside. It is not surprising that the literature of the greater twelfth century has played a pivotal role in revivals of interest in the middle ages, and it is probable that it will continue to attract well-deserved attention, even as neglected later and earlier centuries receive more of their due.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE VISUAL ARTS

Peter Kidson

THE first edition of the Cambridge Medieval History considered ten pages on ecclesiastical architecture after 1100 quite sufficient to cover the subject, and until the Renaissance was imminent, the only art thought worthy of a whole chapter to itself was the art of war. Two whole volumes were taken up with the conflict between empire and papacy, which was treated as the epoch-making centre-piece of the entire work, yet with scarcely an inkling that there might have been a connection between the victory of the church and the spate of great cathedrals which were subsequently built across the length and breadth of Europe, or that the self-projection of the church on the imagination of Christendom was done largely by means of art. This observation reveals a great deal about the notion of history that was in the ascendant when J. B. Bury launched the project in the first decade of the twentieth century. The original Cambridge Medieval History was nothing if not consistent in sticking close to the primary sources as Bury and his collaborators understood them. The short shrift given to art was part and parcel of the prevalent conviction that only the written word counted as historical evidence. But it was also an accurate reflection of the sources themselves. Anyone who took their views from what could be read about the subject in medieval texts might be forgiven for concluding that works of art were peripheral to what really mattered.

That was one side of an unsatisfactory situation. The other was the state of art history. By the first decade of the twentieth century there was no shortage of information about medieval art of all kinds; it was just that the so-called art historians were not in any serious sense historians. They disdained documents and proclaimed the autonomy of both their method and their chronological categories. In 1910 W. Worringer unveiled the face of Gothic Man (alias German or Teutonic Man), which was nothing but a psychological fiction that claimed to penetrate below the surface of history to the subliminal levels where the

693

NORWAY

Durham

Lincoln

DERBY-
SHIRE

Bury St
Edmund's

St Albans

CORNWALL

Reading
Westminster
Salisbury
Faversham
Winchester
Lambeth
Canterbury
Purbeck

Paderborn

Konigslutter
Quedlinburg
Wettin
Cologne
Halle
HARZ
MTS
Naumburg

CHANNEL

Tournai

Liege

Helmarshausen

Bayeux
Chateau Gaillard
Beauvais
Caen
Pontoise
Wurzburg
Laon
Paris
Reims
Bamberg
NORMANDY
St Denis
Barbeau
Verdun
BRITTANY
Chartres
Metz
Speyer
Le Mans
Sens
CHAMPAGNE
Loire
Strasbourg
Regensburg
Fontevraud
Vézelay
R. Rhine
SUABIA
Bourges
Autun
Limoges
Tournus
Cluny

Santiago de
Compostela

LOMBARDY

León

Conques

AUVERGNE

Milan

APENNINES

Burgos

Moissac
Albi
R. Rhône
Modena
Apuan
Toulouse
LANGUEDOC
Alps
Ravenna

CASTILE

St Gilles du Gard
PROVENCE
Pisa
Florence
TUSCANY

CATALONIA

LAZIO

Minas de Río Tinto

Rome
Monte
Cassino
Venosa
ANDALUSIA
CAMPANIA
APULIA
Granada
BASIL-
ICATA

Palermo
Monreale
Cefalu
SICILY

0	200	400	600	800 km

0	200	400 miles

5. Art and architecture

mainsprings of creative imagination were supposed to function.[1] It is small
wonder that mere historians, confronted by profundities of that sort, should
have clung firmly to their documents.

The gap between history and art history is enshrined in the stylistic labels
that art historians still use for the subdivisions of their subject. The two with
which the present volume is concerned are Romanesque and early Gothic. No
historian would use such terms; yet they are so deeply embedded in the literature
of art history, that there is no hope of prising them out, or replacing them by
something more suitable. Both had their origins in ancient misconceptions.
Gothic goes right back to the Renaissance. It was adopted by Italian humanists
of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to denote buildings which they affected
to find grotesque and ridiculous because they failed to conform to the classical
canons.[2] When the pejorative overtones evaporated, as they did in northern
Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the sense of Gothic
being the antithesis of classical survived. This is still the meaning that is usually
attached to it.

Romanesque was the creation of a later age.[3] It emerged in the early nine-
teenth century as the main French candidate in a competition to find an
adequate name for the sort of architecture which preceded Gothic. The need
for such a term became evident as soon as it was realised that the Goths
of the Italian humanists, i.e. the German barbarians who sacked Rome and
whose behaviour might now be described as vandalism, had nothing to do
with the Gothic architects who built churches with pointed arches 700 years
later. By the eighteenth century this conceptual lacuna could no longer be
tolerated. Various suggestions were made: Italo-Byzantine, Lombard, Saxon,
even first Gothic. The English in their insular way opted for Norman.
But Romanesque prevailed, and once again unspoken attitudes lay hidden
in the choice. The word 'Romanesque' was borrowed from the philolo-
gists who were busy tracing the descent of the Romance languages from
their roots in the colloquial Latin of late antiquity. Applied to architecture,
it carried the implication that Romanesque was still recognisably Roman,
although Roman much altered, a debasement or corruption of authentic
classical architecture. In other words, the humanist confrontation between
classical and Gothic was retained; it was merely brought forward from the
fifth to the twelfth century. The decisive art-historical event of the middle
ages was still the invention of Gothic architecture, and to explain the inven-
tion of Gothic has remained a primary purpose of architectural historians ever
since.

[1] Worringer (1912), *passim*.
[2] See Vasari, *Le vite de più eccelenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, ed. Milanesi, p. 137.
[3] Frankl (1960); Waldeier-Bizzaro (1992).

Until well into the nineteenth century it was axiomatic that only an architect could understand an architect, with the predictable result that the first serious histories of architecture were all written by highly trained professionals whose references to mainstream history were usually confined to a few brisk remarks about dates. The high priest of this orthodoxy was Viollet-le-Duc, and his Dictionary became its bible.[4] But nothing really changed when the new race of academic art historians appeared on the scene at the end of the nineteenth century. That is to say, although they were interested in all the arts, and treated buildings as aesthetic experiences rather than structural problems, they still thought that their principal business was to account for the shift from Romanesque to Gothic, and did their best to explain it in terms of their seminal notion of the will-to-art.[5]

Even at the most elementary level the discrepancies between the traditional art-historical view of medieval art and the picture of the middle ages presented by academic historians in other fields are glaring. The notions of Romanesque as the fag-end of antiquity, and Gothic as the important new beginning, are wholly at odds with the social, economic and ecclesiastical evidence. Romanesque ought to be the architecture of the Investiture Contest, and Gothic the architecture of the twelfth-century Renaissance. What Braudel called *l'essor de la première Europe* was already gathering momentum by the turn of the millennium,[6] and it is there if anywhere that signs of new beginnings in art should be sought. The case of Gothic is almost paradoxical. Gothic is normally supposed to have originated at St Denis, where a new choir was consecrated in 1144, and to have achieved its maturity when the present cathedral of Chartres was started in 1194. The fifty years of its development thus coincided more or less exactly with the revival of Roman law, of Aristotelian logic, of Ciceronian letters and Latin poetry, not to mention classical theories about music and medicine. It is not necessary to suppose that the twelfth-century Renaissance was a revival of classical antiquity for its own sake, like the Italian Renaissance three centuries later. It was enough that contemporary uses were being found for the intellectual inheritance of the ancient world. When it is considered in the light of the broad trend, Gothic was not only out of step with every other manifestation of twelfth-century culture; but was actually going against the current, i.e. rejecting the classical residues in Romanesque. By comparison the figure arts wholeheartedly subscribed to the spirit of the twelfth-century Renaissance. Yet despite being alone in rowing against the current, the architects are supposed to have persuaded an influential section of the educated elite of their day, namely the higher clergy, to endorse their waywardness.

---

[4] Viollet-le-Duc (1858–68).   [5] Term coined by Riegl in 1893.   [6] Braudel (1986), p. 122.

There are clearly problems here, and they may be terminological rather than factual. The facts themselves are not in dispute. Gothic churches really do look different from Romanesque and classical buildings. Things were being done that had never been done before. What is in question is the adequacy of a conceptual apparatus devised primarily to cater for visual distinctions. Historians of medieval art nearly always find themselves in the position of knowing not what medieval artists thought they were doing, but only what they did. It was perhaps natural for them to assume that we can infer what was intended from what can be seen; but the possibilities of self-deception remain so long as we have to decide for ourselves what it is that we are looking at. The great task of the twentieth century has been to broaden the basis of inference either by looking beyond the works of art to the sources of their subject matter, and the tasks they were meant to perform; or else by subjecting the works themselves to closer scrutiny in the hope of discovering unsuspected deposits of thought embedded in them. This has meant surrendering the splendid isolation of art history, and subscribing to the ideal of total history. The visual differences still matter, but in order to make them intelligible, every conceivable shaft of light has to be brought to bear on complex situations in which art was only one factor among many. The art history of the middle ages now impinges on social history, economic history, ecclesiastical history and the history of ideas. The arts, and especially architecture, are recognised as spectacular manifestations of the immense discharge of energy which galvanised the whole of western Christendom during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Romanesque and Gothic have become inflections in the language of piety, deliberately invented to serve the interests of ecclesiastical propaganda, but also to express the spiritual aspirations of society as a whole. And precisely because this art was so overtly religious, it cannot be the whole story. Overshadowed and ephemeral though it may have been, a secular counterpart can be postulated, and at times even dimly perceived. Seen in these terms the art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries has a sort of unity, though not the unity of stylistic consensus. It was an age of impassioned disagreements, which penetrated like solvents into areas where massive unanimity had prevailed for centuries. Running like a leitmotif through the whole period was the question: what is the right form for a great church? The inquest was constantly reopened and the terms of reference widened. The image of the church became a compound of all the visual arts. It brought together architecture, sculpture and painting at their highest levels of attainment, and projected them upon the attention of the world at large with the single-mindedness of a marketing exercise. Whatever secular art was like, there can be little doubt that the arts generally found their mission and most serious fulfilment in the service of the church.

The term 'form', as used in the phrase 'the right form for a great church', carries exact as well as loose connotations. In the middle ages, as in the ancient world, the arts were first and foremost craft activities. They were regarded as industrial operations in which predetermined forms, i.e. shapes, outlines, colours, patterns, etc., were imposed upon suitable materials: stone, wood, metals, glass, fabrics, etc. In both the composition of forms and the techniques of execution there was little scope for caprice or experiment. Every trade had its rules and its time-honoured expertise, which were revered like holy writ. Departures from precedent were never undertaken lightly, and no value was attached to pure invention for its own sake. The form/matter dichotomy is now remembered chiefly as part of the terminology of Greek philosophy, but it was manifestly borrowed by the philosophers from the practice of the manual arts, and no one thought about the arts in any other way until the middle ages were over.[7] Not only is it essential for historians to realise that this was so, but much medieval art history curiously reflects the most sophisticated version of the notion of substance as informed matter. Aristotle retained the concepts of matter and form as the basis of his doctrine of the four causes; but he augmented the formal cause with the efficient cause which provided the impetus to get things going, and the final cause which added the sense of direction and purpose. Without straining this analysis unduly, all four of Aristotle's causes can be identified in recent discussions of medieval art. Whatever pertained to the economic aspects of art production might be said to fall under the auspices of the material cause. The initiative of patrons, and any control they may have exercised over the execution of their commissions, would constitute the efficient cause. The final cause can be recognised in the functions of buildings and the symbolism of images; and the actual designs remain as the formal cause. It would be idle to pretend that everything falls neatly into this classification, or that there is no overlapping. From time to time the balance has been disturbed by *parti-pris*, but merely by distinguishing all four it may be possible to avoid the excesses that come from undue attachment to one in particular. What follows is an attempt to consider medieval art under each of these headings in turn in the hope of showing that each contributes something indispensable to the overall picture.

THE ECONOMIC SUBSTRATUM

The great church as such was not a Romanesque invention.[8] Vast basilicas were built in France and Germany before as well as after the turn of the millennium,

---

[7] See Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. Buttimer, p. 62.

[8] The term itself was a colloquial name for the Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, see Procopius, *The Buildings* I, p. 67.

and the largest of all, in Rome, had been standing for nearly 700 years. These were spacious and well-lit buildings, but they were structurally simple, and they imposed no great strain on material and intellectual resources. Provided there was a plentiful supply of lime for mortar, walls could be made of rough rubble and coated with stucco. The labour needed for such work was nearly all unskilled. Saintly bishops are said to have sometimes lent a hand. Carpenters took care of the roofs, and any art work came in the extraneous form of wall-paintings or church furnishings. The artefacts that really mattered were the sort that used precious materials: gold, jewels, ivory – substances that would gleam and take polish, and the colours of which were intrinsic and intense. These were reserved for the objects of supreme religious value, namely the illuminated manuscripts that contained the word of God, and the reliquaries and altars which contained the remains of the saints. The church itself might be a safe house for such treasures, but it was seldom a work of art in its own right.

The rise of architecture to parity of esteem with the so-called minor arts, which took place in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was the truly momentous event in the art history of the middle ages. It was as much an economic as an artistic phenomenon. Romanesque and Gothic churches exemplified a new structural technology based on arches rather than walls, which ultimately rested on an ability to cut and shape stone at will. This in turn went hand in hand with a new range of tools and the skills to use them. The imbalance between skilled and unskilled labour was redressed. The most conspicuous demonstration of what could be done with the right kind of stone and the right kind of tools was the revived art of monumental sculpture. Three-dimensional imagery did not entirely disappear during the pre-Romanesque centuries, but figure carving was restricted to easily worked materials like wood, ivory or stucco, and the scale was nearly always miniature. Stone statues did more than anything else to transform the image which great churches presented to the world at large.

The immediate consequence of the demand for building stone was a rash of quarries across the European landscape, most of them ephemeral and of no more than local significance because overland transport costs were prohibitive, and it suited the big landholders who commissioned the churches to exploit the resources of their own estates. But a few quarries became major economic assets, and remained in business for centuries. Marble, or anything that could be polished into a semblance of marble, was at a premium. In the south, classical *spolia* kept the decorative arts supplied with material until the end of the thirteenth century; but the marble quarries of the Apuan Alps were reopened to clad the walls of Pisan and Florentine churches. Abbot Suger, who thought of importing classical Roman columns for St Denis, was saved the

trouble by the fortuitous discovery of a suitable quarry at Pontoise.[9] For much of the twelfth century, shafts of black marble from Tournai enjoyed a certain vogue in the surrounding region; and in England the fashion prevailed for a further century in the form of Purbeck marble. For ordinary building purposes fine-quality freestone from the outcrops of Jurassic limestone that run across England and reappear in France in the great arc that runs from Normandy to Champagne was highly prized. The Caen quarries had the advantage of being close to the sea, which meant that ashlar could be moved in bulk and therefore cheaply by water. As a result quite a lot of Caen stone found its way across the Channel to places in England such as Canterbury. The red sandstone of the Rhineland also moved freely up and down the river. The difference that stone could make to the artistry of buildings becomes apparent in places like Brittany and Cornwall. There the local material is granite, which lasts for ever but is hard to work. The generalisation that tools and skill were only as effective as the materials permitted is valid; but over against it can be set the proviso that a determined patron would get his way, no matter what the cost. The cathedral of Santiago de Compostela was built of granite, yet it is probably the most perfect church of its kind.

The traffic in stone should not be exaggerated. It only really gathered volume during the twelfth century when castles and serious fortifications were added to the list of works which needed stone in large quantities. Even then quarries were not working to capacity until town walls miles long were built, and they belonged to a later age. By that time great churches were very much luxury items in the total output of the building trade. Nevertheless, in the early stages it was the churches that created the demand for stone.

The other materials needed in large quantities for constructional purposes were timber and sheet lead. In the north timber was never far from any building site, although trees did not always grow to the right size and shape, as Suger found when he needed timber for St Denis.[10] Churches were seldom made entirely of wood, though Norwegian stave churches were notable exceptions; but any building which did not aspire to the permanence of artistry of churches and castles would normally have a timber frame. Carpenters had their own technology of joinery which existed independently of, and side by side with that of the masons. The two branches of the construction industry cooperated in the matter of church roofs, but they competed for the domestic market. The impression given by the later evidence of their guild organisations is that they remained completely separate; but this almost certainly conceals a tendency for them to coalesce. The process worked both ways. That is to say forms which were at home in the context of masonry, e.g. arches and capitals, turn

[9] Suger, *Libellus alter de consecratione*, II. Panofsky, pp. 90–1.   [10] *Ibid.*, pp. 94–5.

up in woodwork, and forms that would occur naturally in woodwork, such as vertical posts and frames, can be found in masonry. This process of fusion was already at work in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The use of lead as a roof cover began early in regions such as England where lead had been mined from Roman times. Elsewhere it must have generated trade over long distances because the principal sources of supply were all on the perimeter of Christendom or beyond: Derbyshire in England, the Harz mountains in Germany and the Río Tinto area of Andalusia. How early and how extensive the trade was difficult to establish. There is mention of the export of Derbyshire lead to the continent through east coast ports in the time of Henry II. The standard alternatives were terracotta tiles, slates and shingles. Tiles normally imply a capacity for brick-making, which in the twelfth century was still largely confined to Lombardy, Toulouse and the north German plain. Some roofs were pitched as high as 45 or even 60 degrees, which is high for lead; but nearly every church has been reroofed at some time since it was built and lead covering may not have been envisaged at the outset.

The role of iron in medieval building was discreet but is hard to overrate. Wrought iron patterns held the planks of doors together, armatures stiffened stained glass windows; and, as structures became more daring, chains and tie-rods almost literally kept buildings from falling apart. But by far the most important contribution of iron, even if it was indirect, came in the form of tools. The dressing of stone in pre-Romanesque times was almost entirely done by axe. By the thirteenth century there was a whole range of specialist tools: chisels, drills, points, files, rasps, as well as lathes and smoothing agents, which gave masons and sculptors complete control over the shape and finish of their materials. The tool-making trade was basic to all the arts, and highly developed; yet, apart from a few remarks in Theophilus, the documents shed little light on the crucial period, which was the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Salzman declared that tools used by the building industry varied little between Roman times and the nineteenth century; and in the sense that no new types of tool were invented, he was probably right.[11] The knowledge of how to harden iron and natural steel by tempering on which everything depended, was certainly never lost: but it does not follow that the complete arsenal of ancient implements was in continuous use at all times. The wholesale reinvention of precision tools can be postulated simply on the grounds of what was actually done with them. That was the special achievement of the blacksmiths.

Unlike the craftsmen who handled stone and wood, those who worked with paint, metal and the precious materials had their spokesman. Theophilus was the pen name of a monk in holy orders who was almost certainly German

---

[11] Salzman (1952), p. 330.

and probably active during the first half of the twelfth century. He compiled
a treatise on the manual arts, *De diversis artibus*, which, if it fell short of being
a recipe book or a course of instruction that would enable anyone to set up in
business, provides rare and valuable insight into what went on in a craftsman's
workshop.[12] It has been conjectured that he was the Roger of Helmarshausen
who in 1100 made a portable altar, which can still be seen in Paderborn; and
there can be no doubt that when we are told how to make a chalice, or construct
an organ or cast a bell, the author had actually performed those tasks himself, or
watched someone else perform them. Theophilus was not interested in where
his materials came from, nor in their allegorical properties, which fascinated
writers of a more literary turn of mind. His attention was firmly fixed on
what could be done with them, i.e. the practical problem of imposing form
on matter. It was a strictly technical handbook, though for whose benefit he
wrote it remains a mystery, unless his monastery ran a training course for
monastic craftsmen. Metalwork was his forte, and all the rare and common
metals receive some notice. But he also knew how to make glass and colour
it, and was up to all the tricks of the painter's art. Carving, apart from the
shaping of bone and ivory, hardly gets a mention. The list of skills discussed
by Theophilus calls to mind Master Hugo of Bury St Edmunds, who painted
the illuminations for the Bury Bible, and made a crucifix and bronze doors
for the abbey.[13] Hugo may even have acquired his skills under Theophilus,
though instruction of the kind described in *De diversis artibus* must have been
available in more than one place. Such men were experts. They had been
initiated into arcane mysteries and needed specialist equipment, above all the
means to exploit the metamorphic power of fire, which imparted to their
operations something of the magic of alchemy. Behind the technology was
the world of ancient Nordic legends about Wayland the Smith, and it was
perhaps prudence rather than piety which prompted Theophilus to insist that
his uncommon gifts were due entirely to the Holy Spirit. At a more prosaic
level he was heir to the accumulated practical wisdom of many centuries,
handed down by word of mouth and example from generation to generation;
and its provenance was unexpectedly wide. In a sweeping conspectus, the
colours of Greece, the enamels and niello of Russia, the repoussé and incised
metalwork of Arabia, Italian gilding, carved gems and ivories, French stained
glass windows and German proficiency in metal, wood and stone are listed as
though matters of common knowledge; and while this was in large measure a
rhetorical flourish, it confirms the impression that the manual arts had access
to traditions far more ancient and cosmopolitan than those of the liberal
arts.

[12] Ed. and trans. Dodwell.   [13] Kauffmann (1966).

Theophilus wrote as a conservative. His formulae and methods were all tried and tested; they belonged as much to Carolingian and Ottonian art as to Romanesque, and by lumping together all varieties of painting, glass-making, metalwork and small-scale carving, but excluding architecture and monumental sculpture, he was not just reflecting the *de facto* range of his own talents, but implying that craftsmen were either one sort or the other. Being German and a sound traditionalist, he stuck to the craft-skills with which he was familiar. Though he claimed that Germans were accomplished in the working of wood and stone, he had nothing to say on those subjects himself, and his silence is instructive, for it was the newcomers in those fields elsewhere in Europe who carried out the medieval revolution in the arts.

In economic terms the distinction between the sorts of craftsmen was one of scale. The sort Theophilus had in mind may have used assistants, but in everything that mattered they preferred to operate single-handed. The items they produced were small, costly and labour intensive, but finance was seldom a problem. They were presumably only commissioned by people with money to pay for them. By comparison the great churches were huge, speculative undertakings, often started hopefully without much thought for how they were going to be finished. Long-term financial planning of the kind required to complete such buildings was an aptitude which the middle ages acquired very slowly indeed. It is extremely doubtful whether patrons had any clear idea beforehand how much their new churches were going to cost or where the money was to come from. Quantity surveying was non-existent. In the thirteenth century when records of expenditure on the king's works in England begin to survive, the entries are almost preposterously meticulous.[14] Stone is ordered by the cartload for a doorway here, a tower there, even though it must have been known that thousands of tons of it were going to be needed. It would seem that complex structures were broken down into their components and these dealt with one by one as money became available. It is unlikely that procedures in the previous century were any less hand to mouth. Money was needed to pay for materials that were not to be found among the patron's immediate resources, and services that were not available in the form of feudal obligations. As buildings became more ambitious, so inevitably they became more expensive. Château Gaillard at Les Andelys, which Richard I built in a hurry, cost the Norman exchequer some 45,000 *livres angevins*.[15] In the next century Salisbury was reckoned to have cost 42,000 marks;[16] and Henry III's part of Westminster Abbey half as much again, i.e. £ 42,000.[17] Twelfth-century costs would have been lower, but so would the incomes be against which

[14] Colvin (1971).   [15] Powicke (1961), pp. 281ff.
[16] Kidson (1993), p. 43.   [17] Brown, Colvin and Taylor (1963), p. 157.

the subventions had to be set. Broadly speaking, the money came from two directions. Some, probably the greater part, was the result of improving the management of existing estates, creating new estates on virgin land, and farming for profit; the rest from the donations of benefactors, who were rewarded by the inclusion of their names on the obit rolls of the churches they helped to build. Bishops might encourage them to give generously by granting indulgences, and sometimes benefactors were organised into guilds which went some way to guarantee a regular income for the building fund.

It is almost impossible to translate the church-building efforts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries into percentages of income or surplus capital, though if it could be done, the figures would be surprisingly high. But no one at the time thought in such terms. The churches were deemed to be necessary, so they had to be built. They were almost literally the power stations which supplied the spiritual energy on which the welfare of society ultimately depended. The proper analogy is with modern wars: if resources do not exist, they have to be created. Religion was one of the principal mainsprings of this economic expansion, and the arts its principal material expression. There was no distinction between the fine and useful arts. In fact no art was ever useless. Even at their most decorative and most fanciful, they were never peripheral to the realities of medieval life. This is where medieval and modern notions of the economic status of the arts part company, and it becomes appropriate to ask what sort of people thought it worthwhile to make these lavish investments, and what they hoped to gain in return.

PATRONAGE

For the people who mattered, medieval life was a pageant presented in two scenes, one religious the other secular. All the parts were type-cast and used the language of symbols; everyone had to dress according to his role; there was a vast array of essential props and accoutrements; and performances were enacted against architectural back-drops specially designed to enhance the action on the stage. With the proviso that it was all taken absolutely seriously, the theatrical image serves very well to explain both the all-pervading function of the arts, and their way of dovetailing into one another. The dramatisation of life was a veritable *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

At the level of patronage the distinction between ecclesiastical and secular art did not neatly coincide. In the formalities of death everyone was brought to church, and most new churches were founded by laymen. Conversely the higher clergy were very largely recruited from the ranks of the feudal nobility, and shared most of the tastes and expectations of their caste. Even awkward

parvenus like Becket were quick to join the prevailing consensus. As nearly all the art work associated with feudal ideas about how life should be lived has disappeared, one needs to be forcibly reminded that there must have been a great deal of it, and that fashions changed as rapidly and radically as they do now, or as they did in church art at the time.

Very little is known about what amenities were considered necessary for the households of the well-to-do before the fourteenth century, even less at the beginning of the eleventh century than at the end of the twelfth. It is generally assumed that at the turn of the millennium living conditions were extremely primitive, in the north more so than in the south; and therefore one notes with interest that before 1200 fireplaces and privies were being built as a matter of course into the walls of the better sort of stone castle. That probably denotes a certain kind of progress. Castles are usually regarded as military installations, and no doubt in the last resort they might have to be defended. But their everyday function was to provide a setting in which lords and ladies could behave like lords and ladies, and in the constant tussle between military effectiveness and residential convenience, the long-term trend was in the latter direction. By the end of the twelfth century the number of castles in western Europe that could withstand a serious siege was not large. Château Gaillard was meant to be one of them, though without a field army it proved as useless as the Maginot line. But it was a glorious place to live and no expense was spared to make it fit for a king. The broken walls of slighted castles give a very poor impression of the colourful elegance amid which the rituals of feudal and courtly life were conducted. Someone once remarked that most works of medieval art were made to be eaten. Whether that was already the case in the twelfth century, a lot were certainly made to be used at table and worn at meals or on other ceremonial occasions.

In the cultivation of stylish sensibilities it was the south that set the pace: Languedoc, Provence and Sicily. In the Norman palace at Palermo, King Roger's private chamber was decorated with marble revetments and mosaics, like his chapel, but also like the palaces of Constantinople which he coveted; and in the orange groves around the city he and his successors built for their delectation exquisite pavilions, sheathed in marble and cooled by fountains and sea breezes. Around the Mediterranean, water was synonymous with civilisation. The Normans in Sicily were heirs to the hydraulic engineering of the Arabs, and their anticipations of the Alhambra put them firmly in a tradition of waterworks that extended back to imperial Rome. This was all part of a way of life which thought marble superior to stone, and silk superior to coarse woollen cloth. To prove themselves worthy of their pretensions to the throne of the Byzantine emperors, the kings of Sicily went to a lot of trouble to set up a

silk industry at Palermo, so that they might wear robes of imperial quality like Roger's mantle which can still be seen at Vienna.[18]

In due course the north succumbed to equivalent seductions, and with them came a predictable softening of manners. Taste in poetry was transformed; so was music; and it is hard to imagine that figure arts alone failed to respond. One of the few objects of eleventh-century household decoration to escape destruction was the Bayeux tapestry, now the sole representative left of a whole class of hangings which must have enlivened the walls of halls and chambers. The subject: a pictorial *chanson de geste* on a contemporary theme, reminds us that the great men of the eleventh century still saw themselves in heroic terms, and one has to imagine the house poet declaiming his epic verses against such a frieze of illustrations. For the Arabs the rewards of the brave were the pleasures of love. Christendom was more coy, but as the twelfth century unfolded, the appetite for prodigies of violence abated a little to make room for tales of chivalry. One would give a lot to know what imagery adorned the private apartments of the lords and ladies of Languedoc, or indeed whether there was any such thing. Not a piece survives; and in the absence of anything that can properly be called secular figure art, the subject has of necessity to be seen exclusively in religious terms. This may or may not be misleading.

The self-importance which delighted in fine possessions and recognised its archetypes among Charlemagne's paladins and the knights of the round table found the gulf between the kingdom of heaven and the kingdoms of this world no wider or more difficult to negotiate than that between history and romance. It was taken for granted that the benefits of religion were the perquisites of noble birth. The pattern of terrestrial relationships was simply extended. Saints were adopted as patrons almost in the classical sense of the word, and gifts in the form of works of art were offered as tokens of good faith. This had always been the case; but whereas in pre-Romanesque times such transactions were few and far between, and confined to the apex of the social scale – only kings and top ecclesiastics took part – the heightened religiosity of the reform era had the effect of spreading the practice to lower levels of the feudal hierarchy. Laymen who stopped short of taking monastic vows, or left it until the last moment, thought it prudent to cater for the welfare of their immortal souls by founding monasteries, or restoring ancient foundations which had come into their possession. The primary purpose of the exercise was to get one's name into the chains of intercessions ultimately addressed to the Almighty. This meant ensuring that the machinery of prayer was in proper working order, in other words that one had access to an establishment of clergy dedicated to the endless repetition of prescribed liturgical routines. It followed that lay patrons had a

---

[18] Schramm and Mütherich (1962), p. 179.

vested interest in promoting the reform movements, for relaxed or tainted worship was liable to be ineffective. The result was not only a lot of new churches, but churches of a new kind, which stressed the distinction between clergy and laity by concentrating all liturgical activity at the east end, and introducing a measure of contrast into the architecture of the two parts. This corresponds to the polemical tone of some of the clerical propaganda generated in the heat of the Investiture Contest, but it should not be taken to mean that clergy and laity were everywhere in a state of hostile confrontation. Rather it represented a sense of order to which both parties subscribed, a willingness on the part of the laity to concede that the clergy could only function effectively if the formalities of separation were observed.

The most spectacular manifestation of lay participation in religious life took the form of penitential pilgrimages to the shrines of major saints. Some of these were positively lucrative, and splendid churches were built from the proceeds. Four of them – St Martial at Limoges, Ste Foy at Conques, St Sernin at Toulouse and Santiago de Compostela – shared a common design, and have come to be known as the 'pilgrimage churches' *par excellence*. But there were many such groups, and the pilgrimage churches are unusual chiefly for being far apart from one another. Similar Romanesque churches tend to occur in clusters, which justify the designation 'regional schools' and conjure up a picture of feudal neighbours competing for the services of the same architect.

The physical expression of the relation between church and patron was the presence of his tomb. Compared with the funerary confections of the later middle ages, those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were for the most part plain to the point of anonymity. The church itself was sufficient monument. New dynasties of royalty continued the Ottonian habit of founding or adopting a fresh burial church for each king. The list of such churches is long and impressive: Bamberg, Speyer and Königslutter in Germany; Westminster, Reading and Faversham in England; St Etienne at Caen, Fontevrault and Barbeau in France; Venosa in Basilicata; Cefalu and Monreale in Sicily; Las Huelgas at Burgos in Castile. These names by no means exhaust the list. The lead given by monarchy was closely followed by the feudal nobility. Dozens of monasteries and priories, mainly Cluniac in the eleventh century but belonging to the reformed orders in the twelfth, housed the mortal remains of their eminent founders.

The shift of preference from one religious order to another is instructive, illustrating the dependence of fashion in art on prevailing modes of spirituality. Cluny never doubted the traditional view that God and the saints shared human delight in precious materials finely wrought. From this it conveniently followed that works of art could be equated with acts of piety, and it was customary for Cluniac houses to receive a great deal of artistic attention. However, exponents

of the harsher kinds of monastic life were not impressed, and the anathemas which Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, hurled at the extravagances of Cluny itself in the wake of Pons de Melgueil's misdemeanours brought the whole Cluniac aesthetic into disrepute.[19] There was never a shortage of distinguished patrons with money to spend on ecclesiastical art, but they persuaded themselves that Cistercian prayers were more likely to command attention in heaven than those which emanated from more relaxed sources. When the Capetian Louis VII opted for burial in his own Cistercian house at Barbeau he started a fashion which royalty everywhere was quite quick to take up. Ironically, but hardly surprisingly, Cistercian architecture soon lost its pristine asperities.

Speyer requires closer attention. Rebuilt on a colossal scale by Conrad II to be his own burial church, it was transformed into a family mausoleum for the Salian dynasty by Henry III; and then at the end of the eleventh century the tombs were rearranged for Henry IV in a setting provocatively calculated to flaunt the sacral kingship which was a principal bone of contention in his row with the Gregorian reformers. This was done by preparing tomb niches in the walls of the transepts and by covering the transepts with ribbed vaults of a kind associated with baldachinos over altars, an association of ideas that would be construed as laying claim to a status little short of sanctity for the occupants of the tombs. It was too much for the pro-papal party, and when Henry IV died in 1106 they successfully denied him the usual obsequies. He was finally laid to rest in 1111, but only in the nave of the cathedral, where the presence of such an obnoxious layman was reluctantly tolerated. The affair had all manner of consequences for the development of funerary art. On the one hand it drew a line between what the church considered permissible and what was not. On the other it established a precedent both for rulers who were beyond reach of strict interpretation of canon law and those who were prepared to make concessions over the location of tomb chapels. The Panteón de los Reyes at the west end of S. Isidoro at León (1063), was built for Ferdinand the Great of León-Castile, who liked to be called emperor and almost certainly knew about Henry III's plans for Speyer. In south Italy the twelfth-century church at Venosa, begun sumptuously but abandoned half-finished, would have been a worthy monument for Robert Guiscard and other members of the Hauteville family. At the opposite end of Europe and lower down the social scale, members of the house of Wettin, then in process of laying the foundations of the fortunes of their dynasty, used the modest twelfth-century Augustinian priory at Petersberg bei Halle as the first of their several burial churches. The pattern was repeated everywhere.

[19] See Bredero (1985), pp. 30ff.

Given the attention lavished on the buildings in which the great were buried, it is curious that effigies took so long to become a standard feature of funerary art. It is also curious that the first full-scale figure to survive, made of bronze not stone, should commemorate the anti-king Rudolf of Suabia, who was killed in 1080 during the civil war with Henry IV – not the most likely candidate for the distinction. It is conceivable that effigies were included in Henry's plans for the imperial tombs at Speyer, but there is no record of any intention to this effect. After Rudolf there was a long pause, as if an ecclesiastical embargo had fallen on such secular conceits, although if so, exceptions were apparently made for the heroes of the First Crusade buried at Jerusalem. Likenesses of the illustrious dead began in earnest in *c.* 1150. In that year Frederick of Wettin, archbishop of Magdeburg died, and was commemorated by another full-scale bronze effigy. Shortly afterwards a large enamel plaque with an image rather than an effigy was made for the tomb of Geoffrey Martel (d. 1151) at Le Mans. Subsequent generations of Plantagenets received stone effigies at Fontevrault before the end of the century; and stone being less prestigious than bronze, its use probably means that the practice was becoming popular. Of these early figures only Frederick of Wettin with his flabby cheeks and hook nose has the aspect of a convincing likeness. There was however one image in circulation which has a good claim to be a contemporary portrait, and that was Becket's. A relief at Sens, from the house where he spent his exile, and a figure in one of the windows of the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury have enough in common to suggest that his features had been recorded.

If at first the physical aspect of persons recently deceased attracted attention only in exceptional circumstances, this was partly because status mattered far more than appearance, but also because the present was completely overshadowed by the past. As the writing of chronicles presupposed, everything that really mattered had happened a long time ago. The central event of history was of course the Incarnation; but the cast list of the religious drama contained endless names, biblical, ecclesiastical and secular, and these were the characters over whom imagination lingered. Theologically their importance might be graded, but fundamentally there was no break in the historical continuum which extended from the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament to the founder of a particular church or the missionary who brought the faith to a particular locality. When images became commonplace, the great men of the past took precedence over all but the greatest of their *epigoni*. That is why there were statues of the royal abbesses of Quedlinburg in the 1120s, and Merovingian kings at St Germain des Prés, Paris, in the 1160s. No one knew what they looked like, nor did it make any difference. It was enough that they should seem wise and holy; they were identified by emblems or inscriptions. Only gradually did founders and early benefactors become lifelike or take on the

appearance of the donors who commissioned their images, a practice which became overt when the *primi fundatores* of Naumburg were honoured with retrospective statues in the middle of the thirteenth century. But this tardiness does not exclude the notion that an element of identification between past and present might not have been present from the start.

Most patrons were content to follow fashion. The leaders were great men actively concerned about the image which the church should present to the world through its churches. In a sense Henry IV was one of them in so far as his cathedral at Speyer was an ecclesiastical statement. For the most part, however, Romanesque architecture was the work of a succession of clerical visionaries, or, to be more precise, visionary collaborations between imaginative clergymen and gifted architects who rose splendidly to the occasion. As a rule the initiative was with the clergy, and the variety of their views was surprisingly wide. Many saw no need to change anything, and were prepared to go on much as before. These were mostly to be found in Germany, especially those parts beyond the Rhine. A few lofty souls like St Bernard thought that religion ought to have as little as possible or preferably nothing at all to do with the arts; and to the extent that art and architecture were unavoidable, they should be simple in the extreme. Others wanted to get back to the pristine purity of the early church and reproduce the prototypes of Christian art. Their outstanding spokesman was Desiderius of Monte Cassino, who rebuilt his abbey on the lines of an early Christian basilica; but the same mood was prevalent among the early Cistercians. Finally there was an influential minority among the grander prelates who chose to interpret the exalted view of the church proclaimed by the reformers as a call for great churches of unprecedented splendour. It is this last group who figure most prominently in histories of architecture; but it is necessary to remember that precisely because their buildings were special efforts, they were in a manner of speaking isolated experiments, even false starts in the search for a satisfactory ecclesiastical style.

Henry IV's Speyer was unique in being a key Romanesque monument which owed everything to a lay patron at loggerheads with advanced clerical opinion. Otherwise four names might be put forward for special recognition. Adhemar who was appointed abbot of St Martial at Limoges in 1063 has perhaps the best right to be called the author of the so-called pilgrimage church formula. William of St Carilef, who began the rebuilding of Durham cathedral in 1093, deserves the credit for the most eloquently monumental of all Romanesque churches. It was the black sheep of Cluny, Pons de Melgueil (1109–23), not St Hugh, who gave the third abbey church there its classical stamp, as though to insist that the heritage of the Caesars had passed into the hands of the church. Finally there was Suger of St Denis. Because St Denis is rightly regarded as the first Gothic church, it is generally supposed that Suger himself must have

been different from earlier Romanesque patrons, whereas in fact he was cast in very much the same mould. It was a stroke of genius to envisage a church as a frame for stained glass windows, but the taste was essentially that of a Cluniac. Adhemar is a shadowy figure, but the other three were all men of the world, accustomed to the exercise of power and influence in high places, deeply involved in the public issues of their day. None had serious intellectual pretensions, although the claim has been made on behalf of Suger.[20] In architectural terms they were all amateurs. After St Denis the initiative passed more and more into the hands of the professional architects and artists, with a perceptible narrowing of the range of innovations. The contrast between the undisciplined prodigality of Romanesque invention, most of which led nowhere, and the systematic, fruitful development of a few selected themes in early Gothic, is perhaps the surest sign of architecture reaching a new maturity. Henceforth clearly defined and mutually respected spheres of competence were recognised in which expert masons attended to the technicalities of construction and design that were a closed book to meddling amateurs, while the clergy applied their learning to the devising of schemes of iconography for the figure arts.

SYMBOLISM AND IMAGERY

From the earliest days of the church, the clergy turned to the Scriptures for suitable texts when they wanted to refer to church buildings. The temple at Jerusalem, the heavenly mansions of the gospels, and St John's vision in Revelation of the new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven, were particularly useful in this respect. Whatever St John may have had in mind when he spoke of the tabernacle of God among men (Revelation 21:3), theologians on the look out for parallels between the Old and New Testaments were in no doubt that it could be construed as an allusion to the Jewish tabernacle which had resided in the holy of holies of Solomon's temple. It therefore became a spectacular instance of the typology which revealed the hidden meaning of religious history. Given the disposition to attach spiritual significance to material objects, it was hardly surprising that the church *qua* building should symbolise the church *qua* institution; but churches were also thought to stand in some vague and unspecified relation of fulfilment with the Old Testament prototype. There is no reason why Solomon's temple should have become a model for a Christian church, and very little evidence to suggest that its dimensions, or those of Ezekiel's specification for its successor, were ever taken very seriously by medieval church designers; although attempts were sometimes

[20] By Panofsky (1979).

made to reproduce objects described in the Old Testament, such as the twelfth-century font at Liège which was based on the molten sea carried by twelve oxen (2 Chronicles 4:2–4). The two columns, Jachin and Boaz, which stood outside the temple, have also been identified.[21] But any resemblance between the early Christian basilicas and the Jewish temple was confined in a very general way to the plan. Paradoxically, the real importance of the temple image for the medieval west was that it reinforced loyalty to the basilican tradition of the early church.

There were two occasions when the symbolism of churches came in for radical review. One was at Constantinople where something like a fully fledged theory surfaced in the wake of the iconoclastic controversy. The other was the on-going inquest which occupied the west for several centuries after the turn of the millennium. The differences between the two are instructive. Both brought early Christian ideas about church design into question, and introduced many revisions. Yet they contrived to go in completely divergent directions which underlined and confirmed the schism between the Greek and Latin churches. The Greek theory was so far reaching as to amount to a veritable fresh start, no doubt because it was an ideological reaction to a traumatic experience. It also had the support of a metropolitan authority. The dominant impression in the west is of a lot of spontaneous interest which stopped well short of either seeking or accepting a uniform solution. It was as though art was not important enough to become an issue of dogma, one of the few things over which differences of opinion could be tolerated. The west was not totally unaware of the verbal warfare which had been waged over the status of icons, and by refusing to take sides it was in a sense opting for the *status quo ante*. The early Christian centuries had no defined attitude about church art, and if after iconoclasm there could be no real return to that state of innocence, a free-for-all was perhaps preferable to the elaborate theological metaphysics which underpinned the Byzantine defence of images.

Byzantine views about church design and church decoration were not strictly part of the icon theory, but were worked out in close conjunction with it. The standard middle Byzantine cross-in-square church surmounted by a dome was tailor-made to display the images spread across its walls and vaults. The building itself was part of the iconography, not just a frame on which pictures were hung. The dome was the symbol of the dome of heaven, occupied by the Pantocrator. The lesser vaults belonged to the celestial hierarchy, descending in order of importance to the saints on the walls, and the living worshippers on the ground. The vertical axis took precedence over the horizontal. To achieve this degree of integration between structure and theology, the architectural

[21] E.g. at Würzburg.

formula and the pictorial programme must have been worked out together, with the images in command. In short, a new type of church was invented expressly for the purpose of making the faith visible, and presenting it in the proper order. Older types of church, less well suited to this task, were no longer built. The principal casualty was the early Christian basilica. Once ubiquitous, it virtually disappeared in the Greek east after the rehabilitation of icons.

It is precisely the coherence and high degree of uniformity of Byzantine art that is missing in the Romanesque west. There was no central office to coordinate ecclesiastical propaganda. Everything depended on the initiative and enterprise of the bishop, abbot or patron who presided over a particular project. They alone decided whether or not there should be any imagery, and what form it should take, and whom to consult for guidance in the preparation of programmes. This left plenty of scope for eccentricities. No two schemes of Romanesque art ever have the same iconography, and the architecture of the churches varied as much as the imagery. This makes it very difficult to generalise about Romanesque art and architecture as a whole, and the situation does not noticeably improve when Romanesque gives way to Gothic. However, certain observations can be made.

In contrast to Byzantium, the architecture of western churches was never subordinated to the presentation of imagery. Rather, it was the other way round: figurative art was always under firm architectonic control, which meant that figures were put in places where it was convenient to have them, like the jambs of doorways, on capitals or in windows. They were in a sense optional extras. The building itself on the other hand could function as a powerful symbol, with or without the aid of images. The basic concept of the basilica was never seriously questioned. It was certainly altered, perhaps even distorted; but this was done by overlaying the simple basilican space-frame with formal features, mainly arches, of which vaults were a special case. It is possible that vaults were sometimes regarded as symbols and were the counterparts of the Byzantine dome, but if so the theory was never worked out with anything like Byzantine thoroughness.

The great difficulty that besets any discussion of architectural symbolism during the middle ages is the shortage of texts which disclose what form it took, or even establish that there was such a thing. The most extensive work which purports to summarise what medieval ecclesiastics thought about churches occurs in the *Rationale divinorum officiorum* composed by Durandus, bishop of Mende, *c.* 1285.[22] Durandus came late to the subject and was not an original thinker. Some of his ideas were anticipated by Honorius of Autun, and might

[22] Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. Beleth (1859).

have occurred to anyone given to spicing his sermons with apt allegories.[23] On the other hand Durandus was sufficiently high in the papal service for him to be the spokesman of official attitudes, if there were any, and his views must have received the curia's imprimatur. The main subject of his book was the symbolism of the mass, and the brief chapter entitled *De ecclesia et eius partibus* was appended to it by way of introduction, an arrangement which leaves no doubt as to where the real heart of the matter was thought to lie. For anyone in search of a full-blown theory of church symbolism, his remarks are singularly disappointing: a collection of moralistic platitudes that would fit almost any church, and cautious to the point of banality. Thus the church is built with four walls; through the teaching of the four evangelists it soars upward into the region of the virtues. Its length is the forebearance with which it suffers adversity; its width is the love which it extends to both its friends and its enemies for the sake of God; its height is the hope of blessings to come. It is all in similar vein, and if this is what was understood by symbolism at the end of the thirteenth century, it is unlikely that it ever contributed anything positive and definite to the serious business of designing churches.

However, it would be wide of the mark to suppose that Durandus was offering a guide to church designers, or that he was compiling a *summa* on symbolism. His chapter was no more than an extremely condensed list of hints to preachers geared to a realistic assessment of what the laity could be expected to comprehend. That may be why he confined himself to the very general features that all churches had in common, such as nave and aisles, walls and doors. Not every church had vaults, but nearly all had a weather-cock, so the cock was included and vaults were not mentioned. A distinction needs to be drawn between simple analogies that anyone could understand, and the more advanced kind that presupposed knowledge of theology and the Bible. The golden age for the higher flights of anagogical exegesis was the twelfth century, when it was the received wisdom that the whole world was a vast collection of allegories, and the urge to uncover hidden religious meanings behind appearances was as insatiable as the curiosity which later went into scientific research. Indeed, it was the science of the day; and by extension the discovery of such meanings in man-made artefacts was applied science. By the time of Durandus, however, enthusiasm for that sort of thinking was already on the wane, at least among the educated classes, though at the level of popular culture it outlasted the middle ages. So his anodyne remarks about churches may reflect a deliberate retrenchment around the central bastion of religious symbolism, namely the mass.

It might have been expected that the two extended accounts of twelfth-century building operations – Suger on St Denis and Gervase on Canterbury –

---

[23] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae, PL* 172, cols. 541–738.

would have included some reference to architectural symbolism. But though both authors went out of their way to demonstrate their interest in vaults, they declined the opportunity to go beyond noting their structural characteristics and performance. Gervase was not interested in symbolism of any sort. Suger was interested, and has some revealing personal remarks about being transported by the beauty of his new choir – especially all the gold and precious stones on display – but he stopped short of explicit allegorical identifications with the spiritual order. What he says is very revealing. He is uplifted – *anagogico more* – from the material to the immaterial, but only to the extent of entering a strange intermediate state which belongs, as he put it, neither entirely to the filth of this world nor to the purity of heaven.[24] If he chose his words carefully, as he seems to have done, several conclusions follow. First, Suger's experience was private, even esoteric; he does not expect everyone to share it. Second, it was selective. His aesthetic soul was ravished by colour and reflected light, not by abstract geometrical shapes. But there was no reason why others of a more cerebral turn of mind should not have been equally moved by pure form. Third and perhaps most importantly, Suger's halfway house represents a limit to the theological effectiveness of visual imagery, whether abstract or pictorial. It was an adjunct to worship of much the same kind as music was. Suger on art is somewhat reminiscent of St Augustine on music.

Suger is invaluable to art historians, but it is impossible to deduce anything very definite about symbolism from his disclosures. It does not follow that symbolism is art-historical wishful thinking; there is far too much evidence for it to be discounted. But in the absence of verbal testimony it has to be inferred by art historians entirely from shapes and images. Some interpretations have been accepted for so long that they have acquired the semblance and status of historical fact, but there are plenty of others over which the shadow of controversy still hangs. In what follows every categorical proposition should be read as hypothetical.

One of the few valuable perceptions to emerge from the pages of Durandus is the typological connection between the Christian church and Solomon's temple. In substance this amounted to nothing more than an arrangement of spaces in linear sequence: a place where the laity assembled, i.e. the nave; a place where the clergy performed their functions, i.e. the choir; and the holy of holies where the altar stood. Two persistent and pervasive assumptions were enshrined in these dispositions. One was a sense of liturgical direction towards the altar, which coincided with the axis of orientation. The other was an instinct to treat holiness as if it were a physical commodity which diminished in degree by stages according to the distance from the altar. Either way the altar

---

[24] Suger, *Liber de rebus* XXXIII, pp. 64–5.

was the supreme focus of attention, and architecturally this was geared to the longitudinal character of a basilican church.

Of the various models which might have suggested themselves to the designers of the first Christian churches, the one that came closest to fulfilling the terms of their commission was the *principia* of a Roman legionary fortress. Essentially this was an assembly hall in which the troops could be mustered, with a raised platform at one end from which they could be harangued by their commanding officer, notionally the emperor. The element of confrontation remained one of the constants underlying all the subsequent elaboration of mainstream church design in the west. Figuratively, it was perhaps most perfectly realised in the basilicas of Norman Sicily, i.e. Cefalu, Monreale and the Capella Palatina in Palermo, where the Pantocrator glares down the length of the church from the apse, much as the imperator might have done in the military paradigm.[25] But the recurrent devotional act which brought man and God face to face was the eucharist, and the solemnity of this encounter at the altar table, reinforced by the presence of relics, was duly acknowledged by setting the altar and its immediate ambience apart from the rest of the church. There were two recognised ways of doing this, both of them inherited from the pre-Christian era. One was to place the altar in a tabernacle or baldachino. The other was to put a vault over the whole area in which the altar stood. Baldachinos were particularly well suited for basilicas, which were incapable of carrying the massive concrete vaults of imperial Roman buildings. As, with very rare exceptions, Roman vaults were the only examples available to western architects, the vaulting option meant in effect relinquishing many of the characteristics of the traditional basilican church.

The archetypal baldachino stood over the spot where St Peter was supposed to be buried in Constantine's basilica, and consisted of an open cross of diagonal arches. Later the arches carried miniature vaults, and the association of a vaulted space with an altar became an established, though by no means a universally accepted convention. Baldachinos remained popular in Italy throughout the middle ages, but when the Carolingians adopted the Roman basilica as the preferred model for their new churches in the north, baldachinos over altars were not considered necessary, partly because there were by that time a great many altars scattered throughout the building.

It may be doubted whether vaults ever became explicit symbols of holiness, although the silence of the documents leaves the question open. However the heightened sense of ecclesiastical decorum which came in the wake of the various reform movements required the holier parts of churches, i.e. where the altars stood and the clergy officiated, to be more dignified than the parts

---

[25] See Demus (1949).

used by the laity. For Durandus the chancel, the head of the church, was lower than the rest to indicate the humility of the clergy, and by his time that was quite often the case. But Romanesque churches took the opposite view. A determined effort was made to gather all the altars together at the east end, the only regular exception being the nave altar for the laity, and these were at first the only parts of the church to be vaulted. Where this differentiation occurred, it was no doubt understood as the symbolic reflection of the correct order of the spiritual hierarchy; but a nod in the direction of a vague principle was not the same as its clear expression. No one ever described the ideal church, and a great deal was left to the imagination and the competence of the architect.

In the eleventh century, anyone who insisted on a vault was obliged to refer back to Roman practice, and accept the consequence that massive shells of rubble and mortar required massive walls to support them. Enterprise made virtue of this necessity, and the result was a veritable aesthetic of monumentality (e.g. Durham), which lent itself to verbal evocations of the impregnable fortress of *ecclesia militans*; or else the contrast between the long, dark vista of a barrel-vaulted nave and the blaze of light around the apse to which it led. This was the speciality of the pilgrimage churches. By contrast Gothic discovered how to put a vault into a basilica. This was done by enlarging the baldachino with its crossed arches and thin shells to fit within the walls, but it remained, visually at any rate, a separate system. The germ of this idea had already been foreshadowed in the presbytery of S. Vitale at Ravenna (sixth century), where a version of Constantine's open-arched baldachino can be seen depicted in mosaic on the vaults. The use of arches or ribs as a geometrical frame for vaults was Roman before it was Christian, and ribbed vaults in churches were almost certainly developed in Italy before they spread north to Germany, France and England. It was the association of ribbed vaults with the imperial tombs at Speyer which offended the church party there, but it remains a moot point whether in the process of being generalised ribs lost or took with them the overtones of holiness they undoubtedly possessed in their baldachino form.

In the course of the twelfth century it became common practice for the great churches of northern France to be entirely composed of cells with ribbed vaults, and if the *croisées d'ogives* still had symbolic connotations, the extension of these to the laity represented a major volte-face on the part of the clergy. The gesture might be construed as the acknowledgement of pastoral care for the laity, but if so it was capable of many nuances. In the cathedral of Laon (second half of the twelfth century) the long vista of nave and choir is a series of baldachinos held aloft on rows of diminutive columns. Here the decisive distinction is not between nave and choir, but between the terrestrial zone of the church militant, represented by the columns, and the spiritual zone of the church

triumphant, represented by the vault system. At Bourges a generation later, any such distinction has disappeared. The columns soar effortlessly upward from ground to vault, spelling out the comforting message to the faithful that the church is all-embracing, and that there is room for everyone in the kingdom of heaven. The interpretative possibilities of these buildings would not be lost on contemporaries; but each was, *sui generis*, as much the work of a powerful imagination as the Medici chapels of Michelangelo or Borromini's S. Ivo, and more akin to religious poetry than religious doctrine. There were no rules. In St Hugh's choir at Lincoln, which was exactly contemporary with Bourges, there is no trace of the baldachino, the vaults are well on the way to becoming an ornamental ceiling, and such symbolism as there is left suggests that it was inspired by the presence of a saint's reliquary.

The great attraction of the early Christian basilica was its well-lit clerestory. When it really was the business of the clerestory windows to fill the church with light – the restored interior of Santa Sabina in Rome (fifth century) gives some idea of the effect – Neoplatonic thoughts about light no doubt occurred to well-educated clergymen. But from the earliest times the upper parts of churches were regarded as the abode of the saints or equivalent personalities from religious history, and with the perfection of stained glass painting the windows became their appointed place. When Theophilus wrote his book, France was already celebrated for its coloured windows, though art historians usually give most of the credit to Suger, and for good measure attribute the prominence of the windows at St Denis to a theory of light metaphysics, which Suger is supposed to have based on a reading of Eriugena's translations of the works of Pseudo-Dionysius in the library of St Denis.[26] But it was colour rather than light that interested Suger, and melodrama rather than metaphysics that the architect of Chartres had in mind when he conceived the interior of a great church entirely around the effect of its windows. Chartres is the only cathedral where the glass works properly, i.e. all the windows are glazed in the same way, so all the light enters the building through colour. The result is a dim religious darkness every bit as profound as at Santiago de Compostela, relieved only by rows of luminous apparitions in the clerestory, with narrative scenes in the aisles to match. The colours are lurid, even apocalyptic, well calculated to impress sensitive souls already saturated with rhetoric about the heavenly Jerusalem and the last things. The correct name for this sort of art is theatre.

The clerestory of Suger's choir at St Denis disappeared in the thirteenth century and it is only surmise that it contained similar manifestations. But there are still twelve columns around the apse and Suger, who had a poet's eye for unseen presences, likened their predecessors to the twelve apostles. Here

---

[26] See Suger, *Liber de rebus, passim*.

he was using an idea which figured in Eusebius' description of Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.[27] That famous building had been destroyed by the Muslim fanatic al-Hakim in 1009, but descriptions of it must have circulated in the west before the success of the First Crusade made its rebuilding possible. The thought may have occurred to Suger spontaneously, as a bit of iconographical opportunism, for St Denis had more columns than most churches, and elsewhere different imagery would be required. Even so, flights of fancy had a habit of hardening into precedents. In the thirteenth century the piers of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris had statues of the apostles attached to them, and the idea was repeated in the choir of Cologne. Suger went on to identify the smaller columns behind the front row with the minor prophets, thereby introducing that relationship of foreshadowing and fulfilment which was the indefatigable theme of medieval typology. Again it is difficult to decide whether he was letting his imagination run away with him, but typology was the mainspring of most of the figure art in churches during the twelfth century.

In the aftermath of the reform movements the church had two ostensible tasks for art to perform. One was to be an aid to teaching. The other, more nebulous, was to make visible, and therefore more immediate, vivid and in a sense more real to feeble, earth-bound minds, the unseen powers and ever-present past events amid which the Christian life was lived. In a much-quoted letter to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, Gregory the Great wrote that those who cannot read words may see pictures: 'Quod est clerico littera, hoc est laico pictura.'[28]. A paraphrase was incorporated into the Decretal of Gratian, and it became the standard justification for church imagery, turning the flank of austere spirituals like St Bernard. That does not make it any the less disingenuous. A great deal of art was produced for the benefit of the clergy, who presumably were not in need of visual aids; and it may be doubted whether many laymen got the message from the images without some sort of verbal commentary. In fact the effort was directed as much heavenwards as to Gratian's 'ignorantes', to show the Almighty that the secret message of world history had been decoded, and the mystical mission of the church made public.

Nevertheless, teaching the laity was an important part of the excercise. Abstract forms like columns and arches are not the most efficient vehicles for putting across abstract ideas, and quite unsuited to the teaching of history. To present itself to the world at large the church needed a new kind of figure art: easily accessible to the public, large in scale and intrinsically valueless; or more precisely, valuable only in respect of its form, not its material. For this purpose

[27] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* III, 34–6.
[28] Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum* IX.209.

the art of monumental sculpture was reinvented. The major programmes of Romanesque and early Gothic sculpture were deployed on the jambs and tympana of portals, in friezes, on screens and on large panels in cloisters. Smaller subjects, often in series, were displayed on capitals. Portal sculpture offered the best opportunities for instruction, and in France this is what Romanesque sculpture usually means. Subjects ranged from single themes like the Ascension at St Sernin, Toulouse, or the apocalyptic vision of St John at Moissac, to outlines of world history in the royal portal at Chartres. At that stage typology became the main principle of organisation: i.e. the Old and New Testaments were set in formal conjunction. Gradually aims and priorities clarified, and by the end of the twelfth century the church itself, sometimes personified as Ecclesia and paired off with the Synagogue, sometimes as St Peter in his capacity as first pope and set over against Melchizedek, sometimes as the bride of Christ and subsumed under the image of the Virgin at the moment of her coronation as the Queen of Heaven, had emerged as the leading protagonist. Around the Virgin endless subsidiary themes proliferated, one of the earliest and most popular being the Tree of Jesse, a genealogical table of the ancestors of Christ. There was no limit to the biblical sources, nor was the iconography limited to purely religious material. The labours of the months, the signs of the Zodiac, the seven liberal arts, the virtues and vices, were all conscripted to create an appropriate impression of everything coming together under the auspices of religion.

Stone sculpture began by adding touches of relief to the outlines of painting, and as long as the third dimension remained subordinate, reliefs continued to possess the self-contained character of illustrations, which suited their didactic purpose. But the third dimension contained the promise of illusion and drama. It was no great step from columns which were anthropomorphic only as allegories, to columns which actually burgeoned into human form. In and around the Ile de France, the shafts which articulated the recessed orders of doorways were sometimes turned into column figures. At first more column than figure (e.g. at Le Mans or Chartres), such statues gradually loosened up in posture and gesture, and became more life-like; but wherever they were present they made going into church an encounter with personalities from religious history. They were also part of the *mis-en-scène* of liturgical and dramatic enactments, such as the Beauvais play of Daniel, which were performed outside great churches on appropriate feast days. It took time for the church to realise that images could generate emotions as well as personify abstractions or illustrate narratives. In the twelfth century the statues were still seldom more than surrogates; but in at least one case, St Gilles du Gard, the façade of the abbey was quite explicitly modelled on the *scaena frons* of a Roman theatre, complete with stage and statues in niches.

Portals stood on lines of demarcation between consecrated and unconsecrated space; passage was meant to be traumatic. It was the same inside where nave and choir met. There the rood cross stood over the nave altar as a perpetual reminder of the price of salvation. In due course this too became the focus of intense emotions, as the church discovered it was safer to encourage the laity to feel about their religion than to think about it. So the Virgin at the foot of the cross became the *mater dolorosa*, and around the cross itself the marvellous tales that formed the Golden Legend were already being woven, some of which were used to enrich the imagery of the rood.

Only rarely were all the iconographical stops pulled out. In very different ways Monreale in Sicily and Chartres in France were exceptional in this respect. Both were propaganda buildings, and the comparison between them makes it abundantly clear that even at the end of the twelfth century the church had no monopoly of church art, nor powers of censorship. Monreale makes no concessions to modernity. The columns were *spolia*; there were no vaults; the doors were bronze; the decoration veneers of marble surmounted by vast spreads of mosaic. The sheer quantity of mosaic was without parallel, but otherwise there could hardly have been a more emphatic reaffirmation of the whole early Christian tradition. When Pope Lucius III said that nothing like it had been seen since the days of antiquity, he was perhaps being perceptive as well as complimentary. The bias of the iconography was as retardataire as the style. Its aim was to present Christ as the fulfilment of the promises and prophecies of the Old Testament, and this was done with immense typological thoroughness. It did not, however, extend beyond Christ to the church. Apart from a selection of saints beneath the Pantocrator on the apse and in the adjacent chapels, the Christian era was represented solely by the founder of Monreale, William II, receiving his crown directly from Christ himself. This was a reiteration of the claim made by his grandfather, Roger II, in a mosaic in the church of the Martorana at Palermo, and by implication the whole self-promoting apparatus of church art was declared null and void.

In virtually every conceivable way the 1194 cathedral of Chartres was the antithesis of Monreale. Architecturally avant-garde, vaulted throughout, with stained glass taking the place of mosaic, and sculpture *en masse* instead of bronze doors, its manifest purpose was to affirm the absolute, unconditional necessity of the church, and to this end it assembled a multitude of images, inside as well as out, as if to convey an impression of the whole church throughout history converging on Chartres to attend the celebration of mass. Chartres strove hard to be a worthy image of the church universal, and of all the high Gothic cathedrals it came closest to the vision of itself which the church might have been tempted to think was not far off fulfilment during the pontificate of Innocent III.

Nevertheless, Chartres was not built for Innocent III but for the clergy of Chartres. At best it represented the ideal for a group of like-minded French bishops at a moment when circumstances were propitious for grandiose demonstrations. These depended as much on the talent of craftsmen as on the clergy who created the opportunities. The will-to-art of the middle ages was corporate, not individual. At the end of the twelfth century, thanks to sustained encouragement over several generations, there happened to be plenty of good architects and competent stone carvers in northern France; whereas mosaic workers were only to be had in Italy. For equivalent concentrations of skilled metalworkers it is necessary to look to the Low Countries and the Rhineland, and there the churches were correspondingly dull and old-fashioned. There was a very considerable element of expediency, of settling for what the available resources of artistic talent could produce, behind the distribution of Romanesque and Gothic works. Indeed, in the last resort the most ambitious and imaginative patrons, no matter where they were, could do nothing without gifted craftsmen to turn their vague aspirations into specific forms.

THE CRAFTSMEN

The manual of Theophilus provides a craftsman's basis for distinguishing between craftsmen. Whether or not it was common in his time for the same man to be proficient in both painting and metalwork, he clearly thought of these as related activities, whereas stone carvers, despite sculpture being one of the figure arts, were evidently still a branch of the stone masons who practised architecture. This looks like classification by materials and tools rather than forms. On the other hand, though Theophilus does not say as much, what really set the architects apart from everyone else was the extent to which they relied on what they called geometry. On the tombstone of Hugues Libergier, master mason of St Nicaise at Rheims, who died in 1263, the tools of his trade were represented by a measuring rod, a square and a pair of callipers; no axe, saw, chisel or the like is to be seen. This exclusive concern with measuring and the implied retreat from the masons' yard were perhaps thirteenth-century refinements; but the notion that the mason's primary task was to devise abstract geometrical shapes with rulers and compasses or their large-scale equivalents was not recent. In a sense it had always been an essential part of the business of being an architect, but with Gothic it became all-important.

The position of the figure arts was more complicated. In the days of Polykleitos the proportions of the human figure had been carefully regulated by mathematical canons, and as long as the great masters of antiquity were respected, some sense of the mathematical foundation of the human form may

have persisted. But the canons were embodied primarily in free-standing statues which ceased to be made after the fifth century AD. In any case the canons had long since ceased to be sacrosanct, and were subject to calculated distortions, such as the enlarged heads with staring eyes and hieratic postures at Palmyra and the Fayoum, which were better suited for Christian purposes. The ideals of early Christian art were handed down to the middle ages not enshrined in a theory but by the copying of examples. Here illuminated manuscripts were the principal channels of transmission. Pictures seldom survived the process without undergoing some modification, and from the ninth century onwards mobile Byzantine images might inject further enrichments into the mixture. At the turn of the millennium the range of pictorial styles available to western art was very wide indeed.

Theophilus hints at one of the ways in which this profusion was controlled. The level at which painters and metalworkers met was the drawing stage. It is not to be supposed that Theophilus taught his monastic craftsmen to use one style of drawing when they were making pictures and another when they were making enamels. All the drawing would be done in the same way, and the firm, clear outlines of most Romanesque figure art leave little doubt that metalwork enjoyed the priority. It so happened that the dominant style of Anglo-Saxon England was based on a nervous, impressionistic way of drawing, far removed from the world of modelling, which had been imported from the Carolingian empire in the form of the ninth-century Utrecht Psalter; and as a result the arrival of Romanesque in England *c.* 1060 is exceptionally easy to recognise. This is not to say that Romanesque painting was the side effect of a production merger. There were good reasons why metalwork should assume a certain primacy among the so-called minor arts. An important aspect of the religious revival was the cult of relics. This produced a spectacular increase in the volume of pilgrimage traffic, but another symptom was the translation of relics into bigger and better reliquaries. In the vicinity of places where metalwork was an established industry, that is, principally the diocese of Liège, north Germany and the Limousin, reverence for relics generated a lot of business for the men who made altars and reliquaries. For a time at least in the eleventh century they received, as repositories of holy objects, as much if not more artistic attention than the churches themselves. It may also be surmised that the impulse to encrust churches with durable plastic ornament, which appeared quite suddenly everywhere at the end of the eleventh century, sprang from a desire to match the building to the reliquary. From this point of view Suger's stained glass windows might be seen as the architectural equivalent of enamels, and connected with his paramount desire to honour the house saints of St Denis. Conversely the more prestigious reliquaries began to acquire some of the characteristics of churches. By the end of the twelfth century this counter-trend had not yet

gone very far: an occasional domed reliquary and deeper arches around figures in high relief. In fact the assimilation showed in sculpture sooner than in architecture. The influence of the goldsmith Nicholas of Verdun, who was almost certainly responsible for the largest and most sumptuous of all the *Hausschreine*, that of the Three Kings at Cologne, made sometime between 1181 and 1205, was felt as much in monumental sculpture as in works on a miniature scale; and the drapery convention that he seems to have invented, the *Muldenstil*, clearly owed much to a first-hand acquaintance with antique statues. Paradoxically, by leading the way back to the mainstream of classical sculpture, he ensured the eventual surrender of the stylistic initiative to the architectural sculptors of Paris and Reims.

It is in the development of stone carving during the two centuries after its reinvention at the end of the eleventh century that the long-term aims of western figure art were most clearly, if only gradually, revealed. There were at first two very different aspects to the revival. In the south, i.e. Italy, Provence, the Rhône Valley and Languedoc, where there were plenty of Roman remains, it was always possible for aspiring sculptors to consult actual examples of their craft. One of the first to parade his classical pedigree was Wiligelmo who carved reliefs for the cathedral of Modena during the first decade of the twelfth century. A sense of the classical past was never far below the surface in that part of the world, and in Tuscany and Provence it produced a veritable proto-renaissance several decades later. In the north, however, the only material to which stone carvers could turn for models to copy was to be found among the minor arts. Ivories and metal reliefs were sometimes conscripted for the purpose, but manuscript illuminations were far more common. There is abundant evidence that the first generation of Romanesque stone masons consulted monastic libraries, scriptoria or hypothetical pattern books in which collections of drawings used for the decoration of manuscripts are supposed to have been preserved. But though the subject matter came from the minor arts, stone was the decisive factor. The necessary preconditions for all Romanesque sculpture were the availability of suitable tools and the acquisition of the skill to use them. To begin with, training must have been rudimentary, a self-imposed regime of trial and error rather than supervised instruction, which probably accounts for the enormous variety in standards of attainment. A lot of Romanesque sculpture does not rise above the level of folk art, but there are capitals composed with an instinct for pure pattern which puts them into the top league, while the sharp, metallic delineation of drapery, the unnatural postures and exaggerated gestures of the figures in the big portals such as Moissac, Autun and Vézelay capture the mood of the overheated rhetoric of the day better than anything in other media. In their sense of religious foreboding the French portals were equalled only by a handful of English manuscripts: the series of illustrated

Bibles known as the Bury, Lambeth and Winchester Bibles, to which the St Albans Psalter can be added. The former represent the brilliant début of a new art form; the latter the climax of a long and distinguished tradition of English painting. Yet the former no less than the latter were a stylistic cul-de-sac.

The sheer intensity and exuberance of the best Romanesque art, whether sculpture or painting, are now so much admired that the comparative brevity of its efflorescence and its failure to lead anywhere tend to get overlooked. It was an expressive art that had to wait until the arrival of modern expressionistic theories about the nature of art before it found a truly appreciative audience. Historically the fact that it appeals to modern taste is irrelevant. In its own time it fell victim to the rational temper of the late twelfth century which evidently preferred its art to be lucid rather than lurid. In that atmosphere sculpture revised its aims, repudiated Romanesque as a false start, and settled down to the more prosaic task of bringing past and future events into the present on terms that were less frightening and more life-like. That meant curbing untrammelled flights of artistic fancy. The tremendous stylisations subsided into bland essays on the theme of the calm and noble saint; and clear narratives took precedence over shock tactics. For such purposes Byzantine ivories were better models, and the *Muldenstil* offered the added attraction of a return to classical antiquity. But neither Byzantium nor antiquity was anything more than a catalyst. Until painters much later in the middle ages developed techniques of perspective that eventually gave them command of a totally imaginary space which they could populate and organise at will, sculpture was the only way of turning real space into a world of make-believe. The disposition to think of statues as surrogate presences and groups of statues as enacting scenes from sacred drama required, in the name of consistency, that statues should be convincing illusions in themselves. A statue of St John should be St John, not a symbol of St John. It was the deepening sense of religious theatre that supplied the motive and the impetus which launched western art into its long pursuit of realism. From this point of view the decisive turning point was the second half of the twelfth century. But although historians of art can detect the new tendency in France before 1200, progress there was slow and seldom wholehearted, perhaps because it was restrained by the conviction that the main purpose of imagery was to teach. To see where it could lead it is necessary to go beyond Chartres, Paris or even Rheims, to the eastern confines of Germany, where there were no such inhibitions. Inside the west choir of the cathedral of Naumburg (*c.* 1249), and even more outside the west choir screen, real space, the space of the sculpture and the space of religion are completely and convincingly merged, while the gestures of the statues have the exaggerated emphasis of mime. If the sense of theatre anticipated the what-it-would-have-been-like-to-have-been-there

kind of art that the Italians of the next century would begin to explore, the celebration of past history to which the west choir was dedicated belonged as much to the previous century. For these reasons Naumburg has all the value of a laboratory test-case, which completely outweighs its remoteness from the main centres of innovation and development.

That leaves the architects. The idea of the mid-twelfth century as an *Achsenzeit* for all the arts has its roots in the appearance of Gothic at St Denis *c.* 1140. That something important happened to architecture at that time is not in doubt, but to grasp its proper significance it needs to be seen against the background of the whole history of church building extending back to antiquity when the prototypes were established. The first epoch in the transmission of those ideas took place under the auspices of the Carolingians. Although there is no documentary evidence to suggest that there was anything for architecture corresponding to the *Schola cantorum* at Metz which took charge of the preservation and dissemination of the Roman chant in northern Europe, the number of basilican churches built under direct or indirect Carolingian patronage was large enough for it to be inferred that a degree of uniformity was imposed on church buildings in much the same way as the liturgy and the chants were standardised. This effort not only established the basilican type of church in large parts of north-west Europe, but created a special art and architectural relationship between Italy and the Carolingian heartland – the middle section of the tripartite partition of 843, which far outlasted its brief political counterpart. It also fixed the centre of gravity around which the architectural profession revolved during the next five centuries firmly in the area between the Seine and the Rhine.

A map of the great churches of Europe on the eve of the great outburst of Romanesque building activity would show a very uneven distribution. There would be concentrations in Rome, Milan and Ravenna, dating from the early Christian period, and a rather more even spread across the cathedral cities of northern France and the German lands to the east which were primarily the result of Carolingian enterprise. Elsewhere they would be few and far between. Then, if the Romanesque contribution were to be superimposed on the same map, the additions would be found predominantly on the fringes: England, Normandy, the Loire, western France, Languedoc, Auvergne, Provence, northern Spain, Catalonia, Apulia. Northern Italy would be the outstanding exception. From this it may be deduced that much Romanesque was a catching-up operation in what were, architecturally speaking, the underdeveloped areas of Europe. As the new churches were on the whole structurally more ambitious than the early Christian/Carolingian basilicas, the discrepancy tends to give the impression that the initiative had passed from the centre to the periphery, but this is deceptive.

In places like Rome which already had all the churches it needed, ecclesiastical architecture during the middle ages seldom got beyond repairs and restorations. Such regard for ancient and venerable monuments was not restricted to the great and famous. Throughout Europe it was not uncommon for some token trace of the first church on a particular site to be preserved in its successors, even when these were built in a different style and on a larger scale. Historians of architecture, no less than other historians, are apt to concentrate on the changes to be explained, but the continuity of identity and respect for the traditions of a locality were every bit as important as keeping abreast of the latest fashions. In regions where the basilica was the recognised type of great church, basilicas continued to be built. In the north their first response to the challenge of ecclesiastical reform was to become very big indeed. The naves of some of the early eleventh-century cathedrals of the Rhineland and south Germany, e.g. Strasbourg, Würzburg, Regensburg, achieved widths of over 15 metres, which were hardly ever surpassed. Their contemporaries in France, the so-called Capetian basilicas, were no less spacious. Gothic Chartres, the widest of all French Gothic cathedrals (except Albi), stands on foundations laid down for Bishop Fulbert in 1020. In Italy size mattered less than quality of materials. South of the Apennines all the effort went into making basilicas beautiful, which meant colourful to look at. In Tuscany Pisa cathedral was completely clad, inside and out, with striped marble revetments. S. Miniato in Florence settled for a patterned interior and a façade to match. Lazio and Campania, where Monte Cassino was the undisputed criterion of what a great church should be, relied more on painting. It is clear that Monreale, though a late and special case, belonged to a recognised category, and was only the most expensive example of an aesthetic of colour that went hand in hand with these conservative structures.

What in greater or less degree all Romanesque in the narrower and more precise sense of the word had in common over against the basilican tradition was a propensity for dressing the walls of churches with systems of plastic articulation. The principal formal instrument was a structural frame comprising supports, capitals and arches. These were applied to surfaces, spanned aisles and later carried vaults. Apart from capitals which were sometimes carved, additions of this kind were all masons' work, and in proportion as they became the most conspicuous features of a church, so did architecture take precedence over the other arts in church design. As shapes and frames they performed the aesthetic function of monumentalising churches, and were perhaps vehicles for symbolism; as reinforcements they enhanced the carrying capacity of walls and made vaulting possible.

There can be little doubt that, as with vaults, the ultimate sources of this articulated architecture were Roman, but it came from imperial rather than

early Christian Rome. The willingness to borrow ideas from pagan monuments seems to indicate that unwanted associations could be discarded at will. In its later decorative phase Moorish patterns would be coopted into the repertory of Romanesque ornament. The vaulted halls of imperial Rome were as different from the basilican churches as it was possible to be, and between them they represented the limits within which the choices available to medieval church builders fell. Vaulting was the critical issue. The articulation could be inserted into a basilican space frame without requiring drastic modifications, but according to all Roman precedents, to construct a masonry vault on thin walls pierced by large clerestory windows was a technical impossibility. Only at Ravenna had architects of the lower empire experimented with light vaults made of terracotta tubes, but there is no evidence that these were known to the medieval west. When, for whatever reason, vaults became fashionable, it might be thought that the days of the basilica were numbered. But Romanesque monumentality had its limitations. Several of the more idiosyncratic designs, e.g. Tournus, Cluny, Durham, tried to salvage the clerestory, which was the principal casualty of the vaulted church. Sometimes vaults were confined to the choir. The English on the whole preferred to keep the windows and were often prepared to dispense with vaults altogether if it came to a choice between them. In the event, however, what proved to be the long-term solution was reached from the opposite direction. In the second quarter of the twelfth century a handful of enterprising French architects, rather than allow heavy vaults to dictate the architectural character of the whole church, set out to develop a new kind of vault that would permit them to have the best of both worlds. The result was Gothic.

In the nineteenth century a great mystique was built up around the alleged originality of Gothic ribbed vaulting. Viollet-le-Duc insisted that it owed nothing to Roman practice and made it the central plank in the fresh-start theory of Gothic. This claim, if not totally untrue, was a gross overstatement, for the Romans had used ribs, and in precisely the same mathematical configurations as the medieval French. What was really novel about Gothic was not so much the solution itself as the emancipation from dependence on precedents. Instead of trying to find ancient examples which would show them what to do, Gothic architects trusted entirely to what they took to be the permanent principles of all architecture. For the twelfth century that sort of reappraisal normally meant that an authoritative classical text had resurfaced. There were never many Latin works on the subject of architecture, and the only writer listed in the *Didascalicon* of Hugh of St Victor was Vitruvius.[29] Copies of Vitruvius were certainly

---

[29] Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. Buttimer, p. 84.

in circulation north of the Alps between the time of Einhard and the time of Hugh, and the occasional appearance of the giant order[30] in Romanesque churches in France and England suggests that someone, not necessarily an architect, had paid attention to him. But all interest in Vitruvius seems to have evaporated when Gothic was invented, probably because he had nothing to say about vaults. The one classical author who devoted a whole treatise to the subject of vaults was Heron of Alexandria. Unlike Vitruvius, whose importance was marginal until he was discovered by the Renaissance, Heron's manual remained in active service among Roman engineer-architects throughout the 500 years between Nero and Justinian. It was written in Greek, and disappeared from view after the restoration of the Hagia Sophia in 564. Although no trace of it has survived, some idea of its contents can be derived from Heron's extant writings.[31] He was fundamentally a mathematician, and his interest in architecture was very largely centred on the mathematics of architectural shapes. When Agathias described Anthemius of Tralles, the first architect of the Hagia Sophia, as someone who had reached the summit of mathematical knowledge and whose skills were concerned with those inventions of engineers 'who applied geometry to solid matter' and 'made copies or as it were models of things that are', the analogy between the architect and the craftsman *demiourgos* of Plato's *Timaeus* was not far from his mind. This was essentially Heron's notion of architecture, and although the end product was entirely different, Gothic subscribed to the same ideal. The architects who invented it had very clear ideas of the role of applied geometry in the design of buildings. Left to their own devices they went to extremes of abstract form. From this point of view Gothic can be seen as a successful effort on the part of the professionals to capture the initiative from well-meaning amateur patrons like Pons de Melgueil or Suger, and they did it by parading their mathematical prowess. There is, of course, no question of Latin translations of manuscripts of Heron miraculously turning up in northern France; but this was not necessary, because the mathematical rules for composing shapes had never been lost. So long as the profession of architecture remained in being through the Dark Ages, which it did in Italy, the principles of classical design were safe, and it did not greatly matter that for centuries they were dormant. A basilica was little more than walls on a ground plan, pierced by arcades, windows and doors, and covered by a timber roof. With the articulating systems of Romanesque the complications began to multiply, and Gothic vaults compounded the complexity still further. But each

---

[30] A column that passes through two or more sections of an elevation. See Vitruvius *De architectura* I, Loeb edn, pp. 258–9.

[31] Heron of Alexandria, *Codex Constantinopolitanus*.

fresh step was taken in accordance with the received rules. The ratios which controlled the shapes of arches were the same as those which governed ground plans and space frames. A pointed arch was simply an arch with two centres instead of one, and the radius related to the span by ratios other than 1:2. How much of this might have been found in Heron's treatise is impossible to say, but if there was no connection at all, the mathematical coincidences between Gothic and Roman vaults are remarkable.

The stages through which the great church passed had their parallel in the progress of the architect from *primus inter pares* among the masons to designer and consultant expert. Much later in the middle ages a Frenchman, Jean Mignot, acting in the capacity of consultant at Milan in 1400, used the expression 'science of architecture' as the ultimate criterion in controversy.[32] Precisely what 'science' meant on that occasion is by no means clear, but it was something which, so far as he was concerned, took precedence over art – as if art was something random or capricious – and consisted largely, if not entirely, of a sort of geometry. There is not much in the way of evidence for architectural geometry in the form of texts and working drawings from masonic lodges before Mignot's time, but the churches themselves show conclusively that it was present at least as far back as the twelfth century. The designs of cathedral apses at Sens, Laon, Notre Dame and Canterbury reveal not only an ability to cope with the construction of the more recherché of the regular polygons, but a grasp of their geometrical properties that implies either a lot of experiment on the drawing board or the survival of practical know-how from antiquity.

In one sense the applied geometry of Gothic grew directly out of mathematical formulae inherited from antiquity, and merely registered their more intensive use. In another, however, the emphasis on drawing marked an important change of status. In pre-Romanesque buildings where dimensions were comparatively few and relatively large, the ratios which linked them together were either expressed in terms of familiar approximations, or else worked out by means of simple calculations. Drawing played very little part in the business, and architects were often the only members of society whose work habitually required them to think in terms of numbers. For several centuries architecture was also the one profession which needed accurate measures and used them with precision. A curious side effect of this monopoly was the role architectural ratios played in transforming the metrology of the ancient world into that of pre-metric Europe.[33] By the twelfth century architects were no longer unique in this way, but simply one group of numerate specialists among many, and their increasing reliance on drawing had the effect of bringing them into a

---

[32] Mignot, *Annali*, p. 202.   [33] Kidson (1990).

much closer association with the other arts.[34] By their very nature architectural drawing and figure drawing were bound to remain distinct, but the extent to which they were becoming assimilated into a common art world can be seen in the metalwork and manuscripts of the thirteenth century when shrines became miniature churches and Gothic architectural fantasies provided the frames for painted figures in much the same way as the cathedrals did for monumental sculpture.

The year 1200 is no place to draw a line across the history of the visual arts. Very little of significance stopped or started at that time. With hindsight, the best that can be said is that a slackening of pace may be detected in the prodigious spate of creative activity that had been so conspicuous in the preceding century. Many once-promising Romanesque initiatives had flourished briefly, then lost their momentum and ground to a halt; but a few were going from strength to strength, and would soon coalesce to form the Gothic consensus of the later middle ages. At the other end of the period under review the reverse was true. Tacit assumptions which had presided over the European art world for hundreds of years, though still unchallenged, were soon to be eroded by the shock waves of the first ideological crisis experienced by western Christendom. All the arts were disturbed by the religious excitement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which in the long view are apt to appear as a chaotic interlude between two eras of relative unanimity. That in itself gives the period a sort of negative identity; and the historical interest of the fundamental reorientation of the arts that began to take shape in the midst of the turmoil more than outweighs the absence of defining characteristics.

---

[34] See Villard-de-Honnecourt, ed. Hahnloser (1972).

PRIMARY SOURCES

ʿAbd Allah b. Buluggin, *Al-Tibyan*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo (1963); annotated trans. A. Tibi, *Memoirs of ʿAbd Allah b. Buluggin last Zirid Amir of Granada*, Leiden (1986)

ʿAbd al-Wahid al-Marrakushi, *Al-Muʾjib*, ed. M.S. al-ʿUryan, Cairo (1949); Spanish trans. A. Huici Miranda, Tetuan (1955)

Abelard, Peter, *Collationes* (also known under the title *Dialogus*), ed. and trans. J. Marenbon and G. Orlandi, *Peter Abelard, Collationes* (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (2001)

Abelard, Peter, *Dialectica*, ed. L. M. de Rijk, 2nd edn, Assen (1970)

Abelard, Peter, *Historia calamitatum: texte critique avec une introduction*, ed. J. Monfrin, Paris (1959)

Abelard, Peter, *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise*, trans. B. Radice, Harmondsworth (1974)

Abelard, Peter, *Letters IX–XIV*, ed. E. R. Smits, Groningen (1983)

Abelard, Peter, *Opera*, PL 178

'Abelard's Rule for religious women', ed. T. P. McLaughlin, *Mediaeval Studies* 18 (1956), 241–92

Abelard, Peter, *Sic et non*, ed. B. Boyer and R. McKeon, Chicago (1976–7)

Abraham ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah*, ed. and trans. G. D. Cohen, (Jewish Publication Society of America), Philadelphia (1967)

Abu Salih, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries, Attributed to Abu Salih, the Armenian*, ed. and trans. B. T. A. Evettes, with notes by A. J. Butler, Oxford, (1895)

Accursius, *Glossa ordinaria* in *Corpus juris civilis*, Venice (1497)

Accursius, *Glossa ordinaria*, Antwerp (1575)

Acta concilii Lumbariensis, in Bouquet, XIV, cols. 431–4

Acta dedicationis ecclesiae Barcinonensis [1058], in Mansi 19, cols. 880–3

Acta Innocentii papae III, ed. T. Haluscynskij (Commissio ad redigendum codicem juris canonici orientalis, Fontes, 2), Rome (1944)

Acta Lanfranci, in *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols., Oxford (1892–9), I, 287–92

Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium, ed. G. Busson and A. Ledru, *Archives Historiques du Maine*, II, Le Mans (1901)

Acta pontificum Romanorum inedita, ed. J. Pflugk-Harttung, 3 vols., Tübingen and Stuttgart (1881–6)

Adalbero of Laon, *Carmen ad Rotbertum regem*, ed. C. Carozzi, *Poème au roi Robert: introduction, édition et traduction* (Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge 32), Paris (1979)

Adalbert of Bologna (*Adalbertus Samaritanus*), *Praecepta dictaminum*, ed. F. J. Schmale, (MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 3), Weimar (1961)

Adam of Balsham, *Ars disserendi*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello, *Adam Balsamiensis Parvipontani Ars disserendi (Dialectica Alexandri)* (Twelfth Century Logic 1), Rome (1956)

Adelard of Bath, ed. and trans. C. Burnett, *Adelard of Bath, Conversations with his Nephew, On the Same and the Different, Questions on Natural Science and On Birds* (Cambridge Medieval Classics 9), Cambridge (1998)

Adelard of Bath, *De eodem et diverso*, ed. H. Willner, *Des Adelard von Bath Traktat de eodem et diverso* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters IV. 1), Münster (1903)

Adelman of Liège, *Letter to Berengar*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, 'Textes latins du XIe au XIIe siècle', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 8 (1967), 476–93

Adhemar of Chabannes, *Chronique*, ed. J. Chavanon, Paris (1897)

Adhemar of Chabannes: Delisle, L., 'Notices sur les manuscrits originaux d'Adémar de Chabannes', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 35 (1896), 269–72

Adrian IV, *Epistolae*, PL 188, cols. 1361–1640

Aelred of Rievaulx, *Sermones*, PL 195, cols. 209–500

Aelred of Rievaulx, *Speculum charitatis*, PL 195, cols. 501–620

Aelred of Rievaulx, *Vita sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris*, in R. Twysden (ed.), *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores*, x, London (1652), cols. 369–414; trans. J. Bertram, *The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor, by Blessed Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx*, 2nd edn, Southampton (1997)

Aimoin of Fleury, *Vita Abbonis Floriacensis*, PL 139, cols. 387–414

Alan of Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, ed. R. Bossuat (Textes philosophiques du moyen âge 1), Paris (1955); trans. J. J. Sheridan, *Anticlaudianus or the Good and Perfect Man*, Toronto (1973)

Alan of Lille, *De fide catholica*, PL 210, cols. 306–430

Alan of Lille, *De planctu Naturae*, ed. N. M. Häring, 'Alan of Lille, *De planctu Naturae*', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd series, 19 (1978), 797–879; trans. J. J. Sheridan, *The Plaint of Nature*, Toronto (1980)

Alan of Lille, *Opera*, PL 210

al-Baydhaq, *Kitab al-Ansab*, ed. with French trans (Les Mémoires d'al Baidak), in E. Lévi-Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, Paris (1928)

Alberic of Monte Cassino, *Breviarium de dictamine*, in L. von Rockinger, *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des elften bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., Munich, I (1863–4), pp. 29–46

Alberic of Monte Cassino, *Dictaminum radii*, ed. D. M. Inguanez and H. M. Willard, *Alberici Casinensis Flores rhetorici* (Miscellanea Cassinese 14), Monte Cassino (1938)

Alexander II, *Epistolae et diplomata*, PL 146, cols. 1279–1430; ed. J. Pflugk-Harttung, *Iter Italicum*, Stuttgart (1883); reprinted Turin, 1960 and 1967)

Alexander III, *Epistolae*, *PL* 200, cols. 69–1320

Alfano of Salerno, *Carmina*, *PL* 147, cols. 1219c–1268a

Alger of Liège, *De misericordia et iustitia*, ed. R. Kretschmar, *Alger von Lüttichs Traktat 'De misericordia et iustitia': ein kanonistischer Konkordanzversuch aus der Zeit des Investiturstreits* (Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter 2) Sigmaringen (1985)

Al-Idrisi, Muhammad ibn Muhammed, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrîsî: texte arabe publié pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de Paris et d'Oxford*, ed. and trans. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, Leiden (1866)

Al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, ed. I. Abbas, Beirut (1968); trans. P. de Gayangos, *History of the Mohammaden Dynasties in Spain*, 2 vols., London (1840–1)

Altercatio inter Urbanum et Clementem, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 169–72

Analecta hymnica medii aevi, ed. G. M. Dreves and C. Blume, 55 vols., Leipzig (1886–922); *Register* by M. Lutolf, 2 vols. in 3, Berne (1978)

Andrew of Fleury, *Miracula s. Benedicti*, ed. E. de Certain, *Les Miracles de Saint Benoît, écrits par Adrevald, Aimoin, André, Raoul Tortaire et Hugues de Sainte Marie, moines de Fleury*, Paris (1858), pp. 173–276

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle, Oxford (1892)

Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints, ed. M. Lapidge, (Henry Bradshaw Society 106), London (1991)

Anna Komnena, *Alexiade*, Paris (1967)

Annales Altahenses maiores, ed. W. von Giesebrecht and E. von Oefele, *MGH SRG*, 2nd edn

Annales monastici (RS 36), London (1864–9)

Annals of Niederaltaich, *MGH SS* xx, pp. 782–824

Anon., *De heresi Catharorum*, see Anselm of Alessandria, *Tractatus de hereticis*

Anon., *De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, ed. A. Boutemy, 'Une version médiévale inconnue de la légende d'Orphée', in *Hommages à Joseph Bidez et à Franz Cumont* (Collection Latomus 2), Brussels (1941), pp. 43–70

Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens, part 2, trans. A. Abouna, notes by J. M. Fiey, (CSCO 354, Scriptores Syri 154) Louvain (1974); Armenian trans. L. Ter Petrosyan, Erevan (1982)

'Anonymous of York' ('Anglo-Norman Anonymous'), *Tractatus Eboracenses* I–VI, *MGH Libelli* III, pp. 642–87

'Anonymous of York' ('Anglo-Norman Anonymous'), *Die Texte des normannischen Anonymus*, ed. K. Pellens, Wiesbaden (1966)

Anselm of Alessandria, *Tractatus de hereticis*, ed. A. Dondaine, 'La hiérarchie cathare en Italie. I. Le "De heresi catharorum in Lombardia"', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 19 (1949), 280–312; 'II. Le "Tractatus de hereticis" d'Anselme d'Alexandrie, O.P.', 'III. Catalogue de la hiérarchie cathare d'Italie', *ibid*, 20 (1950), 234–324. Reprinted in A. Dondaine, *Les Hérésies et l'Inquisition, XIIe–XIIIe siècles*, London (1990)

Anselm of Bec and Canterbury, *Memorials of St Anselm*, ed. R. W. Southern and F. S. Schmitt (Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 1), London (1969)

Anselm of Bec and Canterbury, *Sancti Anselmi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols., Seckau, Rome and Edinburgh (1938–61)

Anselm of Besate, *Rhetorimachia*, ed. K. Manitius, *MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* II, Weimar (1958)

Anselm of Havelberg, *Dialogi*, *PL* 188, cols. 1139–1248, and Bk 1, G. Salet (ed. and trans.) (Sources chrétiennes 118; Textes monastiques d'Occident 18), Paris (1966)

Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonica*, PL 149 and MS Vat. Lat. 4983

Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum*, books 1–10, 11 chs. 1–15, ed. F. Thaner, 2 fascs., Innsbruck (1906–15, repr. Aalen 1964); book 13, ed. E. Pásztor, in P. Golinelli (ed.), *Sant' Anselmo, Mantova e la lotta per le investiture: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Mantova 23–24–25 maggio 1986)*, Bologna (1987), pp. 405–21

Anselm of Lucca, *Liber contra Wibertum et sequaces eius, MGH Libelli* I, pp. 517–528

Anselmus monachus S. Remigii Remensis, *Historia dedicationis ecclesiae S. Remigii apud Remos, PL* 142, cols. 1415–40

Apocrypha, The Apocryphal New Testament, trans. M. R. James, Oxford (1924)

Archpoet: *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta*, ed. H. Watenphul and H. Krefeld, Heidelberg (1958)

Arnulf of Milan, *Gesta archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium*, *MGH SS* VIII, pp. 1–31

Arnulf of Milan, *Liber gestorum recentium*, *MGH SRG* LXVII

Atto of San Marco, *Breviarium: Attonis . . . Capitulare seu breviarium canonum, ex codice Vaticano*, in Mai, A., *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio . . . 6* (1832)

Augustine of Hippo, *De civitate dei*, CCSL 47–8

Azo, *Lectura Azzonis*, Paris (1581)

Azo, *Quaestiones*, ed. E. Landsberg, *Die Quaestiones des Azo*, Freiburg (1888)

Azo, *Summa aurea*, Lyons (1557) (repr. Turin, 1968)

Azo, *Summa codicis*, Pavia (1556) (repr. Turin, 1966)

Balderic of Dol, *Vita sancti Hugonis Rothomagensis episcopi*, *PL* 166, cols. 1163–72

Balderic of Trier, *Gesta Alberonis archiepiscopi Treverensis*, *MGH SS* VIII, pp. 243–60

Bassianus, Johannes, *Arbor actionum*, ed. G. Rossi, 'Per un edizione del' Arbor actionum' (Studi e memorie per la storia dell' Università di Bologna 18), Bologna (1950), pp. 29–94

Bassianus, Johannes, *Incipit materia ad pandectam secundum Ioh.*, in Azo, *Registrum repertorij: ac summe domini Azonis . . .*, Pavia (1484), fol. 319r ff

Bassianus, Johannes, *Summa 'Quicunque vult'*, ed. L. Wahrmund, *Die Summa 'Quicunque vult' des Johannes Bassianus* (Quellen zur Geschichte des römisch-kanonischen Processes im Mittelalter IV. 2), Innsbruck (1925; repr. 1962).

Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *RHC Occ*. IV, pp. 11–110

Becket, Thomas, *Letters*, ed. and trans. A. Duggan, *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury 1162–1170*, 2 vols. (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (2000)

Becket, Thomas, see also *Materials . . .*

Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford (1969)

Benedict, *Rule* of St, ed. with French trans. and commentary by A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, 6 vols. Sources chrétiennes 181–6 (Paris, 1971–2). English trans. of this edition in Cistercian Studies Series 54, Kalamazoo, MI (1983)

Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. and trans. M. N. Adler, London (1907); also ed. and trans. A. Asher, London and Berlin (1840–1); repr. of 1907 translation, with Asher's and Adler's introductions of 1840 and 1907 and Asher's bibliography, and with a new introduction by M. A. Signer, Malibu, CA (1983)

Beno of SS. Martino e Silvestro, *Gesta Romanae ecclesiae, MGH Libelli* ii, pp. 369–80

Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV imperatorem, MGH SS* xi, pp. 591–681

Berengar of Tours, *Rescriptum contra Lanfrannum*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, (CCCM 84), Turnhout (1988)

Bernard of Chartres, *Glosae super Platonem*, ed. P. E. Dutton (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 107), Toronto (1991)

Bernard of Clairvaux, *De laude novae militiae*; French trans by P.-Y. Emery *Eloge de la nouvelle chevalerie* (Bernard de Clairvaux, *Oeuvres complètes* (Sources chrétiennes 367), Paris (1990)

Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera, PL* 182–5

Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. J. Leclercq with C. H. Talbot and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols., Rome (1957–77)

Bernard of Cluny, *Ordo Cluniacensis*, in *Vetus disciplina monastica*, ed. M. Herrgott, Paris (1726), pp. 133–364 (repr. Siegburg, 1999)

Bernard of Hildesheim, *De damnatione scismaticorum, Epistola II, MGH Libelli* ii, pp. 29–47

Bernard of Hildesheim, *Liber canonum contra Heinricum IV, MGH Libelli* i, pp. 471–516

Bernard of Pavia, *Breviarium extravagantium decretalium = Compilatio I*, ed. E. Friedberg, *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, Leipzig (1882) (repr. Graz, 1956)

Bernard Silvestris, *Cosmographia*, ed. P. Dronke, Leiden (1978); trans. W. Wetherbee, *The Cosmographia of Bernard Silvestris*, New York (1973)

Bernard Silvestris, *De mundi universitate*, ed. C. S. Barach and J. Wrobel, Innsbruck (1876)

Bernold of Constance, *Chronicon, MGH SS* v, pp. 385–467

Bernold of Constance, *Libelli Bernaldi presbyteri monachi*, ed. F. Thaner, *MGH Libelli* ii, pp. 1–168; iii, pp. 599–601

Bernold of Constance, *Opera, PL* 148, cols. 1057–1272

Berthold of Reichenau, *Annales, MGH SS* v, pp. 264–326

Berthold of Zwiefalten: *Die Zwiefalter Chroniken Ortliebs und Bertholds*, ed. L. Wallach, E. König and K. O. Müller (Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit 2), Sigmaringen (1978)

The Bible (Authorised or King James Version), 1611

The Bible (Vulgate), innumerable editions

Bibliotheca ascetica antiquo-nova, ed. B. Pez, Ratisbon (1723–40)

Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, ed. M. Marrier and A. Duchesne, Paris (1614)

Bodel, Jean, *Chanson des Saxons*, ed. F. Menzel and E. Stengel, *Saxenlied*, 2 vols. (Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie 99–100), Marburg (1906–9)

Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica libri duo, De institutione musica libri quinque*, ed. G. Friedlein (Bibliotheca Teubneriana), Leipzig (1867) (repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1966)

Boethius, *Opera, PL* 63–4

Bonaini, F. (ed.), *Statuti inediti di Pisa*, 2 vols., Florence (1854–7)

Boncompagnus, *Rhetorica novissima* in A. Gaudentius [Gaudenzi] (ed.) *Bibliotheca iuridica medii aevi*, Bologna (1888–1901), II, pp. 249–97

Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum, MGH Libelli* I, pp. 568–620

Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana*, ed. E. Perels (Texte zur Geschichte des römischen und kanonischen Rechts im Mittelalter 1), Berlin (1930)

Boso of S. Pudenziana, *Vita Alexandri III*, in *Liber pontificalis* II, ed. L. Duchesne, Paris (1892), pp. 397–446; trans. G. M. Ellis, with intro. by P. Munz, *Boso's Life of Alexander III*, Oxford (1973)

Boso of S. Pudenziana, *Vita Hadriani IV*, in *Liber pontificalis* II, ed. L. Duchesne, Paris (1892), pp. 388–97

Bracton, Henry de, *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae*, ed. G. E. Woodbine and S. E. Thorne, Cambridge, MA (1968–77)

Breviarium Alaricianum, ed. M. Conrat (Cohn), Leipzig (1903)

Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV., ed. C. Erdmann and N. Fickermann, *MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit* V, Weimar (1950)

Bruno of Cologne and La Chartreuse, *Lettres des premiers chartreux*, I: *S. Bruno, Guigues, S. Anthelme* (Sources chrétiennes 88; Textes monastiques d'Occident 10), Paris (1962)

Bruno of Segni, *Epistolae* I–IV, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 563–5

Bruno of Segni, *Epistola* IV (complete version) ed. G. Fransen, 'Réflexions sur l'étude des collections canoniques à l'occasion de l'édition d'une lettre de Bruno de Segni', *Studi Gregoriani* 9 (1972), 515–33

Bruno of Segni, *In Isaiam*, ed. A. Amelli, *Spicilegium Casinense complectens Analecta sacra et profana* 3/1, Monte Cassino (1897)

Bruno of Segni, *Libellus de symoniacis*, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 543–62

Bulgarus, *Ad Digestorum titulum [lib. 50, tit. 17] de diversis regulis iuris antiqui commentarius et Placentini ad eum additiones sive exceptiones*, ed. F. W. C. Beckhaus, Bonn (1856)

Bulgarus, *Excerpta legum edita a Bulgarino causidico . . .* (Quellen zur Geschichte des römisch-kanonischen Processes im Mittelalter IV. 1), Innsbruck (1925)

Bulgarus, *Quaestiones dominorum Bononiensium* (viz. Bulgarus, Martinus Gosia, Jacobus de Boragine and Hugo de Porta Ravennate), ed. G. B. Palmierio, in A. Gaudenzi, *Bibliotheca juridica medii aevi*, I, Bologna (1888)

Bulgarus, *Summa de judiciis*, in G. F. W. A. Wunderlich, *Anecdota quae processum civilem spectant*, Göttingen (1841)

Burchard of Worms, *Decretorum libri viginti*, PL 140, cols. 537–1058

Burchard of Worms, *Lex familiae Wormatiensis ecclesie*, ed. L. Weiland, *MGH Const.* II, pp. 639–44

Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange, Cologne, Bonn and Brussels (1851)

Calixtus II, *Epistolae*, PL 163, cols. 1093–1338A

Calixtus II, 'Six mandements de Calixte II renouvelant la légation de Girard évêque d'Angoulême', ed. G. de Manteyer, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome* 18 (1898), 17–36

Capitulare de Villis. Cod. Guelf. 254 Helmst. der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, ed. C. Bruhl, *Dokumente zur deutsche Geschichte in Faksimilis* I, Mittelalter I, Stuttgart (1971)

Cardinalium schismaticorum contra Gregorium VII et Urbanum II scripta, MGH Libelli II, pp. 366–422

Carmen de Hastingae proelio of Guy, Bishop of Amiens, ed. C. Morton and H. Muntz, Oxford (1972)

Carmina Burana, vol. I, pt 3, 'Die Trink- und Spielerlieder – Die geistlichen Dramen. Nachträge' ed. O. Schumann and B. Bischoff, Heidelberg (1970)

Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme, ed. C. Métais, Paris and Vendôme (1893–1904)

Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers, ed. B. de Broussillon (Documents historiques sur l'Anjou 1–3), Paris (1903)

Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé, ed. L. Maître and P. de Berthou, Rennes (1904)

Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres, ed. B. Guérard (Collection de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de France), 2 vols., Paris (1840)

Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes, ed. Th. Grasilier (Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge 2), Niort (1871)

Cartulaire de l'ancienne Estaple de Bruges, ed. L. Gilliodts-van Severen, Bruges (1904)

Cartulaire de l'église Notre-Dame de Paris I, ed. B. Guérard (Collection des cartulaires de France 4) Paris (1840)

Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Prouille, précédé d'une étude sur l'albigéisme languedocien au XIIe et XIIIe siècles, 2 vols., ed. J. Guiraud, Paris (1907)

Cartulaire de Saint-Sulpice de Bourges, ed. L. de Kersers, *Essai de reconstitution du cartulaire A de Saint-Sulpice de Bourges* (Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre 35), Bourges (1913)

Cartulaire de Sauxillanges, ed. H. Doniol, Clermont-Ferrand and Paris (1864)

Casus monasterii Petrishusensis, ed. O. Feger (Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit 3), Lindau and Constance (1956)

Cathar Ritual: *Rituel cathare*, ed. C. Thouzellier (Sources chrétiennes 236), Paris (1977)

Celestine II, *Epistolae*, *PL* 179, cols. 765–820

Celestine III, *Epistolae*, *PL* 206, cols. 867–1262

Chanson de Roland, ed. J. Bédier, 2 vols., Paris (1937); ed. and trans. G. J. Brault, *The Song of Roland*, 2 vols., London (1978); trans. G. Burgess, *The Song of Roland* (Penguin Classics), London (1990)

Chartularium studii Bononiensis. Documenti per la Storia dell'Università di Bologna dalle origini fino al secolo XV, 15 vols., Bologna (1909–88)

Chrétien de Troyes, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. D. Poirion *et al.* (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 408), Paris (1994); trans. D. Staines, *The Complete Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, Bloomington and Indianapolis (1990)

Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, ed. A. Micha (Les classiques français du moyen âge 84), Paris (1975)

Christina of Markyate: *The Life of Christina of Markyate*, ed. C. H. Talbot, Oxford (1959)

Chronica monasterii Casinensis, ed. H. Hoffmann, *MGH SS* XXXIV

Chronicle of Battle Abbey, ed. E. Searle (Oxford Medieval Texts) Oxford (1980)

Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham ad annum 1418 (RS 29), London (1863)

Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis, ed. W. Dunn Macray, (RS 83), London (1886)

La Chronique de Morigny (1095–1152), ed. L. Mirot, Paris (1909)

Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, trans. J. E. King (Loeb Classical Library 141), Cambridge, MA (1971)

Clarembald of Arras, *Tractatus super librum Boetii de Trinitate*, ed. N. M. Häring, *Life and Works of Clarembald of Arras: A Twelfth-Century Master of the School of Chartres*, Toronto (1965)

Clement III, *Epistolae*, PL 204, cols. 1275–1506

Codex Theodosianus, ed. T. Mommsen, 3 vols., 4th edn, Dublin and Zurich (1971); trans. C. Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, New York (1969)

Codex Udalrici, ed. P. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum* v, Berlin (1869) pp. 1–469

Collectio Anselmo dedicata, ed. J. C. Besse, *Histoire des textes du droit de l'Eglise au moyen âge de Denys à Gratien. Collectio Anselmo dedicata. Etude et texte extraits*, Paris (1960)

Collectio Britannica, ed. Paul Ewald, *Neues Archiv* 5 (1880), 275–414 and 505–96

Collectio in LXXIV titulos digesta, ed. J. T. Gilchrist, *Diversorum patrum sententiae sive Collectio in LXXIV titulos digesta* (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series B: Corpus Collectionum 1), Vatican City (1973); *The Collection in Seventy-Four Titles: A Canon Law Manual of the Gregorian Reform*, trans. J. Gilchrist, Toronto (1980)

Colvin H. M., *The Building Accounts of Henry III*, Oxford (1971)

Compilatio tertia, see Petrus Collivaccinus

Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta, ed. J. Alberigo, J. A. Dossetti *et al.*, 3rd edn, Bologna (1973)

Concilium Claromontense [1095], see R. Somerville (1972), *The Councils of Urban II*, i: *Decreta Claromontensia* (Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, Supplementorum 1), Amsterdam

Concilium Narbonense [1054], Mansi 19, cols. 827–32

Conrad of Hirsau, *Dialogus super auctores*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Conradus Hirsaugiensis, Dialogus super auctores*, Brussels (1955)

Constitutions of Melfi [1231], ed. H. Conrad, T. von der Lieck-Buyken and W. Wagner, *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II. für sein Königsreich Sizilien* (1972); trans. J. M. Powell, *The Liber augustalis or Constitutions of Melfi*, Syracuse, NY (1971)

Constitutum Constantini, ed. H. Fuhrmann, *Das Constitutum Constantini (Konstantinische Schenkung)*, MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui x

Constitutum Silvestri, ed. P. Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum pontificum et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Clemente usque ad Innocentium III*, t. 1, *ab anno Christi 67 ad annum 440*, Paris (1721; repr. 1967), pp. 43–52

Consuetudines Floriacenses, ed. A. Davril (CCM 9), Siegburg (1976)

Consuetudines Fructuarienses-Sanblasianae, ed. L. G. Spätling and Peter Dinter (CCM 12.2), Siegburg (1987)

Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae, 5 vols., ed. P. Fredericq, Ghent (1889–1906)

Corpus iuris canonici, ed. A. Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici. Pars prima: Decretum magistri Gratiani. Pars secunda: Decretalium collectiones*, 2 vols., Leipzig (1879–81)

Corpus iuris civilis: i. *Institutiones*, ed. P. Kruger, and *Digesta*, ed. T. Mommsen, and P. Kreuger, 19th edn (1966); ii. *Codex*, ed. P. Kruger, 13th edn (1963); iii. *Novellae*, ed. R. Scholl and G. Kroll, 8th edn (1963), Berlin

Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragon y de Valencia y principado de Cataluña, I, Madrid (1898)

Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla, ed. Real Academia de la Historia I, Madrid (1861)

Cosmas of Prague, *Chronik der Böhmen*, ed. B. Bretholz, *MGH SRG, NS* II

Cosmas the Priest: ed. H. C. Puech and A. Vaillant with French trans., *Le Traité contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le Prêtre*, Paris (1945)

Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, II/1, ed. A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, Oxford (1873)

Councils and Synods with Other Documents relating to the English Church, I/2, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, Oxford (1981)

Decretales, ed. E. Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, Leipzig (1881), II.

Decretum Gratiani, see Gratian of Bologna

Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni, ed. P. Hinschius, Leipzig (1863)

De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon, ed. from the unique manuscript in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with Eng. trans. by C. W. David (Records of Civilization 24), New York (1936)

Denis bar-Salibi, bishop of Amida (d. 1171), *Expositio liturgiae*, ed. H. Labout, 2 vols. (CSCO 13–14. Scriptores syri, 2e série 93), Paris (1903)

Desiderius of Monte Cassino, *Dialogi de miraculis sancti Benedicti*, *MGH SS* XXX/2, pp. 1111–51

De unitate ecclesiae conservanda, MGH *Libelli* II, pp. 173–284

Deusdedit, *Collectio canonum*, ed. V. Wolf von Glanvell, *Die Kanonessammlung des Kardinals Deusdedit* I, Paderborn (1905); repr. Aalen (1967)

Deusdedit, *Libellus contra invasores et symoniacos*, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 292–365

Devic, C. and Vaissète, J., *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, ed. A. Molinier, 16 vols., Toulouse (1872–1915)

Die ältere Wormser Briefsammlung, ed. W. Bulst, *MGH Briefe* 3, Weimar (1949)

Die falschen Investiturprivilegien, ed. C. Märtl, *MGH Fontes iuris germanici antiqui* XIII (1986).

Digesta, see *Corpus iuris civilis*

Diversorum patrum sententie, see *Collectio in LXXIV titulos digesta*

Documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'Inquisition dans le Languedoc, ed. C. Douais, 2 vols., Paris (1900)

Domesday Book seu Liber Censualis Wilhelmi Primi regis Angliae, ed. A. Farley, 2 vols., London (1783)

Donation of Constantine, see *Constitutum Constantini*

Donatus, *Ars minor* and *Ars maior*, ed. H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, IV (1864), pp. 355–402

Durandus, William, bishop of Mende, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. J. Beleth, Naples (1859); trans. of Book 1 by J. M. Neale and B. Webb, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*, Leeds (1843)

Eadmer, *Historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule (RS 81), London (1884)

Eadmer, *Vita sancti Anselmi*, ed. R. W. Southern (Oxford Medieval Texts) Oxford (1972)

Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London, ed. M. Gibbs (Camden Society, third series, 58) London (1939)

Eberwinus, *De Sancto Symeone, recluso in porta Trevirensi*, AASS, Junii, (1695), 1, pp. 89–93

Eberwinus of Steinfeld, *Epistola ad S. Bernardum*, PL 182, cols. 676–80

Ebo of Michelsberg, *Vita Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis*, MGH SS XII, pp. 822–83

Eckbert of Schönau, *Sermones tredecim contra haereticos*, PL 195, cols. 11–162

Eike von Repgow, *Auctor vetus de beneficiis*, ed. K. A. Eckhardt, *MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui, NS* II/1 (1964)

Eike von Repgow, *Sachsenspiegel Landrecht* and *Sachsenspiegel Lehnrecht*, ed. K. A. Eckhardt, *MGH Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui*, *NS* I/1–2 (1973)

Eike von Repgow, *Sachsenspiegel*, ed. C. Schott, trans. R. Schmidt-Wiegand and C. Schott, Zurich (1984)

Elenchus fontium historiae urbanae, selected sources to 1250: vol. 1 (Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Scandinavia), ed. C. van der Kieft and J. F. Niermeijer, Leiden (1967); vol. 2 part 1 (France, Luxembourg), ed. G. van Herwijnen, P. H. D. Leupen and F. Irsigler, Arras (1996); vol. 2 part 2 (Britain, Ireland), ed. C. van der Keift and G. van Herwijnen, Leiden, New York, Copenhagen and Cologne (1988); vol. 3 part 1 (Austria), ed. G. van Herwijnen, P. H. D. Leupen and W. Rausch, Leiden, New York and Cologne (1992)

Elisabeth of Schönau: *Die Visionen der hl. Elisabeth und die Schriften der Aebte Ekbert und Emecho von Schönau*, ed. F. W. E. Roth, Brünn (1884)

English Historical Documents, *c.500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd edn, London (1979)

Epistolae Cantuarienses, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I* II (RS 38/2), London (1865)

Epistolae Romanorum pontificum 1, ed. P. Coustant, Paris (1721)

Etienne de Fougères, *Le Livre des manières*, Geneva (1979)

Eugenius III, *Epistolae et privilegia*, PL 180, cols. 1013–1614

Eusebius of Caeserea, *Life of Constantine* III, PG 20, cols. 905ff, Paris (1857); ed. F. E. Peters, *Jerusalem*, Princeton (1985)

Euthymius of Acmonia, *Liber Invectivus*, PG 131, cols. 48–57; a different and fuller version in G. Ficker (ed.), *Die Phundagiagiten: ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*, Leipzig (1908), pp. 3–86.

Exceptiones Petri, ed. C. G. Mor, *Scritti giuridici preirneriani*, 2 vols., Milan (1935–8) (repr. Turin, 1980)

Exordium Cistercii, *Summa cartae caritatis et capitula*, in Jean de la Croix Bouton and Jean Baptiste Van Damme (eds.), *Les plus anciens textes de Cîteaux*, Achel (1974), pp. 109–25

Exordium parvum, ed. C. Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux* (Studia et Documenta, 9), Cîteaux-Commentarii cistercienses (1999), pp. 233–59; also in Bouton-Van Damme (see *Exordium Cistercii* above), pp. 51–86 and PL 166, cols. 1501–10 (Stephen of Cîteaux, *Exordium coenobii et ordinis Cisterciensis*)

Fasti ecclesiae Anglicanae, *1066–1300*, ed. J. Le Neve, revised edn. D. E. Greenway, London (1968–96)

Fleta, seu Commentarius Iuris Anglicani sic nuncupatus, ed. J. Selden, 2nd edn., London (1685); ed. and trans. H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, vols. II–IV (vol. 1 lacks) (The Publications of the Selden Society, 72, 89, 99), London (1955–84)

Florilegium Gallicum, ed. A. Gagnér, Lund (1936)

Florilegium morale Oxoniense (MS. Bodl. 633), ed. P. Delhaye and C. H. Talbot (Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia 5–6), Louvain (1955–6)

Francis of Assisi, *Regula bullata*, in H. Boehmer (ed.): F. Wiegand (2nd edn), *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi* (Sammlung ausgewählter Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichtlicher Quellen-schriften N.F. 4), Tübingen (1930), pp. 20–4

Francis of Assisi, *Verba admonitionis*, in H. Boehmer (ed.): F. Wiegand (2nd edn), *Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi* (Sammlung ausgewählter Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichtlicher Quellen-schriften N.F. 4), Tübingen (1930), pp. 27–33.

Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. F. Behrends (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (1976)

Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana. Gesta Francorum Iherusalem peregrinantium*, RHC Occ. III. Also ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg (1913)

Galbert of Bruges, *Histoire du meurtre de Charles le Bon*, ed. H. Pirenne, Paris (1891)

Galbert of Bruges: *The Murder of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders*, trans. J. B. Ross, New York (1960)

Gebhard of Salzburg, *Epistola ad Herimannum Mettensem episcopum, MGH Libelli* I, pp. 261–79

Gelasius II, *Epistolae, PL* 163, cols. 487A–514A.

Geoffrey of Auxerre, *Epistola ad Albinum Cardinalem, Albanensem episcopum*, ed. N. M. Häring, 'The Writings against Gilbert of Poitiers by Geoffrey of Auxerre', *Analecta Cisterciensia* 22 (1966), 69–81

Geoffrey Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. E. Pontieri, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* V/1, Bologna (1927–8), pp. 3–108

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britannie*, ed. N. Wright and J. C. Crick, 5 vols., Cambridge (1985–91)

Gerald of Wales *De invectionibus*, ed. W. S. Davies (Y Cymmrodor 30), (1920)

Gerald of Wales, *Opera* (RS 21/1–8), London (1861–91)

Gerald of Wales, *Speculum duorum*, ed. Y. Lefèvre and R. B. C. Huygens, Cardiff (1974)

Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. J. F. Dimock (RS 21/5), London (1867), being vol. V of Gerald of Wales, *Opera*

Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Commentarius aureus in Psalmos, PL* 193, cols. 621–1814; 194, cols. 9–998; *Ex commentario in Psalmos, MGH Libelli* III, pp. 411–502

Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De investigatione Antichristi, MGH Libelli* III, pp. 304–95

Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Letter to Pope Hadrian about the Novelties of the Day*, ed. N. M. Häring, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and Texts 24, Toronto (1974)

Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Libellus de ordine donorum Sancti Spiritus, MGH Libelli* III, pp. 273–83

Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *Opera inedita*, ed. D. van den Eynde *et al.*, Spicilegium Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani 8–10, (1955–6)

Germania sacra, ed. M. Hansiz, Augsburg and Vienna (1727–55)

Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (RS 73), London (1879, 1880)

Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, ed. F. Liebermann, 3 vols., Halle (1903–16)

Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium, ed. L. C. Bethmann, *MGH SS* VII, pp. 393–525

Gesta Innocentii papae III, *PL* 214, cols. xvii–ccxxviii

Gesta sancti Servatii, ed. F. Wilhelm, *Sanct Servatius*, Munich (1910)

Gesta Treverorum, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* VIII

Gilbert Foliot, *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. Z. N. Brooke, A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, Cambridge (1967)

Gilbert of Limerick, *De statu ecclesiae*, *PL* 159, cols. 997–1004

Gilbert of Poitiers, *De trinitate*, ed. N. M. Häring, *The Commentaries of Gilbert, Bishop of Poitiers on the two Boethian 'opuscula sacra' on the Holy Trinity*, in J. R. O'Donnell (ed.), *Nine Medieval Thinkers* (Studies and Texts 1), Toronto (1955), pp. 23–98

Gilbert of Poitiers, *The Commentaries on Boethius by Gilbert of Poitiers*, ed. N. M. Häring (Studies and Texts 13), Toronto (1966)

Gilo, *Vita Sancti Hugonis abbatis*, ed. H. E. J. Cowdrey, in Cowdrey (1978), pp. 43–117

Giry, A., *Documents sur les relations de la royauté avec les villes en France de 1180 à 1314*, Paris (1885)

Gislebert of Mons, *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, ed. L. Vanderkindere (Commission Royale d'Histoire, Recueil de textes pour servir à l'étude de l'histoire de Belgique), Brussels (1904)

Godfrey of St Victor, *Fons philosophiae*, ed. P. Michaud-Quantin (Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia 8), Namur (1956)

Godfrey of Vendôme, *Epistolae*, *PL* 157, cols. 33C–212C

Godfrey of Vendôme, *Libelli* I–VIII, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 676–700

Goswin of Mainz, *Letter* to Walcher, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *Apologiae duae: Gozechini epistola ad Walcherum; Burchardi . . . apologia de barbis*, intro. by G. Constable (CCCM 62), Turnhout (1985), pp. 11–43; trans. C. S. Jaeger (1994), pp. 349–75

Gratian of Bologna, *Decretum*, ed. E. L. Richter, and rev. E. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* I, Leipzig (1879) (repr. Graz, 1959)

Gratian of Bologna, *Wortkonkordanz zum Decretum Gratiani*, ed. T. Reuter and G. Silagi, (1990), 5 vols. (*MGH Hilfsmittel* X (1–5))

Gratian of Bologna, *The Treatise on Laws (Decretum DD.1–20)*, trans. A. Thompson, with the Ordinary Gloss, trans. J. Gordley, (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 2), Washington, DC (1993)

Gregory the Great, Pope, *Registrum epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg, (CCSL 140, 140A) (1982)

Gregory VII, *Epistolae vagantes*, ed. and trans. H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Epistolae vagantes of Pope Gregory VII* (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (1972)

Gregory VII, *Registrum*, ed. E. Caspar, *Das Register Gregors VII.*, *MGH Epp. sel.* II, 2 parts

Gregory VIII, *Epistolae, PL* 202, cols. 1537–64

Gregory Barhebraeus, *Chronicum ecclesiasticum*, ed. and trans. J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy, 3 vols., Paris and Louvain (1872–7)

Grim, Edward, *Vita sancti Thomae*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (RS 67), London (1876), II, pp. 353–458

Gross, C. *The Gild Merchant*, 2 vols., Oxford (1890)

Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua*, ed. G. Bourgin, *Guibert de Nogent, Histoire de sa vie (1053–1124)*, Paris (1907); *Histoire de sa vie*, ed. with French trans. E. -R. Labande, Paris (1981)

Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, *RHC Occ.* IV, Paris (1879), pp. 115–263; ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A, Turnhout (1996)

Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe (Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 4), Rome (1955)

Guigo I of La Grande Chartreuse, *Vita sancti Hugonis episcopi Gratianopolis*, *PL* 153, cols. 761–84

Guillaume de Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, ed. J. Marx, Rouen and Paris (1914)

Guillaume de Pouille, *Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu, Palermo (1961)

Guillaume de Puylaurens, *Chronica*, ed. and trans. J. Duvernoy, Paris (1976)

Hagenmeyer, H. (ed.), *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes, quae supersunt aevo aequales ac genuinae. Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100. Eine Quellensammlung Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Innsbruck (1901)

Haimo of Hirsau, *Vita Willihelmi abbatis Hirsaugiensis*, *MGH SS* XII, pp. 209–25

Hansisches Urkundenbuch I and III, ed. K. Höhlbaum, Halle (1876 and 1882–6)

Hariulf of Oudenbourg, in E. Müller, 'Der Bericht des Abtes Hariulf von Oudenburg über seine Prozeßverhandlungen an der römischen Kurie im Jahre 1141', *Neues Archiv* 48 (1930), 97–115

Helmold, *The Chronicle of the Slavs of Helmold, Priest of Bosau*, trans. F. J. Tschan, New York (1935)

Henry IV, *Epistolae*, ed. C. Erdmann, *Die Briefe Heinrichs IV. MGH Deutsches Mittelalter* I (1937)

Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. E. Greenway (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (1996); *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English*, ed. T. Arnold, (RS 74), London (1879)

Herbert of Norwich, *Epistolae*, in E. M. Goulburn and H. Symonds (eds.), *The Life, Letters and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga*, 2 vols., London (1878)

Herbord, *Dialogus de Ottone episcopo Bambergensi*, in *Monumenta Bambergensia*, pp. 705–835

Heriger and Anselm, *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, ed. R. Koepke, *MGH SS* VII

Hermann of Tournai, *De miraculis S. Mariae Laudunensis*, *PL* 156, cols. 961–1018

Hermann of Tournai, *Liber de restauratione monasterii sancti Martini Tornacensis*, *MGH SS* XIV, pp. 274–317

Hermann the Jew, *Opusculum de conversione sua*, ed. G. Niemeyer, *MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters IV*, Weimar (1963)

Heron of Alexandria, *Heronis Alexandrini Metrica: accedunt partes quaedam selectae Codicis Constantinopolitani Palatii Veteris No. 1*, ed. E. M. Bruins (Textus Minores 34), Leiden (1964)

Heron of Alexandria, *Opera*, ed. W. Schmidt *et.al.*, Leipzig (1899–1914)

Hesso of Strasbourg, *Relatio de concilio Remensi*, *MGH Libelli* III, pp. 21–8

Hilary of Orleans, *Versus et ludi. Epistulae. Ludus Danielis Belouacensis*, ed. W. Bulst and M. L. Bulst-Thiele (Mittellateinische Studien und Texte 16), Leiden (1989)

Hildebert of Lavardin, *Opera*, *PL* 171, cols. 141–1458

Hildemar, *Expositio regulae ab Hildemaro tradita*, ed. R. Mittermüller, Regensburg, New York and Cincinnati (1880)

Hildesheimer Briefe: *Briefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV.*, *MGH Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit* v, pp. 15–106

Hincmar of Rheims, *Opusculum LV capitulorum*, PL 126, cols. 282–494

Historia Compostellana, *PL 170*, cols. 889–1236

Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris, ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SRG NS* v

Historia Mauriniacensis monasterii, *MGH SS* xxvi, pp. 37–45

Historia monasterii beatae Mariae de Fontanis albis, in André Salmon (ed.), *Recueil de chroniques de Touraine*, Tours (1854), pp. 257–91

Historiae Francorum scriptores, ed. A. Duchesne, Paris (1636–49)

Historiae Tornacenses, *MGH SS* xiv, pp. 327–52

Historians of the Church of York and of its Archbishops, (RS 71/1–3), London (1879–94)

Die 'Honorantie civitatis Papie': Transkription, Edition, Kommentar, ed. C. Brühl and C. Violante, Cologne and Vienna (1983); also as *Instituta regalia et ministeria camerae regum Longobardum et honorantiae civitatis Papiae*, ed. A. Hofmeister, *MGH SS* xxx/2

Honorius II, Pope, *Epistolae*, PL 166, cols. 1217–1316

Honorius III, Pope, *Compilatio V*, see Tancred

Honorius Augustodunensis, *De offendiculo*, *MGH Libelli* iii, pp. 38–57

Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae*, PL 172, cols. 541–738

Honorius Augustodunensis, *Summa gloria*, *MGH Libelli* iii, pp. 63–80

Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum ecclesiae*, PL 172

Hostiensis (Henry of Susa), *Summa aurea*, Lyons (1537), Cologne (1612)

Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York 1066–1127*, ed. and trans. C. Johnson London (1961); revised M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke and M. Winterbottom (Oxford Medieval Texts) Oxford (1990)

Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, *MGH SS* viii, pp. 280–503

Hugh of Fleury, *Tractatus de regia potestate et sacerdotali dignitate*, *MGH Libelli* ii, pp. 465–94

Hugh of Kirkstall, *Narratio de fundatione Fontanis monasterii*, in J. R. Walbran (ed.), *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains* (Surtees Society 42), Durham (1863) i, 1–129

Hugh of Poitiers, *Historia Vizeliacensis monasterii*, in Bouquet xii, pp. 317–44

Hugh of St Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei*, PL 176, cols. 173–618

Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, ed. C. H. Buttimer, *Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon de studio legendi: A Critical Text* (Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin 10), Washington, DC (1939); *PL* 176, cols. 740–838

Hugh of St Victor, *Didascalicon*, trans. J. Taylor, *The 'Didascalicon' of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts* (Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies 64), New York (1961)

Hugh of St Victor, *Hugonis de Sancto Victore opera propaedeutica. Practica geometriae, De grammatica, Epitome Dindimi in philosophiam*, ed. R. Baron (Publications in Mediaeval Studies, The University of Notre Dame, 20), Notre Dame, IN (1966)

Hugo de Porta Ravennate, see Bulgarus

Hugolinus, *Diversitates sive Dissensiones Dominorum super toto corpore Juris Civilis*, in G. Haenel (ed.), *Dissensiones Dominorum . . .*, Leipzig (1834)

Hulul al-Mawshiya, ed. I. S. Allouche, Rabat (1936)

Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʾim al-Himyari, *Rawd al-Miʿtar*, partial ed. with French trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Péninsule iberique au moyen-âge*, Leiden (1938)

Ibn ʿAbdun, *Séville musulmane*, French trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris (1947)

Ibn Abi Zarʾ, *Rawd al-Qirtas*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, Uppsala (1843–6); Spanish trans. A. Huici Miranda, 2 vols., Valencia (1964)

Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fiʾl Taʾrikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 12 vols., Leiden (1853–67); partial French trans. E. Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de lʾEspagne*, Algiers (1901)

Ibn al-Qalanisi, *History of Damascus*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Leiden (1908)

Ibn Bashkuwal, *Al-Sila*, ed. F. Codera, Madrid (1882)

Ibn Bassam al-Shantarini, *Al-Dhakhira*, ed. I. Abbas, Beirut (1978)

Ibn Hawqal, *Surat al-Ard*, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden (1939)

Ibn Idhari al-Marrakushi, *Bayan al-Mughrib*, vol. III ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris (1930); vol. IV ed. I. Abbas, Beirut (1967); Part III (Almohads) ed. A. Huici Miranda, Tetuan (1963); Spanish trans. A. Huici Miranda, 2 vols., Tetuan (1953)

Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, London (1952)

Ibn Munqidh, *Des Enseignements de la vie*, ed. and trans. A. Miquel, Paris (1983)

Ibn Sahib al-Salat, *Al-Mann biʾl-Imama*, ed. A. H. al-Tazi, Beirut (1964); Spanish trans. A. Huici Miranda, Valencia (1969)

Ibn Saʿid al-Maghribi, *Al-Mughrib*, ed. S. Dayf, 2 vols., Cairo (1953–5)

Idungus: *Le Moine Idung et ses deux ouvrages*: *ʾArgumentum super quatuor questionibusʾ et ʾDialogus duorum monachorumʾ*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Biblioteca degli ʾStudi Medievaliʾ 11), Spoleto (1980)

Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century, ed. and trans. T. H. Mommsen and K. F. Morrison, New York and London (1962); Wipoʾs ʾLife of Conrad IIʾ, the ʾLife of Henry IVʾ and ʾLetters of Henry IVʾ

Innocent II, *Epistolae*, PL 179, cols. 53–658

Innocent III, *Compilatio III*, see Petrus Collivaccinus

Innocent III (Lothar of Segni), *De missarum mysteriis*, PL 217, cols. 763–916

Innocent III, *Regestorum sive epistolarum libri I–XVI*, PL 214–16

Innocent III, ed. O. Hageneder and others, *Die Register Innocenzʾ III.* (Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom. II. Abt.: Quellen. 1. Reihe, Bd. 1–), Graz, etc. (1964–). Vols. now published are: 1 (1964), 2 (1979), 5 (1993), 6 (1995), 7 (1997), 8 (2001)

Innocent III, *Sermones*, PL 217, cols. 309–688

Irimbertus of Admont, *De incendio monasterii sui ac de vita et moribus virginum sanctimonialium parthenonis Admuntensis* in *Bibliotheca ascetica*, VIII, pp. 455–64

Irnerius, *Quaestiones de iuris subtilitatibus*, ed. H. Fitting, Berlin (1894); also ed. G. Zanetti (Biblioteca di studi superiori v. 16. Testi medievali, sez. giuridica) (1958)

Irnerius, *Summa codicis*, ed. H. Fitting, Berlin (1894)

Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 2 vols., Oxford (1911)

Italia pontificia, ed. P. F. Kehr, 9 vols., Berlin (1906–62)

Iter Italicum, ed. J. Pflugk-Harttung, Stuttgart (1883)

Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum* and *Panormia*, PL 161, cols. 47–1036, 1041–1344

Ivo of Chartres, *Epistola ad Hugonem archiepiscopum Lugdunensem*, MGH Libelli II, pp. 640–7

Ivo of Chartres, *Epistolae*, *PL* 162, cols. 11–296

Jacob ben Reuben, *Milhamot ha-Shem* (place of publication unknown, 1860s)

Jacob ben Reuben, *Milhamot ha-Shem*, ed. Rozent'al, (Sifriyat Mekorot 18), Jerusalem (1963)

Jacobus de Boragine, see Bulgarus

James of Vitry: *The Historia occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. J. F. Hinnebusch (Spicilegium Friburgense 17), Fribourg (1972)

Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, Venice (1527)

Johannes Bassianus, see Bassianus

Johannes Galensis, *Compilatio II*, ed. E. Friedberg, *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, Leipzig (1882) (repr. Graz, 1956)

Johannes Teutonicus, *Apparatus glossarum in Compilationem tertiam*, ed. K. Pennington (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series A: Corpus Glossatorum 3), Vatican City (1981)

John of Afflighem, *De musica*, ed. J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Johannes Affligemensis, De musica cum tonario*, Rome (1950)

John of Cornwall, *Eulogium ad Alexandrum Papam tertium*, ed. N. M. Häring, *Mediaeval Studies* 13 (1951), 253–300

John of Mantua, *In cantica canticorum et De sancta Maria tractatus ad comitissam Matildam*, ed. B. Bischoff and B. Taeger (Spicilegium Friburgense 19), Freiburg/Schweiz (1973)

John of Marmoutier, 'Historia Gaufredi ducis Normannorum et comitis Andegavorum', in *Chroniques de comtes d'Anjou*, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin, Paris (1913)

John Phokas, 'A Brief Description of the Holy Land, 1185', trans. A. Stewart (Palestine Pilgrim Text Society v. 3) (1889)

John of Salerno, *Vita S. Odonis*, *PL* 133, cols. 43–86

John of Salisbury, *Entheticus*, ed. R. E. Pepin, *Traditio* 31 (1975), 127–93

John of Salisbury, *Historia pontificalis*, trans. M. Chibnall, *John of Salisbury's Memoirs of the Papal Court* (Nelson's Medieval Texts), London (1956); rev. edn 1986 (Oxford Medieval Texts) Oxford (1986)

John of Salisbury, *The Letters of John of Salisbury* I, ed. W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler and C. N. L. Brooke, London (1955; rev. edn 1986), II, ed. W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke, London (1979)

John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ed. J. B. Hall, with the assistance of K. Keats-Rohan (CCCM 98), Turnhout (1991)

John of Salisbury, *Policratici sive De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII*, ed. C. C. J. Webb, 2 vols., London (1909)

John of Wales, see Johannes Galensis

Judah ha-Levi, *Book of Kuzari*, English trans. by H. Hirschfeld, New York (1946)

Judah ha-Levi, *Selected Poems*, ed. H. Brody, trans. N. Salaman (Jewish Publication Society of America), Philadelphia (1924)

Karolus de Tocco, Glosses on the *Lex Lombarda*: *Leges longobardorum cum . . . glosis Caroli de Tocco . . .* , Venice (1537)

Kimhi, Joseph, *Sefer ha-Berit*, ed. F. Talmage, Jerusalem (1974); trans. F. Talmage, Toronto (1972)

Die Kölner Königschronik, ed. K. Platner, 2nd edn, Leipzig (1896)

Lacnunga, ed. G. Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic*, The Hague (1948)

Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium*, ed. I. Heller, *MGH SS* xxiv, pp. 550–642; *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, trans. L. Shopkow, Philadelphia (2000)

Lambert of Arras, *Gesta quibus Atrebatensium civitas . . . in antiquam reformatur dignitatem*, *PL* 162, cols. 627–48

Lampert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, in O. Holder-Egger (ed.), *Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis opera*, *MGH SRG* xxxviii, pp. 1–304

Landsloeg, ed. R. Keyser and P. A. Munch in *Norges gamle Love indtil 1387*, ed. R. Keyser and others, 5 vols., Christiania (1846–95), 2: *Lovgivningen under Kong Magnus Haakonssöns Regjerings – Tiltraedelse* (1848)

Landulf Junior, *Historia Mediolanensis*, ed. C. Castiglioni, in Muratori, n.s., v. 3 (1934); also in *MGH SS* xx, pp. 17–49

Landulf Senior, *Historia Mediolanensis*, ed. A. Cutolo, in Muratori, n.s., iv. 2 (1900); also in *MGH SS* viii, pp. 32–100

Lanfranc of Bec and Canterbury, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, *PL* 150, cols. 407–42

Lanfranc, *Decreta*, ed. D. Knowles (CCM 3), Siegburg (1967)

Lanfranc, *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford Medieval Texts) Oxford (1979)

Langton, Stephen, *Quaestiones*: titles printed by F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, Oxford (1928), pp. 177–204, with a commentary on the texts on pp. 49–74. (On the texts see further J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, Princeton (1970), ii, pp. 19–20)

Laurentius Hispanus, *Apparatus* to *Compilatio III*, ed. F. Gillmann, *Des Laurentius Hispanus Apparat zur Compilatio III auf der Staatlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg. Nebst einer Würdigung des Apparats*, Mainz (1935)

The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I, ed. A. J. Robertson, Cambridge (1925)

Leges Henrici Primi, ed. L. Downer, Oxford (1972)

Lehmann-Brockhaus, O., *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schotland vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307*, Munich (1956–60)

Leo I, Pope, *Opera*, *PL* 54–6

Leo IX, *Epistolae et decreta pontificia*, *PL* 143, cols. 591–794

Lex Lombarda, ed. F. Beyerle, 2nd edn, *Leges Langobardorum 646–866*, Witzenhausen (1962)

Libellus de diversis ordinibus et professionibus qui sunt in aecclesia, ed. and trans. G. Constable and B. Smith (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (1972)

Le Liber censuum de l'église romaine, ed. P. Fabre and L. Duchesne (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 2. série 3), 3 vols., Paris (1886–1957)

Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda, *MGH Libelli* ii, pp. 173–284

Liber diurnus Romanorum pontificum. Ex unico codice Vaticano, ed. T. von Sickel (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) Vienna (1889)

Liber instrumentorum memorialium: Cartulaire des Guillems de Montpellier, ed. A. Germain, Montpellier (1884–6)

Liber Papiensis and related texts, ed. F. Bluhme and T. Boretius, *MGH Leges in folio* iv, pp. 289–640 (1868; repr. 1984)

Le Liber pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire, ed. L. Duchesne (Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, second series), 2 vols. Paris (1886–92)

Liber tramitis, ed. Peter Dinter (CCM 10), Siegburg (1980)

Libri feudorum, ed. C. Lehmann, *Consuetudines feudorum, 1: Compilatio antiqua, Göttingen* (1892), and *Das Langobardische Lehnrecht*, Göttingen (1896); repr. together as *Consuetudines feudorum*, ed. K. A. Eckhardt (Bibliotheca Rerum Historicarum, Neudrucke 1), Aalen (1971), with both old and new pagination

The Life of King Edward Who Rests at Westminster, ed. F. Barlow, 2nd edn, Oxford (1992)

Lo Codi, ed. H. Fitting and H. Suchier, *Lo Codi. Eine Summa Codicis in provenzalischer Sprache aus der Mitte des XII. Jahrhunderts*, 1: *Lo Codi in der lateinischen Übersetzung des Ricardus Pisanus*, Halle (1906)

Löwenfeld, S. (ed.), *Epistolae pontificum Romanorum ineditae*, Leipzig (1885)

Lucius II, *Epistolae*, PL 179, cols. 823–936

Lucius III, *Epistolae*, PL 201, cols. 1071–1378

Lupus of Ferrières, *Letters*, ed. P. K. Marshall, *Servati Lupi epistulae*, Leipzig (1984); ed. and trans. L. Levillain, *Loup de Ferrières, Correspondance*, 2 vols. (Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age 10 and 16), Paris (1927–35); English trans. G. W. Regenos, *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières*, The Hague (1966)

Lupus Protospatarius, *Chronicon*, MGH SS v, pp. 51–63

Magna vita sancti Hugonis, ed. D. L. Douie and D. H. Farmer (Oxford Medieval Texts), 2 vols., Oxford (1985)

Maimonides, Moses, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. S. Pines, Chicago (1963)

Maimonides, Moses, *Mishneh Torah*, Constantinople (1509); repr. with annotation by S. Liebermann, Jerusalem (1964); English trans. M. Hyamson, *Mishneh Tora: The Book of Knowledge*, Jerusalem (1962); English trans., *The Code of Maimonides*, books 3–13 (Yale Judaica Series 2–5, 8–9, 11–12, 14–16, 19, 21), New Haven (1949–)

Mainzer Urkundenbuch, ed. Manfred Stimming, vol. 1, Darmstadt (1932)

Manegold of Lautenbach, *Liber contra Wolfelmum*, ed. W. Hartmann, *MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters* VIII (1972)

Manegold of Lautenbach, *Manegoldi ad Gebehardum liber*, ed. K. Francke, *MGH Libelli* I, pp. 300–430.

Marbod of Rennes, *De lapidibus*, ed. J. M. Riddle, trans. C. W. King, Wiesbaden (1977)

Marbod of Rennes, *Epistolae*, PL 171, cols. 1465–92

Martinus Gosia, see Bulgarus

Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, ed. J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard (RS 67/1–7), London (1875–85)

Matthew of Albano, *Epistola*, in Stanislaus Ceglar (ed.), *Saint-Thierry. Actes du Colloque international d'histoire monastique Reims–Saint-Thierry, 11 au 14 octobre 1976*, St Thierry (1979), pp. 312–50

Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse (962–1136) avec la continuation de Grégoire le Prêtre jusqu'en 1162*, ed. and trans. E. Dulaurier, Paris (1858) (Extracts with French trans. in RHC, Documents arméniens, 1, Paris (1869)

Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora* (RS 57/1–7), London, (1872–84)

Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria (RS 58/1–2), London (1872–3)

Memorials of St Anselm, see Anselm of Bec

Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche* (1166–1199), ed. and trans. J. B. Chabot, 4 vols., Paris (1899–1924)

Mignot, J., *Annali della fabbrica del duomo di Milano*, Milan (1877)

Miquel, A. 'L'Europe occidentale dans la relation arabe d'Ibrâhim b. Ya'qûb (Xe s.)', *Annales* 21 (1966), 1048–64

Miraeus, A. (Le Mire), *Opera diplomatica et historica*, ed. J. F. Foppens, Louvain and Brussels (1723–48)

Moneta di Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque*, ed. T. A. Ricchini, Rome (1743)

Monte Cassino Passion play, ed. M. Inguanez, 'Un dramma della Passione del secolo XII', *Miscellanea Cassinese* 12 (1936)

Monumenta Bambergensia, ed. P. Jaffé (Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum 5), Berlin (1869)

Moralium dogma philosophorum, ed. J. Holmberg, Uppsala (1929)

Mortet, V. *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et la condition des architectes en France au moyen-âge: XIe–XIIe siècles*, Paris (1911)

Mortet, V. and Deschamps, P., *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et la condition des architectes en France au moyen-âge: XIIe–XIIIe siècles*, Paris (1929)

Muratori, L. A., *Antiquitates Italicae Mediae*, Milan (1738–42)

Nemesius of Emesa, *De natura hominis*, trans. Alfano of Salerno, ed. C. Burkhard, Leipzig (1917); trans. Burgundio of Pisa, ed. G. Verbeke, and J. R. Moncho, Leiden (1975)

Nicolai II, concilium Lateranense posterius [1060], ed. L. Weiland (1893), pp. 549–541

Nithard, *Historiarum libri IIII*, ed. E. Müller, *MGH SRG* XLIV

Obertus de Horto, *Feudorum libri, cum fragmentis* in *Corpus iuris civilis* IV, *tom. 2, pars 2*, ed. J. L. G. Beck, Leipzig (1836)

Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. V. G. Berry, New York (1948)

Onulf: Wilhelm Wattenbach, 'Magister Onulf von Speier', *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1894), pp. 361–86

Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (Oxford Medieval Texts) 6 vols., Oxford (1968–80),

Ordo 'Ulpianus de edendo', ed. G. Haenel, *Incerti auctoris Ordo iudiciorum (Ulpianus de edendo)*, Leipzig (1838)

Orthodoxa defensio imperialis, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 534–42

Otto of Freising and his continuator, Rahewin, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. C. C. Mierow, New York (1953), repr. Toronto, Buffalo and London (1994)

Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister, *MGH SRG* XLV

Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz and B. von Simson, *MGH SRG* XLVI, 3rd edn (1912)

Papsturkunden 896–1046, ed. H. Zimmermann (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil-hist. Kl., 174, 177 and 198), Vienna (1988–9)

Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter, Neue Folge, ed. R. Hiestand, Göttingen (1984)

Papsturkunden in England, ed. W. Holtzmann (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Berlin (1930–52)

'Papsturkunden in Florenz', ed. W. Wiederhold, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse* (1901)

Papsturkunden in Spanien, I: *Katalonien*, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin (1926)

The Paraclete Statutes: Institutiones nostrae, ed. C. Waddell (Cistercian Liturgy Series 20), Gethsemani (1987)

Paschal II, *Epistolae*, *PL* 163, cols. 31A–448A

Paucapalea, *Summa*, ed. J. F. von Schulte, *Die Summa des Paucapalea über das Decretum Gratiani*, Giessen (1890)

Paul of Bernried, *Vita sancti Gregorii VII*, ed. J. M. Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum vitae* I, Leipzig (1862), pp. 474–546

Peter of Blois, *De institutione episcopi*, *PL* 207, cols. 1097–1112

Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, *PL* 207, cols. 1–560

Peter of Blois, *Speculum iuris canonici*, ed. T. A. Reimarus, Berlin (1837)

Peter of Blois, *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, ed. E. Revell (Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 13), Oxford (1993)

Peter of Blois, *Opera omnia*, *PL* 207

Peter of Celle, *De disciplina claustri*, ed. G. de Martel (Sources chrétiennes 240; Textes monastiques d'Occident 47), Paris (1977)

Peter the Chanter, *Summa de sacramentis et de animae consiliis*, ed. J. A. Dugauquier (Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia 21), Louvain (1967)

Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, *PL* 205, cols. 23–370

Peter Comestor, *Opera*, *PL* 198, cols. 1045–1844

Peter of Compostella, *De consolatione rationis*, ed. B. Soto (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters VIII. 4), Münster (1912)

Peter Crassus, *Defensio Heinrici IV regis*, *MGH Libelli* I, pp. 432–53

Peter Damian, *Epistolae: Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, ed. K. Reindel, 4 parts, *MGH Epistolae* IV

Peter Damian, *Opusculum 53 De patientia*, *PL* 145, cols. 791–6

Peter Damian, *Vita beati Romualdi*, ed. G. Tabacco (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 94), Rome (1957)

Peter Lombard, *Libri sententiarum*, *PL* 192, cols. 1097–1112

Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, ed. I. C. Brady, 2 vols., 3rd edn, Grottaferrata (1971–81)

Peter Pictor of St Omer, *Versus magistri Petri contra simoniam*, *MGH Libelli* III, pp. 708–10

Peter the Venerable, *Contra Petrobusianos*, ed. J. V. Fearns (CCCM 10), Turnhout (1968)

Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis*, *PL* 189, cols. 851–954

Peter the Venerable: *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols., ed. G. Constable (Harvard Historical Studies 78). Cambridge, MA (1967)

Peter the Venerable, *Statuta*, ed. G. Constable (CCM 6), Siegburg (1975), pp. 19–106

Petrus Collivaccinus, *Compilatio tertia*, ed. E. Friedberg, *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, Leipzig (1882; repr. Graz, 1956)

Philip of Harvengt, *Opera*, *PL* 203

The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel, trans. C. W. Wilson (Palestine Pilgrim Text Society IV. 3) (1888)

Placentinus, *Summa codicis*, Mainz (1536; repr. 1962)

Placidus of Nonantola, *Liber de honore ecclesiae*, *MGH Libelli II*, pp. 566–639

Plato, *Timaeus*, ed. P. J. Jensen and J. H. Waszink, *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus* (Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi II. 1, 4), London (1962)

Pontificals: Andrieu, M. (ed.), *Le Pontifical romain au moyen âge* (Studi e Testi 86–8, 99), Rome (1938–41)

Le Pontifical romano-germanique du Xe siècle, ed. C. Vogel and R. Elze, 3 vols. (Studi e Testi 226, 227, 269), Vatican City (1963–72)

Pontificum Romanorum qui fuerunt inde ab exeunte saeculo IX usque ad finem saeculi XIII vitae ab aequalibus conscriptae, ed. J. B. M. Watterich, Leipzig (1862)

Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae*, ed. M. Hertz, in H. Keil, *Grammatici latini*, II–III (1855, 1859)

Procopius, *The Buildings* (Loeb Classical Library 7), London and Cambridge, MA (1954)

The Prose Salernitan Questions Edited from a Bodleian Manuscript (Auct.F.3.10): An Anonymous Collection Dealing with Science and Medicine Written by an Englishman c. 1200. With an Appendix of Ten Related Collections, ed. B. Lawn (Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 5), Oxford (1979)

Pseudo-Haimo, *Explanatio in Psalmos*, PL 116, cols. 193D–696A

Pseudo-Isidore, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. P. Hinschius, Leipzig (1863)

Quinque Compilationes antiquae necnon Collectio canonum Lipsiensis, ed. E. A. Friedberg, Leipzig (1882)

Radulf Glaber, *Rodulfus Glaber, Opera.*, ed. and trans. J. France, N. Bulst and P. Reynolds (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (1989)

Radulf Glaber, *Historiae*, ed. with Italian trans. G. Cavallo and G. Orlandi, *Rodolfo il Glabro, Chronache dell' anno mille (Storie)* (Scrittori greci e latini), Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 2 vols. (1989); ed. M. Prou, *Raoul Glaber: les cinq livres de ses histoires*, Paris (1886)

Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, *The Poems of Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. J. Linskill, The Hague (1964)

Raimon Vidal, *The ʿRazos de trobarʾ of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts*, ed. J. H. Marshall, London (1972)

Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, *RHC Occ.* IV, pp. 588–716

Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum* (RS 68/1–2), London (1876)

Ralph Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane*, ed. L. Schmugge. (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 6), Berlin (1977)

Ranger of Lucca, *Liber de anulo et baculo, MGH Libelli* II, pp. 505–33

Rashi, *Commentary*, trans. M. Rosenbaum and A. M. Silbermann, *Pentateuch: With Targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Rashi's Commentary*, 5 vols., New York (1965)

Raymond of Peñaforte, *Opera omnia*, ed. J. Rius I Serra, Barcelona (1945)

Raynerius Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis*, ed. F. Sanjek, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 44 (1974), pp. 31–60

Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, ed. A. Bernard and A. Bruel (Collection de documents inédits sur l' histoire de France, série 1, histoire politique 18) 6 vols., Paris (1876–1903)

Red Book of the Exchequer, ed. H. Hall (RS 99), London (1896)

Regesta pontificum Romanorum . . . ad annum 1198, ed. P. Jaffé, 2nd edn., by S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald, 2 vols., Leipzig (1885–8)

Die Regesten der Bischöfe von Eichstätt, ed. F. Heidingsfelder, Innsbruck and Erlangen (1915–38)

Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople, 1: *Les Actes des Patriarches. Le Patriarcat byzantin*, série 1, fasc. 1–3 (*Les Regestes de 381–1206*), ed. V. Grumel (Constantinople, etc., 1932–47); 2nd edn, ed. J. Darrouzes (Paris, 1972–89); fasc. 4: *Les Regestes de 1208 a 1309. Le Patriarcat byzantin. Recherches de diplomatique, d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques publiées par l'Institut d'études byzantines des Augustins de l'Assomption*, ed. V. Laurent (Paris, 1971)

Reiner of Liège, *Opera*, MGH SS xx, pp. 559–620

Rhetorica ecclesiastica, ed. L. Wahrmund (Quellen zur Geschichte des romisch-kanonischen Processes im Mittelalter 1.4), Innsbruck (1906)

Ricardus Anglicus, *Ordo judiciarius*, ed. L. Wahrmund, *Die Summa de ordine judiciario des Ricardus Anglicus* (Quellen zur Geschichte des römisch-kanonischen Processes im Mittelalter 11.3), Innsbruck (1915)

Richard of San Germano, *Chronica regni Siciliae*, MGH SS xix, pp. 321–84

Richer, *Gesta Senoniensis ecclesiae*, MGH SS xxv, pp. 253–345

Richer, *Historiae*, ed. with French trans. R. Latouche, *Histoire de France*, 2 vols. (Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge 12, 17), Paris (1930, 1937; repr. 1967)

'Riposte': A. Wilmart, 'Une riposte de l'ancien monachisme au manifeste de saint Bernard', *RB* 46 (1934), 296–334

Robert of Arbrissel, *Epistola*: J. de Petigny, 'Lettre inédite de Robert d'Arbrissel à la contesse Ermengarde', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 15 (1854), 209–35

Robert of Flamborough, *The Liber poenitentialis*, ed. J. J. F. Firth (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies), Toronto, (1971)

Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, RHC Occ. iii

Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS 51/1–4) London (1868–71)

Roger of Howden (?), *Gesta regis Henrici II* ed. W. Stubbs (RS 49/1–2), London (1867)

Rolandus, *Stroma ex decretorum corpore carptum*, ed. F. Thaner, *Die Summa magistri Rolandi, nachmals Papst Alexander III.*, Innsbruck (1874)

Roman d'Eneas, ed. J.-J. Salverda de Grave, 2 vols. (*Les classiques français du moyen âge* 44 and 62), Paris (1968–73); trans. J. A. Yunck, New York and London (1974)

Roman de Thèbes, ed. G. Raynaud de Lage (*Les classiques français du moyen âge* 94 and 96), Paris (1966–68)

Roscelin of Compiègne, *Epistola ad Abaelardum*, ed. J. Reiners, *Der Nominalismus in der Frühscholastik* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und der Theologie des Mittelalters 8), Münster (1913); also in *PL* 178, cols. 357–72

Rouleaux des morts du IXe au XVe siècle, ed. L. Delisle (Société de l'histoire de France 11), Paris (1866)

Rufinus, *Die Summa Decretorum des Magister Rufinus*, ed. H. Singer, Paderborn (1902)

Rufinus, *Sermo habitus in Lateranensi concilio*, ed. G. Morin, 'Le discours d'ouverture du concile général de Latran (1179) et l'oeuvre littéraire de maître Rufin, évêque d'Assise', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* ser. 3, memorie 2, Rome (1928), pp. 113–33

Rufinus (of Sorrento), *De bono pacis*, German ed. and trans. R. Deutinger, (*MGH Studien und Texte* xvii), Hanover (1997); Italian ed. and trans. A. Brunacci and G. Catanzaro, Assisi (1986)

Rule of the Temple: Schnürer, G., *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel* (Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte 3, 1–2), Freiburg i. B. (1903)

Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis*, ed. I. Ott, *Ruotgeri Vita Brunonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis*, *MGH SRG*, NS x

Sachsenspiegel, see Eike von Repgow

Schubert, E. and Ramm, P., *Die Inschriften der Stadt Merseburg* (Die deutschen Inschriften 11), Berlin and Stuttgart (1968)

Sefer Nizzahon Yashan, ed. and trans. D. Berger, *The Jewish–Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages* (Jewish Publication Society of America), Philadelphia (1979)

Siete Partidas, ed. I. Sanponts y Barba and others, *Las Siete partidas del sabio rey Don Alfonso el IX . . .*, 2 vols., Madrid (1877)

Sigebert of Gembloux, *Apologia*, *MGH Libelli* 11, pp. 436–48

Sigebert of Gembloux, *Catalogus Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi de viris illustribus*, ed. R. Witte, dissertation, Cologne (1974)

Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica* or *Chronographia*, ed. L. C. Bethmann, *MGH SS* vi, pp. 268–374

Sigebert of Gembloux, *Epistola Leodicensium adversus Paschalem papam, MGH Libelli* 11, pp. 449–64

Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Deoderici episcopi Mettensis*, *PL* 160, cols. 689D–726B

Sigebert of Gembloux, *Vita Wicberti*, *MGH SS* VIII, pp. 507–16

Sigiboto, *Vita Paulinae*, *MGH SS* XXX.2, pp. 910–38

Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, see Rashi

Solomon ibn Gabirol, *Fountain of Life*, English trans. of Book 3 by H. E. Wedeck, London (1963); French trans. of the Hebrew fragments by A. Munk, 'La source de vie', in his *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris (1857; repr. 1955)

Le 'Sponsus' (mystère des vierges sages et des vierges folles) suivi des trois poèmes limousins et farcis du même manuscrit; texte, musique, notes, et glossaire, ed. L.-P. Thomas, Paris (1951)

'Sponsus', dramma delle vergini prudenti e delle vergini stolte, ed. D'Arco S. Avalle and Raffaello Monterosso (Documenti di filologia 9), Milan and Naples (1965)

Statutes of the University of Bologna, ed. F. Ehrle, *I più antichi statuti della facoltà dell'università di Bologna* (Universitatis Bononiensis Monumenta 1), Bologna (1932)

Stephen of Bourbon, *De septem donis spiritus sancti*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon*, Paris (1877)

Stephen of Cîteaux, *Exordium coenobii et ordinis Cisterciensis*, see *Exordium parvum*

Stephen of Grandmont, *Regula*, CCCM 8, pp. 65–99

Stephen of Tournai, *Epistolae*, *PL* 211, cols. 309–562; *Lettres d'Etienne de Tournai*, ed. J. Desilve, Valenciennes and Paris (1893)

Stephen of Tournai, *Summa*, ed. J. F. von Schulte, Giessen (1891)

Suger of St Denis, *Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis and Libellus alter de consecratione ecclesiae sancti*, ed. and trans. E. Panofsky (1979), *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures*, 2nd edn by G. Panofsky-Soergel, Princeton, pp. 39–81 and 82–121

Suger of St Denis, *Vita Ludovici grossi regis*, ed H. Waquet (Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge 11), Paris (1929; repr. 1964).

Summa Coloniensis, see *Summa 'Elegantius in iure diuino' seu Coloniensis*

Summa 'Elegantius in iure diuino' seu Coloniensis, ed. G. Fransen and S. Kuttner, 4 vols. (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series A: Corpus Glossatorum 1), New York and Vatican City (1969–90)

The Summa Parisiensis on the Decretum Gratiani, ed. T. P. McLaughlin, Toronto (1952)

Synodus Helenensis [1027], Mansi 19, cols. 483–4

Tancred, archdeacon of Bologna, *Compilatio quinta*, ed. E. Friedberg, *Quinque compilationes antiquae*, Leipzig (1882; repr. Graz, 1956)

Tancred, *Ordo iudiciarius: Tancreti Ordinis Judiciarii Tractatus*, in F. Bergmann (ed.) *Pillii, Tancredi, Gratiae libri de Judiciorum Ordine*, Göttingen (1842)

Tancred, *Summa de matrimonio*, ed. G. F. W. A. Wunderlich, *Tancredi Summa de matrimonio*, Göttingen (1841)

Theodulf of Orleans, *Homilies*, ed. U. Moricca, 'Il codice casanatense 1338: sette omelie inedite di Teodulfo d'Orléans', *Bilychnis* 17 (1928), 241–72 and 364–80

Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, ed. and trans. C. R. Dodwell. (Nelson's Medieval Texts), Edinburgh (1961); (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (1987).

Thierry of Chartres (1971), *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School*, ed. N. M. Häring (Studies and Texts 20), Toronto.

Thietmar of Merseberg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann, *MGH SRG* n.s. IX, Berlin (1955)

Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super libros Sententiarum*, Books 1 and 2, ed. P. Mandonnet, 2 vols., Paris (1929); Books 3 and 4 up to distinction 22, ed. M. F. Moos, 2 vols., Paris (1933 and 1947); *Opera omnia*, Parma (1852–73), vols. 6–7, 1/2; *Opera omnia*, Paris '*apud Ludovicum Vives*' (Vives edn., 1871–2), vols. 7–11

Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, ed. F. Broomfield (Analecta mediaevalia Namurcensia 25), Louvain (1968)

Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, ed. and trans. A. Jessopp and M. R. James, Cambridge (1896)

Tractatus de investitura episcoporum, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 498–504; ed. J. Krimm-Beumann, 'Der Traktat "De investitura episcoporum" von 1109', *Deutsches Archiv* 33 (1977), 37–83

Tractatus Garsiae Tholetani canonici de Albino et Rufino, *MGH Libelli* II, pp. 423–35

Translatio Godehardi episcopi Hildesheimensis, *MGH SS* XII, pp. 639–52

Treuga Dei archidiocesis Arelatensis (ca. 1037–1041), ed. L. Weiland (1893), *MGH Constitutiones* I, pp. 596–7

Ulrich of Bamberg, *Udalrici Codex epistolaris*, ed. P. Jaffé, *Monumenta Bambergensia* (Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum 5), Berlin (1890), pp. 1–469

Ulrich of Cluny, *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, *PL* 149, cols. 635–778

Urban II, Pope, *Epistolae et privilegia*, *PL* 151, cols. 283–552

Urban III, Pope, *Epistolae*, *PL* 202, cols. 1331–1534

Urkundenbuch des Hochstifts Halberstadt und seiner Bischöfe I, ed. G. Schmidt, Leipzig (1883)

Vacarius, *Liber pauperum*, ed. F. de Zulueta (Selden Society 43), London (1927)

Vacarius, *Summa de matrimonio*, ed. F. W. Maitland, *Law Quarterly Review* 13 (1897), 133–43, 270–87

Vasari, G. *Le vite de piú eccelenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence (1878)

Villard de Honnecourt, *Sketchbook*, ed. H. R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt: Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches ms fr. 19093 der Pariser Nationalbibliothek*, 2nd edn, Graz (1972)

Vita Adalberonis episcopi Wirziburgensis, *MGH SS* XII, pp. 127–147

Vita Altmanni Pataviensis, *MGH SS* XII, pp. 228–43

Vita Annonis archiepiscopi Coloniensis, ed. R. Koepke, *MGH SS* XI, pp. 462–518

Vita beati Anselmi episcopi Lucensis, *MGH SS* XII, pp. 3–35

Vita beati Gaucherii Aurelii, in *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum*, ed. P. Labbe, Paris (1657) II, pp. 560–3

Vita Bernardi Tironiensis, *PL* 172, cols. 1367–1446

Vita Burchardi episcopi Wormatiensis, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* IV, pp. 829–46

Vita Chuonradi archiepiscopi Salisburgensis, *MGH SS* XI, pp. 63–77

Vita Gileberti confessoris, in R. Foreville and G. Keir (eds.), *The Book of St Gilbert* (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (1987)

Vita Hamonis Saviniacensis, ed. E. P. Sauvage, *AB* 2 (1883), 500–60

Vita Norberti archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis, *MGH SS* XII, pp. 670–703

Vita prima Bernardi Clarevallensis, in *Sancti Bernardi opera omnia*, ed. J. Mabillon, Paris (1839) VI, pp. 2089–398; also in *PL* 185, cols. 224–454

Vita Roberti de Arbrisselo, *PL* 162, cols. 1043–58

Vita sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris, see Aelred of Rievaulx

Vita Stephani Muretensis, CCCM 8, pp. 102–37

Vita Stephani Obazinensis; *Vie de saint Etienne d'Obazine*, ed. and trans. M. Aubrun (Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand 6), Clermont-Ferrand (1970)

Vita venerabilis Amedaei Altae Ripae, ed. M.-A. Dimier, *Studia Monastica* 5 (1963), 265–304

Vita Willihelmi abbatis Hirsaugiensis, *PL* 150, cols. 901–24

Vitruvius, *De architectura*, ed. and trans. F. Granger, 2 vols., Loeb Classical Library, London (1956 and other editions)

Walter Daniel, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, ed. F. M. Powicke, London (1950)

Walter of Châtillon, ed. K. Strecker, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon*, Heidelberg (1929)

Walter of Châtillon, *Pericula Romanae curiae*, in *Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, ed. F. J. E. Raby, Oxford (1959), pp. 282–8

Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting, ed. and trans. D. Oschinsky, Oxford (1971)

Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. M. R. James (Anecdota Oxoniensia 14), Oxford (1914). Revised ed. and trans. C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (1983)

Walter of St Victor, *Contra quatuor labyrinthos Franciae*, ed. P. Glorieux, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 27 (1952), 187–335

Wattenbach, W. (1882), 'Handschriftliches (II. Codex bibl. Darmstadt 749)', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 7: 620–9

Wenrich of Trier, *Epistola*, *MGH Libelli* I, pp. 280–99

Wibert of Ravenna, *Decretum*, *MGH Libelli* I, pp. 621–6

Wido of Ferrara, *De scismate Hildebrandi*, *MGH Libelli* I, pp. 529–67

Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres*, ed. P. Hirsch and H-E. Lohmann (1935; rep. 1989), *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei*, *MGH SRG* lx

William of Conches, ed. C. Jourdain, 'Des commentaires inédits de Guillaume de Conches et de Nicolas Triveth sur la Consolation de Boèce', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits* xx. 11. (1862)

William of Conches, *Dragmaticon philosophiae*, ed. I. Ronca (CCCM 152), Turnhout (1997)

William of Conches, *Glose super Platonem*, ed. E. Jeauneau, *Guillaume de Conches. Glose super Platonem. Texte critique avec introduction, notes et tables* (Textes philosophiques du moyen âge 13), Paris (1965)

William of Conches, *De philosophia mundi*, *PL* 172, cols. 39–102 (under the name of Honorius Augustodunensis)

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS 90/1–2), London (1887–9); ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, vol. i; general introd. and commentary, R. M. Thomson, vol. ii (Oxford Medieval Texts), Oxford (1998–9)

William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (RS 52), London (1870)

William of Malmesbury, *Historia novella*, ed. K. R. Potter, London (1955)

William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. R. R. Darlington (Camden Society, 3rd ser., 40), London (1928)

William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. R. Howlett (RS 82/1), London (1884)

William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guilelmi*: Guillaume de Poitiers, *Histoire de Guillaume le Conquérant*, ed. R. Foreville, Paris (1952)

William of St Thierry, *Vita prima sancti Bernardi*, *PL* 185, cols. 225A–268A

Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, ed. H. Bresslau, *Wiponis Opera*, *MGH SRG* lxi, pp. 1–48

Wipo, *Opera*, ed. H. Bresslau, *MGH SRG* lxi

Wolfger of Prüfening, *Vita Theogeri abbatis S. Georgii*, *MGH SS* xii, pp. 450–79

Wulfhere, *Vita posterior Godehardi episcopi Hildesheimensis auctore Wolfherio*, ed. G. H. Pertz (1854), *MGH SS* xi, pp. 196–218

Wulstan: *Portiforium*, ed. A. Hughes, (Henry Bradshaw Society 89, 90), 2 vols., London (1958–60)

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SECONDARY
WORKS ARRANGED BY CHAPTER

2 THE RURAL ECONOMY AND DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH

Brooke, C. (1987), *Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962–1154*, 2nd edn, *A General History of Europe*, general editor Denys Hay, London and New York

Cambridge Economic History of Europe, vol. I: *The Agrarian Life of the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn, Cambridge (1966)

Comet, G. (1992), *Le Paysan et son outil: essai d'histoire technique des céréales*, Rome

Contamine, P. *et al.* (1992), *L'Economie médiévale*, Paris

Duby, G. (1976), *L'Economie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident médiévale*, 2nd edn, 2 vols., Paris; trans. M. Postan as *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Middle Ages*, London (1968)

Fossier, R. (1989), *Enfance de l'Europe: aspects économiques et sociaux, Xe–XIIe siècles* (Nouvelle Clio 17–17bis), 2nd edn, 2 vols., Paris

Fossier, R. (1991), *La Société médiévale*, Paris

Königsberger, H. G. and Briggs, A. (1982), *Medieval Europe, 400–1500*, London

Poly, J. P. and Bournazel, E. (1991), *La Mutation féodale, Xe–XIIe siècles* (Nouvelle Clio 16), 2nd edn, Paris

Rösener, W. (1985), *Bauern im Mittelalter*, Munich; trans. A. Stutzer as *Peasants in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge (1992)

Rowley, T. (1981), *The Origins of Openfield*, London

Russell, J. C. (1985), *Late Ancient and Medieval Population Control*, Philadelphia

Storia dell'economia mondiale, I: *Dall'antichità al medioevo* (1996), Rome and Bari

3 TOWNS AND THE GROWTH OF TRADE

Full details of works cited by short references will be found in the *General* section.

Bibliographies

Creaton, H. (1994), *A Bibliography of London History to 1939*, London

Dollinger, P. and Wolff, P. (1967), *Bibliographie d'histoire des villes de France*, Paris

Ebrecht, W., Schröder, B. and Stoob, H. (eds.) (1986–96), *Bibliographie zur deutschen historischen Städteforschung*, 2 vols. plus index, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna

European Atlases of Historic Towns: for a full bibliography of published and projected volumes compiled under the patronage of the International Commission for the History of Towns, many of which include up-to-date information and bibliographies relevant to the period, see Simms, A. and Opll, F. (1998), *List of the European Atlases of Historic Towns*, Brussels. Publications in this series concern towns in Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany (including additional series for Hesse, Rhineland and Westphalia), Great Britain, Iceland, Ireland, Italy (two series), Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Sweden and Switzerland. Most other town atlas publications contain little of value for the medieval period.

Keyser, E. (ed.) (1969), *Bibliographie zur Städtegeschichte Deutschlands: unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Sachkenner*, Cologne and Vienna

Martin, G. H. and MacIntyre, S. (1972), *A Bibliography of British and Irish Municipal History*, Leicester

Prevenier, W. and Stabel, P. (eds.) (1996), *Bibliographies on European Urban History: Belgium–Ireland–Spain*, Ghent

Rausch, W. (ed.) (1984), *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Städte Österreichs*, Linz

Rodger, R. (1996), *A Consolidated Bibliography of Urban History*, Aldershot (uneven coverage)

General

Abulafia, D. (1987), 'Asia, Africa and the trade of medieval Europe', in Postan and Miller (eds.), pp. 402–73

Abulafia, D. (1994), 'The role of trade in Muslim–Christian contact during the middle ages', in D. A. Agius and R. Hitchcock (eds.), *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe: Folia scholastica mediterranea*, Reading

Abulafia, D., Franklin, M. and Rubin, M. (eds.) (1992), *Church and City, 1000–1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, Cambridge

Aerts, E., Henau, B., Janssens, P. and van Uytven, R. (eds.) (1993), *Studia Historica Œconomica: Liber Amicorum Herman Van der Wee*, Leuven

Agus, I. A. (1965), *Urban Civilization in Pre-crusade Europe: A Study of Organised Town-Life in Northwestern Europe during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries Based on the Responsa Literature*, 2 vols., Leiden

Bairoch, P., Batou, J. and Chèvre, P. (1988), *La Population des villes européennes, 850–1850*, Geneva (many of the totals for medieval towns are unreliable)

Balletto, L. (ed.) (1997), *Oriente e occidente tra medioevo ed età moderna: studi in onore di Geo Pistarino*, 2 vols., Genoa

Barley, M. W. (ed.) (1977), *European Towns: Their Archaeology and Early History*, London

Bautier, R.-H. (1961), 'Recherches sur les routes de l'Europe médiévale', *Bulletin Philologique et Historique (1960)*: 99–143

Bautier, R.-H. (1971), *The Economic Development of Medieval Europe*, London

Black, A. (1984), *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present*, Ithaca

Brachmann, H. and Herrmann, J. (eds.) (1991), *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt*, Berlin

Braunfels, W. (1988), *Urban Design in Western Europe: Regime and Architecture*, trans. K. J. Northcott, Chicago

Brett, M. (1969), 'Ifriqiya as a market for Saharan trade from the tenth to the twelfth century AD', *Journal of African History* 10: 347–64

Brühl, C. (1975–90), *Palatium und Civitas: Studien zur Profantopographie spätantiker Civitates vom 3. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols., Cologne and Vienna

La città nell'alto medioevo (1959) (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 6), Spoleto

Clarke, H. B. and Simms, A. (eds.) (1985), *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe* (BAR International Series 255), 2 vols., Oxford

Contamine, P., Bompaire, M., Lebecq, S. and Sarrazin, J.-L. (1993), *L'Economie médiévale*, Paris

Coornaert, E. (1948), 'Les ghildes médiévales', *Revue Historique* 199: 22–55, 208–43

Demolon, P. *et al.* (1994), *Archéologie des villes dans le nord-ouest de l'Europe (VIIe–XIIIe siècle)*, Douai

Duvosquel, J.-M. and Thoen, E. (eds.) (1995), *Peasants and Townsmen in Medieval Europe: Studia in Honorem Adriaan Verhulst*, Ghent

Encyclopaedia of Islam (1960–98), new edn, 10 vols. plus indexes, Leiden (valuable accounts of Alexandria, Almería, Cairo and Córdoba)

Ennen, E. (1953), *Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt*, Bonn

Ennen, E. (1987), *Die europäische Stadt des Mittelalters*, 4th edn, Göttingen; English trans. of 1972 edition by N. Fryde, Amsterdam and New York (1979)

Face, R. D. (1958), 'Techniques of business in the trade between the fairs of Champagne and the south of Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *EconHR* 2nd series, 10: 427–38

Face, R. D. (1959–60), 'The *vectuarii* in the overland commerce between Champagne and southern Europe', *EconHR* 2nd series, 12: 239–46

Ganshof, F. L. (1943), *Etude sur le développement des villes entre Loire et Rhin au moyen âge*, Paris and Brussels

Gerevich, L. and Salamon, A. (1977), *La Formation et développement des métiers au moyen âge (Ve–XIVe siècles)*, Budapest

Goitein, S. D. (1967–93), *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols., Berkeley and London

Goitein, S. D. (1973), *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Princeton

Heers, J. (1990), *La Ville au moyen âge en Occident: paysages, pouvoirs et conflits*, Paris

Heyd, W. (1885), *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, Leipzig; repr. Amsterdam (1967)

Hyde, J. K. (1966), 'Medieval descriptions of cities', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 48: 308–40

Irsigler, F. (1989), 'Grundherrschaft, Handel und Märkte zwischen Maas und Rhein im frühen und hohen Mittelalter', in K. Flink and W. Janssen (eds.), *Grundherrschaft und Stadtentstehung am Niederrhein*, Cleves, pp. 52–78

Jäger, H., Petri, F. and Quirin, H. (eds.) (1984), *Civitatum communitas: Studien zum europäische Städtewesen; Festschrift Heinz Stoob zum 65. Geburtstag*, 2 vols., Cologne and Vienna

Jankuhn, H., Schlesinger, W. and Steuer, H. (eds.) (1973–4), *Vor- und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter*, 2 vols., Göttingen

Jarnut, J. and Johanek, P. (eds.) (1998), *Die Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt in 11. Jahrhundert*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna

Joris, A. (1988), 'Espagne et Lotharingie autour de l'an mil. Aux origines des franchises urbaines', *Le Moyen Âge* 94: 5–20

Lavedan, P. and Hugueney, J. (1974), *L'Urbanisme au moyen âge*, Geneva

Lestocquoy, J. (1952), *Les Villes de Flandre et d'Italie sous le gouvernement des patriciens (XIe–XVe siècles)*, Paris

Lewis, A. R. (1951), *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean AD 500–1100*, Princeton

Lewis, A. R. (1958), *The Northern Seas: Shipping and Commerce in Northern Europe, AD 300–1100*, Princeton

Lewis, A. R. (1976), 'Northern European sea power and the straits of Gibraltar, 1031–1350 AD', in W. C. Jordan, B. McNab and T. F. Ruiz (eds.), *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer*, Princeton, pp. 139–64

Leyser, K. (1973), 'The tenth century in Byzantine–Western relationships', in D. Baker (ed.), *The Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, Edinburgh, pp. 29–63; repr. in his *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours, 900–1250*, London (1982), pp. 103–37

Lopez, R. S. (1976), *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350*, Cambridge; repr. of 1971 edn with additional bibliography

Lopez, R. S. (1987), 'The trade of medieval Europe: the south', in Postan and Miller (1987), pp. 306–401

Lopez, R. S. and Raymond, I. W. (1955), *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents Translated with Introductions and Notes*, New York

Luscombe, D. (1992), 'City and politics before the coming of *Politics*: some illustrations', in Abulafia *et al.* (1992), pp. 41–55

Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo (1993) (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 40), Spoleto

Miskimin, H. A., Herlihy, D. and Udovitch, A. L. (eds.) (1977), *The Medieval City*, New Haven and London

Mitterauer, M. (1980), *Markt und Stadt im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur historischen Zentralitätsforschung*, Stuttgart

Munro, J. H. (1997), 'The origin of the English "new draperies": the resurrection of an old Flemish industry, 1270–1570', in N. B. Harte (ed.), *The New Draperies in the Low Countries and England, 1300–1800*, Oxford, pp. 35–127

Murray, A. (1978), *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, Oxford; repr. 1991

Nicholas, D. (1997), *The Growth of the Medieval City: From Late Antiquity to the Early Fourteenth Century*, London and New York

Nicolet, C., Ilbert, R. and Depaule, J.-C. (2000), *Mégalopoles méditerranéennes: géographie urbaine rétrospective* (Collection de l'école Française de Rome 261), Paris

Nightingale, P. (1985), 'The evolution of weight standards and the creation of new monetary and commercial links in northern Europe from the tenth to the twelfth century', *EconHR* 2nd series, 38: 192–209

Opll, F. (1986), *Stadt und Reich im 12. Jahrhundert, 1125–90*, Cologne, Vienna and Graz

Ovitt, G. (1983), 'The status of the mechanical arts in medieval classifications of learning', *Viator* 14: 89–103

Pirenne, H. (1925), *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, Princeton

Pirenne, H. (1930), 'Draps d'Ypres à Novgorod au commencement du XIIe siècle', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 9: 563–7

Pirenne, H. (1939), *Les Villes et les institutions urbaines*, 2 vols., Paris and Brussels

Postan, M. (1987), 'The trade of medieval Europe: the north', in Postan and Miller (1987), pp. 168–305

Postan, M. M. and Miller, E. (eds.) (1987), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, II: *Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn, Cambridge

Postan, M. M., Rich, E. E. and Miller, E. (eds.) (1983), *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, III: *Economic Organisation and Policies in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge

Pryor, J. H. (1977), 'The origins of the *commenda* contract', *Speculum* 52: 5–37

Pryor, J. H. (1988), *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571*, Cambridge

Pryor, J. [H.] (1997), 'At sea on the maritime frontiers of the Mediterranean in the high middle ages: the human perspective', in Balletto (1997), pp. 1005–34

Reynolds, S. (1984), *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, Oxford

Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin: v, *La Foire* (1953); vi, *La Ville, institutions administratives et judicaires* (1954); vii, *La Ville, institutions économiques et sociales* (1955); viii, *La Ville, le droit privé* (1957), Brussels

Sabbe, E. (1950) 'Les relations économiques entre Angleterre et le continent au haut moyen âge', *Le Moyen Âge* 56: 169–93

Spufford, P. (1988), *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe*, Cambridge

Stow, K. R. (1992), *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe*, London

Taylor, J. (ed.) (1961), *Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, New York

Thrupp, S. L. (1983), 'The gilds', in Postan, Rich and Miller (1983), pp. 230–80

Tilly, C. and Blockmans, W. P. (eds.) (1994), *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe, AD 1000 to 1800*, Boulder, San Francisco and Oxford

Topografia urbana e vita cittadina nell'alto medioevo in occidente (1974) (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 21), 2 vols., Spoleto

Tyler, J. E. (1930), *The Alpine Passes*, Oxford

Van Werveke, H. (1983), 'The rise of towns', in Postan, Rich and Miller (1983), pp. 3–41

Verdier, A. and Cattois, F. (1855), *Architecture civile et domestique*, Paris; repr. 1972

Verhulst, A. (1998), 'Towns and trade, 400–1500', in R. A. Butlin and R. A. Dodgshon (eds.), *An Historical Geography of Europe*, Oxford, pp. 100–14

Verlinden, C. (1972), 'Marchands ou tisserands? A propos des origines urbaines', *Annales* 27: 396–406

Verlinden, C. (1983), 'Markets and fairs', in Postan, Rich and Miller (1983), pp. 119–56

Violante, C. and Fried, J. (eds.) (1993), *Il secolo XI: una svolta?* (Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico, quaderno 35), Bologna

Watson, A. M. (1983), *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700–1100*, Cambridge

White, L. (1978), *Medieval Religion and Technology: Collected Essays*, Berkeley

Britain and Ireland

Ayers, B. (1994), *Norwich*, London

Barley, M. W. (ed.) (1976), *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales*, London

Barlow, F., Biddle, M., von Feilitzen, O. and Keene, D. J. (1976), *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. M. Biddle, Oxford

Barry, T. B. (1987), *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, London

Basset, S. (ed.) (1992), *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100–1600*, Leicester, London and New York

Bateson, M. (1902), 'A London municipal collection of the reign of John', *EHR* 17: 480–511 and 707–30

Beresford, M. W. (1967), *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, London; 2nd edn Gloucester (1988)

Biddle, M. (1976), 'Towns', in D. M. Wilson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, London, pp. 99–150

Biddle, M. (ed.) (1990), *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester*, Oxford

Blair, J. and Ramsay, N. (eds.) (1991), *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*, London

Britnell, R. H. (1993), *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000–1500*, Cambridge

Britnell, R. H. and Campbell, B. M. S. (eds.) (1995), *A Commercialising Economy: England, 1086 to c.1300*, Manchester and New York

Brooke, C. N. L. and Keir, G. (1975), *London, 800–1216: The Shaping of a City*, London

Brooks, N. (1984), *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury*, Leicester

Campbell, J. (1986), 'The church in Anglo-Saxon towns', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*, London, pp. 139–54

Clarke, H. B. (ed.) (1990), *Medieval Dublin: The Making of a Metropolis*, Dublin

Cooper, J. and Crossley, A. (1979), 'Medieval Oxford', in A. Crossley (ed.), *A History of the County of Oxford*, IV: *The City of Oxford* (The Victoria History of the Counties of England), London, pp. 3–73

Corfield, P. J. and Keene, D. (1990), *Work in Towns, 850–1800*, Leicester, London and New York

Dickens, A. G. (1961), 'York before the Norman Conquest', in Tillot (1961), pp. 2–24

Dobson, B. (1974), *The Jews of York and the Massacre of March 1190*, York

Dyer, C. (1985), 'Towns and cottages in eleventh-century England', in H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, London, pp. 91–106

Ekwall, E. (1965), *Street-Names of the City of London*, Oxford

Fleming, R. (1993), 'Rural elites and urban communities in late-Saxon England', *Past and Present* 141: 3–37

Franklin, M. (1992), 'The cathedral as parish church: the case of southern England', in Abulafia *et al.* (1992), pp. 173–98

Fransson, G. (1935), *Middle English Surnames of Occupation, 1100–1350*, Lund

Gordon, G. and Dicks, B. (eds.) (1983), *Scottish Urban History*, Aberdeen

Gransden, A. (1972), 'Realistic observation in twelfth-century England', *Speculum* 47: 29–51

Grierson, P. (1941), 'The relations between England and Flanders before the Norman conquest', *TRHS* 4th series, 23: 71–112

Gross, C. (1890), *The Gild Merchant*, 2 vols., Oxford

Hall, R. A. (1994), *Viking Age York*, London

Haskins, C. H. (1913), 'William Cade', *EHR* 28: 730–1

Haslam, J. (ed.) (1984), *Anglo-Saxon Towns of Southern England*, Chichester

Heighway, C. (1988), 'Anglo-Saxon Gloucester, c.680–1066', in Herbert (1988b), pp. 5–12

Herbert, N. M. (1988a), 'Medieval Gloucester, 1066–1547', in Herbert (1988b), pp. 13–72

Herbert, N. M. (ed.) (1988b), *A History of the County of Gloucester*, IV: *The City of Gloucester* (The Victoria History of the Counties of England), London

Hill, D. (1981), *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford

Hill, F. (1948), *Medieval Lincoln*, Cambridge; repr. 1965

Jenkinson, H. (1913), 'William Cade, a financier of the twelfth century', *EHR* 28: 209–27

Keene, D. (1985), *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, Winchester

Keene, D. (1989), 'Medieval London and its region', *London Journal* 14: 99–111

Keene, D. (1990a), 'Suburban growth', in R. Holt and G. Rosser (eds.), *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1200–1540*, London and New York, pp. 97–119

Keene, D. (1990b), 'The textile industry', in Biddle (1990), pp. 200–14

Keene, D. (1995), 'London in the early middle ages, 600–1300', *London Journal* 20.2: 9–21

Keene, D. (1996), 'Landlords, the property market and urban development in medieval England', in F. E. Eliassen and G. A. Ersland (eds.), *Power, Profit and Urban Land*, Aldershot, pp. 92–119

Keene, D. (2000), 'The medieval urban landscape, A.D. 900–1540', in P. Waller (ed.), *The English Urban Landscape*, Oxford, pp. 74–98

Lipman, V. D. (1967), *The Jews of Medieval Norwich*, London

Lynch, M., Spearman, M. and Stell, G. (eds.) (1988), *The Scottish Medieval Town*, Edinburgh

Maitland, F. W. (1898), *Township and Borough*, Cambridge; repr. 1964

Miller, E. (1961), 'Medieval York', in Tillot (1961), pp. 25–116

Miller, E. and Hatcher, J. (1995), *Medieval England: Towns, Commerce and Crafts, 1086–1348*, London and New York

Munro, J. H. (1999), 'The "industrial crisis" of the English textile towns, c.1290–c.1330', in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England VII*, Woodbridge, pp. 103–42

Nightingale, P. (1982), 'Some London moneyers and reflections on the organisation of English mints in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Numismatic Chronicle* 142: 34–50

Nightingale, P. (1995), *A Medieval Mercantile Community: The Grocers' Company and the Politics and Trade of London, 1000–1485*, New Haven and London

Owen, D. M. (1984), *The Making of King's Lynn: A Documentary Survey*, Oxford

Palliser, D. M. (1990), *Domesday York* (University of York Borthwick Paper 78), York

Palliser, D. M. (ed.) (2000), *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, II: *600–1540*, Cambridge

Platt, C. (1976), *The English Medieval Town*, London

Reynolds, S. (1972), 'The rulers of London in the twelfth century', *History* 57: 337–57

Reynolds, S. (1977), *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns*, Oxford

Reynolds, S. (1987), 'Towns in Domesday Book', in J. C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies*, London, pp. 295–309

Richardson, H. G. (1960), *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings*, London

Roth, C. (1978), *History of the Jews in England*, 3rd edn, Oxford

Salter, H. E. (1936), *Medieval Oxford*, Oxford

Sawyer, P. H. (1981), 'Fairs and markets in early medieval England', in N. Sykum-Nielsen and N. Lund (eds.), *Danish Medieval History: New Currents*, Copenhagen, pp. 153–68

Sawyer, P. (1986), 'Anglo-Saxon trade in the Viking age and after', in M. S. Blackburn (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley*, Leicester, pp. 185–99

Schofield, J. (1994), *Medieval London Houses*, New Haven and London

Schofield, J. and Leech, R. (eds.) (1987), *Urban Archaeology in Britain*, London

Schofield, J. and Vince, A. (1994), *Medieval Towns*, London

Tait, J. (1936), *The Medieval English Borough: Studies on Its Origins and Constitutional History*, Manchester

Tillot, P. M. (ed.) (1961), *A History of Yorkshire: The City of York* (The Victoria History of the Counties of England), London

Urry, W. (1967), *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, London

Vince, A. (1990), *Saxon London: An Archaeological Investigation*, London

Central and eastern Europe

Birnbaum, H. (1987), 'Kiev, Novgorod, Moscow: three varieties of urban society in east Slavic territory', in Krekić (1987), pp. 1–62

Brisbane, M. A. (ed.) (1992), *The Archaeology of Novgorod, Russia: Recent Results from the Town and Its Hinterland* (Society for Medieval Archaeology, Monograph Series 13), Lincoln

Franklin, S. and Shepard, J. (1996), *The Emergence of Rus, 750–1200*, London and New York

Gieysztor, A. (1987), 'Trade and industry in eastern Europe before 1200', in Postan and Miller (1987), pp. 474–524

Gieysztor, A. *et al.* (eds.) (1962), *L'Artisanat et la vie urbaine en Pologne médiévale*, Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej 10, no. 1.2, fascicule supplémentaire

Hensel, W. (1967), *Anfänge der Städte bei den Ost- und Westslaven*, Berlin

Herrmann, J. (1998), 'Die nordwestlawische Frühstadt in 11 Jahrhundert', in Jarnut and Johanek (1998), pp. 245–60

Hlavácek, I. (1998), 'Zur Frage der Siedlungstypen in böhmischen Staat der Přemyslidenherzöge vom 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert', in Jarnut and Johanek (1998), pp. 261–72

Hoffman, A. and Pickl, O. (eds.) (1968–99), *Österreichisches Städtebuch*, 7 vols. (in progress), Vienna

Knoll, P. W. (1987), 'The urban development of medieval Poland, with particular reference to Kraków', in Krekić (1987), pp. 63–136

Krekić, B. (ed.) (1987), *Urban Society of Eastern Europe in Premodern Times*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London

Leciejewicz, L. (1985), 'Polish archaeology and the medieval history of Polish towns', in Clarke and Simms (1985), pp. 335–51

Mühle, E. (1998), 'Die ostslavische Stadt im 11. Jahrhundert', in Jarnut and Johanek (1998), pp. 315–58

Thompson, M. W. (1967), *Novgorod the Great: Excavations at the Medieval City Directed by A. V. Artsikovsky and B. A. Kolchin*, London

Tikhomirov, M. (1959), *The Towns of Ancient Rus*, Moscow

Yanin, V. (1985), 'Medieval Novgorod: fifty years' experience of digging up the past', in Clarke and Simms (1985), pp. 647–68

Zbierski, A. (1985), 'The development of the Gdansk area from the ninth to the thirteenth century', in Clarke and Simms (1985), pp. 289–334

France

Bates, D. (1993), 'Rouen from 900–1204: from Scandinavian settlement to Angevin "capital"', in J. Stratford (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rouen* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 12), pp. 1–11

Bautier, R. H. (1953), 'Les foires de Champagne: recherche sur une évolution historique', in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, V: *La Foire*, Brussels, pp. 97–147; repr. in Bautier (1991)

Bautier, R. H. (1991), *Sur l'Histoire économique de la France médiévale: la route, la fleuve, la foire*, Aldershot

Berrier, P. (1964), 'Le commerce de Rouen aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *Études Normandes* 53: 3–11

Bourquelot, F. (1865), *Etudes sur les foires de Champagne, sur la nature, l'étendue et les règles du commerce qui s'y faisait aux XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, 2 vols., Paris

Boussard, J. (1976), *Nouvelle histoire de Paris: de la fin du siège de 885–6 à la mort de Philippe Auguste*, Paris

Boyer, M. N. (1976), *Medieval French Bridges: A History*, Cambridge, MA

Cazelles, R. (1972), *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris: Paris de la fin du règne de Philippe Auguste à la mort de Charles V*, Paris

Chapin, E. (1937), *Les Villes de foires de Champagne des origine au début du XIVe siècle (Provins, Troyes, Lagny, Bar-sur-Aube)*, Paris

Chédeville, A. (1973), *Chartres et ses campagnes (XIe–XIIIe s.)*, Paris

Doehard, R. (1950), 'Laon, capitale du vin au XIIe siècle', *Annales* 5: 145–65

Dollinger, P. (1977), 'Le premier statut municipal de Strasbourg, XIIe siècle', in his *Pages d'histoire: France et Allemagne médiévales: Alsace*, Paris, pp. 179–201

Duby, G. (1953), *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, Paris; 2nd edn (1982)

Dupont, A. (1943), *Les Relations commerciales entre les cités maritimes de Languedoc et les cités méditerranéennes d'Espagne et d'Italie du Xe au XIIIe siècle*, Nîmes

Ferruolo, S. C. (1985), *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and Their Critics, 1100–1215*, Stanford

Février, P.-A. (1964), *Le Développement urbain en Provence de l'époque romaine à la fin du XIVe siècle: archéologie et histoire urbaine*, Paris

Garrigou Grandchamp, P., Jones, M., Meirion-Jones, G. and Salvèque, J.-D. (1999), *La Ville de Cluny et ses maisons, XIe–XIVe siècles*, Paris

Godding, P. and Pycke, J. (1971), 'La paix de Valenciennes de 1114. Commentaire et édition critique', *Bulletin de la Commission pour la Publication des Anciennes Lois et Ordonnances de Belgique* 29: 1–142

Gouron, A. (1963), 'Diffusion des consulats méridionaux et expansion du droit romain aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 121: 26–76

Gouron, A. (1987), *Études sur la diffusion des doctrines juridiques médiévales*, London (includes 'Gênes et le droit provençal')

Higounet, C. (1963), *Bordeaux pendant le haut moyen âge* (Histoire de Bordeaux 2), Bordeaux

King, E. (2000), 'Stephen of Blois, count of Mortain and Boulogne', *EHR* 115: 271–96

Lombard-Jourdan, A. (1985), *Aux Origines de Paris: la genèse de la rive droite jusqu'en 1223*, Paris

Le Goff, J. (1988), 'Warriors and conquering bourgeois: the image of the city in twelfth-century French imagination', in his *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. A. Goldhammer, Chicago, pp. 151–76

Le Goff, J. (ed.) (1980), *La Ville médiévale: des Carolingiens à la Renaissance*, Paris

Mundy, J. H. (1954), *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050–1250*, New York

Mundy, J. H. (1966), 'Charity and social work in Toulouse, 1100–1250', *Traditio* 22: 203–87

Mundy, J. H. (1982), 'Urban society and culture: Toulouse and its region', in R. L. Benson, G. Constable and C. D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twentlfth Century*, Oxford

Musset, L. (1974), 'La renaissance urbaine des Xe et XIe siècles dans l'ouest de la France: problèmes et hypothèses de travail', in *Études de civilisation médiévale (IXe)–XIIe siècles): mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande*, Poitiers, pp. 563–76

Petit-Dutaillis, C. (1947), *Les Communes françaises: caractères et évolution des origines au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris; trans. J. Vickers as *The French Communes in the Middle Ages*, Amsterdam (1978)

Pinol, J.-L. (ed.), (1996), *Atlas historique des villes de France*, Barcelona

Pryor, J. H. (ed.) (1981), *Business Contracts of Medieval Provence: Selected Notulae from the Cartulary of Giraud Amalric of Marseilles, 1248*, Toronto

Saint-Denis, A. (1994), *Apogée d'une cité: Laon et le Laonnais aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Nancy

Randolph, A. (1996), 'The bastides of southwest France', *Art Bulletin* 77: 290–307

Vermeesch, A. (1966), *Essai sur les origines et la signification de la commune dans le nord de la France (XIe et XIIe siècles)*, Heule

Wolff, P. and Durliat, M. (1973), *Histoire de Toulouse*, Toulouse

Germany

Anton, H. H. and Haverkamp, A. (eds.) (1996), *Trier im Mittelalter*, Trier

Arnold, B. (1991), *Count and Bishop in Medieval Germany: A Study of Regional Power, 1100–1350*, Philadelphia

Barrow, J. (1990), 'German cathedrals and the monetary economy in the twelfth century', *Journal of Medieval History* 16: 13–38

Bernhardt, J. (1993), *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c.936–1075*, Cambridge

Bosl, K. (1966), 'Die Sozialstruktur der mittelalterlichen Residenz- und Fernhandelsstadt Regensberg', in *Untersuchungen zur gesellschaftlichen Struktur der mittelalterlichen Städte in Europa* (Vorträge und Forschungen 11), Constance and Stuttgart, pp. 93–213

Deeters, J. (1971), 'Die Kölner conjuratio von 1112', in Stehkämper (1971), pp. 125–48

Despy, G. and Billen, C. (1974), 'Les marchands mosans aux foires de Cologne pendant le XIIe siècle', *Acta Historica Bruxellensia* 3: 31–61

Diestelkamp, B. (1964), 'Welfische Stadtgründungen und Stadtrecht des 12. Jahrhunderts', *ZSSRG, GA* 81: 164–224

Diestelkamp, B. (ed.) (1982), *Beiträge zum hochmittelalterlichen Städtewesen*, Cologne and Vienna

Dollinger, P. (1964) *La Hanse (XIIe–XVIIe siècles)*, Paris

Ennen, E. (1971), 'Europäische Züge der mittelalterlichen Kölner Stadtgeschichte', in Stehkämper (1971), pp. 1–47

Ennen, E. (1975), 'Kölner Wirtschaft im Früh- und Hochmittelalter', in H. Kellenbenz and K. van Eyll (eds.), *Zwei Jahrtausende Kölner Wirtschaft*, 1, Cologne

Erkens, F.-R. (1998), 'Sozialstruktur und Verfassungsentwicklung in der Stadt Köln während des 11. und frühen 12. Jahrhunderts', in Jarnut and Johanek (1998), pp. 169–92

Falk, L. (1972), *Mainz im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Geschichte der Stadt Mainz 2), Düsseldorf

Fehring, G. (1985), 'The archaeology of early Lübeck: the relation between the Slavic and German settlement sites', in Clarke and Simms (1985), pp. 267–89

Fehring, G. P. (1989), 'Archaeological evidence from Lübeck for changing material culture and socio-economic conditions from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century', *Medieval Archaeology* 33: 60–81

Fehring, G. P. (1991), *The Archaeology of Medieval Germany: An Introduction*, London; trans. R. Samson from *Einfürung in die Archäologie des Mittelalters* (1987)

Fehring, G. P. (1996), *Stadtarchäologie in Deutschland*, Stuttgart

Freid, J. (1984), 'Die Wirtschaftspolitik Friedrich Barbarossas in Deutschland', *Blätter für Deutsche Landesgeschichte* 120: 195–239

Gläser, M. (ed.) (1993), *Archäologie des Mittelalters und Bauforschung im Hanseraum: eine Festschrift für Günter P. Fehring*, Rostock

Haase, C. (1972), *Die Stadt des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., Darmstadt

Haverkamp, A. (1987), '"Heilige Städte" im hohen Mittelalter', in F. Graus (ed.), *Mentalitätem im Mittelalter: methodische und inhaltliche Probleme* (Vorträge und Forschungen 35), Sigmaringen, pp. 119–56

Haverkamp, A. (1988), *Medieval Germany, 1056–1273*, trans. H. Braun and R. Mortimer, Oxford

Hess, W. (1974), 'Zoll, Markt und Münze im 11. Jh. Der älteste Zolltarif im Lichte numismatischer Quellen', in H. Beumann (ed.), *Historische Forschungen für W. Schlesinger*, Cologne and Vienna, pp. 171–93

Hess, W. (1982), 'Münzstätten, Geldverkehr und Märkte am Rhein in ottonischer und salischer Zeit', in Diestelkamp (1982), pp. 111–33

Hirschmann, F. G. (1998), *Stadtplanung, Bauprojekte und Grossbaustellen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert: vergleichende Studien zu den Kathedralstädten westlich des Rheins*, Stuttgart

Huffman, J. P. (1998), *Family, Commerce and Religion in London and Cologne: Anglo-German Emigrants, c.1000–c.1300*, Cambridge

Irsigler, F. (1995), 'Köln und die Staufer im letzten Drittel des 12. Jahrhunderts', in W. Hartmann (ed.), *Europas Städte zwischen Zwang und Freiheit*, Regensburg, pp. 83–96

Jacobs, H. (1971), 'Verfassungstopographische Studien zur Kölner Stadtgeschichte des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts', in Stehkämper (1971), pp. 49–123

Jacobs, H. (1985), 'Bruderschaft und Gemeinde: Köln im 12. Jahrhundert', in Schwineköper (1985), pp. 281–309

Jordan, K. (1986), *Henry the Lion: A Biography*, trans P. S. Falla, Oxford

Kaiser, R. (1977), 'Cologne au XIIe siècle', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 55: 1069–75

Keyser, E. (1939–74), *Deutsches Städtebuch: Handbuch städtischer Geschichte*, 5 vols., Stuttgart and Berlin; new edition ed. H. Stoob, P. Johanek, K. Meyer-Schwickerath and F.-J. Post, 2 vols., Stuttgart, Berlin and Cologne (1995–2000)

Kölzer, T. (1992), 'Nochmals zum älteste Koblenzer Zolltarif', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken: Festschrift für Raymond Kottje*, Frankfurt, pp. 291–310

Maschke, E. (1977), 'Die Brücke im Mittelalter', *Historische Zeitschrift* 224: 265–92

Mayr-Harting, H. (1992), 'The church of Magdeburg: its trade and its town in the tenth and early eleventh centuries', in Abulafia *et al.* (1992), pp. 129–50

Metz, W. (1972), 'Marktrechtfamilie und Kaufmannesfriede in ottonisch-salischer Zeit', *Blätter für Deutsche Landesgeschichte* 108: 28–55

Oexle, O. G. (1982), 'Die mittelalterliche Zunft als Forschungsproblem', *Blätter für Deutsche Landesgeschichte* 118: 1–44

Planitz, H. (1954), *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter*, Cologne; 3rd edn (1973)

Quirin, H. (1985), 'The colonial town as seen in the documents of east German settlement', in Clarke and Simms (1985), pp. 505–30

Reuter, T. (1991), *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, 800–1056*, London and New York

Schich, W. (1985), 'Slavic proto-towns and the German colonial town in Brandenburg', in Clarke and Simms (1985), pp. 531–46

Schlesinger, W. (1985), 'The market as an early form of the German town', in Clarke and Simms (1985), pp. 237–48

Schlesinger, W. (ed.) (1975), *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung als Problem der europäischen Geschichte* (Vorträge und Forschungen 18), Sigmaringen

Schmidt, P. (1976), *Regensburg, Stadt der Könige und Herzöge im Mittelalter*, Kalmünz

Schulz, K. (1968), *Ministerialität und Bürgertum in Trier*, Bonn

Schwineköper, B. (ed.) (1985), *Gilden und Zünfte: kaufmännische und gewerbliche Genossenschaften in frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Vorträge und Forschungen 29), Sigmaringen

Stehkämper, H. (ed.) (1971), *Köln das Reich und Europa: Abhandlungen über weiträumige Verflechtungen der Stadt Köln in Politik, Recht und Wirtschaft im Mittelalter* (Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln 60), Cologne

Strait, P. (1974), *Cologne in the Twelfth Century*, Gainsville

Iberia

Bensch, S. P. (1995), *Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096–1291*, Cambridge

Bonnassie, P. (1975–6), *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle: croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols., Toulouse

Cardaillac, L (ed.) (1991), *Tolède, XIIe–XIIIe: Musulmans, Chrétiens et Juifs: le savoir et la tolérance*, Paris

Constable, O. R. (1994), *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500*, Cambridge

Crespo, V. P. and Madrazo, S. M. (eds.) (1995), *Madrid: atlas historico de la ciudad, siglos IX–XIX*, Madrid

Defourneaux, M. (1949), *Les Français en Espagne au XIe et XIIe siècles*, Paris

Dillard, H. (1984), *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100–1300*, Cambridge

Fletcher, R. (1992), *Muslim Spain*, London

Freedman, P. (1979), 'An unsuccessful attempt at urban organization in twelfth-century Catalonia', *Speculum* 54: 479–91

Gautier-Dalché, J. (1979), *Historia urbana de Castilla y León en la edad media (siglos IX–XIII)*, Madrid

Gautier-Dalché, J. (1982), *Economie et société dans les pays de la couronne de Castile*, London

García Moreno, L. A. (1998), 'The city in Christian Spain in the XIth century', in Jarnut and Johanek (1998), pp. 135–56

Glick, T. F. (1979), *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*, Princeton

Lévy-Provençal, E. (1947), *Séville musulmane au début du XIIe siècle*, Paris

Lévy-Provençal, E. (1950–3), *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 3 vols., Leiden and Paris

Mazzoli-Guintard, C. (1996), *Villes d'al-Andalus: l'Espagne et le Portugal à l'époque musulmane (VIII–XV siècles)*, Rennes

Nelson, L. H. (1978), 'The foundation of Jaca (1076): urban growth in early Aragon', *Speculum* 53: 688–708

Powers, J. F. (1988), *A Society Organised for War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000–1284*, Berkeley and London

Reilly, B. F. (1998), *The Kingdom of Leòn-Castilla under King Alfonso VII, 1126–1157*, Philadelphia

Ruiz, T. F. (1992), *The City and the Realm: Burgos and Castile, 1080–1492*, Aldershot

Torres Balbás, L. (1971), *Ciudades hispanomusulmanas*, Madrid; 2nd edn, Madrid (1985)

Verlinden, C. (1940), 'The rise of the Spanish trade in the middle ages', *EconHR* 10: 44–59

Wolff, P. (1963), 'Quidam homo nomine Roberto negotiatore', *Le Moyen Âge* 69: 129–39

Italy

Abulafia, D. (1977), *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes*, Cambridge

Abulafia, D. (1987), *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100–1400*, London

Abulafia, D. (1993), *Commerce and Conquest in the Mediterranean, 1100–1500*, Aldershot

Bach, E. (1955), *La Cité de Gênes au XIIe siècle*, Copenhagen

Bautier, R.-H. (1992), 'Les marchands et banquiers de Plaisance dans l'économie internationale du XIIe au XVe siècle', in his *Commerce méditerranéen et banquiers italiens au moyen âge*, Guildford

Bocchi, F. (1987), *Attraverso la città italiane nel medioevo*, Bologna

Bocchi, F. (1990), 'Regulation of the urban environment by the Italian communes from the twelfth to the fourteenth century', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 72/3: 63–78

Bocchi, F. (1997), *Bologna e i suoi portici: storia dell' origine e dello sviluppo*, Bologna

Bocchi, F. (2000), *Aspetti e problemi della città medievale Italiana*, Bologna

Bordone, R. (1984), *La società urbana nell'Italia comunale*, Turin

Bordone, R. (1998), 'La storiographia recente sui comuni Italiani delle origini', in Jarnut and Johanek (1998), pp. 5–62

Bordone, R. and Jarnut, J. (eds.) (1988), *L'evoluzione delle città italiane nell'XI secolo* (Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italiano, Quaderno 25), Bologna

Bresc, H. (1993), 'Le marchand, le marché et le palais dans la Sicile des Xe–XIIe siècles', in *Mercati e mercanti*, pp. 285–320

Bresc, H. and Bresc-Bautier, G. (1993), *Palerme, 1070–1492; mosaïque de peuples, nation rebelle: la naissance violente de l'identité sicilienne*, Paris

Byrne, E. H. (1930), *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, MA; repr. New York (1970)

Cahen, C. (1977), 'Le commerce d'Amalfi dans le Proche-Orient musulman avant et après la croisade', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres:* 293–9

Cardini, F. (1990), 'Intellectuals and culture in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Italy', in Dean and Wickham (1990), pp. 13–30

Chittolini, G. (1994), 'Cities, "city-states" and regional states in north-central Italy', in Tilly and Blockmans (1994), pp. 28–43

Citarella, A. (1967), 'The relations of Amalfi with the Arab world before the crusades', *Speculum* 45: 299–312

Citarella, A. (1968), 'Patterns in medieval trade: the commerce of Amalfi before the crusades', *Journal of Economic History* 28: 531–55

Citarella, A. (1977), *Il commercio di Amalfi nell'alto medioevo*, Salerno

Citarella, A. (1993), 'Merchants, markets and merchandise in southern Italy in the high middle ages', in *Mercati e mercanti*, pp. 239–82

Classen, P. (1977), 'Kodifikation im 12. Jahrhundert: die *constituta usus et legis* von Pisa', in P. Classen (ed.), *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter* (Vorträge und Forschungen 23), Sigmaringen, pp. 311–17

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1966), 'Archbishop Aribert of Milan', *History* 51: 1–15

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1968), 'The papacy, the Patarins and the church of Milan', *TRHS* 5th series, 18: 25–48

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1977), 'The Mahdia campaign of 1087', *EHR* 92: 1–29

Dameron, G. W. (1991), *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society, 1000–1320*, Cambridge, MA

Day, G. (1988), *Genoa's Response to Byzantium, 1155–1204: Commercial Expansion and Factionalism in a Medieval City*, Urbana

Dean, T. and Wickham, C. (eds.) (1990), *City and Countryside in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, London

Delumeau, J. P. (1996), *Arezzo: espace et sociétés, 715–1230: recherches sur Arezzo et son contado du VIIIe au début du XIIIe siècle* (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 219), 2 vols., Rome

Demus, O. (1960), *The Church of San Marco: History, Architecture, Sculpture*, Washington, DC

Dué, A. (1994), *Atlante storico della Toscana*, Florence

Epstein, S. A. (1996), *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528*, Chapel Hill and London

Fasoli, G. and Bocchi, F. (1973), *La città medievale Italiana*, Florence

Francovich, R. (1973), *I castelli del contado Fiorentino nei secoli XII e XIII*, Florence

Frugoni, C. (1991a), *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, trans. W. McCuaig, Princeton

Frugoni, C. (1991b), 'The city and "new" saints', in Molho *et al.* (1991), pp. 71–91

Grief, A. (1994), 'On the political foundations of the late medieval commercial revolution: Genoa during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Journal of Economic History* 54: 271–87

Guidoni, E. (1970), *Arte e urbanistica in Toscana, 1000–1315*, Rome

Herlihy, D. (1958), *Pisa in the Early Renaissance: A Study of Italian Growth*, New Haven

Herlihy, D. (1969), 'Family solidarity in medieval Italian history', in Herlihy *et al.* (1969), pp. 173–84

Herlihy, D., Lopez, R. S. and Slessarev, V. (eds.) (1969), *Economy, Society and Government in Medieval Italy: Essays in Memory of Robert L. Reynolds*, Kent, OH

Heynen, R. (1905), *Zur Enstehung des Kapitalismus in Venedig*, Stuttgart

Hubert, E. (1990), *Espace urbain et habitat à Rome du 10e siècle à la fin du 13e siècle* (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 135), Rome

Hyde, J. K. (1973), *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy: The Evolution of Civil Life, 1000–1350*, London

Jehel, G. (1996), 'Jews and Muslims in medieval Genoa: from the twelfth to the fourteenth century', in B. Arbel (ed.), *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean*, London and Portland, pp. 120–32

Jones, P. (1997), *The Italian City State: From Commune to Signoria*, Oxford

Keller, H. (1979), *Adelherrschaft und stätische Geschichte in Oberitalien 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen

Keller, H. (1988), 'Gli inizi del comune in Lombardia; limiti della documentazione e metodi di ricerca', in Bordone and Jarnut (1988), pp. 45–70

Keller, H. (1998), 'Mailand im 11. Jahrhundert. Das Exemplarische an einem Sonderfall', in Jarnut and Johanek (1998), pp. 81–105

Krautheimer, R. (1980), *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308*, Princeton

Kreutz, B. M. (1991), *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, Philadelphia

Krueger, H. (1987), 'The Genoese exportation of northern cloths to Mediterranean ports, twelfth century', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 65: 722–50

Lane, F. C. (1966), *Venice and History: Collected Papers*, Baltimore

Lane, F. C. (1973), *Venice: A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore

Luzzatto, G. (1954), 'Capitale e lavoro nel commercio veneziano dei sec. XI e XII', in his *Studi di storia economica Veneziana*, Padua, pp. 117–23

Luzzatto, G. (1961a), *Storia economica di Venezia dall'XI al XVI secolo*, Venice

Luzzatto, G. (1961b), *An Economic History of Italy from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, trans. P. Jones, London

Mazzaoui, M. (1981), *The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages, 1100–1600*, Cambridge

Molho, A., Raaflaub, K. A. and Emlen, J. (eds.) (1991), *City States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy: Athens and Rome, Florence and Venice*, Stuttgart

Morris, C. (1994), 'San Ranieri of Pisa: the power and limitations of sanctity in twelfth-century Italy', *JEH* 45: 588–99

Pryor, J. H. (1983), 'Mediterranean commerce in the middle ages: a voyage under contract of commenda', *Viator* 14: 133–94

Racine, P. (1980), *Plaisance du Xème à la fin du XIIIème siècle: essai d'histoire urbaine*, Lille

Racine, P. (1984), 'Milan à la fin du XIIIe siècle: 60.000 ou 200.0000 inhabitants?', *Aevum* 58: 246–63

Racine, P. (1997), 'A propos du binôme Gênes–Plaisance', in Balletto (1997), pp. 1035–57

Racine, P. (1998), 'Conscience civique et formation des communes dans l'Italie lombarde', in Jarnut and Johanek (1998), pp. 63–80

Renouard, Y. (1969), *Les Villes d'Italie de la fin du Xe siècle au début du XIVe siècle*, new edn, ed. P. Braunstein, Paris

Reynolds, R. L. (1929), 'The market for northern textiles in Genoa, 1179–1200', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 8: 831–51

Reynolds, R. L. (1930), 'Merchants of Arras and the overland trade with Genoa, twelfth century', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 10: 495–533

Reynolds, R. L. (1932–4), 'Some English settlers in Genoa in the late twelfth century', *EconHR* 4: 317–23

Roover, R. (1969), 'The Cambium Maritimum contract according to the Genoese notarial records of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in Herlihy *et al.* (1969), pp. 15–34

Rossetti, G. (1977), 'Histoire familiale et structures sociales et politiques à Pise aux XIe et XIIe siècles', in G. Duby and J. Le Goff (eds.), *Famille et parenté dans l'Occident médiéval*, Rome

Schulz, J. (1991), 'Urbanism in medieval Venice', in Molho *et al.* (1991), pp. 419–45

Skinner, P. (1995), *Family Power in Southern Italy: The Duchy of Gaeta and Its Neighbours, 850–1139*, Cambridge

Slessarev, V. (1969), 'The pound-value of Genoa's maritime trade in 1161', in Herlihy *et al.* (1969), pp. 95–112

Tabacco, G. (1989), *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*, trans. R. B. Jensen, Cambridge, from *Egemonie sociali e strutture del potere nel medioevo italiano*, Turin (1979)

Taylor, J. E. (1934), *The Alpine Passes*, Oxford

Violante, C. (1953), *La società Milanese nell' età precomunale*, Bari; 3rd edn, Rome (1981)

Violante, C. (1980), *Economia società istituzioni a Pisa nel medioevo*, Bari

Volpe, G. (1902), *Studi sulle instituzioni comunali a Pisa (città e contado, consoli, e podestà) secoli XII–XIII*, Pisa

Waley, D. (1969), *The Italian City Republics*, London

Wickham, C. (1990), 'Rural communes and the city of Lucca at the beginning of the thirteenth century', in Dean and Wickham (1990), pp. 1–12

Wickham, C. (1998), *Community and Clientele in Twelfth-Century Tuscany: The Origins of the Rural Commune in the Plain of Lucca*, Oxford

Williams, J. B. (1997), 'The making of a crusade: the Genoese anti-Muslim attacks in Spain, 1146–8', *Journal of Medieval History* 23: 29–53

Levant

Arnaldi, G. and Cavallo, G. (eds.) (1997), *Europa medievale e mondo Byzantino*, Rome

Ciggaar, K. N. (1996), *Western Travellers to Constantinople, 962–1204: Cultural and Political Relations*, Leiden and New York

Favreau-Lilie, M.-L. (1989), *Die Italiener im heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)*, Amsterdam

Ferluga, J. (1998), 'Die byzantinischen Provinzstädte im 11. Jahrhundert', in Jarnut and Johanek (1998), pp. 359–74

Goitein, S. D. (1977), 'A mansion in Fustat: a twelfth-century description of a domestic compound in the ancient capital of Egypt', in Miskimin *et al.* (1977), pp. 163–78

Harvey, A. (1989), *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200*, Cambridge

Hendy, M. F. (1970), 'Byzantium 1081–1204: an economic reappraisal', *TRHS* 5th series, 20: 31–52

Hendy, M. F. (1989), *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*, Northampton

Jacoby, D. (1997), 'Byzantine Crete in the navigation and trade networks of Venice and Genoa', in Balletto (1997), pp. 517–40

Kazhdan, A. P. and Epstein, A. W. (1985), *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley

Laiou, A. (1997), 'Byzantium and the commercial revolution', in Arnaldi and Cavallo (1997), pp. 239–53

Magdalino, P. (1993), *The Empire of Manuel Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge

Magdalino, P. (1996), *Constantinople médiévale: études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, Paris

Muthesius, A. (1997), *Byzantine Silk Weaving, A.D. 400 to A.D. 1200*, Vienna

Nicol, D. M. (1988), *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, Cambridge

Oikonomides, N. (1993), 'Le marchand Byzantin des provinces (IXe–XIe s.)', in *Mercati e mercanti*, pp. 633–60

Oikonomides, N. (1997), 'The economic region of Constantinople: from directed economy to free economy, and the role of the Italians', in Arnaldi and Cavallo (1997), pp. 221–38

Oikonomides, N. (1998), 'Il livello economico di Creta negli anni intorno al 1204', in G. Ortalli (ed.), *Venezia e Creta*, Venice

Prawer, J. (1977), 'Crusader cities', in Miskimin *et al.* (1977), pp. 179–99

Prawer, J. (1980), *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford

Udovitch, A. L. (1977), 'A tale of two cities: commercial relations between Cairo and Alexandria during the second half of the eleventh century', in Miskimin *et al.* (1977), pp. 143–62.

Low Countries

Decavele, J. (ed.) (1989), *Ghent: In Defence of a Rebellious City*, Antwerp

Derville, A. (1995), *Saint-Omer des origines au début du XIVe siècle*, Lille

De Sturler, J. (1936), *Les Relations politiques et les échanges commerciaux entre le duché de Brabant et l'Angleterre au moyen âge*, Paris

Duvosquel, J.-M. (1993), 'Les routes d'Ypres à Lille et le passage de la Lys au moyen âge ou de l'économie domaniale aux foires de Flandre', in Aerts *et al.* (1993), pp. 100–6

Ganshof, F. L. (1925), 'A propos de la chronique de Lambert d'Ardres', in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot*, Paris, pp. 205–34

Joris, A. (1959), *La Ville de Huy au moyen âge: des origines à la fin du XIVe siècle*, Paris

Laleman, M. C. and Raveschot, P. (1991), *Inleiding tot de studie van de woonhuizen in Gent: periode 1100–1300*, Brussels

Laurent, H. (1935), *La Draperie des Pays-Bas en France et dans les pays méditerranéens, XIIe–XVe siècle (un grand commerce d' exportation au moyen âge)*, Paris; repr. Brionne (1978)

Lestocquoy, J. (1945), *Les Dynasties bourgeoises d'Arras du XIe au XVe siècle*, Arras

Nicholas, D. (1991), 'Of poverty and primacy: demand, liquidity and the Flemish economic miracle, 1050–1200', *Americal Historical Review* 96: 17–41

Nicholas, D. (1992), *Medieval Flanders*, London and New York

Thoen, E. (1993), 'The count, the countryside and the economic development of towns in Flanders from the 11th to the 13th century', in Aerts *et al.* (1993), pp. 259–78

Van Werveke, H. (1949), 'Essor et déclin de la Flandre', in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, 1, Milan, pp. 152–60

Verhulst, A. (1993), 'The alleged poverty of the Flemish rural economy as reflected in the oldest account of the comital domaine known as the "Gros Brief" (A.D. 1187)', in Aerts *et al.* (1993), pp. 369–82

Verhulst, A. (1999a), *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe*, Cambridge

Verhulst, A. (1999b), 'Les origines de la ville d'Ypres (XIe–XIIe siècles)', *Revue du Nord* 81: 7–19

Verhulst, A. (1999c), 'Sheep-breeding and wool production in pre-thirteenth century Flanders and their contribution to the rise of Ypres, Ghent and Bruges as centres of the textile industry', *Archeologie in Vlaanderen*: 33–42

Yamada, M. (1991), 'Le mouvement des foires en Flandre avant 1200', in J.-M. Duvosquel and A. Dierkens (eds.), *Villes et campagnes au moyen âge: mélanges Georges Despy*, Liège, pp. 773–89

Scandinavia

Andrén, A. (1985), *Den urbana scenen städer och samhälle i det medeltida Danmark*, Malmö

Andrén, A. (1994), 'State and towns in the middle ages: the Scandinavian experience', in Tilly and Blockmans (1994), pp. 128–49

Cohen, S. (1977), 'The earliest Scandinavian towns', in Miskimin *et al.* (1977), 313–25

Friedland, K. (ed.) (1987), *Visby-Colloquium des hansischen Geschichtsvereins, 15–18 Juni 1984: Referate und Diskussionen*, Cologne

Jansen, H. (1985), 'Early urbanization in Denmark', in Clarke and Simms (1985), pp. 183–216

Riis, T. (1998), 'Das Städtewesen Dänemarks im 11. Jahrhundert', in Jarnut and Johanek (1998), pp. 229–44

Sawyer, B. and Sawyer, P. (1993), *Medieval Scandinavia: From Conversion to Reformation, circa 800–1500*, Minneapolis

4 GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITY

This list contains only works not included in the fuller lists in Reynolds (1997).

Appelt, H. (1963), 'Kaiserurkunde und Fürstensentenz unter Friedrich Barbarossa', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 71: 33–47

Barron, C. M. (1974), *The Medieval Guildhall of London*, London

Barrow, G. S. (1992), 'The Charters of David I', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14: 25–38

Barthélemy, D. (1993), *La Société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIVe siècle*, Paris

Bensch, S. (1995), *Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096–1291*, Cambridge

Bisson, T. N. (1984), 'L'Essor de la Catalogne: identité, pouvoir et idéologie dans une société du XIIe siècle', *Annales ESC*, 39: 454–79

Bonnassie, P. (1990), *La Catalogne au tournant de l'an mil*, Paris

Brühl, C. R. (1990), *Deutschland–Frankreich: die Geburt zweier Völker*, Cologne and Vienna.

Fried, J. (1994), *Der Weg in die Geschichte: die Ursprünge Deutschlands bis 1024*, Berlin

Gillingham, J. (1991a), 'Elective kingship and the unity of medieval Germany', *German History* 9: 124–35

Gillingham, J. (1991b), 'The context and purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13: 99–118

Gillingham, J. (1995),'Henry of Huntingdon and the twelfth-century revival of the English nation', in S. Forde *et al.* (eds.), *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, Leeds, pp. 75–102

Graus, F. (1975), *Lebendige Vergangenheit*, Cologne and Vienna

Graus, F. (1980), *Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen* (=*Nationes* 3), Sigmaringen

Keller, H. (1986), *Zwischen regionaler Begrenzung und universalen Horizont: Deutschland im Imperium der Salier und Staufer*, Berlin

Lourie, E. (1966), 'A society organized for war: medieval Spain', *Past and Present* 35: 54–76

Martindale, J. (1992), Peace and war in early eleventh-century Aquitaine', in C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (eds.), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, IV, Woodbridge, pp. 75–102

Newby, H. (1975), 'The deferential dialectic', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 17: 139–64

Oexle, G. (1979), 'Die mittelalterlichen Gilden', in A. Zimmermann (ed.), *Soziale Ordnungen im Selbstverstandnis des Mittelalters*, I, Berlin, pp. 284–354

Procter, E. S. (1970), 'The interpretation of clause 3 of the Decrees of León (1188)', *EHR* 85: 45–53

Procter, E. S. (1980), *Curia and Cortes in León and Castile, 1072–1295*, Cambridge

Reuter, T. (1991), *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, London

Reynolds, S. (1985), 'What do we mean by Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Saxons?', *Journal of British Studies*: 24; repr. 395–414 in *Ideas and Solidarities of the Medieval Laity*, Aldershot (1995), ch. 3

Reynolds, S. (1994), *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted*, Oxford

Reynolds, S. (1995), 'The history of the idea of incorporation or legal personality', in *Ideas and Solidarities of the Medieval Laity*, Aldershot, ch. 7

Reynolds, S. (1997), *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300*, 2nd edn, Oxford

Rota, A. (1953), 'La costituzione originaria del commune di Roma. L'epoca del comune libero', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico per il Medio Evo*, 64: 19–131

Searle, E. (1988), *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power*, Berkeley

Smith, D. H. (1973), 'Modernization and the emergence of volunteer organizations', in D. H Smith (ed.), *Voluntary Action Research, 1973*, Lexington, MA, pp. 49–73

TeBrake, W. (1985), *Medieval Frontier, Culture and Ecology in Rijnland*, College Station, TX

Thomas, H. (1992), 'Des Identitätsproblem der Deutschen im Mittelalter', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 43: 135–56

Van Houts, E. M. C. (1980), 'The Gesta Normannorum Ducum', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference* 3: 106–18

Veale, E. (1991), '"The Great Twelve": mystery and fraternity in thirteenth-century London', *Historical Research* 64: 237–63

Weinberger, S. (1982), 'Cours judiciaires, justice et responsabilité sociale dans la Provence médiévale: IXe–XIe siècle', *Revue Historique* 267: 73–88

Weitzel, J. (1985), *Dinggenossenschaft und Recht*, Cologne

Wickham, C. (1988), *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Apennines in the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford

5 THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAW

Bellomo, M. (1995), *The Common Legal Past of Europe, 1000–1800*, trans. L. Cochrane, Washington, DC

Berman, H. (1983), *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition*, Cambridge, MA

Blumenthal, U.-R. (1988), *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*, trans. by the author (University of Pennsylvania Press Middle Ages Series), Philadelphia

Blumenthal, U.-R. (2001), *Gregor VII. Papst zwischen Canossa und Kirchenreform*, Darmstadt

Brundage, J. A. (1987), *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe*, Chicago

Brundage, J. A. (1995), *Medieval Canon Law*, London

Burckhardt, J. (1942) *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen*, ed. B. Schwabe, Basel; ed. and trans. J. H. Nichols, as *Force and Freedom: Reflections on History*, New York (1943)

Calasso, F. (1954), *Medio evo del diritto*, I: *Le fonti*, Milan

Chodorow, S. (1972), *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century: The Ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum* (Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA 5), Berkeley

Coing, H. (1973), *Handbuch der Quellen und Literatur der neueren europäischen Privatrechtsgeschichte*, Munich

Cortese, E. (1992), *Il rinascimento giuridico medievale*, Rome

Cortese, E. (1995), *II diritto nella storia medievale*, 2 vols., Rome

Dilcher, G. (1967), *Die Entstehung der lombardischen Stadtkommune* (Untersuchungen zur deutschen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte, N. F. 7), Aalen

Diurni, G. (1967), *L'Expositio ad Librum Papiensem e la scienza giuridica preirneriana* (Biblioteca della Rivista di Storia del Diritto Italiano 231), Rome

Duggan, C. (1963), *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections and Their Importance in English History* (University of London Historical Studies 12), London

Ehrle, F. (1932), *I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell'università di Bologna* (Universitatis Bononiensis Monumenta 1), Bologna

Engelmann, W. (1938), *Die Wiedergeburt der Rechtskultur in Italien durch die wissenschaftliche Lehre: eine Darlegung der Entfaltung des gemeinen italienischen Rechts und seiner Justizkultur im Mittelalter*, Leipzig

Fournier, P. (1917), 'Un tournant de l'histoire du droit (1060–1140)', *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger* 41: 129–80

Fournier, P. and Le Bras, G. (1931–2), *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien*, 2 vols. (Bibliothèque de l'Histoire du Droit), Paris; repr. Aalen (1972)

Fowler-Magerl, L. (1984), *Ordo iudiciorum vel ordo iudiciarius: Begriff und Literaturgattung* (Ius commune. Sonderhefte 19), Frankfurt a. M.

Fransen, G. (1972), *Décrétales et les collections de décrétales* (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental 2), Turnhout

Fried, J. (1974), *Die Entstehung des Juristenstandes im 12. Jahrhundert: zur sozialen Stellung und politischen Bedeutung gelehrter Juristen in Bologna und Modena* (Forschungen zur Neueren Privatrechtsgeschichte 21), Cologne

Fried, J. (ed.) (1997), *Dialektik und Rhetorik in früheren und hohen Mittalalter* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien 27), Munich

Fuhrmann, H. (1972–4), *Einfluss und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Falschungen: von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit*, 3 vols. (MGH Schriften 24), Stuttgart

Fuhrmann, H. (1986), *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1020–1200*, trans. T. Reuter (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks) Cambridge

Galto, E. *et al.* (1982), *El derecho historico de los pueblos de Espana*, 3rd edn, Madrid

Gaudemet, J. (1987), *Le Mariage en Occident: les mœurs et le droit* (Histoire), Paris

Gilchrist, J. T. (1969), *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages*, New York

Gilmore, M. P. (1941), *Argument from Roman Law in Political Thought, 1200–1600*, Cambridge, MA

Godding, P. (1973), *La Jurisprudence* (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age 6), Turnhout

Gouron, A. (1978), *La Science juridique française aux XIe et XIIe siècles: diffusion du droit de Justinien et influences canoniques jusqu'à Gratien* (*Ius Romanum medii aevi*, Pars 1, 4d–e), Milan

Gouron, A. (1984), *La Science du droit dans le midi de la France au moyen âge* (Variorum Reprints), London

Gouron, A. (1987), *Etudes sur la diffusion des doctrines juridiques mediévales* (Variorum Collected Studies CS 264), London

Gouron, A. (1993), *Droit et coutume en France aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Variorum Collected Studies CS 422), Aldershot

Helmholz, R. H. (1996), *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law*, Athens, GA; *Ius Romanum medii aevi* (1961–8), 5 vols., Milan

Jakobs, H. H. (1996), *De similibus ad similia bei Bracton und Azo* (Ius commune. Sonderhefte, Studien zur Europäischen Rechtsgeschichte 87), Frankfurt a. M.

Kantorowicz, H. U. (1910), *Über die Entstehung der Digestenvulgata, Ergänzungen zu Mommsen*, Weimar

Kantorowicz, H. U. and Buckland, W. W. (1938), *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law*, Cambridge (repr. 1969 with addenda and corrigenda by P. Weimar, Aalen)

Knowles, D. (1966), *From Pachomius to Ignatius. A Study in the Constitutional History of the Religious Orders*, Oxford

Koschaker, P. (1947), *Europa und das römische Recht*, Munich

Kuttner, S. (1937), *Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140–1234)* (Studi e Testi 71), Vatican City; repr. (1983)

Kuttner, S. (1960), *Harmony from Dissonance: An Interpretation of Medieval Canon Law*, Latrobe, CA (repr. with corrections in Kuttner (1980a), pp. 1–16)

Kuttner, S. (1980a), *The History of Ideas and Doctrines of Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, London

Kuttner, S. (1980b), *Medieval Councils, Decretals, and Collections of Canon Law*, London

Kuttner, S. (1982), 'The revival of jurisprudence', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, pp. 299–323

Kuttner, S. (1990), *Studies in the History of Medieval Canon Law*, London

Landau, P. (1997), *Kanones und Dekretalen: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Quellen des kanonischen Rechts* (Bibliotheca eruditorum 2), Goldbach

Landau, P. (1999), 'Bologna. Die Anfänge der europäischen Rechtwissenschaft' in *Stätten des Geistes: grosse Universitäten Europas von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. A. Demandt, Cologne (1999), pp. 59–74

Le Bras, G. and Rambaud, J. (1965), *L'Age classique, 1140–1378: Sources et théorie du droit* (Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l'Eglise en Occident 7), Paris

Lewis, A. D. E. and Ibbetson, D. J. (eds.) (1994), *The Roman Law Tradition*, Cambridge

Lopez, R. S. (1971), *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ

Matthew, D. (1992), *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks), Cambridge

Mirbt, C. (1994), *die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII.*, Leipzig

Mitteis, H. (1975), *The State in the Middle Ages: A Comparative Constitutional History of Feudal Europe*, trans. H. F. Orton (North Holland Medieval Translations 1), Amsterdam

Müller, W. P. (1990), 'The recovery of Justinian's Digest in the middle ages', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, NS 20: 1–29.

Müller , W. P. (1994), *Huguccio: the Life, Works and Thought of a Twelfth-Century Jurist* (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 3), Washington, D. C.

Noonan, J. T. (1979), 'Gratian slept here: the changing identity of the father of the systematic study of canon law', *Traditio* 35: 145–72

Otte, G. (1997), 'Logische Einteilungstechniken bei den Glossatoren des römischen Rechts', in Fried (1997), pp. 157–69

Padoa-Schioppa, A. (1995), *Il diritto nella storia d'Europa: il medievo*, 1, Padua

Radding, C. (1988), *The Origins of Medieval Jurisprudence: Pavia and Bologna 850–1150*, New Haven

Robinson, O. F., Fergus, T. D. and Gordon, W. M. (1994), *An Introduction to European Legal History*, 2nd edn, London

Savigny, F. C. von (1834–51), *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, 7 vols., 2nd edn, Heidelberg; repr. Bad Homburg (1961)

Schulte, J. F. von (1875–89), *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, 3 vols., Stuttgart; repr. Graz (1956)

Smith, J. A. C. (1975), *Medieval Law Teachers and Writers: Civilist and Canonist*, Ottawa

Somerville, R. and Brasington, B. C. (1998), *Prefaces to Canon Law Books in Latin Christianity: Selected Translations 500–1295*, New Haven

Spagnesi, E. (1970), *Wernerius Bononiensis iudex. La figura storica d'Irnerio* (Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere, La Colombaria. Studi 16), Florence

Stein, P. (1976), 'Vacarius and the civil law', in C. N. L. Brooke, D. E. Luscombe, G. H. Martin and D. Owen, (eds.), *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, pp. 119–37

Stein, P. (1992), 'The Vacarian School', *Journal of Legal History* 13: 23–31

Stein, P. (1999), *Roman Law in European History*, Cambridge

Steleer, W. (1978), 'Zum scholarenprivileg Friedrich Barbarossas (Authentica "Habita")', *DA* 34: 123–65

Tierney, B. (1959), *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and its Application in England*, Berkeley

Van Caenegem, R. C. (1973), *The Birth of the English Common Law*, Cambridge

Van Caenegem, R. C. (1987), *Judges, Legislators and Professors: Chapters in European Legal History*, Cambridge

Van Kleffens, E. N. (1968), *Hispanic Law until the End of the Middle Ages*, Edinburgh

Vinogradoff, P. (1929), *Roman Law in Medieval Europe*, 2nd edn, Oxford

Weigand, R. (1980), 'Bemerkungen uber die Schriften und Lehren des Magister Honorius', in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress on Medieval Canon Law*, ed. S. Kuttner and K. Pennington, (Monumenta iuris canonici, Subsidia 6), Vatican City, pp. 195–212

Weigand, R. (1997), *Glossatoren des Dekrets Gratians* (Bibliotheca Eruditorum 18), Goldbach

Weimar, P. (1967), 'Argumenta Brocardica', *Studia Gratiana* 14 (Collectanea S. Kuttner 4), Bologna, pp. 89–123

Weimar, P. (1969), 'Die legistische Literatur und die Methode des Rechtsunterrichts der Glossatorenzeit', *Ius Commune* 2: 43–83

Wieacker, F. (1995), *A History of Private Law in Europe*, trans. T. Weir, Oxford

Winroth, A. (2000), *The Making of Gration's 'Decretum'*, Cambridge

6 KNIGHTLY SOCIETY

Alvarez Borge, I. (1993), *Monarquiá feudal y organización territorial en Castilla (siglos X–XIV)*, Madrid

Arnold, B. (1985), *German Knighthood 1050–1300*, Oxford

Arnoux, M. (1992), 'Classe agricole, pouvoir seigneurial et autorité ducale: évolution de la Normandie féodale d'après le témoignage des chroniqueurs', *Le Moyen Age* 98: 35–60

Astarita, C. (1999), 'Classe sociale, statut et pouvoir de la "caballeria villana" de Castille. Une révision', *Le Moyen Age* 105: 415–37

Aurell I Cardona, M. (1985), 'Le statut de la femme aristocratique', *Le Moyen Age* 91: 5–32

Aurell I Cardona, M. (1986), *Une Famille de la noblesse provençale au moyen âge, les Porcelets*, Avignon

Aurell I Cardona, M. (1996), *La Noblesse en Occident (Ve–XVe siècle)*, Paris

Aurell, M. (1994), *Les Noces du comte: mariage et politique en Catalogne (785–1213)*, Paris

Ayton, A. and Price, J. L. (eds.) (1995), *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, London and New York

Bachrach, B. S. (1970), 'Charles Martel, shock combat, the stirrup and feudalism', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 7: 45–75

Bachrach, B. S. (1979), '*Fortifications and military tactics: Fulk Nerra's strongholds circa 1000', Technology and Culture* 20: 531–49

Bachrach, B. S. (1983), 'The Angevin strategy of the castle-building in the reign of Fulk Nerra, 987–1040', *American Historical Review* 88: 533–49

Bachrach, B. S. (1984), 'Enforcement of the *Forma fidelitatis*: the techniques used by Fulk Nerra, count of the Angevins (987–1040)', *Speculum* 59: 796–819

Bachrach, B. S. (1985), 'Some observations on the military administration of the Norman Conquest', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 8: 1–25

Bachrach, B. S. (1988), 'Caballus et caballarius in medieval warfare', in H. Chickering and T. H. Seiler (eds.), *The Study of Chivalry*, Kalamazoo, MI, pp. 173–211

Bachrach, B. S. (1995), *State-Building in Medieval France: Studies in Early Angevin History*, Aldershot

Bancourt, P. (1982), *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste du cycle du roi*, Aix and Marseilles

Barber, R. (1995), *The Knight and Chivalry*, revised edn, Woodbridge

Barber, R. and Barker, J. (1989), *Tournaments*, Woodbridge

Barbero, A. (1987), *L'aristocrazia nella società Francese del medioevo*, Bologna

Barbero, A. and Vigil, M. (1978), *La formación del feudalismo en la Peninsula Ibérica*, Barcelona

Barker, J. R. V. (1986), *The Tournament in England (1100–1400)*, Woodbridge

Barthélémy, D. (1984), *Les Deux Ages de la seigneurie banale: Coucy (XIe–XIIIe siècle)*, Paris

Barthélémy, D. (1986), '*L'état contre le lignage: un thème à développer dans l'histoire des pouvoirs en France au XIème, XIIème et XIIIè siècles', Médiévales* 10: 37–50

Barthélémy, D. (1990), *L' Ordre seigneurial*, Paris

Barthélémy, D. (1992a) 'La mutation féodale a-t-elle eu lieu? Note critique', *Annales ESC* 47: 767–75

Barthélémy, D. (1992b), 'Note sur l'adoubement dans la France des XIème et XIIème siècles', *Les Ages de la vie au moyen âge: actes du colloque du Département d'Etudes Médiévales de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne et de l'Université Friedrich-Wilhelm de Bonn*, ed. H. Dubois and M. Zink, Paris, pp. 108–17

Barthélémy D. (1993a), *La Société dans le comté de Vendôme de l'an mil au XIVe siècle*, Paris

Barthélémy D. (1993b), 'Qu'est-ce que la chevalerie en France aux Xème et XIème siècles?', *Revue Historique* 290: 15–74

Barthélémy, D. (1999), *L'An mil et la paix de Dieu: la France chrétienne et féodale, 980–1060*, Paris

Barton, S. (1997), *The Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century Leon and Castille*, Cambridge

Batany, J. (1978), 'Du *bellator* au chevalier dans le schéma des trois ordres, étude sémantique', *Actes du 101e Congrès des Sociétés Savantes*, Paris, pp. 23–34

Bates, D. (1982), *Normandy before 1066*, London

Beech, G. T. (1964), *A Rural Society in Medieval France: The Gatine of Poitou in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Baltimore

Beech, G. T. (1998), 'The lord–dependant (vassal) relationship: a case study from Aquitaine c.1030', *Journal of Medieval History* 24: 1–30

Beeler, J. (1971), *Warfare in Feudal Europe, 730–1200*, New York

Bennett, M. (1986), 'The status of the squire: the northern evidence', in C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (eds.), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, Woodbridge, I, pp. 1–11

Bisson, T. N. (1977), 'The organized Peace in southern France and Catalonia, ca. 1140–ca.1233', *American Historical Review* 82: 290–311

Bisson, T. N. (1994), 'The "feudal Revolution"', *Past and Present* 142: 6–42

Bisson, T. N. (1995), 'Medieval lordship', *Speculum*, 70: 743–59

Blake, E. O. (1970), 'The formation of the crusade idea', *JEH* 21: 11–31

Bloch, M. (1968), *La Société féodale*, 6th edn, Paris; 1st edn (1939); trans. L. A. Manyon as *Feudal Society*, London (1961)

Bois, G. (1988), *La Mutation de l'an mil: Lournand, village mâconnais de l'antiquité au féodalisme*, Paris

Bonnassie, P. (1969), 'Les conventions féodales dans la Catalogne du XIe siècle', in *Les Structures sociales de l'Aquitaine*; trans. J. Birrell in P. Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, Cambridge (1991), pp. 170–94

Bonnassie, P. (1976), *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle*, Toulouse

Bonnassie, P. (1980), 'Du Rhône à la Galice: genèse et modalités du régime féodal', in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'occident méditerranéen, Xe–XIII siècles. Bilan et perspectives de recherches. Actes du colloque de Rome*, Rome, pp. 17–44; trans. J. Birrell in P. Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, Cambridge (1991), pp. 104–31

Bonnassie, P. (1994), 'El proceso de feudalización en Cataluña y Francia del Sur: similitudes y differencias', in *Los origenes del feudalismo en el mundo mediterráneo*, Granada, pp. 101–17

Bonnaud-Delamare, R. (1939), *L'Idée de paix à l'époque carolingienne*, Paris

Bonnaud-Delamare, R. (1951), 'Fondements des institutions de paix au XIe siècle', in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, Paris, pp. 21–6

Bonnaud-Delamare, R. (1955–6), 'Les institutions de paix dans la province ecclésiastique de Reims au XIe siècle', *Bulletin Philologique et Historique* 1955–56: 143–200

Bonnaud-Delamare, R. (1957), 'La paix en Flandre pendant la première croisade', *Revue du Nord* 154: 147–52

Bösl, K. (1962), 'La société allemande moderne. Ses origines médiévales', *Annales ESC* 17: 839–56

Bouchard, C. B. (1981), 'Consanguinity and noble marriages in the tenth and eleventh century', *Speculum* 56: 268–87

Bouchard, C. B. (1998), *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France*, Ithaca and London

Bourin-Derruau, M. (1988), *Villages et communautés villageoises en Languedoc: l'exemple du Bitterois*, Paris

Bournazel, E. (1998), 'La royauté féodale en France et en Angleterre', in Bournazel and Poly (1998), pp. 389–512

Bournazel, E. and Poly, J.-P. (1998), *Les féodalités*, Paris

Boussard, J. (1945–6), 'Les mercenaires au XIIème siècle. Henri II Plantagenêt et les origines de l'armée de métier', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 106: 189–224

Boussard, J. (1968), 'Services féodaux, milices et mercenaires dans les armées en France au Xe et XIe siècles', *Ordinamenti militari in occidente nell'alto medioevo*, II (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo 15), Spoleto, pp. 131–68 and 221–8

Boutet, D. and Strubel, A. (1979), *Littérature, politique et société dans la France du moyen âge*, Paris

Boutruche, R. (1968–70), *Seigneurie et féodalité*, 2 vols., Paris

Brand'honneur, M. (2001), *Manoirs et châteaux dans le comté de Rennes: habitat à motte et société chevaleresque (XIe–XIIe siècles)*, Rennes

Bray, J. (1984), 'The Mohammetan and idolatry', in *Persecution and Toleration* (*Studies in Church History* 21), Oxford, pp. 89–98

Brooks, N. P. and Walker, H. E. (1978), 'The authority and interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 1: 1–33

Brown, R. A. (1976), *English Castles*, 3rd edn, London

Brown, R. A. (1984), 'The status of the Norman knight', in J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (eds.), *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, Cambridge, pp. 18–32

Brown, R. A. (1989), *Castles, Conquest and Charters: Collected Papers*, Woodbridge

Brown, S. D. B. (1989), 'Military service and monetary reward in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *History* 74: 20–38

Brundage, J. A. (1969), *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusaders*, London

Brundage, J. A. (1991), *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law* (Collected Studies Series), London

Bumke, J. (1964), *Studien zum Ritterbegriff in 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Heidelberg

Bumke, J. (1982), *The Concept of Knighthood in the Middle Ages*, trans. W. T. H. and E. Jackson, New York

Bur, M. (1977), *La Formation du comté de Champagne (v. 950–v.1150)*, Nancy

Burgess, G. (1983), 'Chivalry and prowess in the Lais of Marie de France', *French Studies* 37: 129–42

Burgess, G. S. (1994), 'The term "chevalerie" in the 12th century French', in P. R. Monks and D. D. R. Owen (eds.), *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature and Translation*, Leiden, pp. 343–58

Butin, F. (1965), 'La lance et l'arrêt de cuirasse', *Archaeologia* 99: 71–178

Butin F. (1972), *Du Costume militaire au moyen âge et pendant la renaissance*, Barcelona

Cahen, C. (1983), *Orient et Occident au temps des croisades*, Paris

Callahan, D. F. (1977), 'Adémar de Chabannes et la paix de Dieu', *Annales du Midi* 89: 21–43

Cardini, F. (1982), *Alle radici della cavalleria medievale*, Florence

Carpentier, E. (1991), 'Le combattant médiéval: problèmes de vocabulaire – de Suger à Guillaume Le Breton', in *Le Combattant au moyen âge*, Paris, pp. 25–35

Chapelot, J. and Fossier, R. (1980), *Le Village et la maison au moyen âge*, Paris; trans. H. Cleere as *The Village and House in the Middle Ages*, London, (1985)

Charbonnier, P. (1996), 'Le château médiéval: protection ou oppression?', in Contamine and Guyotjeannin (1996), pp. 223–32

Chatelain, A. (1983), *Châteaux forts et féodalité en Ile de France du XIème au XIIIème siècle*, Paris

Chedeville, A. (1973), *Chartres et ses campagnes, XIe–XIIIe siècle*, Paris

Chénerie, M. L. (1986), *Le Chevalier errant dans les romans arthuriens en vers des XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Geneva

Chibnall, M. (1977), 'Mercenaries and the *Familia Regis* under Henry I', *History* 62: 15–23

Chibnall, M. (1986), *Anglo-Norman England, 1066–1166*, Oxford

Chibnall, M. (1989), 'Orderic Vitalis on castles', in C. Harper-Bill, C. Holdsworth and J. L. Nelson (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, Woodbridge, pp. 43–56

Chickering, H. and Seiler, T. H. (eds.) (1988), *The Study of Chivalry*, Kalamazoo

Cirlot, V. (1984), 'El armamiento en Girart de Roussillon', in *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste en Europe et dans l'Orient latin*, Modena, pp. 863–900

Cirlot, V. (1985), 'Techniques guerrières en Catalogne féodale: le maniement de la lance', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 28: 36–43

Constable, G. (1988), *Monks, Hermits and Crusaders in Medieval Europe* (Variorum), London

Contamine, P. (1980), *La Guerre au moyen âge*, Paris

Contamine, P. and Guyotjeannin, O. (dir.) (1996), *La Guerre, la violence et les gens au moyen-âge*, Paris

Conti, F. (1975), *Castelli del Piemonte*, Milan

Coss, P. R. (1993), *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000–1400*, Stroud

Cours princières et châteaux (1993), ed. D. Buschinger, Greifswald (=Wodan 21)

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1969), 'Bishop Ermenfried of Sion and the Penitential Ordinance following the Battle of Hastings', *JEH* 20: 225–42

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1970), 'The Peace and the Truce of God in the eleventh century', *Past and Present* 46: 42–67

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1972), *The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, Oxford

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1976), 'The genesis of the crusades: the springs of the holy war', in P. Murphy (ed.), *The Holy War*, Columbus, pp. 9–32

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1984), *Popes, Monks and Crusaders*, London

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1985), 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade', in P. W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff, pp. 47–56

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1987), 'Toward an interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10: 49–65

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1992), 'Canon law and the First Crusade', in B. Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin*, Jerusalem, pp. 41–8

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1998), *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085*, Oxford

Crouch, D. (1992), *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000–1300*, London and New York

Daniel, N. (1960), *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, Edinburgh

Daniel, N. (1984), *Heroes and Saracens*, Edinburgh

Davis, R. H. C. (1989), 'Did the Anglo-Saxons have warhorses?', in S. C. Hawkes (ed.), *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford, pp. 141–4

Debord, A. (1981), 'Château et pouvoirs de commandement', in *Les Fortifications de terre en Europe occidentale du Xe au XIIe siècle*, pp. 72–88

Debord, A. (1982), 'Motte castrale et habitat chevaleresque', in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire médiévales en l'honneur du doyen M. De Boüard*, Geneva, pp. 83–90

Debord, A. (1983), 'A propos de l'utilisation des mottes castrales', *Château Gaillard* 11: 91–9

Debord, A. (1984), *La Société laïque dans les pays de la Charente, Xe–XIIe siècle*, Paris

Debord, A (1987), 'Hébergement, repaires et maisons fortes de l'Angoumois au moyen âge', in *Art et archéologie de l'Aquitaine septentrionale. Actes du 111e Congrès des Sociétés savantes. Section d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, Paris, pp. 205–22

Debord, A. (1992), 'The castellan revolution and the Peace of God in Aquitaine', in Head and Landes (1992), pp. 135–64

Debord, A. (2000), *Aristocratie et pouvoir. Le rôle du château dans la France médiévale*, Paris

De Boüard, M. (1959), 'Sur les origines de la trève de Dieu en Normandie', *Annales de Normandie* 9: 179–89

De Boüard M. (1979), *Le Château de Caen*, Caen

De Boüard, M. (1984), *Guillaume le Conquérant*, Paris

Delacampagne, F. (1982), 'Seigneurs, fiefs et mottes du Cotentin (Xe–XIIe siècles)', *Archéologie Médiévale* 12: 175–207

Delaruelle, E. (1980), *L'Idée de croisade au moyen âge*, Turin

Dereck, D. (1983), 'La noblesse dans le comté de Hainaut du XIe au XIIIe siècle', in *Recueil d'Etudes d'Histoire Hainuyère offertes à M. A. Arnould*, 1, Mons, pp. 583–97

De Riquer, M. (1968), *L'arnès del cavaller: armes i armadures catalanes medievales*, Barcelona

Devailly, G. (1973), *Le Berry du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe siècle*, Paris

Devries, K. (1992), *Medieval Military Technology*, Petersborough, Ontario

Döllinger, P. (1976), 'Aspect de la noblesse allemande, XIe–XIIe siècles', in *La Noblesse au moyen âge, XIe–XVe siècles. Essais à la mémoire de Robert Boutruche*, Paris, pp. 133–49

Douglas, D. C. (1964), *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England*, London

Dubled, H. (1960), 'Noblesse et féodalité en Alsace du XIème au XIIIème siècle', *Revue d'Histoire du Droit* 28: 120–8

Duby, G. (1946), 'Recherches sur l'évolution des institutions judiciaires pendant le Xe et le XIe siècle dans le sud de la Bourgogne', *Le Moyen Age* 52: 149–94; 53: 15–38

Duby, G. (1953), *La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, Paris; 2nd edn (1971)

Duby, G. (1966), 'Les laïcs et la paix de Dieu', in *I laïci nella 'Societas Christiana' dei secoli XIe XII*, Milan, pp. 448–61

Duby, G. (1972), 'Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au XIIe siècle dans la région mâconnaise. Une révision', *AESC* 4–5: 803–23

Duby G. (1973a), *Le Dimanche de Bouvines*, Paris

Duby, G. (1973b), 'Guerre et société dans l'Europe féodale – I Ordonnancement de la paix – II La morale des guerriers', in V. Branca (ed.), *Concetto, storia, miti e immagini del medio evo*, Florence, pp. 449–59, 461–71, 473–82

Duby G. (1976), 'La diffusion du titre chevaleresque sur le versant méditerranéen de la chrétienté latine', in *La Noblesse au moyen âge, XIe–XIIe siècle, Mélanges... R. Boutruche*, Paris, pp. 39–70

Duby, G. (1978), *Les Trois Ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*, Paris: trans. A. Goldhammer as *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, London (1980)

Duby, G. (1981), *Le Chevalier, la femme et le prêtre*, Paris; trans. B. Bray as *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, London (1983)

Duby, G. (1984), *Guillaume le maréchal ou le meilleur chevalier du monde*, Paris

Duby, G. (1988), *Hommes et structures du Moyen Age*, I: *La Société chevaleresque*, Paris

Ducellier, A. (1996), *Chrétiens d'Orient et Islam au moyen âge, VIIe–XVe siècle*, Paris

Dürst, H. (1960), *Rittertum und Hochadel im Aargau, Schweizerische Dokument*, Aarau

Eales, R. (1990), 'Royal power and castles in Norman England', in C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (eds.), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, III (Papers from the Fourth Strawberry Hill Conference), Woodbridge, pp. 49–78

En torno al feudalismo hispánico; I Congreso de estudios medievales de la Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz (1989), Madrid.

Erdmann, C. (1935), *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Stuttgart; trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart as *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, Princeton, (1977)

Fawtier, R. and Lot, F. (1957–62), *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge*, I *Institutions seigneuriales*; II *Institutions royales*; III *Institutions ecclésiastiques*, Paris

Fino, J. F. (1977), *Forteresses de la France médiévale: construction – attaque – défense*, Paris

Fixot, M. (1969), 'Les fortifications de terre et la naissance de la féodalité dans le Cinglais', *Château Gaillard* 3: 61–6

Fixot, M. (1975), 'La motte et l'habitat fortifié en Provence', *Château Gaillard* 7: 67–83.

Fleckenstein, J. (1974), 'Zum Problem der Abschliessung der Ritterstandes', in *Historische Forschungen für W. Schlesinger*, Cologne, pp. 252–71

Fleckenstein, J. (1976), 'Friedrich Barbarossa und das Rittertum', in A. Borst (ed.), *Rittertum im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, pp. 392–418

Fleckenstein, J. (1977), 'Die Entstehung des niederen Adels', in J. Fleckenstein, (ed.) *Herrschaft und Stand*, Göttingen, pp. 17–39

Fleckenstein, J. (1978), 'Friedrich Barbarossa und das Rittertum', in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel*, Göttingen, II, pp. 1023–41

Fleckenstein, J. (ed.) (1986), *Das Ritterliche Turnier in Mittelalter*, Göttingen

Flori, J. (1975), 'La notion de chevalerie dans les chansons de geste du XIIe siècle', *Le Moyen Age* 81: 212–44, 408–45

Flori, J. (1976), 'Sémantique et société médiévale: le verbe *adouber* et son évolution au XIIe siècle', *Annales ESC* 31: 915–40

Flori, J. (1978), 'Chevalerie et liturgie', *Le Moyen Age* 84: 247–78, 411–42

Flori, J. (1979a), 'Les origines de l'adoubement chevaleresque', *Traditio* 35: 212–72

Flori, J. (1979b), 'Pour une histoire de la chevalerie: l'adoubement dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes', *Romania* 100: 21–53

Flori, J. (1982), 'La chevalerie selon Jean de Salisbury: nature, fonction, idéologie', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 77: 35–77

Flori, J. (1983), *L 'Idéologie du glaive: préhistoire de la chevalerie*, Geneva

Flori, J. (1984), 'L'idéologie aristocratique dans "Aiol"', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 27: 205–21

Flori, J. (1985a), 'A propos de l'adoubement des chevaliers au XIe siècle: le prétendu pontifical de Reims et *l'ordo ad armandum* de Cambrai', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 19: 330–49

Flori, J. (1985b), 'Du nouveau sur l'adoubement des chevaliers (XIe–XIIe siècles), *Le Moyen Age* 91: 201–26

Flori, J. (1986a), *L'Essor de la chevalerie, XIe–XIIe siècle*, Geneva

Flori, J. (1986b), '*Principes* et *milites* chez Guillaume de Poitiers', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 64: 217–33

Flori, J. (1987), 'Seigneurie, noblesse et chevalerie dans les *lais* de Marie de France', *Romania* 108: 183–206

Flori, J. (1988), 'Encore l'usage de la lance… La technique du combat chevaleresque vers l'an 1100', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 31: 213–40

Flori, J. (1990a), 'Guerre sainte et rétributions spirituelles dans la seconde moitié du XIe siècle, lutte contre l'Islam ou pour la papauté?', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 85: 617–49

Flori, J. (1990b), 'Littérature et société au XIIe siècle', *Bien Dire et Bien Apprendre* 8: 71–98

Flori, J. (1990c), 'Aristocratie et valeurs "chevaleresques" dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle', *Le Moyen Age* 96: 35–65

Flori, J. (1991), 'Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100, l'exemple de la première croisade', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 34: 121–39

Flori, J. (1992a), 'Les écuyers dans la littérature française du douzième siècle', in *Mélanges J. Dufournet*, Paris

Flori, J. (1992b), *1095–1099: la première croisade: aux origines de l'idéologie occidentale*, Brussels

Flori, J. (1992c), 'La caricature de l'Islam dans l'Occident médiéval: origine et signification de quelques stéréotypes concernant l'Islam', *Aevum* 2: 245–56

Flori, J. (1995a), *La Chevalerie en France au moyen âge*, Paris

Flori, J. (1995b), 'En marge de l'idée de guerre sainte: l'image des Musulmans dans la mentalité populaire en occident (11 ème–12ème siècles)', in *L'Occident musulman et l'Occident chrétien au moyen âge (Actes du colloque international sur la Méditerranée occidentale, Rabat, 2–4 Nov. 1994)*, Rabat, pp. 209–21

Flori, J. (1996), 'La notion de chevalerie dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes', *Romania* 114(3–4): 289–315

Flori, J. (1997), 'Réforme–reconquista–croisade. L'idée de reconquête dans la correspondance pontificale d'Alexandre II à Urbain II', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 40: 317–35

Flori, J. (1998a), *Chevaliers et chevalerie au moyen âge*, Paris

Flori, J. (1998b), *Croisade et chevalerie*, Louvain La Neuve

Flori, J. (1998c), Noblesse, chevalerie et idéologie aristocratique en France d'oïl (11 ème–13 ème siècle)', *Renovación intelectual del occidente europeo, siglo XII* (XXIV Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella, 14 a 18 de julio de 1997), Pamplona, pp. 349–82

Flori, J. (1999a), *Pierre l'ermite et la première croisade*, Paris

Flori, J. (1999b), 'Lexicologie et société: les dénominations des milites normands d'Italie chez Geoffroy Malaterra', in H. Débax (ed.), *Les Sociétés méridionales à l'âge féodal (Espagne, Italie et sud de la France): hommage à Pierre Bonnassie*, Toulouse, pp. 271–8

Flori, J. (1999c), *Richard Cœur de Lion, le roi-chevalier*, Paris

Flori, J. (2001), *La Guerre sainte*, Paris

Flori, J. (2002), *Guerre sainte, jihad, croisade: violence et religion dans le christianisme et l'islam*, Paris

'*Les fortifications de terre en Europe occidentale du Xe au XIIe siècle*. Colloque de Caen, 2–5 octobre 1980, (1981)', *Archéologie médiévale* 11: 5–229

Fossier, R. (1968), *La Terre et les hommes en Picardie jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Paris

Fossier, R. (1982), *Enfance de l'Europe, Xe–XIIe siècle*, 2 vols., Paris

Fossier, R. (1993), *Naissance de l'aristocratie picarde: cours princières et châteaux*, ed. D. Buschinger (Wodan 21), Greifswald, pp. 137–42

Fournier, G. (1951), 'La seigneurie en Basse Auvergne aux XIe et XIIe siècles...', in *Mélanges L. Halphen*, Paris, pp. 239–45

Fournier, G. (1962), *Le Peuplement rural en Basse Auvergne durant le haut moyen âge*, Paris

Fournier, G. (1978), *Le Château dans la France médiévale*, Paris

Fourquin, G. (1970), *Seigneurie et féodalité au moyen âge*, Paris

Frappier, J. (1954), 'Le graal et la chevalerie', *Romania* 75: 165–210

Freed, J. B. (1976), 'The origins of the European nobility: the problem of the ministerials', *Viator* 7: 211–41

Fumagalli, V. (1976), *Terra e società nell'Italia Padana*, Turin; Eng. trans., *Landscapes of Fear: Perceptions of Nature and the City in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge (1994)

Gaier, C. (1979), *Les Armes*, Turnhout

Gaier, C. (1992), *Armes et combats dans l'univers médiéval*, Brussels

Ganshof, F. L. (1943), *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes*, Brussels

Ganshof, F. L. (1957), *Qu'est-ce que la féodalité?*, 3rd edn Brussels; trans. P. Grierson as *Feudalism*, London (1961)

Garaud, M. (1967), *Les Châtelains de Poitou et l'avènement du régime féodal, XIe–XIIe siècle*, Poitiers

Gasparri, S. (1992), *I milites cittadini: studi sulla cavalleria in Italia*, Rome

Gauche, C. (1981), 'Tournois et joutes en France au XIIIe siècle', *Annales de l'Est* 33: 187–213

Geary, P. (1986), 'Vivre en conflit dans une France sans état: typologie des mécanismes de règlement des conflits (1050–1200)', *Annales* ESC 41: 1107–33

Genicot, L. (1960), *L'Economie rurale namuroise au bas moyen âge* II: *Les hommes, la noblesse*, Louvain

Genicot, L. (1961), 'Noblesse et principautés en Lotharingie du XIe au XIIIe siècle', in *Scrinium Lovaniense: mélanges historiques Etienne van Cauwenbergh*, Louvain, pp. 191–206

Genicot, L. (1965), 'La noblesse dans la société médiévale, à propos des dernières études relatives aux terres d'empire', *Le Moyen Age* 71: 539–60

Genicot, L. (1968), 'Naissance, fonction et richesse dans l'ordonnance de la société médiévale. Le cas de la noblesse du nord-ouest du continent', in R. Mousnier (ed.), *Problèmes de stratification sociale*, Paris, pp. 83–92

Genicot, L. (1975), *Etudes sur les principautés lotharingiennes*, Louvain

Genicot, L. (1976), *Le Grand Livre des châteaux de Belgique*, I: *Châteaux-forts et châteaux-fermes*, Brussels

Genicot, L. (1979), *Etudes sur les principautés lotharingiennes*, Louvain

Gerbet, M.-C. (1994), *Les Noblesses espagnoles au moyen âge, XIe–XIVe s.*, Paris

Gilchrist, J. (1985), 'The Erdmann thesis and the canon law', in P. W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff, pp. 37–45

Gilchrist, J. (1988), 'The papacy and Saracens', *International History Review* 10: 173–97

Gillingham, J. (1992), 'Conquering the barbarians: war and chivalry in twelfth-century Britain', *Haskins Society Journal* 4: 68–84

Gillingham, J. (1994a), *Richard Cœur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century*, London

Gillingham, J. (1994b), '1066 and the introduction of chivalry into England', in G. Garnett and J. Hudson (eds.), *Law and Government in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, Cambridge, pp. 31–55

Giordanengo, G. (1998), 'Les féodalités italiennes', in *Les Féodalités*, Paris (1998), pp. 211–62

Glick, T. F. (1995), *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castles: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain*, Manchester

Goetz, H. W. (1992), 'Protection of the church, defense of the law, and reform: on the purpose and character of the Peace of God, 989–1038', in Head and Landes (1992), pp. 259–79

Gougenheim, S. (1999), *Les Fausses Terreurs de l'an mil*, Paris I

Graboïs, A. (1966), 'De la trève de Dieu à la paix du roi. Etude sur la transformation du mouvement de la paix au XIIe siècle', in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, 2 vols., Poitiers, I, pp. 585–96

Grassotti, H. (1969), *Las instituciones feudo-vassalláticas en León y Castilla*, Spoleto

Guerreau, A. (1980), *Le Féodalisme, un horizon théorique*, Paris

Guillot, O. (1972), *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, 2 vols., Paris

Guillot, O. (1980), 'Administration et gouvernement dans les états du comte d'Anjou au milieu du XIe siècle', *Beihefte der Francia* 9: 311–32.

Guyotjeannin, O. (1987), '*Episcopus et comes*: affirmation et déclin de la seigneurie épiscopale au nord du Royaume de France*, Geneva

Harper-Bill, C. and Harvey, R. (eds.) (1986), *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, Woodbridge

Head, T. and Landes, R. (eds.) (1992), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, Ithaca and London

Hehl, E.-D. (1980), *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart

Hoffmann, H. (1964), *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei*, Stuttgart

Hollister, C. W. (1965), *The Military Organization of Norman England*, Oxford

Hunt, T. (1981), 'The emergence of the knight in France and England, 1000–1200', in Jackson (1981), pp. 1–21

Jackson, W. H. (1990), 'Knighthood and the Hohenstaufen imperial court under Frederik Barbarossa (1152–1190)', in Harper-Bill and Harvey (1990), pp. 101–20

Jackson, W. H. (1994), *Chivalry in Twelfth-Century Germany*, Cambridge

Jackson, W. H. (ed.) (1981), *Knighthood in Medieval Literature*, Woodbridge

Johrendt, J. (1971), *Militia und Milites im 11. Jahrhundert*, Nuremberg

Johrendt, J. (1976), '*Milites* und *Militia* im 11. Jahrhundert in Deutschland', in A. Borst (ed.), *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt, pp. 419–36

Kedar, B. Z. (1984), *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches towards the Muslims*, Princeton

Keen, M. (1965), *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages*, London

Keen, M. (1984), *Chivalry*, London

Keller, H. (1984), 'Adel, Rittertum und Ritterstand nach italienischen Zeugnissen des 11–14. Jahrhunderts', in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen, pp. 580–608

King, D. J. C. (1983), *Castellarium Anglicanum*, 2 vols., New York

King, D. J. C. (1988), *The Castle in England and Wales: An Interpretative History*, London

Köhler, E. (1974), *L'Aventure chevaleresque: idéal et réalité dans le roman courtois. Etude sur la forme des plus ancients poèmes d'Arthur et du Graal*, Paris; trans. from *Ideal und Wirklichkeit in der höfischen Epik*, 2nd edn, Tubingen (1970)

Laliena Corbera, C. (1996), *La formacion del estado feudal: Aragón y Navarra en la época de Pedro I*, Huesca

Laliena Corbera, C. and Sénac, P. (1991), *Musulmans et Chrétiens dans le haut moyen âge: aux origines de la Reconquête aragonaise*, Paris

Laliena Corbera, C. and Utrilla Utrilla, J. F. (eds.) (1998), *De Toledo a Huesca: sociedades medievales en transición a finales del siglo XI (1080–1100)*, Saragossa

Landes, R. (1991), 'La vie apostolique en Aquitaine en l'an mil; Paix de Dieu, culte des reliques et communautés hérétiques', *Annales ESC* 3: 573–93

Larrea, J. J. (1998), *Peuplement et société en Navarre de la fin du monde romain à l'âge féodal (Ive–XIIe siècle)*, Brussels

Lauranson-Rosaz, C. (1987), *L'Auvergne et ses marges (Velay, Gevaudan) du VIII au XIe siècle*, Le Puy

Lauranson Rosaz, C. (1990), 'Les mauvaises coutumes d'Auvergne (fin Xe–XIe siècle)', *Annales du Midi* 102: 557–86

Le Maho, J. (1977), 'De la *curtis* au château: l'exemple du pays de Caux', *Château-Gaillard* 8: 171–83

Lemarignier, J. F. (1945), *Recherches sur l'hommage en marche et les frontières féodales*, Lille

Lemarignier, J. F. (1951), 'La dislocation du *pagus* et le problème des *consuetudines* (Xe–XIe siècle)', *Mélanges. . . Louis Halphen*, Paris, pp. 401–10

Lemarignier, J. F. (1965), *Le Gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens, 987–1108*, Paris

Le Patourel, J. (1976), *The Norman Empire*, Oxford

Le Ridder, P. (1978), *Le Chevalier dans le conte du Graal de Chrétien de Troyes*, Paris

Lewis, A. R. (1965), *The Development of Southern France and Catalan Society, 718–1050*, Austin

Lewis, A. R. (1984), *Medieval Society in Southern France and Catalonia*, London

Leyser, K. (1968), 'The German aristocracy from the IXth to the early XIIth century', *Past and Present* 44: 25–53

Leyser, K. (1984), 'Early medieval canon law and the beginnings of knighthood', in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft: Festschrift für J. Fleckenstein*, Sigmaringen, pp. 549–66

Linehan, P. (1993), *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*, Oxford

Lobrichon, G. (1998), *1099, Jérusalem conquise*, Paris

Magnou-Nortier, E. (1974), *La Société laïque et l'église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne. . . de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIe siècle*, Toulouse

Magnou-Nortier, E. (1979), 'La place du concile du Puy (v.994) dans l'évolution de l'idée de paix', in *Mélanges offerts au professeur Jean Dauvillier*, Toulouse, pp. 489–506

Magnou-Nortier, E. (1992), 'The enemies of the Peace: reflections on a vocabulary, 500–1100', in Head and Landes (1992), pp. 58–79

La Maison forte au moyen âge (1986), Paris

Mancini, M. (1972), *Società feodale e ideologia nel 'Charroi de Nimes'*, Florence

Maranini, L. (1970), 'Cavalleria e cavalieri nel mondo di Chrétien de Troyes', in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature du moyen âge et de la renaissance offerts à Jean Frappier*, II, Geneva, pp. 737–55

Martin, J.-M. (1993), *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle*, Rome

Martin, J.-M. (1994), *Italies normandes*, Paris

Martindale, J. (1997), *Status, Authority and Regional Power: Aquitaine and France, 9th to 12th Centuries*, Aldershot

Martinez-Sopena, P. (1993), 'La nobleza de León y Castilla en los siglos XI y XII: un estado de la cuestión', *Hispania* 53: 801–22

Mayer, H. E. (1988), *The Crusades*, Oxford

Menant, F. (1980), 'Les écuyers (*scutiferi*), vassaux paysans d'Italie du nord au XIIe siècle', in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'occident méditerranéen, Xe–XIIIe siècles*, Paris, pp. 285–97

Morillo, S. (1994), *Warfare under the Anglo-Norman Kings, 1066–1135*, Woodbridge

Morton, C. and Muntz, H. (eds.) (1972), *The Carmen de Hastingae proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, Oxford

Musset, L. (1976), 'L'aristocratie normande au XIe siècle' in *La Noblesse au moyen âge, XIe–XVe siècles. Essais à la mémoire de Robert Boutruche*, Paris, pp. 71–96

Musset, L. (1979), 'Origine et nature du pouvoir ducal en Normandie jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle', in *Les Principautés au moyen âge*, Paris, pp. 47–60

Mussot-Goulard, R. (1982), *Les Princes de Gascogne*, Lectoure

Noth, A. (1966), *Heiliger Krieg und heiliger Kampf: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Bonn

La Paix (1962) (Recueils de la Société Jean-Bodin 14), Brussels

Parisse, M. (1976), *La Noblesse lorraine, XIe–XIIIe siècle*, Paris and Lille

Parisse, M. (1982), *Noblesse et chevalerie en Lorraine médiévale*, Nancy

Pásztor, E. (1987), 'Lotta per le investiture e *ius belli*; la posizione di Anselmo di Lucca', in P. Golinelli (ed.), *Sant'Anselmo, Mantova e la lotta per le investiture*, Bologna, pp. 375–417

Paterson, L. (1981), 'Knights and the concept of knighthood in the twelfth-century Occitan epic', in Jackson (1981), pp. 23–38

Paterson, L. (1986), 'The Occitan squire in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in Harper-Bill and Harvey (1986), pp. 133–51

Paterson, L. M. (1993), *The World of Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c.1100–c.1300*, Cambridge

Paul, J. (1986), *L'Eglise et la culture en Occident (IXe–XIIe siècles)*, Paris

Payen, J. C. (1970), *Le Moyen Age*, Paris

Payen, J. C. (1971), *Manuel d'histoire littéraire de la France* I: *Des origines à 1600*, Paris

Pellaton, F. (1998), 'Féodalité et empire romain germanique', in *Les Féodalités* (1998), pp. 263–311

Pesez, I. M. and Piponnier, F. (1972), 'Les maisons fortes bourguignonnes', *Château-Gaillard* 5: 143–64

Poly, J. P. (1976), *La Provence et la société féodale, 879–1166*, Paris

Poly, J. P. (1998), 'Dépendances cavalières', in *Les Féodalités* (1998), pp. 46–83

Poly, J. P. and Bournazel, E. (1980), *La Mutation féodale, XIe–XIIe siècle*, Paris

Prestwich, J. O. (1981), 'The military household of the Norman kings', *EHR* 96: 1–35; repr. in Strickland (1992b), pp. 93–127

Racine, P. (1997), 'Noblesse et chevalerie dans les sociétés communales italiennes', in *Les Elites urbaines au moyen âge*, Paris, pp. 137–51

Renn, D. (1973), *Norman Castles in Britain*, 2nd edn, London

Reuter, H. G. (1971), *Die Lehre vom Ritterstand*, Cologne

Reuter, H. G. (1979), *The Medieval Nobility*, Oxford

Reuter, T. (1992), 'Episcopi cum sua militia: the prelate as warrior in the early Staufer era', in T. Reuter (ed.), *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, London, pp. 79–94

Reynolds, S. (1994), *Fiefs and Vassals*, Oxford

Richard, J. (1954), *Les Ducs de Bourgogne et la formation du duché du XIe au XIVe siècle*, Paris

Richard, J. (1960), 'Châteaux, châtelains et vassaux en Bourgogne aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 3: 433–47

Riley-Smith, J. (1986), *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London

Riley-Smith, J. (1997), *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131*, Cambridge

Robinson, I. S. (1973), 'Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ', *History* 58: 169–92

Ross, D. J. A. (1984), 'Breaking a lance', in W. Van Emden, and P. E. Bennett (eds.), *Guillaume d'Orange and the Chanson de Geste: Essays Presented to D. McMillan*, Reading, pp. 127–35

Ross, J. M. D. (1963), 'L'originalité de Turoldus: le maniement de la lance', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 6: 127–38

Rotter, E. (1986), *Abendland und Sarrazenen: das okzidentale Araberbild und seine Entstehung im Frühmittelalter*, Berlin and New York

Rucquoi, A. (1993), *Histoire médiévale de la péninsule ibérique*, Paris

Ruiz-Domenec, J. E. (1984a), *La caballeria o la imagen cortesana del mundo*, Genoa

Ruiz-Domenec, J. E. (1984b), *La memoria de los feudales*, Barcelona

Russell, F. H. (1975), *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge

Salrach, J. M. (1998), 'Les féodalités méridionales: des Alpes à la Galice', in Bournazel and Poly (1998), pp. 313–88

Sanfaçon, R. (1967), *Défrichements, peuplement et institutions seigneuriales en Haut-Poitou du Xe au XIIIe siècle*, Quebec

Sanchez-Albornoz, C. (1968), 'El ejercito y la guerra en el reino asturleonés 718–1037', in *Ordinamenti militari in occidente nell'alto medioevo*, I (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 15), Spoleto, pp. 293–428

Sassier, Y. (1980), *Recherches sur le pouvoir comtal en Auxerrois du Xe au début du XIIIe siècle*, Auxerre

Scaglione, A. (1991), *Courtliness, Chivalry, and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance*, Berkeley, CA

Schlight, J. (1968), *Monarchs and Mercenaries: A Reappraisal of the Importance of Knight Service of Norman and Angevin England*, Bridgeport

Schnell, R. (1985), *Causa amoris: Liebeskonzeption und Liebesdarstellung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Berne and Munich

Schnell, R. (1989), 'L'amour courtois en tant que discours courtois sur l'amour', *Romania* 110: 72–126, 331–63

Schramm, P. E. (1969), *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, Stuttgart

Semmler, J. (1985), 'Facti sunt milites domni Ildebrandi omnibus. . . in stuporem', in *Das Ritterbild im Mittelalter und Renaissance*, Düsseldorf, pp. 11–35

Sénac, P. (1983), *L'Image de l'autre: l'Occident médiéval face à l'Islam*, Paris

Settia, A. (1984), *Castelli e villaggi nell'Italia Padana*, Naples

Shepard, J. (1993), 'The uses of Franks in 11th century Byzantium', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 15: 303

Siberry, E. (1985), *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274*, Oxford

Sigal, P.-A. (1995), 'Les coups et blessures reçus par le combattant à cheval en Occident aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', in *Le Combattant au moyen âge* (Société des Historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public. Publications de la Sorbonne, Série Histoire ancienne et médiévale 36), Paris, pp. 371–85

Smail, R. C. (1956; 2nd edn, 1995), *Crusading Warfare (1097–1193)*, Cambridge

Stanesco, M. (1988), *Jeux d'errance du chevalier médiéval*, Leiden

Störmer, W. (1973), *Früher Adel: Studien zur politischen Führungsgeschichte in frankisch-deutschen Reich vom 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols., Stuttgart

Strickland, M. (1992a), 'Slaughter, slavery or ransom? The impact of the Conquest on conduct in warfare, England in the eleventh century', *Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Hicks (Harlaxton Medieval Studies 11), Stamford, pp. 41–59

Strickland, M. (1992b), *Anglo-Norman Warfare*, Woodbridge

Strickland, M. (1996), *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217*, Cambridge

Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (1980), Rome and Paris

Les Structures Sociales de l'Aquitaine, du Languedoc et de l'Espagne au premier âge féodal (1969), Paris

Tabacco, G. (1980), 'Su nobiltà e cavalleria nel medioevo. Un ritorno a Marc Bloch?', in *Studi di storia medievale e moderna per Ernesto Sestan*, 1, Florence, pp. 31–55

Tolan, J. V. (1996) (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perception of Islam: A Book of Essays*, New York and London

Tolan, J. V. (1997), 'Muslims as Pagan idolators in chronicles of the First Crusade', in M. Frasetto and D. Blanks (eds.), *Western Attitudes towards Islam*, New York, pp. 167–80

Töpfer, B. (1957), *Volk und Kirche zur Zeit der beginnenden Gottesfriedensbewegung in Frankreich*, Berlin

Töpfer, B. (1992), 'The cult of relics and pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the time of the monastic reform', in Head and Landes (1992), pp. 41–57

Toubert, P. (1973), *Les Structures du Latium médiéval: le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe à la fin du XIIe siècle*, 2 vols., Rome

Van Luyn, P. (1971), 'Les *milites* du XIe siècle', *Le Moyen Age 77*: 5–52, 193–238

Van Winter, J. M. (1962), *Ministerialiteit en Ridderschap in Gelre en Zutphen*, Göttingen

Van Winter, J. M. (1969), *Rittertum, Ideal und Wirklichkeit*, Munich

Van Winter, J. M. (1976), '*Cingulum militae*: Schwertleite en *miles*-terminologie als spiegel van veranderend menselijk gedrag', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 44: 1–92

Van Winter, J. M. (1986), 'Knighthood and nobility in the Netherlands', in M. Jones (ed.), *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe*, New York, pp. 81–94

Verbruggen, J. F. (1977), *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages*, trans. S. Williard and S. C. M. Southern, Oxford

Vercauteren, F. (1968), 'La formation des principautés de Liège, Flandre, Brabant et Hainaut (IXème–XIème siècles)', in *L'Europe aux IX–XIème siècles, aux origines des états nationaux*, Warsaw, pp. 31–41

Verriest, L. (1946), *Institutions médiévales*, Mons and Framerie

Vogel, C. (1969), *Le Pécheur et la pénitence au moyen âge*, Paris

Weinberger, S. (1982), 'Aristocratic families and social stability in eleventh-century Provence', *Journal of Medieval History* 8: 149–57

Werner, K. F. (1989), 'Observations sur le rôle des évêques dans le mouvement de paix aux Xème et XIème siècles', in *Mediaevalia Christiana XI–XIIIème siècles: hommage à R. Foreville*, Brussels, pp. 155–95

White, L. J. (1969), *Technologie médiévale et transformations sociales*, Paris

Yver, J. (1955–6), 'Les châteaux forts en Normandie jusqu'au milieu du XIe siècle', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* 53: 28–63

Zadora-Rio, E. (1979), 'Constructions de châteaux et fondations de paroisses en Anjou au XIe et XIIe siècles', *Archéologie Médiévale* 9: 115–25

Zimmermann, M. (1986), 'Et je t'empouvoirrai (*Potestativum te farei*). A propos des relations entre fidélité et pouvoir en Catalogne au XIe siècle', *Médiévales* 10: 17–36

7 WAR, PEACE AND THE CHRISTIAN ORDER

Althoff, G. (1981), 'Nunc fiant Christi milites, qui dudum extiterunt raptores. Zur Entstehung von Rittertum und Ritterethos', *Saeculum* 32: 317–33

Anciaux, P. (1949), *La Théologie du sacrement de pénitence au XIIe siècle* (Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica vel in Facultate Iuris Canonici consequendum conscriptae II. 41), Louvain and Gembloux

Arnold, K. (1987), 'De bono pacis. Friedensvorstellungen in Mittelalter und Renaissance', in J. Petersohn (ed.), *Überlieferung – Frömmigkeit – Bildung als Leitthemen der Geschichtsforschung: Vorträge beim Wiss. Kolloquium aus Anlaß des 80. Geburtstages von Otto Meyer*, Wiesbaden, pp. 133–54

Auer, L. (1971–2), 'Der Kriegsdienst des Klerus unter den sächsischen Kaisern', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 79: 316–407; 80: 48–70

Auer, L. (1982), 'Mittelalterliche Kriegsgeschichte als Forschungsproblem', *Francia* 10: 449–63

Bainton, R. H. (1960), *Christian Attitudes toward War and Peace: A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation*, New York and Nashville

Balard, M. (ed.) (1996), *Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, Paris

Barber, M. (1994), *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge

Barthélémy, D. (1997), 'La paix de Dieu dans son contexte (989–1041)', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 40: 3–35

Becker, A. (1988), *Papst Urban II. Teil 2: Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug (1088–1099)* (MGH Schriften 19/2), Stuttgart

Benson, R. (1965), 'The obligation of bishops with "regalia". Canonistic views from Gratian to the early thirteenth century', in S. Kuttner and J. J. Ryan (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Boston College, 12–16 August 1963* (Monumenta Iuris Canonici. Series C: Subsidia, vol. I), Vatican City, pp. 123–37

Benson, R. (1968), *The Bishop Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*, Princeton

Berman, H. J. (1983), *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition*, Cambridge, MA.

Berry, V. (1956), 'Peter the Venerable and the Crusades', in G. Constable and J. Kritzeck (eds.), *Petrus Venerabilis 1156–1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Death*, Rome

Beumann, H. (1953), 'Kreuzzugsgedanke und Ostpolitik im hohen Mittelalter', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 72: 112–32

Blomme, R. (1958), *La Doctrine du péché dans les écoles théologiques de la première moitié du XIIe siècle* (Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis. Dissertationes ad gradum magistri in Facultate Theologica vel in Facultate Iuris Canonici consequendum conscriptae III.6), Louvain

Bonnaud-Delamare, R. (1951), 'Fondement des institutions de paix au XIe siècle', in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, Paris, pp. 19–26

Brand, C. (1984), 'The Fourth Crusade: some recent interpretations', *Medievalia et Humanistica* N.S. 12: 33–45

Brolis, M. T. (1987), 'La crociata per Pietro il Venerabile: guerra di armi o guerra di idee', *Aevum* 61: 327–54

Bronisch, A. P. (1998), *Die Deutung des Krieges im christlichen Spanien von den Westgoten bis ins frühe 12. Jahrhundert* (Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft II.35), Münster

Brundage, J. A. (1969), *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, Madison

Brundage, J. A. (1976), '"Holy War" and the medieval lawyers', in T. P. Murphy (ed.), *The Holy War*, Columbus, pp. 99–140

Brundage, J. A. (1984), 'St. Anselm, Ivo of Chartres, and the ideology of the First Crusade', in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe–XIIe siècles: études anselmiennes* (Spicilegium Beccense 2), Paris, pp. 175–87

Bünding-Naujoks, M. (1940), *Das Imperium christianum und die deutschen Ostkriege vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert* (Historische Studien 366), Berlin

Cahen, C. (1983), *Orient et Occident au temps des croisades*, Paris

Cantelli, S. (1985), 'Il commento al Cantico dei Cantici di Giovanni da Mantova', *Studi Medievali* 3rd series, 26: 101–84

Capitani, O. (1992), 'Sondaggio sulla terminologia militare in Urbano II', in *Militia Christi e Crociata nei secoli XI–XIII. Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto – 1 settembre 1989* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 13), Milan, pp. 167–92

Capua, F. di (1935), 'Il canonista Rufino e il suo trattato "De bono pacis"', in *Atti del III Congresso nazionale di studi romani*, Bologna, II, pp. 89–99

Chazan, R. (1987), *European Jewry and the First Crusade*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London

Chodorow, S. (1972), *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century: The Ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London

Christiansen, E. (1980), *The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100–1525*, London and Basingstoke

Cole, P. J. (1991), *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Medieval Academy Books), Cambridge, MA

Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade (1997) (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 236), Rome

Congar, Y. (1957), 'Maître Rufin et son De bono pacis', *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 41: 428–44

Congar, Y. (1968), 'Les laïques et l'ecclésiologie des "ordines" chez les théologiens des XIe et XIIe siècles', in *I laici nella 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI e XII. Atti della terza Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 21–27 agosto 1965* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 5), Milan, pp. 83–117

Constable, G. (1953), 'The Second Crusade as seen by contemporaries', *Traditio* 9: 213–79

Constable, G. (1971), 'A report of a lost sermon by St Bernard on the failure of the Second Crusade', in *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History presented to Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan*, (Cistercian Studies Series 10), Shannon, pp. 49–54

Constable, G. (1976), 'Opposition to pilgrimage in the middle ages', *Studia Gratiana* 19: 123–46

Constable, G. (1985), 'Medieval charters as a source for the history of the crusades', in Edbury (1985), pp. 73–89

Contamine, P. (1980), *La Guerre au moyen âge* (Nouvelle Clio. L'Histoire et ses Problèmes 24), Paris

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1969), 'Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and the Penitencial Ordinance following the Battle of Hastings', *JEH* 20: 225–42

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1970a), 'The Peace and the Truce of God in the eleventh century', *Past and Present* 46: 42–67

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1970b), 'Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade', *History* 55: 177–88

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1973), 'Cluny and the First Crusade', *RB* 83: 285–311

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1976), 'The genesis of the crusades: the springs of western ideas of Holy War', in P. T. Murphy (ed.), *The Holy War*, Columbus, pp. 9–32

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1982), 'Pope Gregory VII's "crusading" plans of 1074', in B. Z. Kedar, R. Hiestand and R. C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, Presented to J. Prawer*, Jerusalem, pp. 27–40

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1985), 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade', in Edbury (1985), pp. 46–56

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1988), 'The Gregorian papacy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13: 145–69

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1992), 'Canon law and the First Crusade', in B. Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study*

of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa 2-6 July 1987, Jerusalem and Haifa, pp. 41–8

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1997), 'Pope Gregory and the bearing of arms', in B. Z. Kedar, R. Hiestand and J. Riley-Smith (eds.), *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, Aldershot, pp. 21–35

Delaruelle, E. (1953), 'L'idée de croisade chez St Bernard', in *Mélanges saint Bernard: 24e Congrès de l'Association bourguignonne des sociétés savantes (8e centenaire de la mort de saint Bernard)*, Dijon, pp. 53–67

Delaruelle, E. (1980), *L'Idée de croisade au moyen âge*, (Collected Studies) Turin

Demurger, A. (1989), *Vie et mort de l'ordre du Temple, 1118–1314*, 2nd rev. edn, Paris

Devailly, G. (1973), *Le Berry du Xe siècle au milieu du XIIIe: étude politique, religieuse, sociale et économique* (Civilisations et Sociétés 19), Paris and La Haye

Dickerhof, H. (1980), 'Über die Staatsgründung des ersten Kreuzzugs', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 100: 95–130

Duby, G. (1968), 'Les laïcs et la paix de Dieu', in *I laici nella 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI e XII. Atti della terza Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 21–27 agosto 1965* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 5), Milan, pp. 448–69

Duby, G. (1978), *Les Trois Ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*, Paris

Dunbabin, J. (1985), 'The Maccabees as exemplars in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in K. Walsh and D. Wood (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley* (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 4), Oxford, pp. 31–41

Edbury, P. W. (ed.) (1985), *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, Cardiff

Engels, O. (1978), 'Vorstufen der Staatswerdung im Hochmittelalter. Zum Kontext der Gottesfriedensbewegung', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 97/98: 71–6

Engels, O. (1983), 'Mission und Friede an der Reichsgrenze im Hochmittelalter', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Aus Kirche und Reich: Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter, Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf*, Sigmaringen, pp. 201–24

Engels, O. (1989a), 'Die Reconquista', in Engels, *Reconquista und Landesherrschaft: Studien zur Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte Spaniens im Mittelalter* (Rechts- und Staatswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Görresgesellschaft, Neue Folge 53), Paderborn, pp. 279–300

Engels, O. (1989b), 'Der Reichsbischof in ottonischer und frühsalischer Zeit', in I. Crusius (ed.), *Beiträge zu Geschichte und Struktur der mittelalterlichen Germania Sacra* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Plancks-Instituts für Geschichte 93), Göttingen, pp. 135–75

Erdmann, C. (1932), 'Der Heidenkrieg in der Liturgie und die Kaiserkrönung Ottos I.', *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 46: 129–42

Erdmann, C. (1935), *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 6), Stuttgart; trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart as *The Origins of the Idea of the Crusade*, Princeton (1979)

Ferreiro, A. (1983), 'The siege of Barbastro 1064–65: a reassessment', *Journal of Medieval History* 9: 129–44

Finck von Finckenstein, A. Graf (1985), 'Pax dei, Fehde und Widerstandsrecht. Zum Verhältnis von innerem und äußeren Frieden im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', in *Frieden in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kultur und Erkenntnis 1), Düsseldorf, pp. 35–45

Fleckenstein, J. (1980), 'Die Rechtfertigung der geistlichen Ritterorden nach der Schrift "De laude novae militae" Bernhards von Clairvaux', in Fleckenstein and Hellmann (1980), pp. 9–22

Fleckenstein, J. (1996), 'Rittertum zwischen Krieg und Frieden', in Fried (1996), pp. 151–69

Fleckenstein, J. and Hellmann, M. (eds.) (1980), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas* (Vorträge und Forschungen 26), Sigmaringen

Flood, B. (1974), 'St. Bernard's view of crusade', *Cistercian Studies* 9: 22–35

Flori, J. (1983), *L'Idéologie du glaive: préhistoire de la chevalerie* (Travaux d'Histoire Ethico-Politique 43), Geneva

Flori, J. (1986), *L'Essor de la chevalerie, XIe–XIIe siècles* (Travaux d'Histoire Ethico-Politique 46), Geneva

Flori J. (1991), 'Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L'exemple de la première croisade', *Cahiers de la Civilisation Médiévale* 34: 121–39

Flori, J. (1992a), *La Première Croisade: l'Occident chrétien contre l'Islam, 1095–1099 (Aux origines des idéologies occidentales)*, Brussels

Flori, J. (1992b), 'L'église et la guerre sainte. De la "Paix de Dieu" à la croisade', *Annales* 47: 453–66

Flori, J. (1997), 'Réforme, reconquista, croisade. L'idée de reconquête dans la correspondance pontificale d'Alexandre II à Urbain II', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 40: 317–35

Forey, A. J. (1985), 'The emergence of the military order in the twelfth century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36: 175–95

Forey, A. (1992), *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, Basingstoke and London

Fournier, P. and Le Bras, G. (1931–2), *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien*, 2 vols., Paris

Fransen, G. (1987), 'La tradition manuscrite de la Panormie d'Ives de Chartres', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, NS 17: 91–5

Fried, J. (ed.) (1996), *Träger und Instrumentarien des Friedens im hohen und späten Mittelalter* (Vorträge und Forschungen 43), Sigmaringen

Fuchs, H. (1965), *Augustin und der antike Friedensgedanke: Untersuchungen zum neunzehnten Buch der Civitas Dei*, 2nd edn, Berlin and Zurich

Fuhrmann, H. (1973), 'Das Reformpapsttum und die Rechtswissenschaft', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Vorträge und Forschungen 17), Sigmaringen, pp. 175–203

Gilchrist, J. (1985), 'The Erdmann thesis and the canon law, 1083–1141', in Edbury (1985), pp. 37–45

Gilchrist, J. (1988), 'The papacy and war against the "Saracens", 795–1216', *International History Review* 10: 174–97

Girgensohn, D. (1972), 'Das Pisaner Konzil von 1135 in der Überlieferung des Pisaner Konzils von 1409', in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971. Hrsg. von den Mitarbeitern des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte*,

(Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 36), Göttingen, pp. 1062–1100

Glaser, H. (1969), 'Das Scheitern des zweiten Kreuzzuges als heilsgeschichtliches Ereignis', in D. Albrecht, A. Kraus and K. Reindel (eds.), *Festschrift für Max Spindler zum 75. Geburtstag*, Munich, pp. 115–43

Goetz, H.-W. (1983), 'Kirchenschutz, Rechtswahrung und Reform. Zu den Zielen und zum Wesen der frühen Gottesfriedensbewegung in Frankreich', *Francia* 11: 193–239 (English trans. in Head and Landes (1992), pp. 259–79)

Goetz, H.-W. (1984), 'Der Kölner Gottesfriede von 1083. Beobachtungen über Anfänge, Tradition und Eigenart der deutschen Gottesfriedensbewegung', *Jahrbuch des Kölner Geschichtsvereins* 55: 39–76

Graboïs, A. (1966), 'De la trêve de Dieu à la paix du roi. Etude sur les transformations du mouvement de la paix au XIIe siècle', in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* 1, Poitiers, pp. 585–96

Graboïs, A. (1984), 'Anselme, l'Ancien Testament et l'idée de croisade', in *Les Mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe–XIIe siècles. Etudes Anselmiennes* (Spicilegium Beccense 2), Paris, pp. 161–73

Große, R. (1991), 'Überlegungen zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. von 1145/46. Mit einer Neuedition von JL 8876', *Francia* 18: 85–92

Gründel, J. (1963), *Die Lehre von den Umständen der menschlichen Handlung im Mittelalter* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchungen 39.5), Münster

Hartmann, W. (1991), 'Autoritäten im Kirchenrecht und Autorität des Kirchenrechts in der Salierzeit', in S. Weinfurter (ed.), *Die Salier und das Reich*, III, Sigmaringen, pp. 425–46

Head, T. and Landes, R. (eds.) (1992), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, Ithaca and London

Hehl, E.-D. (1980), *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert: Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 19), Stuttgart

Hehl, E.-D. (1994), 'Was ist eigentlich ein Kreuzzug', *Historische Zeitschrift* 259: 297–336

Herde, P. (1967), 'Christians and Saracens at the time of the crusades. Some comments of contemporary medieval canonists', *Studia Gratiana* 12: 358–76

Hiestand, R. (1985a), 'Kreuzzug und Friedensidee', in *Frieden in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kultur und Erkenntnis 1), Düsseldorf, pp. 46–57

Hiestand R. (1985b), 'Der Kreuzfahrer und sein islamisches Gegenüber', in *Das Ritterbild in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Studia Humaniora. Düsseldorfer Studien zu Mittelalter und Renaissance 1), Düsseldorf, pp. 51–68

Hiestand, R. (1988), 'Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templerordens', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 99: 295–325

Hiestand, R. (1992), ' "Praecipua tocius christianismi columpna". Barbarossa und der Kreuzzug', in A. Haverkamp (ed.), *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers* (Vorträge und Forschungen 40), Sigmaringen, pp. 51–108

Hiestand, R. (1998), '*Gott will es!' – Will Gott es wirklich? Die Kreuzzugsidee in der Kritik ihrer Zeit* (Beiträge zur Friedensethik 29), Barsbüttel

Hoffmann, H. (1964), *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (MGH Schriften 20), Stuttgart

Holdsworth, C. J. (1983), 'Ideas and reality: some attempts to control and defuse war in the twelfth century', in Sheils (1983), pp. 59–78

Housley, N. (1985), 'Crusades against Christians: their origins and early development, c. 1000–1216', in Edbury (1985), pp. 17–36

Housley, N. (1992), 'Jerusalem and the development of the crusade idea, 1099–1128', in B. Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa 2–6 July 1987*, Jerusalem and Haifa, pp. 27–40

Justus, W. (1975), *Die frühe Entwicklung des säkularen Friedensbegriffs in der mittelalterlichen Chronistik* (Kollektive Einstellung und Sozialer Wandel im Mittelalter 4), Cologne and Vienna

Kahl, H.-D. (1957/8), 'Zum Ergebnis des Wendenkreuzzuges von 1147. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des sächsischen Frühchristentums', *Wichmann Jahrbuch* 11/12: 99–120

Kahl, H.-D. (1990), '". . . Auszujäten von der Erde die Feinde des Christennamens . . .". Der Plan zum "Wendenkreuzzug" von 1147 als Umsetzung sibyllinischer Eschatologie', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 39: 133–60

Kahl, H.-D. (1992), 'Die weltweite Bereinigung der Heidenfrage – ein übersehenes Kriegsziel des Zweiten Kreuzzugs', in S. Burghartz *et al.* (eds.), *Spannungen und Widersprüche: Gedenkschrift für František Graus*, Sigmaringen, pp. 63–89

Kaiser, R. (1983), 'Selbsthilfe und Gewaltmonopol. Königliche Friedenswahrung in Deutschland und Frankreich im Mittelalter', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17: 55–72

Kantorowicz, E. H. (1951), 'Pro patria mori in medieval thought', *American Historical Review* 56: 472–92

Kedar, B. Z. (1984), *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims*, Princeton

Keen, M. (1987), 'War, peace and chivalry', in B. P. McGuire (ed.), *War and Peace in the Middle Ages*, Copenhagen, pp. 94–117

Kennan, E. (1971), 'Innocent and the first political crusade: a comment on the limitations of papal power', *Traditio* 27: 231–48

Kindlimann, Sibyll (1969), *Die Eroberung von Konstantinopel als politische Forderung des Westens im Hochmittelalter: Studien zur Entwicklung der Idee eines lateinischen Kaisertums in Byzanz* (Geist und Werk der Zeiten 20), Zürich

Knoch, P. (1974), 'Kreuzzug und Siedlung. Studien zum Aufruf der Magdeburger Kirche von 1108', *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 23: 1–33

Kottje, R. (1980), *Die Bußbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus: ihre Überlieferung und ihre Quellen* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 8), Berlin and New York

Kottje, R. (1991), *Die Tötung im Kriege: ein moralisches und rechtliches Problem im frühen Mittelalter* (Beiträge zur Friedensethik 11), Barsbüttel

Krüger, S. (1985), 'Das kirchliche Turnierverbot im Mittelalter', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 80), Göttingen, pp. 401–22

Kurze, D. (1991), 'Krieg und Frieden im mittelalterlichen Denken', in H. Duchhardt (ed.), *Zwischenstaatliche Friedenswahrung in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Münstersche Historische Forschungen 1), Cologne and Vienna, pp. 1–44

Kuttner, S. (1935), *Kanonistische Schuldlehre von Gratian bis auf die Dekretalen Gregors IX: Systematisch auf Grund der handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt* (Studi e Testi 64), Vatican City

Kuttner, S. (1937), *Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140–1234)* (Prodromus Corporis Glossatorum 1, Studi e Testi 71), Vatican City

Lacroix, B. (s.d. [1974]), 'Deus le volt! La théologie d'un cri', in *Etudes de la civilisation médiévale (IXe–XIIe siècles): Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande*, Poitiers, pp. 461–70

Landau, P. (1982), 'Die Rubriken und Inskriptionen von Ivos Panormie. Die Ausgabe Sebastian Brants im Vergleich zur Löwener Edition des Melchior de Vosmédian und der Ausgabe von Migne', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, NS 12: 31–49

Laurent, V. (1946), 'L'idée de guerre sainte et la tradition byzantine', *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen* 23: 71–98

Leclercq, J. (1954), 'Gratien, Pierre de Troyes et la Seconde Croisade', *Studia Gratiana* 2: 583–93

Leclercq, J. (1957), 'Un document sur les débuts des Templiers', *Revue d'Historie Ecclésiastique* 52: 81–91

Leyser, K. (1984), 'Early medieval canon law and the beginning of knighthood', in L. Fenske, W. Rösener and T. Zotz (eds.), *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein*, Sigmaringen, pp. 549–66; repr. in Leyser, *Communication and Power in Medieval Europe*, 1: *The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, London (1994), pp. 51–71

Lomax, D. W. (1978), *The Reconquest of Spain*, London and New York

Lotter, F. (1977), *Die Konzeption des Wendenkreuzzugs: ideengeschichtliche, kirchen-rechtliche und historisch-politische Voraussetzungen der Missionierung von Elb- und Ostseeslawen um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 23), Sigmaringen

Luscombe, D. (1969), *The School of Peter Abelard: The Influence of Abelard's Thought in the Early Scholastic Period* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 14), Cambridge

McCormick, M. (1992), 'Liturgie et guerre des Carolingiens à la première croisade', in *Militia Christi e Crociata nei secoli XI–XIII. Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola 28 agosto – 1 settembre 1989* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 13), Milan, pp. 211–38

McGuire, B. P. (ed.) (1987), *War and Peace in the Middle Ages*, Copenhagen

Maleczek, W. (1996), 'Das Frieden stiftende Papsttum im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', in Fried (1996), pp. 249–332

Markowski, M. (1984), 'Crucesignatus: its origins and early usage', *Journal of Medieval History* 10: 157–65

Mayer, H. E. (2000), *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 9th rev. edn, Stuttgart; trans. from the 6th rev. German edn, by John Gillingham as *The Crusades*, Oxford (1988)

Mirbt, C. (1894), *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII*, Leipzig

Möhring, J. (1983), 'Heiliger Krieg und politische Pragmatik: Salahadinus Tyrannus', *DA* 39: 417–66

Mordek, H. (1971), 'Handschriftenforschungen in Italien. 1. Zur Überlieferung des Dekrets Bischof Burchards von Worms', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 51: 626–51

Morin, G. (1928), 'Le discours d'ouverture du concile général de Latran (1179) et l'œuvre littéraire de maître Rufin, évèque d'Assise', in *Atti della Pontificia Academia Romana de Archeologia (Serie III), Memorie vol. 2*, Rome, pp. 113–33

Morris, C. (1983), 'Propaganda for war: the dissemination of the crusading ideal in the twelfth century', in Sheils (1983), pp. 79–101

Morton, C. (1975), 'Pope Alexander II and the Norman Conquest', *Latomus* 34: 362–82

Muldoon, J. (1966), 'Extra ecclesiam non est imperium. The canonists and the legitimacy of secular power', *Studia Gratiana* 9: 551–80

Murray, A. V. (ed.) (1998), *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusaders Societies 1095–1500. Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds 10–13 July 1995* (International Medieval Research 3), Turnhout

Nicholson, H. (1993), *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291*, Leicester

Noth, A. (1966), *Heiliger Krieg und heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum: Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Bonner Historische Forschungen 28), Bonn

Noth, A. (1987), 'Heiliger Kampf (Gihad) gegen die "Franken", Zur Position der Kreuzzüge im Rahmen der Islamgeschichte', *Saeculum* 37: 228–39

Oexle, O. G. (1978), 'Die funktionale Dreiteilung der Gesellschaft bei Adalbero von Laon. Deutungsschemata der sozialen Wirklichkeit im früheren Mittelalter', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 12: 1–54

Oexle, O. G. (1981), 'Die "Wirklichkeit" und das "Wissen". Ein Blick auf das sozialgeschichtliche Oeuvre von Georges Duby', *Historische Zeitschrift* 232: 61–91

Oexle, O. G. (1987), 'Deutungsschemata der sozialen Wirklichkeit im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Wissens', in F. Graus (ed.), *Mentalitäten im Mittelalter: methodische und inhaltliche Probleme* (Vorträge und Forschungen 35), Sigmaringen, pp. 65–117

Oexle, O. G. (1993), 'Formen des Friedens in den religiösen Bewegungen des Hochmittelalters (1000–1300)', in W. Hartmann (ed.), *Das Mittelalter: Annäherungen an eine fremde Zeit* (Schriftenreihe der Universität Regensburg 19), Regensburg, pp. 87–109

Pásztor, E. (1965), 'Motivi dell'ecclesiologia di Anselmo di Lucca. In margine a un sermone inedito', *Bulletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 77: 45–104

Pásztor, E. (1987), 'Lotta per le investiture e "ius belli": la posizione di Anselmo di Lucca', in P. Golinelli (ed.), *Sant'Anselmo, Mantova e la lotta per le investiture. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Mantova, 23–24–25 maggio 1986)*, Bologna, pp. 375–421

Poggiaspalla, F. (1956), 'La condotta della guerra secondo, una disposizione del III Concilio Lateranense', *Ephemerides Iuris Canonici* 12: 371–86

Poschmann, B. (1948), *Der Ablaß im Licht der Bußgeschichte* (Theophaneia 4), Bonn

Post, G. (1964), *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100–1322*, Princeton

Prinz, F. (1971), *Klerus und Krieg im früheren Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur Rolle der Kirche beim Aufbau der Königsherrschaft* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 2), Stuttgart

Queller, D. E. (1978), *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople 1201–1204*, Leicester

Regout, R. H. W. (1934), *La Doctrine de la guerre juste de Saint Augustin à nos jours d'après les théologiens et les canonistes catholiques*, Paris

Richard, J. (1987), 'Urbain II, la prédication de la croisade et la définition de l'indulgence', in E.-D. Hehl, H. Seibert and F. Staab (eds.), *Deus qui mutat tempora: Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Alfons Becker*, Sigmaringen, pp. 129–35; repr. in Richard *Croisades et états latins d'Orient: points de vue et documents*, Aldershot (1992), ch. 2

Richard, J. (1988), 'Départ de pèlerins et de croisés bourguignons au XIe s.: à propos d'une charte de Cluny', *Annales de Bourgogne* 70: 139–43

Richard J. (1998), 'La croisade: l'évolution des conceptions et des stratégies', in Murray (1998), pp. 3–25

Riley-Smith, J. (1977), *What Were the Crusades?*, London and Basingstoke (2nd edn 1992)

Riley-Smith, J. (1980), 'Crusading as an act of love', *History* 65: 177–92

Riley-Smith, J. (1982), 'The First Crusade and St. Peter', in B. Z. Kedar, R. Hiestand and R. C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem. Presented to J. Prawer*, Jerusalem, pp. 41–63

Riley-Smith, J. (1984a), 'The First Crusade and the persecution of the Jews', in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration: Papers Read at the Twenty-Second Summer Meeting and the Twenty-Third Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History 21), Oxford, pp. 51–72

Riley-Smith, J. (1984b), 'Death on the First Crusade', in D. Loades (ed.), *The End of Strife: Papers Selected from the Proceedings of the Colloquium of the Commission Internationale d'Histoire Ecclésiastique Comparée Held at the University of Durham 2 to 9 September 1981*, Edinburgh, pp. 14–31

Riley-Smith, J. (1986), *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London

Riley-Smith, J. (1987), *The Crusades: A Short History*, London

Ringel, I. H. (1987), 'Ipse transfert regna et mutat tempora. Beobachtungen zur Herkunft von Dan. 2,21 bei Urban II', in E.-D. Hehl, H. Seibert and F. Staab (eds.), *Deus qui mutat tempora: Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittalters. Festschrift für Alfons Becker*, Sigmaringen, pp. 137–56

Robinson, I. S. (1973), 'Gregory VII and the Soldiers of Christ', *History* 58: 169–92

Robinson, I. S. (1978), *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the Late Eleventh Century*, Manchester and New York

Robinson, I. S. (1983), '"Political allegory" in the biblical exegesis of Bruno of Segni', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 50: 69–98

Rösch, G. (1984), 'Der "Kreuzzug" Bohemunds gegen Dyrrhachion 1107/1108 in der lateinischen Tradition des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 26: 181–90

Roscher, H. (1969), *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 21), Göttingen

Rosenwein, B. H. (1971), 'Feudal war and monastic peace: Cluniac liturgy as ritual aggression', *Viator* 2: 129–57

Rousset, P. (1945), *Les Origines et les caractères de la première croisade*, Neuchâtel

Rousset, P. (1968), 'Les laïques dans la croisade', in *I laici nella 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI e XII. Atti della terza Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola,*

21–27 agosto 1965 (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 5), Milan, pp. 428–43

Rowe, J. G. (1966), 'Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 49: 165–202

Russell, F. H. (1975), *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Third Series, 8), Cambridge

Russell, F. H. (1987), 'Love and hate in medieval warfare: the contribution of Saint Augustine', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 31: 108–24

Schein, S. (1991), 'Die Kreuzzüge als volkstümlich-messianische Bewegungen', *DA* 47: 119–38

Schmandt, R. H. (1975), 'The Fourth Crusade and the just-war theory', *The Catholic Historical Review* 61: 191–221

Schöpf, B. (1958), *Das Tötungsrecht bei den frühchristlichen Schriftstellern bis zur Zeit Constantins* (Studien zur Geschichte der Katholischen Moraltheologie 5), Regensburg

Schwinges, R. C. (1977), *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz: Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus* (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 15), Stuttgart

Sclafert, C. (1958), 'Lettre inédite de Hugues de Saint-Victor aux chevaliers du Temple', *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* 54: 275–99

Sellert, W. (1987), 'Friedensprogramme und Friedenswahrung im Mittelalter', in G. Köbler (ed.), *Wege europäischer Rechtsgeschichte: Karl Kroeschell zum 60. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 453–67

Semmler, J. (1985), 'Facti sunt milites domni Ildebrandi omnibus . . . in stuporem', in *Das Ritterbild in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Studia Humaniora; Düsseldorfer Studien zu Mittelalter und Renaissance 1), Düsseldorf, pp. 11–35

Setton, K. M. (ed.) (1969–89), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., Madison

Sheils, W. J. (ed.) (1983), *The Church and War: Papers Read at the Twenty-First Summer Meeting and the Twenty-Second Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History 20), Oxford

Siberry, E. (1983), 'Missionaries and crusaders, 1095–1274, opponents or allies?', in Sheils (1983), pp. 103–10

Siberry, E. (1985), *Criticism of Crusading 1095–1274*, Oxford

Somerville, R. (1972), *The Councils of Urban II*, 1: *Decreta claromontensia* (Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, Supplement 1), Amsterdam

Somerville, R. (1974), 'The Council of Clermont (1095), and Latin Christian society', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 12: 566–90

Stickler, A. (1942), 'De ecclesiastica potestate coactiva materiali apud magistrum Gratianum', *Salesianum* 4: 113–40

Stickler, A. (1947a), 'Il potere coattivo materiale della chiesa nella Riforma Gregoriana secondo Anselmo di Lucca', *SG* 2: 235–85

Stickler, A. (1947b), 'Der Schwerterbegriff bei Huguccio', *Ephemerides Iuris Canonici* 3: 201–42

Stickler, A. (1948), 'Magistri Gratiani sententia de potestate ecclesiae in statum', *Apollinaris* 21: 36–111

Stickler, A. (1954), 'Imperator vicarius papae. Die Lehren der französisch-deutschen Dekretistenschule des 12. und beginnenden 13. Jahrhunderts über die Beziehungen

zwischen Papst und Kaiser', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichts-forschung* 62: 165–212

Stickler, A. (1959), 'Alanus Anglicus als Verteidiger des monarchischen Papsttums', *Salesianum* 21: 346–406

Stickler, A. (1966), 'Il decretista Laurentius Hispanus', *Studia Gratiana* 9: 461–549

Sutherland, D. (1972), 'Conquest and law', *Studia Gratiana* 15: 33–51

Töpfer, B. (1957), *Volk und Kirche zur Zeit der beginnenden Gottesfriedensbewegung in Frankreich* (Neue Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft 1), Berlin

Villey, M. (1942), *La Croisade: essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique* (L'Eglise et l'Etat au Moyen Age 6), Paris

Villey, M. (1955), 'Le droit naturel chez Gratien', *Studia Gratiana* 3:83–99

Wadle, E. (1973), 'Heinrich IV. und die deutsche Friedensbewegung', in J. Fleck-enstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Vorträge und Forschungen 17), Sigmaringen, pp. 141–73

Wadle, E. (1986), 'Frühe deutsche Landfrieden', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Überlieferung und Geltung normativer Texte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter 4), Sigmaringen, pp. 71–92

Wadle, E. (1987), 'Der Nürnberger Friedebrief Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas und das gelehrte Recht', in G. Köbler (ed.), *Wege europäischer Rechtsgeschichte: Karl Kroeschell zum 60. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main, pp. 548–72

Wadle, E. (1996), 'Die peinliche Strafe als Instrument des Friedens', in Fried (1996), pp. 229–47

Weigand, R. (1967), *Die Naturrechtslehre der Legisten und Dekretisten von Irnerius bis Accursius und von Gratian bis Johannes Teutonicus* (Münchener Theologische Studien III. 26), Munich

Weigand, R. (1992), *Krieg und Frieden in den Rechtssammlungen des Ivo von Chartres* (Beiträge zur Friedensethik 13), Barsbüttel

Werner, K. F. (1989), 'Observations sur le rôle des évêques dans le mouvement de paix aux Xe et XIe siècles', in C. E. Viola (ed.), *Mediaevalia Christiana: XIe–XIIIe siècles. Hommage à Raymonde Foreville*, Paris, pp. 155–95

8 THE STRUCTURE OF THE CHURCH, 1024–1073

Anton, H. H. (1982), *Der sogenannte Traktat 'De ordinando pontifice': ein Rechtsgutachten in Zusammenhang mit der Synode von Sutri (1046)* (Bonner Historische Forschungen 48), Bonn

Arquillière, H. X. (1926), *Le Plus Ancien Traité de l'église: Jacques de Viterbe, De regimine christiano (1301–2)*, Paris

Aubrun, M. (1981), *L'Ancien Diocèse de Limoges des origines au milieu du XIe siècle*, Clermont-Ferrand

Aubrun, M. (1986), *La Paroisse en France des origines au XVe siècle*, Paris

Barlow, F. (1979), *The English Church, 1000–1066*, 2nd edn, London and New York

Becquet, J. (1977), 'La réforme des chapitres cathédraux en France aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Bulletin Philologique et Historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques. Année 1975*, Paris, pp. 31–41; repr. in *Vie canoniale en France aux Xe–XIIe siècles*, London (1985)

Blair, J. (1988a), 'From minster to parish church', in Blair (1988b), pp. 1–19

Blair, J. (ed.) (1988b), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Churches in Transition, 950–1200* (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 17), Oxford

Bloch, H. (1986), *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., Rome

Boyd, C. E. (1952), *Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy: The Historical Roots of a Modern Problem*, Ithaca

Brett, M. (1975), *The English Church under Henry 1*, Oxford

Brooke, C. (1985), 'The Archdeacon and the Norman Conquest', in D. Greenway, C. Holdsworth and J. Sayers (eds.), *Tradition and Change: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Chibnall*, Cambridge, pp. 1–19

Busch, J. W. (1989), '"Landulfi senioris Historia Mediolanensis" – Uberlieferung, Datierung und Intention', *DA* 45: 1–30

Callahan, D. F. (1991), 'Adémar of Chabannes. Apocalypticism and the Peace Council of Limoges of 1031', *RB* 101: 32–49

Cheney, M. G. (1980), *Roger, Bishop of Worcester, 1164–1179*, Oxford

Coens, M. (1936–44), 'Anciennes Litanies des saints', *AB* 54: 5–37; 55: 49–69; 59: 272–98; 62: 126–68

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1966), 'Archbishop Aribert II of Milan', *History* 51: 1–15; repr. in Cowdrey (1984), no. IV

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1968), 'The papacy, the Patarenes and the church of Milan', *TRHS* 5th series, 18: 25–48; repr. in Cowdrey (1984), no. V

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1981), 'The Anglo-Norman *Laudes Regiae'*, *Viator* 12: 37–8; repr. in Cowdrey (1984), no. VIII

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1983), *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries*, Oxford

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1984), *Popes, Monks and Crusaders*, London

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1988), 'The Gregorian papacy, Byzantium, and the First Crusade', in J. Howard-Johnston (ed.), *Byzantium and the West, c.850–c.1200*, Amsterdam, pp. 145–69

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1989), 'The Gregorian reform in the Anglo-Norman lands and in Scandinavia', *SG* 13: 321–52

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1991), 'Pope Gregory VII', *Medieval History* 1: 23–38

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1994), 'Lanfranc, the papacy, and the see of Canterbury', in *Lanfranco di Pavia e L'Europa del secolo XI nel IX centenario della morte (1089–1989)*. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Pavia, Almo Collegio Borromeo, 21–24 Settembre 1989), ed. G. D'Onofrio (Italia Sacra: Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica 51), Rome, pp. 439–500

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1998), *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085*, Oxford

Dahlerup, T. (1967), 'Die nordische Lokalprobstei und ihr Verhältnis zum Archidiakonat', in *Kirche und Gesellschaft im Ostseeraum und im Norden vor der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Acta Visbyensia 3), Visby, pp. 39–45

Davies, R. R. (1987), *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales 1063–1415*, Oxford

Deér, J. (1972), *Papsttum und Normannen: Untersuchungen zu ihren lehnsrechtlichen und kirchenpolitischen Beziehungen* (Studien und Quellen zur Welt Friedrichs II. 1), Cologne and Vienna

Delisle, L. (1896), 'Notice sur les manuscrits originaux d'Adémar de Chabannes', in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, XXXV.1, pp. 241–358

Duby, G. (1978), *Les Trois Ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*, Paris; trans. A. Goldhammer as *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*, London and Chicago (1980)

Duncan, A. A. M. (1975), *Scotland: The Making of a Kingdom*, Edinburgh

Dvornik, F. (1949), *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, London

Edwards, K. (1967), *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn, Manchester

Engels, O. (1991), 'Das Reich der Salier – Entwicklungslinien', in Weinfurter (1991), III, pp. 479–541

Erkens, F. R. (1991), 'Die Bistumsorganisation in den Diozesen Trier und Köln – ein Vergleich', in Weinfurter (1991), II, pp. 267–302

Feine, H. E. (1964), *Kirchliche Rechtsgeschichte*, I: *Die Katholische Kirche*, 4th edn, Cologne and Graz

Fleckenstein, J. (1966), *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, II: *Die Hofkapelle der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche* (Schriften der MGH 16/2), Stuttgart

Flori, J. (1986), *L'Essor de la chevalerie, XIe–XIIe siècles*, Geneva

Foreville, R. (1976), 'The synod of the province of Rouen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in C. N. L. Brooke, D. E. Luscombe, G. H. Martin, and D. Owen (eds.), *Church and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to C. R. Cheney on His 70th Birthday*, Cambridge, pp. 19–39

Fuhrmann, H. (1953–5), 'Studien zur Geschichte mittelalterlicher Patriarchate', 3 parts, *ZSSRG, KA* 39: 112–76; 40: 1–84; 41: 95–183

Fuhrmann, H. (1972–4), *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen* (Schriften der MGH 24/1-3), 3 parts, Stuttgart

Fürst, C. G. (1967), *Cardinalis: Prolegomena zu einer Rechtsgeschichte des römischen Kardinalkollegiums*, Munich

Ganzer, K. (1963), *Die Entwicklung des auswärtigen Kardinalats im hohen Mittelalter* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 20), Tübingen

Groten, M. (1983), 'Von der Gebetsverbrüderung zum Königskanonikat', *HJ* 103: 1–34

Hamilton Thompson, A. (1943), 'Diocesan organization in the middle ages: archdeacons and rural deans', *PBA* 29: 153–94

Hauck, A. (1913–20), *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, III and IV, 3rd/4th edn, Leipzig

Heidrich, I. (1991), 'Bischöfe und Bischofskirche von Speyer', in Weinfurter (1991), II, pp. 187–224

Herrmann, K. J. (1973), *Das Tuskulanerpapsttum (1012–1046)*, (Päpste und Papsttum 4), Stuttgart

Hoffmann, H. (1964), *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (Schriften der MGH 20), Stuttgart

Hüls, R. (1977), *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms, 1049–1130* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 48), Tübingen

Jasper, D. (1986), *Das Papstwahldekret von 1059: Überlieferung und Testgestalt* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 12), Sigmaringen

Johanek, P. (1991), 'Die Erzbischöfe von Hamburg-Bremen und ihre Kirche im Reich der Salierzeit', in Weinfurter (1991), II, pp. 79–112

Kammer, C. (1962), *Die Litanei von Allen Heiligen, die Namen-Jesu-Litanei, die Josefs-Litanei*, Innsbruck

Kantorowicz, E. H. (1946), *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*, Berkeley and Los Angeles

Klewitz, H.-W. (1932–3), 'Zur Geschichte der Bistumsorganisation Campaniens und Apuliens im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', *QFIAB* 24: 1–61

Kłoczowski, J. (1974), 'La province ecclésiastique de la Pologne et ses évêques', *MCSM* 7: 437–44

Landes, R. (1990), 'L'accession des Capétiens. Une reconsidération selon les sources aquitanes', in D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard (eds.), *Autour de l'an mil: royaume capétien et Lotharingie*, Paris, pp. 151–66

Lapidge, M. (1991), *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints* (Henry Bradshaw Society 106), London

Le Bras, G. (1959–64), *Institutions ecclésiastiques de la Chrétienté médiévale* (Histoire de l'Eglise, fondée par A. Fliche et V. Martin, 12), 2 vols., Paris

Lemarignier, J.-F. (1957), 'Structures monastiques et structures politiques dans la France de la fin du Xe et des débuts du XIe siècles', in *Il monachesimo nell' alto medioevo e la formazione della civiltà occidentale*, Spoleto, pp. 357–400

Lemarignier, J.-F. (1965), *Le Gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens (987–1108)*, Paris

Lot, F. and Fawtier, R. (eds.) (1962), *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge*, III: *Institutions ecclésiastiques*, by J.-F. Lemarignier, J. Gaudemet and G. Mollat, Paris

Maccarrone, M. (1989), 'I fondamenti "petrini" del primato romano di Gregorio VII', in *Studi Gregoriani* 13: 55–122. Repr. in P. Zerbi, R. Volpini and A. Galuzzi (eds.), *Romana ecclesia cathedra Petri*, 2 vols., Rome (1991), II, pp. 671–756

Mason, E. (1990), *St Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008–1095*, Oxford

Meersseman, G. G. (1977), *Ordo fraternitatis: confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, 3 vols. (Italia Sacra 24–6), Rome

Metz, W. (1978), *Das Servitium Regis: zur Erforschung der wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des hochmittelalterlichen deutschen Königtums* (Erträge der Forschung 89), Darmstadt

Mollat, G. (1949), 'La restitution des églises privées au patrimoine ecclésiastique en France du IXe au XIIe siècle' *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger* 67: 339–423

Morris, C. (1989), *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050–1250*, Oxford

Müller-Mertens, E. (1970), *Regnum Teutonicum: Aufkommen und Verbreitung der deutschen Reichs- und Königsauffassung im früheren Mittelalter*, Vienna, Cologne and Graz

O'Callaghan, J. F. (1975), *A History of Medieval Spain*, Ithaca and London

Opfermann, B. (1953), *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationem im Sacrum Imperium des Mittelalters*, Weimar

Pauler, R. (1982), *Das Regnum Italiae in ottonischer Zeit* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 54), Tübingen

Peyer, H. C. (1955), *Stadt und Stadtpatron im mittelalterlichen Italien*, Zurich

Reuter, T. (1982), 'The "imperial church system" of the Ottonian and Salian rulers: a reconsideration', *JEH* 33: 347–74

Reynolds, R. E. (1978), *The Ordinals of Christ from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 7), Berlin and New York

Robinson, I. S. (1988), 'Church and papacy', in J. H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350–c.1450*, Cambridge, pp. 252–305

Robinson, I. S. (1990), *The Papacy 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation*, Cambridge

Rosser, G. (1988), 'The Anglo-Saxon gilds', in Blair (1988b), pp. 31–4

Santifaller, L. (1940), 'Saggio di un elenco dei funzionari, impiegati e scrittori della Cancelleria Pontificia dall'inizio all'anno 1099', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano* 56: 1–865

Santifaller, L. (1953), 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Beschreibstoffe im Mittelalter, mit besonderen Berücksichtigung der päpstlichen Kanzlei', *MIÖG Erg.-Bd.* 16/1

Santifaller, L. (1964), *Zur Geschichte des ottonish-salischen Reichskirchensystems*, 2nd edn, Vienna

Scammell, J. (1971), 'The rural chapter in England from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, *EHR* 86: 1–21

Schieffer, R. (1976), *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln in Deutschland* (Bonner Historische Forschungen 43), Bonn

Schieffer, R. (1981), *Die Entstehung des päpstlichen Investiturverbots für den deutschen König* (Schriften der MGH 28), Stuttgart

Schmid, K. (1975), 'Heinrich III. und Gregor VI. in Gebetsgedächtnis von Piacenza des Jahres 1046. Bericht über einen Quellenfund', in H. Fromm, W. Harms and U. Ruberg (eds.), *Beiträge zur mediävistischen Bedeutungsforschung: Studien zu Semantik und Sinntradition im Mittelalter* (Verbum et Signum 2), Munich, pp. 79–97

Schmid, K. (1984), 'Die Sorge der Salier um ihre Memoria', in Schmid and Wollasch (1984), pp. 666–726

Schmid, K. and Wollasch, J. (1967), 'Die Gemeinschaften der Lebenden und Verstorbenen in Zeugnissen des Mittelalters', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1: 365–405

Schmid, K. and Wollasch, J. (1984), *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter* (Münstersche Mittelalterschriften 48), Munich

Schramm, P. E. (1960), *Der König von Frankreich: das Wesen der Monarchie vom 9. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols., 2nd edn, Weimar

Schwartz, G. (1913), *Die Besetzung der Bistümer Reichsitaliens unter den sächsischen und salischen Kaisern mit den Listen der Bischöfe*, Leipzig and Berlin

Seegrün, W. (1967), *Das Papsttum und Skandinavien bis zur Vollendung der nordischen Kirchenorganisation*, Neumünster

Southern, R. W. (1963), *Saint Anselm and His Biographer*, Cambridge

Stutz, U. (1895), *Die Eigenkirche als Element des mittelalterlich-germanischen Kirchenrechtes*, Berlin; trans. in *Mediaeval Germany 911–1250*, ed. G. Barraclough, 2 vols., Oxford (1938), II, pp. 35–70

Tangl, G. (1932), *Die Teilnehmer an den allgemeinen Konzilien des Mittelalters*, Weimar

Tellenbach, G. (1988), *Die westliche Kirche vom 10. bis zum frühen 12. Jahrhundert* (Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 2/FI), Göttingen

Thomas, H. (1970), 'Erzbischof Siegfried I. von Mainz und die Tradition seiner Kirche. Ein Beiträg zur Wahl Rudolfs von Rheinfelden', *DA* 26: 368–99

Toubert, P. (1973), *Les Structures du Latium médiéval: le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle* (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 221), Rome

Violante, C. (1977), 'Pievi e parrochie nell'Italia centrosettentrionale durante i secoli XI–XII', *MCSM* 8: 643–799

Vlasto, A. P. (1970), *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom*, Cambridge

Vogel, C. (1963), 'Le pèlerinage pénitentiel', in *Pellegrinaggi e culto dei santi in Europa fina alla 1a crociata* (Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale 4), Todi, pp. 37–94

Waldmüller, L. (1987), *Die Synoden in Dalmatien, Kroatien und Ungarn von der Völkerwanderung bis zum Ende der Arpaden (1311)* (Konziliengeschichte: Reihe A, Darstellungen), Paderborn, Munich, Vienna and Zurich

Watt, J. A. (1970), *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland*, Cambridge

Wattenbach, W. and Holtzmann, R. (1967–71), *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: die Zeit der Sachsen und Salier*, 3 vols., new edn by F.-J. Schmale, Darmstadt

Weinfurter, S. (ed.) (1991), *Die Salier und das Reich*, 3 vols., Sigmaringen

Wickham, C. J. (1988), *The Mountains and the City: The Tuscan Appennines in the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford

Zaccaria, F. A. (1755), *Anecdotorum medii aevi maximam partem ex archivis Pistoriensibus collectio*, Turin

Zielinski, H. (1984–), *Der Reichsepiskopät in spätottonischer und salischer Zeit, 1002–1125*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden

Ziese, J. (1982), *Wibert von Ravenna: Der Gegenpapst Clemens III. (1084–1100)*, Stuttgart

9 REFORM AND THE CHURCH, 1073–1122

Affeldt, W. (1969), 'Königserhebung Pippins und Unlösbarkeit des Eides im Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda', *DA* 25: 313–46

Autenrieth, J. (1956), *Die Domschule von Konstanz zur Zeit des Investiturstreits*, Stuttgart

Becker, A. (1955), *Studien zum Investiturproblem in Frankreich: Papsttum, Königtum und Episkopat im Zeitalter der gregorianischen Kirchenreform (1049–1109)* (Schriften der Universität des Saarlandes), Saarbrücken

Becker, A. (1964), *Papst Urban II. (1089–1099)*, 1, Stuttgart

Becker, A. (1973), 'Urban II, und die deutsche Kirche', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung*, Sigmaringen, pp. 241–75

Benson, R. L. (1968), *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*, Princeton

Beumann, J. (1976), *Sigebert von Gembloux und der Traktat de investitura episcoporum* (Vorträge und Forschungen 20), Sigmaringen

Bibliander, Theodorus [Buchmann] (1553), *Ad illustrissimos Germaniae principes . . . de restituenda pace in Germanico Imperio*, Basel

Bloch, H. (1971), 'L'ordine dei pannelli nella porta della basilica di S. Paolo', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, 3rd series, Rendiconti 43: 267–81

Bloch, H. (1986), *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., Rome

Blumenthal, U.-R. (1977), '*Patrimonia* and *regalia* in 1111', in K. Pennington and R. Somerville (eds.), *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, Philadelphia, pp. 9–20

Blumenthal, U.-R. (1978), 'Opposition to Pope Paschal II: some comments on the Lateran council of 1112', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 10: 82–98

Blumenthal, U. (1988), *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Middle Ages Series, ed. E. Peters), Philadelphia

Borino, G. B. (1956), 'Note Gregoriane 8. Osservazione su una interpretazione del decreto di Gregorio VII sulle ordinazioni simoniache', *SG* 5: 411–15

Boye, M. (1929), 'Die Synoden Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens von 922 bis 1059', *ZSSRG, KA* 18: 131–284

Brett, M. (1975), *The English Church under Henry I*, Oxford

Cantor, N. F. (1958), *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England, 1089–1135*, Princeton

Capitani, O. (1962–3), 'La riforma gregoriana e la lotta per le investiture nella recente storiografia', *Cultura e Scuola* 6: 108–15

Capitani, O. (1965), 'Esiste un "età gregoriana"? Considerazioni sulle tendenze di una storiografia medievistica', *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 1: 454–81

Capitani, O. (1966), *Immunità vescovili ed ecclesiologia in età 'pregregoriana' e 'gregoriana': l'avvio alla 'restaurazione'* (Biblioteca degli 'Studi Medievali' 3), Spoleto

Capitani, O. (1972), 'Al di là di una commemorazione', *SG* 9: 17–35

Classen, P. (1973), 'Das Wormser Konkordat in der deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Vorträge und Forschungen 17), Sigmaringen, pp. 411–60

Claude, H. (1968), 'Gérard d'Angoulême, ses pouvoirs de légat en Aquitaine au nom des papes Pascal II, Calixte II et Honorius II', *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente* 1968: 171–82

Conant, K. J. (1968), *Cluny: les églises et la maison du chef d'ordre*, Cambridge, MA

Conant, K. J. and Willard, H. M. (1971), 'Early examples of the pointed arch and vault in Romanesque architecture', *Viator* 2: 203–10

Congar, Y. M.-J. (1957), '*Ecce constitui te super gentes et regna* (Jér. 1.10)' in J. Auer and H. Volk (eds.), *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Michael Schmaus zum 60. Geburtstag*, Munich, pp. 671–96

Congar, Y. M.-J. (1961), 'Der Platz des Papsttums in der Kirchenfrömmigkeit der Reformer des 11. Jahrhunderts', in J. Daniélou and H. Vorgrimler (eds.), *Sentire Ecclesiam: das Bewusstsein von der Kirche als gestaltende Kraft der Frömmigkeit*, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, pp. 196–217

Congar, Y. M.-J. (1968), *L'Ecclésiologie du haut moyen âge*, Paris

Constable, G. (1964), 'Reformatio', in S. H. Miller and G. E. Wright (eds.), *Ecumenical Dialogue at Harvard: The Roman Catholic–Protestant Colloquium*, Cambridge, MA, pp. 330–43

Constable, G. (1982), 'Renewal and reform in religious life. Concept and realities', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, MA, pp. 37–67

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1968), 'The papacy, the Patarenes and the church of Milan', *TRHS* 5th series, 18: 25–48

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1970), *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, Oxford

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1972), 'Pope Gregory VII and the Anglo-Norman church and kingdom', *SG* 9: 77–114

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1977), 'The Mahdia campaign of 1087', *EHR* 92: 1–29

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1978), 'Two studies in Cluniac history 1049–1126', *SG* 11: 1–298

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1983), *The Age of Abbot Desiderius: Montecassino, the Papacy and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries*, Oxford

Davis, R. H. C. (1978), 'The *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio*', *EHR* 93: 241–61

Deér, J. (1972), *Papsttum und Normannen: Untersuchungen zu ihren lehnsrechtlichen und kirchenpolitischen Beziehungen* (Studien und Quellen zur Welt Kaiser Friedrichs II. 1), Cologne and Vienna

Dereine, C. (1946), 'Vie commune, règle de Saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XIe siècle', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 41: 365–406

Dereine, C. (1951), 'L'élaboration du statut canonique des chanoines réguliers spécialement sous Urbain II', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 46: 534–65

Dereine, C. (1953), 'Chanoines', *in Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* XII, pp. 353–405

Dereine, C. (1961), 'La prétendue règle de Grégoire VII pour chanoines réguliers', *RB* 71: 108–18

Dormeier, H. (1979), *Montecassino und die Laien im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Schriften der MGH 27), Stuttgart

Dümmler, E. (1876), 'Gedichte aus dem XI. Jahrhundert', *Neues Archiv* 1: 175–85

Erdmann, C. (1935), *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Stuttgart; trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart as *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, Princeton (1977)

Esch, A. (1969), 'Spolien. Zur Wiederverwendung antiker Baustücke und Skulpturen im mittelalterlichen Italien', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 51: 1–64

Fabre, P. (1892), *Etude sur le Liber Censuum de l'église romaine* (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 62), Rome

Fichtenau, H. (1957), *Arenga: Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformen*, Cologne and Graz

Fleckenstein, J. (1968), 'Heinrich IV. und der deutsche Episkopät in den Anfängen des Investiturstreites', in J. Fleckenstein and K. Schmid (eds.), *Adel und Kirche: Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern*, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, pp. 221–36

Fleckenstein, J. (1973), 'Hofkapelle und Reichsepiskopät unter Heinrich IV.', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Vorträge und Forschungen 17), Sigmaringen, pp. 117–40

Fliche, A. (1916–18), 'Guy de Ferrare. Etude sur la polémique religieuse en Italie à la fin du XIe siècle', *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. Bulletin Italien* 16: 105–40; 18: 114–31

Fliche, A. (1924–37), *La Réforme grégorienne*, 3 vols. (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 16), Louvain and Paris

Fransen, G. (1974), 'Papes, conciles généraux et oecuméniques', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI–XII*, 1, Milan, pp. 203–28

Fried, J. (1973), 'Der Regalienbegriff im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', *DA* 29: 450–528

Fuhrmann, H. (1954), 'Studien zur Geschichte mittelalterlicher Patriarchate, II', *ZSSRG, KA* 40: 1–84 (see also *ibid.* 39: 112–76; 41: 95–183)

Fuhrmann, H. (1972–4), *Einfluss und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, 3 vols. (Schriften der MGH 24), Stuttgart

Fuhrmann, H. (1973), 'Das Reformpapsttum und die Rechtswissenschaft', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Vorträge und Forschungen 17), Sigmaringen, pp. 175–203

Fuhrmann, H. (1977), ' "Quod catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanae ecclesiae". Randnotizen zum Dictatus Papae', in K.-U. Jäschke and R. Wenskus (eds.), *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen, pp. 263–87

Gauss, J. (1940), 'Die Diktatusthesen Gregors VII. als Unionsforderungen', *ZSSRG, KA* 29: 1–115

Gauss, J. (1967), *Ost und West in der Kirchen- und Papstgeschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts*, Zurich

Gilchrist, J. (1962), 'Canon law aspects of the eleventh century Gregorian reform programme', *JEH* 13: 21–38

Gilchrist, J. (1965), ' "Simoniaca haeresis" and the problem of orders from Leo IX to Gratian', in S. Kuttner and J. J. Ryan (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, series C, Subsidia 1), Vatican City, pp. 209–35

Gilchrist, J. (1967), 'Gregory VII and the juristic sources of his ideology', *Studia Gratiana* 12: 3–37

Gilchrist, J. (1970), 'Was there a Gregorian reform movement in the eleventh century?', *The Canadian Catholic Historical Association: Study Sessions* 37: 1–10

Gilchrist, J. (1972), 'Eleventh and early twelfth century canonical collections and the economic policy of Gregory VII', *SG* 9: 375–417

Gilchrist, J. (1973), 'The reception of Pope Gregory VII into the canon law (1073–1141)', *ZSSRG, KA* 59: 35–82 (see also *ibid.* 66: 192–229)

Gilchrist, J. (1980), 'The *Epistola Widonis*, ecclesiastical reform and canonistic enterprise 1049–1141', in B. Tierney and P. Linehan (eds.), *Authority and Power: Studies on Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ullmann on His Seventieth Birthday*, Cambridge, pp. 49–58

Gilchrist, J. (1981), 'Die Epistola Widonis oder Pseudo-Paschalis. Der erweiterte Text', *DA* 37: 576–604

Goez, W. (1973), 'Reformpapsttum, Adel und monastische Erneuerung in der Toscana', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Vorträge und Forschungen 17), Sigmaringen, pp. 205–39

Gottlob, T. (1936), *Der kirchliche Amtseid der Bischöfe* (Kanonistische Studien und Texte 9), Bonn

Grégoire, R. (1965), *Bruno de Segni: exégète médiéval et théologien monastique* (Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo 3), Spoleto

Hacke, C. B. von (1898), *Die Palliumverleihungen bis 1143: eine diplomatisch-historische Untersuchung*, Marburg

Hartmann, W. (1975), 'Beziehungen des normannischen Anonymus zu früh-scholastischen Bildungszentren', *DA* 31: 108–43

Hartmann, W. (1991), 'Autoritäten im Kirchenrecht und Autorität des Kirchenrechts in der Salierzeit', in S. Weinfurter (ed.), *Die Salier und das Reich*, III, Sigmaringen, pp. 425–46

Heinzelmann, K. (1904), *Die Farfenser Streitschriften: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites*, Strasbourg

Hellmann, S. (1904), 'Anecdota aus Codex Cusanus c 14 nunc 37', *Neues Archiv* 30: 24–33

Hoffmann, H. (1959), 'Ivo von Chartres und die Lösung des Investiturproblems', *DA* 15: 393–440

Hofmann, K. (1933), *Der 'Dictatus Papae' Gregors VII: eine rechtsgeschichtliche Erklärung* (Görresgesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaften im Katholischen Deutschland. Veröffentlichungen der Sektion für Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft 63), Paderborn

Horn, W. (1943), 'Romanesque churches in Florence. A study in their chronology and stylistic development', *The Art Bulletin* 25: 112–31

Hourlier, J. (1974), *L'Age classique 1140–1378: les religieux* (Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l'Eglise en Occident 10), Paris

Hüls, R. (1977), *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms 1049–1130* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 48), Tübingen

Jordan, K. (1932), 'Das Eindringen des Lehnswesen in das Rechtsleben der römischen Kurie', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 12: 13–110

Jordan, K. (1933–4), 'Zur päpstlichen Finanzgeschichte im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 25: 61–104

Jordan, K. (1954), 'Die Stellung Wiberts von Ravenna in der Publizistik des Investiturstreites', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62: 155–64

Jordan, K. (1958), 'Das Reformpapsttum und die abendländische Staatenwelt', *Die Welt als Geschichte* 18: 122–37

Keller, H. (1973), 'Pataria und Stadtverfassung, Stadtgemeinde und Reform: Mailand im "Investiturstreit"', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Vorträge und Forschungen 17), Sigmaringen, pp. 321–50

Kittel, E. (1931), 'Der Kampf um die Reform des Domkapitels in Lucca im 11. Jahrhundert', in L. Santifaller (ed.), *Festschrift A. Brackmann: Dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, Weimar, pp. 220–35

Kitzinger, E. (1972), 'The Gregorian reform and the visual arts: a problem of method', *TRHS* 5th series, 22: 87–102

Klewitz, H.-W. (1937–8), 'Montecassino in Rom', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 28: 36–47

Klewitz, H.-W. (1957), *Reformpapsttum und Kardinalkolleg*, Darmstadt

Klinkenberg, H. M. (1969), 'Die Theorie der Veränderbarkeit des Rechtes im frühen und hohen Mittelalter', in P. Wilpert (ed.), *Lex et Sacramentum im Mittelalter* (Miscellanea Mediaevalia. Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln 6), Berlin, pp. 157–88

Koch, G. (1972), *Auf dem Wege zum Sacrum Imperium: Studien zur ideologischen Herrschaftsbegründung der deutschen Zentralgewalt im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Forschungen zur Mittelalterlichen Geschichte 20), Vienna, Cologne and Graz

Krause, H. (1960), 'Cessante causa cessat lex', *ZSSRG, KA* 46: 81–111

Ladner, G. B. (1941), *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*, 1 (Pontificio Instituto di Archeologia Cristiana: Monumenti di Antichità Cristiana, 2nd series, 4), Vatican City

Ladner, G. B. (1956), 'Two Gregorian letters: on the sources and nature of Gregory VII's reform ideology', *SG* 5: 221–42

Ladner, G. B. (1959), *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, Cambridge, MA

Ladner, G. B. (1966), 'Erneuerung', *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 6: 240–75

Ladner, G. B. (1973), 'Gregory the Great and Gregory VII: a comparison of their concepts of renewal', *Viator* 4: 1–27

Ladner, G. B. (1982), 'Terms and ideas of renewal', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, MA, pp. 1–33

Laehr, G. (1926), *Die Konstantinische Schenkung in der abendländischen Literatur des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Historische Studien 166), Berlin

Llorca, B. (1954), 'Derechos de la Santa Sede sobre España. El pensamiento de Gregorio VII', in *Sacerdozio e regno da Gregorio VII a Bonifacio VIII: studi presentati alla sezione storica del congresso della Pontificia Università Gregoriana 13–17 ottobre 1953* (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 18), Rome, pp. 79–105

Lohrmann, D. (1967), 'Die Jugendwerke des Johannes von Gaeta', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 47: 355–445

Maccarrone, M. (1962), 'I papi del secolo XII e la vita comune e regolare del clero', in *La vita comune del clero nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della Settimana di studio: Mendola, settembre 1959*, 1 (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 3), pp. 349–411

Maccarrone, M. (1974), 'La teologia del primato romano del secolo XI', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI–XII. Atti della Settimana di studio: Mendola*, 1 (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 7), pp. 21–122

Meulenberg, L. F. J. (1965), *Der Primat der römischen Kirche im Denken und Handeln Gregors VII.* (Mededelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome 33), s'Gravenhage

Miccoli, G. (1966a), *Chiesa gregoriana: ricerche sulla riforma del secolo XI*, Florence

Miccoli, G. (1966b), 'Gregorio VII, papa, santo', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* 7: 294–379

Minninger, M. (1978), *Von Clermont zum Wormser Kondordat: die Auseinandersetzungen um den Lehnsnexus zwischen König und Episkopät* (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beihefte zu J. F. Böhmer, Regesta Imperii 2), Cologne and Vienna

Moïs, J. (1953), *Das Stift Rottenbuch in der Kirchenreform des XI.–XII. Jahrhunderts* (Beiträge zur Altbayerischen Kirchengeschichte, 3rd series, 19), Munich

Mordek, H. (1985), 'Kanonistik und gregorianische Reform. Marginalien zu einem nicht-marginalen Thema', in K. Schmid (ed.), *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit: Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstags von Gerd Tellenbach*, Sigmaringen, pp. 65–82

Morin, G. (1901), 'Règlement inédit du pape S. Grégoire VII pour chanoines réguliers', *RB* 18: 177–83

Nitschke, A. (1956), 'Die Wirksamkeit Gottes in der Welt Gregors VII.', *SG* 5: 115–219

Paatz, W. (1941), 'Die Haupströmungen in der florentiner Baukunst des frühen und hohen Mittelalters und ihr geschichtlicher Hintergrund', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 6: 33–72

Robinson, I. S. (1978a), *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest*, Manchester

Robinson, I. S. (1978b), 'Zur Arbeitsweise Bernolds von Konstanz und seines Kreises. Untersuchungen zum Schlettstädter Codex 13', *DA* 34: 51–122

Robinson, I. S. (1978c), 'The friendship network of Gregory VII', *History* 63: 1–22

Robinson, I. S. (1983), 'The dissemination of the letters of Pope Gregory VII during the Investiture Contest', *JEH* 34: 175–93

Robinson, I. S. (1990), *The Papacy, 1073–1198*, Cambridge

Säbekow, G. (1931), *Die päpstlichen Legationen nach Spanien und Portugal bis zum Ausgang des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin

Saltet, L. (1907), *Les Réordinations: étude sur le sacrement de l'ordre*, Paris

Santifaller, L. (1940), 'Saggio di un elenco dei funzionari, impiegati e scrittori della cancellaria pontificia dall'inizio all'anno 1099', *BISI* 56–7: 1–858

Scharnagl, A. (1908), *Der Begriff der Investitur in den Quellen und der Literatur des Investiturstreites* (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 56), Stuttgart

Schebler, A. (1936), *Die Reordinationen in der 'altkatholischen' Kirche*, (Kanonistische Studien und Texte 10), Bonn

Schieffer, R. (1981), *Die Entstehung des päpstlichen Investiturverbots für den deutschen König* (Schriften der MGH 28), Stuttgart

Schieffer, T. (1935), *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Vertrage von Meersen (870) bis zum Schisma von 1130* (Historische Studien 263), Berlin

Schmale, F.-J. (1974), 'Systematisches zu den Konzilien des Reformpapsttums im 12. Jahrundert', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 6: 21–39

Schmale, F.-J. (1976), '*Synodus – synodale concilium – concilium*', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 8: 80–102

Schmidt, T. (1972), 'Die Kanonikerreform in Rom und Papst Alexander II. (1061–1073)', *SG* 9: 199–221

Schramm, P. E. (1962), *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio: Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit*, 3rd edn, Darmstadt

Schreiber, G. (1910), *Kurie und Kloster im 12. Jahrundert*, 1 (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 65), Stuttgart

Schreiber, G. (1948), 'Cluny und die Eigenkirche', in *Gemeinschaften des Mittelalters, Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1, Münster, pp. 81–138

Sdralek, M. (1890), *Die Streitschriften Altmanns von Passau und Wezilos von Mainz*, Paderborn

Servatius, C. (1979), *Paschalis II. (1099–1118): Studien zu seiner Person und seiner Politik* (Päpste und Papsttum 14), Stuttgart

Sickel, T. (1883), *Das Privilegium Ottos I. für die römische Kirche vom Jahre 962*, Innsbruck

Sieben, H. J. (1979), 'Konzilien in der Sicht des Gregorianers Bernold von Konstanz', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 11: 104–41

Somerville, R. (1972), *The Councils of Urban II*, 1: *Decreta Claromontensia* (Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, supplementum 1), Amsterdam

Sprandel, R. (1962), *Ivo von Chartres und seine Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte* (Pariser Historische Studien 1), Stuttgart

Struve, T. (1969–70), 'Lampert von Hersfeld. Persönlichkeit und Weltbild eines Geschichtsschreibers am Beginn des Investiturstreits', *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 19: 1–123; 20: 32–142

Sydow, J. (1951), 'Cluny und die Anfänge der apostolischen Kammer', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 63: 45–66

Sydow, J. (1955), 'Untersuchungen zur kurialen Verwaltungsgeschichte im Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums', *DA* 11: 18–73

Szabó-Bechstein, B. (1985), *Libertas ecclesiae: ein Schlüsselbegriff des Investiturstreits und seine Vorgeschichte* (Studi Gregoriani 12), Rome

Szövérffy, J. (1954), 'The legends of St Peter in medieval Latin hymns', *Traditio* 10: 275–322

Szövérffy, J. (1957), 'Der Investiturstreit und die Petrus-Hymnen des Mittelalters', *DA* 13: 228–40

Tellenbach, G. (1975), 'Das Reformmönchtum und die Laien im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', in H. Richter (ed.), *Cluny: Beiträge zu Gestalt und Wirkung der cluniazensischen Reform* (Wege der Forschung 241), Darmstadt, pp. 371–400

Tellenbach, G. (1985), ' "Gregorianische Reform". Kritische Besinnungen', in K. Schmid (ed.), *Reich und Kirche vor dem Investiturstreit: Vorträge beim wissenschaftlichen Kolloquium aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstags von Gerd Tellenbach*, Sigmaringen, pp. 99–113

Tellenbach, G. (1988), *Die westliche Kirche vom 10. bis zum frühen 12. Jahrhundert* (Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte 2/2), Göttingen

Toubert, H. (1970), 'Le renouveau paléochrétien à Rome au début du XIIe siècle', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 20: 99–154

Toubert, H. (1976), ' "Rome et le Mont-Cassin": nouvelles remarques sur les fresques de l'église inférieure de Saint-Clément de Rome', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 30: 1–33

Toubert, P. (1973), *Les Structures du Latium médiéval: le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe à la fin du XIIe siècle* (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 221), Rome

Ullmann, W. (1959–61), '*Romanus pontifex indubitanter effectus sanctus*: Dictatus Papae 23 in retrospect and prospect', *SG* 6: 229–64

Ullmann, W. (1970), *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn, London

Ullmann, W. (1972), 'A note on inalienability in Gregory VII', *SG* 9: 115–40

Verhein, K. (1951), *Lehen und Feudalemphyteuse: eine Untersuchung über Abhängigkeitsformen weltlicher Staaten vom hl. Stuhl von der Mitte des 11. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, dissertation, University of Hamburg

Walter, C. (1971), 'Papal political imagery in the medieval Lateran palace', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 21: 109–23

Wattenbach, W. and Holtzmann, R. (1967), *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter: die Zeit der Sachsen und Salier*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, 2 vols., Cologne and Graz

Wilks, M. J. (1971), '*Ecclesiastica* and *regalia*: papal investiture policy from the council of Guastalla to the First Lateran Council, 1106–23', in G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (eds.), *Councils and Assemblies* (Studies in Church History 7), Cambridge, pp. 69–85

Will, C. J. C. (1861), *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant*, Leipzig

Zafarana, Z. (1966a), 'Ricerche sul "Liber de unitate ecclesiae conservanda"', *Studi Medievali* series 3, 7: 617–700

Zafarana, Z. (1966b), 'Sul "conventus" del clero romano nel maggio 1082', *Studi Medievali* series 3, 7: 399–403

Zema, D. B. (1941–2), 'Reform legislation in the eleventh century and its economic import', *Catholic Historical Review* 27: 16–38

Zema, D. B. (1947), 'Economic reorganisation of the Roman see during the Gregorian reform', *SG* 1: 137–68

Ziese, J. (1982), *Wibert von Ravenna, der Gegenpapst Clemens III. (1084–1100)* (Päpste und Papsttum 20), Stuttgart

10 RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES, 1024–1215

Auberger, J. B. (1986), *L'Unanimité cistercienne primitive: mythe ou réalité?*, Achel

Berlière, U. (1929, 1930), 'Le nombre des moines dans les anciens monastères', *RB* 41: 231–61; 42: 19–42

Bernards, M. (1955), *Speculum virginum. Geistigkeit und Seelenleben der Frau in Hochmittelalter* (Forschungen zur Volkskunde 36–8), Cologne and Graz

Biller, P. (1985), 'Words and the medieval notion of "religion"', *JEH* 36: 351–69

Bligny, B. (1953), 'Un aspect de la vie religieuse au moyen âge. La concurrence monastique dans les Alpes au XIIe siècle', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 1951 and 1952: 279–87

Bligny, B. (1960), *L'Eglise et les ordres religieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Collection des cahiers d'histoire publiée par les universités de Clermont, Lyon, Grenoble 4), Paris

Blume, K. (1914), *Abbatia: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Rechtssprache* (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 83), Stuttgart

Bouchard, C. (1987), *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198*, Ithaca and London

Brown, P. (1981), *The Cult of the Saints*, Chicago

Brundage, J. (1980), 'Carnal delight: canonistic theories of sexuality', in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Salamanca, 21–25 September 1976*, Vatican City, pp. 361–85

Bulst, N. (1973), *Untersuchungen zu den Klosterreformen Wilhelms von Dijon (962–1031)* (Pariser historische Studien 11), Bonn

Chenu, M.-D. (1954), 'Moines, clercs, laïcs au carrefour de la vie évangélique (XIIe siècle)', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 49: 59–89

Constable, G. (1973), '"Famuli" and "conversi" at Cluny: a note on Statute 24 of Peter the Venerable', *RB* 83: 326–50

Constable, G. (1978), 'Aelred of Rievaulx and the nun of Watton', in D. Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women* (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 1), Oxford, pp. 205–26

Delooz, P. (1969), *Sociologie et canonisations* (Collection scientifique de la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Liège 30), Liège and The Hague

Dereine, C. (1949), 'Saint-Ruf et ses coutumes aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *RB* 59: 161–82

Despy, G. (1956), 'Les chapitres de chanoinesses nobles en Belgique au moyen âge', in *Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique: XXXVIe Congrès (1955). Annales, II: Communications*, Ghent, pp. 169–79

Dimier, M.-A. (1953), 'Saint Bernard et le droit en matière de *Transitus*', *Revue Mabillon* 43: 48–82

Dormeier, H. (1979), *Montecassino und die Laien im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Schriften der MGH 27), Stuttgart

Dubois, J. (1968), 'L'institution des convers au XIIe siècle. Forme de vie monastique propre aux laïcs', in *I laici nella 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI e XII. Atti della terza Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 21–27 agosto 1965* (Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Contributi 3s: Varia 5. Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 5), Milan, pp. 183–201

Dubois, J. (1969), 'Du nombre des moines dans les monastères', *Lettre de Ligugé* 1969.2 (no. 134): 24–36

Evans, G. R. (1978), 'A change of mind in some scholars of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries', *Studies in Church History* 15: 27–38

Fergusson, P. (1984), *Architecture of Solitude: Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England*, Princeton

Fontette, M. de (1967), *Les Religieuses à l'âge classique du droit canon. Recherches sur les structures juridiques des branches féminines des ordres* (Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la France), Paris

Fuhrmann, H. (1984), *Papst Urban II. und der Stand der Regularkanoniker* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsberichte 1984.2), Munich

Genicot, L. (1936), 'L'évolution des dons aux abbayes dans le comté de Namur du Xe au XIVe siècle', in *XXXe Congrès de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique. Annales*, Brussels, pp. 133–48

Gilchrist, J. (1977), 'St. Raymond of Peñafort and the decretalist doctrines on serfdom', *Escritos del Vedat* 7: 299–327

Gougaud, L. (1921), 'Mulierum consortia. Etude sur le syneisaktisme chez les ascètes celtiques', *Erice* 9.1: 147–50

Grégoire, R. (1970), ' "Religiosus". Etude sur le vocabulaire de la vie religieuse', in *A Giuseppe Ermini*, Spoleto, II, pp. 415–30

Grundmann, H. (1935), *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik* (Historische Studien 267), Berlin; repr. with 'Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der religiösen Bewegungen im Mittelalter' [1955], 1961

Grundmann, H. (1963), 'Deutsche Eremiten, Einsiedler und Klausner im Hochmittelalter (10.–12. Jahrhundert)', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 45: 60–90

Guillot, O. (1972), *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, Paris

Guillotin de Corson, A. (1880–6), *Pouillé historique de l'archevêché de Rennes*, Rennes and Paris

Hägermann, D. (1981), 'Eine Grundherrschaft des 13. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel des Frühmittelalters', *Rheinische Viertel Jahrsblätter* 45: 1–34

Hallinger, K. (1950–1), *Gorze-Kluny. Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (Studia Anselmiana 22–5), Rome

Henry, C. W. (1957), *Canonical Relations between the Bishops and Abbots at the Beginning of the Tenth Century* (Catholic University of America: Canon Law Studies 382), Washington, DC

Hirsch, H. (1913), *Die Klosterimmunität seit dem Investiturstreit* (Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte des deutschen Reiches und der deutschen Kirche), Weimar; repr. with *Nachwort* by Heinrich Büttner (1967)

Hourlier, J. (1974), *L'Age classique (1140–1378). Les religieux* (Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'église en Occident 10), Paris

Howe, J. (1988), 'The nobility's reform of the medieval church', *American Historical Review* 93: 317–39

Huyghebaert, N. (1951), 'Moines et clercs italiens en Lotharingie (VIIIe–XIIe siècle)' in *Miscellanea Tornacensia* (XXXIIIe Congrès de la Fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique), Brussels, I, pp. 96–111

James, W. (1902), *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, New York and Bombay

Johnson, P. (1991), *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France*, Chicago and London

Keller, H. (1968), ' "Adelsheiliger" und Pauper Christi in Ekkeberts Vita sancti Haimeradi', in J. Fleckenstein and K. Schmid (eds.), *Adel und Kirche: Gerd Tellenbach zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht*, Freiburg, Basel and Vienna, pp. 307–24

Leclercq, J. (1952), 'Passage supprimé dans une épitre d'Alexandre III', *RB* 62: 149–51

Leclercq, J. (1956), 'Pierre le Vénérable et l'érémitisme clunisien', in G. Constable and J. Kritzeck (eds.), *Petrus Venerabilis 1156–1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Death* (Studia Anselmiana 40), Rome, pp. 99–120

Leclercq, J. (1958), 'La crise du monachisme aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo* 70: 19–41

Leclercq, J. (1981), 'Eucharistic celebrations without priests in the middle ages', *Worship* 55: 160–8

Leclercq, J. (1986), 'Diversification et identité dans le monachisme au XIIe siècle', *Studia Monastica* 28: 51–74

Lemarignier, J.-F. (1950), 'L'exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme grégorienne', in *A Cluny. Congrès scientifique. Fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des saints abbés Odon et Odilon 9–11 juillet 1949*, Dijon, pp. 288–340

Lohrmann, D. (1983), *Kirchengut im nördlichen Frankreich* (Pariser historische Studien 20), Bonn

Louis, R. (1947), *Girart, comte de Vienne, dans les chansons de geste*, Auxerre

Lynch, J. H. (1973), 'The Cistercians and underage novices', *Cîteaux* 24: 283–97

Lynch, J. H. (1975), 'Monastic recruitment in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: some social and economic considerations', *American Benedictine Review* 26: 425–47

McNulty, P. and Hamilton, B. (1963), 'Orientale lumen et magistra Latinitas: Greek influences on western monasticism (900–1100)', in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963. Etudes et mélanges*, Venice and Chevetogne, I, pp. 181–216

Maleczek, W. (1990), 'Abstimmungsarten. Wie kommt man zu einem vernünftigen Wahlergebnis?', in R. Schneider and H. Zimmermann (eds.), *Wahlen und Wählen im Mittelalter* (Vorträge und Forschungen 37), Sigmaringen, pp. 79–134

Margue, M. (1988), 'Aspects politiques de la "Réforme" monastique en Lotharingie. Le cas des abbayes de Saint-Maximin de Trèves, de Stavelot-Malmédy et d'Echternach (934–973)', *RB* 98: 31–61

Meersseman, G. G. (1952), 'Die Klerikervereine von Karl dem Grossen bis Innocenz III.', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 46: 1–42 and 81–112

Meersseman, G. G. (1968), 'I penitenti nei secoli XI e XII', in *I laici nella 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI e XII. Atti della terza Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 21–27 agosto 1965* (Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Contributi 3s: Varia 5. Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 5), Milan, pp. 306–39

Miccoli, G. (1966), 'Ecclesiae primitivae forma', in *Chiesa gregoriana. Ricerche sulla riforma del secolo XI* (Storici Antichi e Moderni NS 17), Florence, pp. 225–99

Mois, J. (1953), *Das Stift Rottenbuch in der Kirchenreform des XI.–XII. Jahrhunderts* (Beiträge zur altbayerischen Kirchengeschichte 3s, 19), Munich

Monti, G. M. (1927), *Le confraternite medievali dell'Alta e Media Italia*, Venice

Morin, G. (1928), 'Rainaud l'ermite et Ives de Chartres: un épisode de la crise du cénobitisme au XIe–XIIe siècle', *RB* 40: 99–115

Nelson, J. (1972), 'Society, theodicy and the origins of heresy: towards a reassessment of the medieval evidence', in D. Baker (ed.), *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest* (Studies in Church History 9), Cambridge, pp. 65–77

Nussbaum, O. (1961), *Kloster, Priestermönch und Privatmesse* (Theophaneia 14), Bonn

Oexle, O. G. (1978), *Forschungen zu monastischen und geistlichen Gemeinschaften im westfränkischen Bereich* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 31), Munich

Pacaut, M. (1964), *Louis VII et son royaume* (Bibliothèque générale de l'Ecole pratique des hautes etudes, VIe section), Paris

Parisse, M. (1983), *Les Nonnes au moyen âge*, Le Puy

Parisse, M. (1989), 'Noblesse et monastères en Lotharingie du IXe au XIe siècle', in R. Kottje and H. Maurer (eds.), *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Vorträge und Forschungen 38), Sigmaringen, pp. 167–96

Pfurtscheller, F. (1972), *Die Privilegierung des Zisterzienserordens im Rahmen der allgemeinen Schutz- und Exemtionsgeschichte vom Anfang bis zur Bulle 'Parvus Fons' (1265)* (Europaïsche Hochschulschriften XXIII.13), Berne and Frankfurt

Reynolds, R. (1968), '*Virgines subintroductae* in Celtic Christianity', *Harvard Theological Review* 61: 547–66

Russell, J. C. (1944), 'The clerical population of medieval England', *Traditio* 2: 177–212

Schlesinger, W. (1962), *Kirchengeschichte Sachsens im Mittelalter* (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen 27), Cologne and Graz

Schmale, F. -J. (1959), 'Kanonie, Seelsorge, Eigenkirche', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 78: 38–63

Schreiber, G. (1910), *Kurie und Kloster im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Privilegierung, Verfassung und besonders zum Eigenkirchenwesen der vorfranziskanischen Orden vornehmlich auf Grund der Papsturkunden von Paschalis II. bis auf Lucius III. (1099–1181)* (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 65–8), Stuttgart

Schreiner, K. (1987), 'Hirsau, Urban II. und Johannes Trithemius', *DA* 43: 469–530

Semmler, J. (1959), *Die Klosterreform von Siegburg* (Rheinisches Archiv 53), Bonn

Siegwart, J. (1962), *Die Chorherren- und Chorfrauengemeinschafter in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz vom 6. Jahrhundert bis 1160. Mit einem Überblick über die deutsche Kanonikerreform des 10. und 11. Jh.* (Studia Friburgensia NS 30), Fribourg

Simons, W. (1980), 'Deux témoins du mouvement canonial au XIIe siècle', *Sacris Erudiri* 24: 203–44

Soldani, F. (1741), *Historia monasterii S. Michaelis de Passiniano*, Lucca

Sprandel, R. (1962), *Ivo von Chartres und seine Stellung in der Kirchengeschichte* (Pariser historische Studien 1), Stuttgart

Stock, B. (1983), *The Implications of Literacy*, Princeton

Tellenbach, G. (1928), *Die bischöflich passauischen Eigenklöster und ihre Vogteien* (Historische Studien 173), Berlin

Tierney, B. (1973), review of Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, JEH* 24: 295–6

Tüchle, H. (1950–4), *Kirchengeschichte Schwabens*, Stuttgart

Van Engen, J. (1986), 'The "crisis of cenobitism" reconsidered: Benedictine monasticism in the years 1050–1150', *Speculum* 61: 269–304

Vicaire, M.-H. (1963), *L'Imitation des apôtres. Moines, chanoines et mendiants, IVe–XIIIe siècles* (Tradition et Spiritualité 2), Paris

Vidier, A. (1906), 'Ermitages orléanais au XIIe siècle: le Gué de l'Orme et Chappes', *Le Moyen Age* 19: 57–96 and 134–56

Waddell, C. (1971), 'The early Cistercian experience of liturgy', in M. B. Pennington (ed.), *Rule and Life: An Interdisciplinary Symposium* (Cistercian Studies Series 12), Spencer, MA, pp. 77–115

Walter, J. von (1903, 1906), *Die ersten Wanderprediger Frankreichs*, I: *Robert von Arbrissel* (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche 9.3), Leipzig, and II: *Bernhard von Thiron; Vitalis von Savigny; Girald von Salles; Bemerkungen zu Norbert von Xanten und Heinrich von Lausanne*, Leipzig

Warren, A. K. (1985), *Anchorites and Their Patrons in Medieval England*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London

Wilmart, A. (1934, 1938), 'Ève et Goscelin', *RB* 46: 414–38; 50: 42–83

Wischermann, E. M. (1986), *Marcigny-sur-Loire. Gründungs- und Frühgeschichte des ersten Cluniacenserinnenpriorates (1055–1150)* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 42), Munich

Wollasch, J. (1980), 'Parenté noble et monachisme réformateur. Observations sur les "conversions" à la vie monastique aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Revue historique* 264: 3–24

Wollasch, J. (1987), 'Markgraf Hermann und Bischof Gebhard III. von Konstanz. Die Zähringer und die Reform der Kirche', in K. S. Frank (ed.), *Die Zähringer in der Kirche des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, Munich and Zurich, pp. 27–53

11 THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE CHURCH, 1073–1216

Alberigo, G. (1969), *Cardinalato e collegialità: studi sull'ecclesiologia tra l'XI e il XIV secolo* (Testi e Ricerche di Scienze Religiose 5), Florence

Amanieu, A. (1935), 'Appel', 'Appellatione remota', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* 1 (Paris), pp. 764–807, 827–33

Anciaux, P. (1949), *La Théologie du sacrement de pénitence au XIIe siècle* (Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis, Dissertationes in Facultate Theologica, Series 2, 41), Louvain and Gembloux

Andrieu, M. (1938), *Le Pontifical romain au moyen âge*, 1 (Studi e Testi 86), Vatican City

Bachmann, J. (1913), *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Deutschland und Skandinavien (1125–1159)* (Historische Studien 115), Berlin

Baker, D. (1971), '*Viri religiosi* and the York election dispute', in G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (eds.), *Councils and Assemblies* (Studies in Church History 7), Cambridge, pp. 87–100

Baldwin, J. W. (1965), 'A campaign to reduce clerical celibacy at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', in *Etudes dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, 11, Paris, pp. 1041–53

Baldwin, J. W. (1970), *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols., Princeton

Barlow, F. (1963), *The English Church, 1000–1066*, London

Barlow, F. (1979), *The English Church, 1066–1154*, London

Barlow, F. (1986), *Thomas Becket*, London

Becker, A. (1955), *Studien zum Investiturproblem in Frankreich: Papsttum, Königtum und Episkopät im Zeitalter der gregorianischen Kirchenreform (1049–1119)* (Schriften der Universität des Saarlandes), Saarbrücken

Becker, A. (1964, 1988) *Papst Urban II.*, 2 vols. (Schriften der MGH 19/1), Stuttgart

Becker, A. (1997), 'Le voyage d'Urbain II en France', in *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l'appel à la croisade* (Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome 236), Rome, pp. 127–40

Benson, R. L. (1967), 'Plenitudo potestatis: evolution of a formula from Gregory IV to Gratian', *Studia Gratiana* 14 (*Collectanea Stephan Kuttner*): 195–217

Benson, R. L. (1968), *The Bishop Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*, Princeton

Berlière, U. (1901), 'Le cardinal Matthieu d'Albano', *RB* 18: 113–40, 280–303

Berlière, U. (1919), 'Le droit de procuration ou de gîte', *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*: 509–38

Bethell, D. (1968), 'William of Corbeil and the Canterbury–York dispute', *JEH* 19: 145–59

Beulertz, S. (1991), *Das Verbot der Laieninvestitur im Investiturstreit* (MGH Studien und Texte 2), Hanover

Blumenstock, A. H. (1890), *Der päpstliche Schutz im Mittelalter*, Innsbruck

Blumenthal, U.-R. (1978a), *The Early Councils of Pope Paschal II, 1100–1110* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts 43), Toronto

Blumenthal, U.-R. (1978b), 'Opposition to Pope Paschal II: some comments on the Lateran council of 1112', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 10: 82–98

Bolton, B. (1995), *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care*, Aldershot

Boshof, E. (1978), 'Köln, Mainz, Trier – Die Auseinandersetzung um die Spitzenstellung im deutschen Episkopät in ottonisch-salischer Zeit', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 49: 19–48

Bouet, P. and Dosdat, M. (1995), 'Les Evêques normands de 985 à 1150', in P. Bouet and F. Neveux (eds.), *Les Evêques normands du XIe siècle*, Caen, pp. 19–37

Brett, M. (1975), *The English Church under Henry I*, Oxford

Brixius, J. M. (1912), *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1181*, Berlin

Brooke, Z. N. (1911), 'Pope Gregory VII's demand for fealty from William the Conqueror', *EHR* 26: 225–38

Brooke, Z. N. (1931), *The English Church and the Papacy from the Conquest to the Reign of John*, Cambridge

Brühl, C. (1974), 'Zur Geschichte der procuratio canonica vornehmlich im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI–XII*, 1 (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 7), Milan

Brundage, J. A. (1969), *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, Madison

Brys, J. (1925), *De dispensatione in iure canonico, praesertim apud decretistas et decretalistas usque ad medium saeculum decimum quartum* (Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis, Dissertationes in Facultate Theologica, series II tomus 14), Bruges

Cantor, N. F. (1958), *Church, Kingship and Lay Investiture in England 1089–1135*, Princeton

Caron, P. G. (1954), 'I poteri del metropolita secondo Graziano', *Studia Gratiana* 2: 253–77

Cheney, C. R. (1948), 'Master Philip the notary and the fortieth of 1199', *EHR* 63: 342–50

Cheney, C. R. (1950), *English Bishops' Chanceries: 1100–1250*, Manchester

Cheney, C. R. (1956), *From Becket to Langton*, Manchester

Cheney, C. R. (1976), *Pope Innocent III and England* (Päpste und Papsttum 9), Stuttgart

Cheney, C. R. (1984), 'The office and title of the papal chancellor, 1187–1216', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 22: 369–76

Cheney, M. G. (1941), 'The compromise of Avranches of 1172 and the spread of canon law in England', *EHR* 56: 177–97

Cheney, M. G. (1976), 'Pope Alexander III and Roger, Bishop of Worcester, 1164–1179: the exchange of ideas', in S. Kuttner (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, 1972* (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, series C, Subsidia 5), Vatican City, pp. 207–27

Cheney, M. G. (1980), *Roger, Bishop of Worcester: 1164–1179*, Oxford

Chodorow, S. (1972), *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-twelfth Century*, Berkeley and Los Angeles

Chroust, A. (1907), 'Das Wahldekret Anaklets II.', *MIÖG* 28: 348–55

Claeys-Bouuaert, F. (1942a), 'Chancelier', in *Dictionnaire du Droit Canonique* III (Paris), pp. 454–64

Claeys-Bouuaert, F. (1942b), 'Chancellerie', in *Dictionnaire du Droit Canonique* III (Paris), pp. 464–71

Classen, P. (1960), *Gerhoch von Reichersberg: eine Biographie*, Wiesbaden

Classen, P. (1968), 'Zur Geschichte Papst Anastasius IV.', *QFIAB* 48: 36–63

Classen, P. (1973), 'Das Wormser Konkordat in der deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Vorträge und Forschungen 17), Sigmaringen, pp. 411–60

Classen, P. (1974), 'La curia romana et le scuole di Francia nel secolo XII', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI–XII*, I (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 7), Milan, pp. 432–6

Claude, H. (1968), 'Gérard d'Angoulême, ses pouvoirs de légat en Aquitaine au nom des papes Pascal II, Calixte II et Honorius II', *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente* 1968: 171–82

Congar, Y. M.-J. (1958), 'Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal-évêque d'Albano et légat pontifical', in *Analecta Monastica: textes et études sur la vie des moines au moyen âge*, fifth series (Studia Anselmiana 43), Rome, pp. 1–90

Congar, Y. M.-J. (1968), *L'Ecclésiologie du haut moyen-âge*, Paris

Constable, G. (1957), 'The disputed election at Langres in 1138', *Traditio* 13: 119–52

Constable, G. (1964), *Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1970), *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, Oxford

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1972), 'Pope Gregory VII and the Anglo-Norman church and kingdom', *Studi Gregoriani per la Storia della 'Libertas Ecclesiae'* 9: 77–114

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1978), 'Abbot Pontius of Cluny (1109–22/6)', *Studi Gregoriani per la storia della 'Libertas Ecclesiae'* 11: 177–277

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1983), *The Age of Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino*, Oxford

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1998), *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085*, Oxford

Crosby, E. U. (1994), *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the 'mensa episcopalis'*, Cambridge

Dauvillier, J. (1933), *Le Mariage dans le droit classique de l'église depuis le Décret de Gratien, 1140, jusqu'à la mort de Clément V, 1314*, Paris

Deér, J. (1972), *Papsttum und Normannen: Untersuchungen zu ihren lehnsrechtlichen und kirchenpolitischen Beziehungen* (Studien und Quellen zur Welt Kaiser Friedrichs II. 1), Cologne and Vienna

De Ghellinck, J. (1948), *Le Mouvement théologique au XIIe siècle*, 2nd edn, Bruges

De Lagger, L. (1937), 'La primatie d'Aquitaine du VIIIe au XIVe siècle', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 1937: 29–50

Desprairies, A. (1922), *L'Election des évêques par les chapitres au XIIIe siècle (théorie canonique)*, Paris

Dickson, M. and Dickson, C. (1934), 'Le Cardinal Robert de Courson, sa vie', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 9: 53–142

Dueball, M. (1929), *Der Suprematiestreit zwischen den Erzbistümern Canterbury und York, 1070 bis 1126*, (Historische Studien 184), Berlin

Duggan, C. (1962), 'The Becket dispute and the criminous clerks', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 35: 1–28

Duggan, C. (1963), *Twelfth-Century Decretal Collections and Their Importance in English History*, London

Duine, F. (ed.), *La Bretagne et les pays celtiques, XII, La métropole de Bretagne: 'Chronique de Dol' composée au XIe siècle et Catalogues de Dignitaires jusqu'à la Révolution*, Paris

Dunken, G. (1931), *Die politische Wirksamkeit der päpstlichen Legaten in der Zeit des Kampfes zwischen Kaisertum und Papsttum in Oberitalien unter Friedrich I.* (Historische Studien 209), Berlin

Elze, R. (1950), 'Die papstliche Kapelle im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', *ZSSRG, KA* 36: 145–204

Erdmann, C. (1927), *Papsturkunden in Portugal* (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F. 20/3), Berlin

Erdmann, C. (1928), *Das Papsttum und Portugal im ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesischen Geschichte* (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1928/5), Berlin

Fabre, P. (1892), *Etude sur le Liber Censuum de l'église romaine* (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 72), Paris

Felbinger, A. (1951), 'Die Primatialprivilegien für Italien von Gregor VII. bis Innocenz III. (Pisa, Grado und Salerno)', *ZSSRG, KA* 37: 95–163

Fichtenau, H. (1957), *Arenga: Spätantike und Mittelalter im Spiegel von Urkundenformen*, Cologne and Graz

Fletcher, R. A. (1978), *The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford

Fletcher, R. A. (1984), *Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*, Oxford

Fliche, A, Thouzellier, C. and Azais, Y. (1950), *La Chrétienté romaine (1198–1274)* (Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours 10), Paris

Foreville, R. (1943), *L'Eglise et la royauté en Angleterre sous Henri II Plantagenet*, Paris

Foreville, R. (1965), *Latran I, II, III et Latran IV* (Histoire des Conciles Oecuméniques 6), Paris

Foreville, R. (1974), 'Royaumes, métropolitains et conciles provinciaux. France, Grande-Bretagne, Péninsule ibérique', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI–XII: papato, cardinalato ed episcopato* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 7), Milan, pp. 272–315

Foreville, R. (1976), 'The synod of the province of Rouen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in C. N. L. Brooke, D. E. Luscombe, G. H. Martin and D. M. Owen (eds.), *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, pp. 19–39

Fraher, R. M. (1978), 'The Becket dispute and two decretist traditions', *Journal of Medieval History* 4: 347–68

Fried, J. (1980), *Der päpstliche Schutz für Laienfürsten: die politische Geschichte des päpstlichen Schutzprivilegs für Laien (11.-13. Jh.)* (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse 1980/1), Heidelberg

Frugoni, A. (1954), *Arnaldo da Brescia nelle fonti del secolo XII*, Rome

Fuhrmann, H. (1953, 1954, 1955), 'Studien zur Geschichte mittelalterlicher Patriarchate' (1–3), *ZSSRG, KA* 39: 112–76; 40:1–84; 41: 95–183

Fuhrmann, H. (1958), 'Die Wahl des Papstes – ein historischer Überblick', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 9: 762–80

Fuhrmann, H. (1961), 'Das ökumenische Konzil und seine historische Grundlagen', *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 12: 672–95

Fuhrmann, H. (1966), 'Konstantinische Schenkung und abendländisches Kaisertum', *DA* 22: 63–178

Fuhrmann, H. (1972), *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, 1 Stuttgart

Fuhrmann, H. (1973), 'Das Reformpapsttum und die Rechtswissenschaft', in J. Fleckenstein (ed.), *Investiturstreit und Reichsverfassung* (Vorträge und Forschungen 17), Sigmaringen, pp. 175–203

Fürst, C. G. (1966), 'Kennen wir die Wähler Gelasius' II. Glaubwürdigkeit des Kardinalsverzeichnisses in Pandulfs Vita Gelasii', in A. Haidacher and H. E. Mayer (eds.), *Festschrift Karl Pivec: zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, Innsbruck, pp. 69–80

Ganzer, K. (1971, 1972), 'Zur Beschränkung der Bischofswahl auf die Domkapitel in Theorie und Praxis des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts', *ZSSRG, KA* 57: 22–82; 58: 166–97

Gaudemet, J. (1964), 'Patristique et pastorale. La contribution de Grégoire le Grand au "Miroir de l'Evêque" dans le Décret de Gratien', in *Etudes d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*, Paris, pp. 129–39

Gaudemet, J. (1974), 'L'élection épiscopale d'après les canonistes de la deuxième moitié du XIIe siècle', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI–XII: papato, cardinalato ed episcopato* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 7), Milan, pp. 476–89

Gaudemet, J. (1979), *Le Gouvernement de l'église a l'époque classique, II: Le gouvernement local* (Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l'Eglise en Occident 8/2), Paris

Gaudemet, J. (1982), 'Le célibat ecclésiastique. Le droit et la pratique du XIe au XIIIe siècle', *ZSSRG, KA* 68: 1–31

Geisthardt, F. (1936), *Der Kämmerer Boso* (Historische Studien 293), Berlin

Génestal, R. (1921, 1924), *Le Privilegium Fori en France du Décret de Gratien à la fin du XIVe siècle*, 2 vols., Paris

Gibson, M. (1978), *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford

Gilchrist, J. (1969), *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages*, London

Gleber, H. (1936), *Papst Eugen III. (1145–1153) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner politischen Tätigkeit* (Beiträge zur Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte 6), Jena

Goiffon, E. (1882), *Bullaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Gilles*, Nîmes

Gottlob, A. (1903), *Die Servitientaxe im 13. Jahrhundert: eine Studie zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Gebührenwesens*, Stuttgart

Graboïs, A. (1964), 'Les séjours des papes en France au XIIe siècle et leurs rapports avec le développement de la fiscalité pontificale', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 49: 5–18

Graboïs, A. (1981), 'Le schisme de 1130 et la France', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 76: 593–612

Grundmann, H. (1961), *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, 2nd edn., Hildesheim

Guillemain, B. (1977), 'L'action pastorale des évêques en France aux XIe et XIIe siècles', in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI–XII: diocesi, pievi e parrocchie* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 8), Milan, pp. 117–35

Gwynn, A. (1992), *The Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Dublin

Hacke, C. B. von (1898), *Die Palliumverleihungen bis 1143: eine diplomatisch-historische Untersuchung*, Marburg

Hanenburg, J. J. H. M. (1966), 'Decretals and decretal collections in the second half of the twelfth century', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 34: 552–99

Hannay, R. K. (1926) 'The date of the "Filia specialis" bull', *Scottish Historical Review* 23: 171–7

Häring, N. M. (1966), 'The writings against Gilbert of Poitiers by Geoffrey of Auxerre', *Analecta Cisterciensia* 22: 3–83

Häring, N. M. (1967), 'Das Pariser Konsistorium Eugens III. vom April 1147', *Studia Gratiana* 11 (*Collectanea Stephan Kuttner* 1): 93–117

Hauck, A. (1952), *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, IV, 6th edn, Leipzig

Hiestand, R. (1972), 'Legat, Kaiser und Basileus. Bischof Kuno von Praeneste und die Krise des Papsttums von 1111/1112', in H. Fuhrmann, H.-E. Mayer and K. Wriedt (eds.), *Aus Reichsgeschichte und nordischer Geschichte: Karl Jordan zum 65. Geburtstag* (Kieler Historische Studien 16), Stuttgart, pp. 141–52

Hödl, L. (1959), *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Literatur und der Theologie der Schlüsselgewalt* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 38/4), Münster

Holtzmann, W. (1927), 'Beiträge zu den Dekretalensammlungen des zwölften Jahrhunderts', *ZSSRG, KA* 16: 37–115

Holtzmann, W. (1945), 'Über eine Ausgabe der päpstlichen Dekretalen des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, pp. 15–36

Holtzmann, W. (1950), 'Die Dekretalen Gregors VIII.', *MIÖG* 58: 113–23

Holtzmann, W. (ed). (1952), *Papsturkunden in England* (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, neue Folge 33), Göttingen

Holtzmann, W. (1953), 'Die Benutzung Gratians in der päpstlichen Kanzlei im 12. Jahrhundert', *Studia Gratiana* 1: 323–49

Holtzmann, W. and Kemp, E. W. (1954), *Papal Decretals Relating to the Diocese of Lincoln in the Twelfth Century* (Publications of the Lincoln Record Society 47), Hereford

Hüls, R. (1977), *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirche Roms, 1049–1130* (Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 48), Tübingen

Imkamp, W. (1983), '*Pastor et sponsus*. Elemente einer Theologie des bischöflichen Amtes bei Innocenz III.', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Aus Kirche und Reich: Studien zur Theologie im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf*, Sigmaringen, pp. 285–94

Jacqueline, B. (1953), 'Saint Bernard de Clairvaux et la curie romaine', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 7: 27–44

Janssen, W. (1961), *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Schisma Anaklets II. bis zum Tode Coelestins III. (1130–1198)* (Kölner Historische Abhandlungen 6), Cologne and Graz

Jasper, D. (1986), *Das Papstwahldekret von 1059: Überlieferung und Textgestalt* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 12), Sigmaringen

Jordan, K. (1933–4), 'Zur päpstlichen Finanzgeschichte im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', *QFIAB* 25: 61–104

Jordan, K. (1939), 'Die Entstehung der römischen Kurie. Ein Versuch', *ZSSRG, KA* 28: 97–152

Jung, N. (1935), 'Auditeurs', in *Dictionnaire de Droit Canonique* I (Paris), pp. 1399–1411

Katterbach, B. and Peitz, W. M. (1924), 'Die Unterschriften der Päpste und Kardinäle in den 'Bullae maiores' vom 11. bis 14. Jahrhundert', in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* IV (Studi e Testi 40), pp. 177–274

Kehr, P. F. (1924), 'Papst Gregor VIII. als Ordensgründer', in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle: scritti di storia e paleografia*, II (Studi e Testi 38), Rome, pp. 248–75

Kemp, E. W. (1948), *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church*, Oxford

Kirsch, P. A. (1904), 'Der sacerdos proprius in der abendländischen Kirche vor dem Jahre 1215', *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht* 84: 527–37

Klauser, R. (1954), 'Zur Entwicklung des Heiligsprechungsverfahrens bis zum 13. Jahrhundert', *ZSSRG, KA* 40:85–101

Klewitz, H.-W. (1957), *Reformpapsttum und Kardinalkolleg*, Darmstadt

Klinkenberg, H. M. (1969), 'Die Theorie der Veränderbarkeit des Rechtes im frühen und hohen Mittelalter', in P. Wilpert (ed.), *Lex et Sacramentum im Mittelalter* (Miscellanea Mediaevalia. Veröffentlichungen des Thomas-Instituts der Universität zu Köln 6), Berlin, pp. 157–88

Knowles, D. (1936), 'The case of St William of York', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 5: 162–77, 212–14

Knowles, D. (1963), *The Monastic Order in England*, Cambridge

Knowles, D., Duggan, A. J. and Brooke, C. N. L. (1972), 'Henry II's supplement to the Constitutions of Clarendon', *EHR* 87: 757–71

Krause, H. (1965), 'Consilio et iudicio–Bedeutungsbreite und Sinngehalt einer mittelalterlichen Formel', in C. Bauer, L. Boehm and M. Müller (eds.), *Speculum Historiale: Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung. Festschrift Johannes Spörl*, Freiburg and Munich, pp. 416–38

Krause, H.-G. (1960), *Das Papstwahldekret von 1059 und seine Rolle im Investiturstreit* (Studi Gregoriani 7), Rome

Kuttner, S. (1935), *Kanonistische Schuldlehre von Gratian bis auf die Dekretalen Gregors IX.* (Studi e Testi 64), Vatican City

Kuttner, S. (1937), *Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140–1234): Prodromus Corporis glossarum*, I (Studi e Testi 71), Vatican City

Kuttner, S. (1938), 'La réserve papale du droit de canonisation', *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger*, 4th series, 17: 172–228

Kuttner, S. (1945), 'Cardinalis, the history of a canonical concept', *Traditio* 3: 129–214

Kuttner, S. (1946), 'Johannes Teutonicus, das vierte Laterankonzil und die Compilatio quarta', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Studi e Testi 121–6), Vatican City, pp. 608–34

Kuttner, S. (1947), 'Liber canonicus: a note on the "Dictatus Papae" c. 17', *SG* 2: 387–401

Kuttner, S. (1960), *Harmony from Dissonance: An Interpretation of Medieval Canon Law*, Latrobe

Kuttner, S. (1961), 'Pope Lucius III and the bigamous archbishop of Palermo', in J. A. Watt (ed.), *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn S.J.*, Dublin, pp. 409–53

Kuttner, S. (1964), 'Dat Galienus opes et sanctio Justiniana', in *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honor of Helmut A. Hatzfeld*, Washington, DC, pp. 237–46

Kuttner, S. and García y García, A. (1964), 'A new eyewitness account of the Fourth Lateran Council', *Traditio* 20: 115–78

Ladner, G. B. (1954), 'The concepts of "ecclesia" and "christianitas" and their relation to the idea of papal "plenitudo potestatis" from Gregory VII to Boniface VIII', in *Sacerdozio e regno da Gregorio VII a Bonifacio VIII* (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 18), Rome, pp. 49–77

Landau, P. (1979), 'Die Entstehung der systematischen Dekretalensammlungen und die europäische Kanonistik des 12. Jahrhunderts', *ZSSRG, KA* 66: 120–48

Laudage, J. (1984), *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum im 11. Jahrhundert* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 22), Cologne and Vienna

Le Bras, G. (1949), 'Le droit romain au service de la domination pontificale', *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger* 4th series, 27: 377–98

Le Bras, G. (1959), *Institutions ecclésiastiques de la chrétienté médiévale: préliminaires et Ière partie*, 1 (Histoire de l'Eglise 12/1), Paris

Lemarignier, J.-F., Gaudemet, J. and Mollat, G. (1962), *Institutions ecclésiastiques* (Histoire des Institutions Françaises au Moyen Age 3), Paris

Liotta, F. (1971), *La continenza dei chierici nel pensiero canonistico classico da Graziano a Gregorio IX*, Milan

Little, E. (1973), 'Bernard and Abelard at the Council of Sens', in *Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies Presented to Dom Jean Leclercq* (Cistercian Studies 23), Washington, DC, pp. 55–71

Lunt, W. E. (1934), *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, 1 (Columbia Records of Civilization 19), Columbia

Lunt, W. E. (1939), *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Medieval Academy of America Publications 33), Cambridge, MA

Maccarrone, M. (1948), 'Il papa "vicarius Christi". Testi e dottrina dal sec. XII al principio del XIV', in *Miscellanea Pio Paschini: Studi di Storia Ecclesiastica*, 1 (Lateranum, n.s. 14, 1–4), Rome

Maccarrone, M. (1952), *Vicarius Christi: storia del titolo papale*, Rome

Maccarrone, M. (1959), *Papato e impero dalla elezione di Federico I alla morte di Adriano IV (1152–1159)*, Rome

Maccarrone, M. (1961), 'Il IV Concilio Lateranense', *Divinitas* 2: 270–98

Maccarrone, M. (1980), 'Primato Romano e monasteri dal principio del secolo XII ad Innocenzo III', in *Istituzione monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente. Atti della Settimana di studio: Mendola* (Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali 9), Milan, pp. 49–132

McKeon, P. R. (1966), 'The Lateran council of 1112, the "heresy" of lay investiture and the excommunication of Henry V', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 17: 3–12

Madertoner, W. (1978), *Die zweispältige Papstwahl des Jahres 1159* (Dissertationen der Universität Wien 136), Vienna

Magnin, E. (1922), 'Immunités ecclésiastiques', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* VII, pp. 1218–62

Mahn, J. B. (1945), *L'Ordre cistercien et son gouvernement des origines au milieu du XIIIe siècle*, Paris

Maitland, F. W. (1898), *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England: Six Essays*, London

Maleczek, W. (1981), 'Das Kardinalskollegium unter Innocenz II. und Anaklet II.', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 19: 27–78

Maleczek, W. (1984), *Papst und Kardinalskolleg von 1191 bis 1216: die Kardinäle unter Coelestin III. und Innocenz III.* (Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom 1.6), Vienna

Martin, V. (1930), *Les Cardinaux et la curie: tribunaux et offices, la vacance du siège apostolique*, Paris

Mayr-Harting, H. (1963), 'Hilary, Bishop of Chichester (1147–69) and Henry II', *EHR* 78: 209–24

Michaud, M. (1942a), 'Censuum (Liber)', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* III, Paris, pp. 233–53

Michaud, M. (1942b), 'Chambre apostolique', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* III, Paris, pp. 388–431

Minninger, M. (1978), *Von Clermont zum Wormser Konkordat: die Auseinandersetzungen um den Lehnsnexus zwischen König und Episkopät* (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Päpstgeschichte des Mittelalters 2), Cologne and Vienna

Mirbt, C. (1894), *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII.*, Leipzig

Moore, R. I. (1977), *The Origins of European Dissent.* London; rev. edn Oxford, 1985

Morey, A. (1937), *Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist*, Cambridge

Morey, A. and Brooke, C. N. L. (1965), *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, Cambridge

Munier, C. (1957), *Les Sources patristiques du droit de l'église du VIIIe au XIIIe siècle*, Strasbourg

Mynors, R. A. B. (1939), *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century*, Oxford

Nicholl, D. (1964), *Thurstan, Archbishop of York (1114–1140)*, York

Noonan, J. T. (1977), 'Who was Rolandus?' in K. Pennington and R. Somerville (eds.), *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, Philadelphia, pp. 21–48

Nörr, K. W. (1972), 'Päpstliche Dekretalen und römisch-kanonischer Zivilprozeß', in W. Wilhelm (ed.), *Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte: Helmut Coing zum 28. Februar 1972*, Frankfurt, pp. 53–65

Ohnsorge, W. (1928), *Die Legaten Alexanders III. im ersten Jahrzehnt seines Pontifikats (1159–1169)* (Historische Studien 175), Berlin

Pacaut, M. (1953), 'Louis VII et Alexandre III (1159–1180)', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 39: 5–45

Pacaut, M. (1955), 'Les légats d'Alexandre III (1159–1181)', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 50: 821–38

Pacaut, M. (1956), *Alexandre III: étude sur la conception du pouvoir pontifical dans sa pensée et dans son œuvre*, Paris

Pacaut, M. (1957), *Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France (Bibliothèque de la Société d'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la France)*, Paris

Partner, P. (1972), *The Lands of St Peter: The Papal State in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*, London

Pellegrini, L. (1972), 'Cardinali e curia sotto Calisto II (1119–1124)', in *Raccolta di studi in memoria di Sergio Mochi Onory* (Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Medioevale 2: Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Contributi ser. 3, Scienze Storiche 15), Milan, pp. 507–56

Pennington, K. (1974), 'The legal education of Pope Innocent III', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* new series, 4: 70–7

Pennington, K. (1984), *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Philadelphia

Pfaff, V. (1953), 'Die Einnahmen der römischen Kurie am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 40: 97–118

Pfaff, V. (1955), 'Die Kardinäle unter Papst Coelestin III. (1191–1198)', *ZSSRG, KA* 41: 58–94

Pfaff, V. (1956), 'Aufgaben und Probleme der päpstlichen Finanzverwaltung am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts', *MIÖG* 64: 1–24

Pfaff, V. (1957a), ' "Pro posse nostro". Die Ausübung der Kirchengewalt durch Papst Coelestin III.', *ZSSRG, KA* 43: 89–131

Pfaff, V. (1957b), 'Der Liber Censuum von 1192 (Die im Jahre 1192/93 der Kurie Zinspflichtigen)', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 44: 78–96, 105–20, 220–42, 325–51

Pfaff, V. (1961), 'Papst Coelestin III.', *ZSSRG, KA* 47: 109–28

Pfaff, V. (1966), 'Die Kardinäle unter Papst Coelestin III. (2. Teil)', *ZSSRG, KA* 52: 332–69

Pfaff, V. (1980), 'Papst Clemens III. (1187–1191). Mit einer Liste der Kardinalsunterschriften', *ZSSRG, KA* 66: 261–316

Pfurtscheller, F. (1972), *Die Privilegierung des Zisterzienserordens im Rahmen der allgemeinen Schutz- und Exemtionsgeschichte vom Anfang bis zur Bulle 'Parvus Fons' (1265)* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 23, 13), Berne

Poole, R. L. (1917), *Lectures on the Papal Chancery*, Cambridge

Post, G. (1929), 'Alexander III, the *licentia docendi* and the rise of universities', in *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins*, Boston, pp. 255–77

Powicke, F. M. (1928), *Stephen Langton*, Oxford

Preiss, M. (1934), *Die politische Tätigkeit der Cisterzienser im Schisma von 1159–1177* (Historische Studien 248), Berlin

Prosdocimi, L. (1965), 'Chierici e laici nella società occidentale del secolo XI: a proposito di Decr. Grat. C. 12 q.1, c.7: "Duo sunt genera Christianorum"', in S. Kuttner and J. J. Ryan (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Boston College, 1963*, Rome, pp. 105–22

Rabikauskas, P. (1958), *Die römische Kuriale in der päpstlichen Kanzlei* (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 20), Rome

Ramackers, J. (1931–2), 'Analekten zur Geschichte des Reformpapsttums und der Cluniazenser', *QFIAB* 23: 22–52

Rassow, P. (1961), *Honor Imperii: die neue Politik Friedrich Barbarossas 1152–1159*, 2nd edn, Darmstadt

Richter, M. (1967–8), 'Professions of obedience and the metropolitan claim of St Davids', *The National Library of Wales Journal* 15: 197–214

Richter, M. (1971), 'Canterbury's primacy in Wales and the first stage of Bishop Bernard's opposition', *JEH* 22: 177–89

Richter, M. (1976), *Giraldus Cambrensis: The Growth of the Welsh Nation*, Aberystwyth

Ríos Fernández, M. (1961, 1962, 1963, 1966), 'El primado del Romano pontefice en el pensiamento de Huguccio de Pisa decretista', *Compostellanum* 6: 47–97; 7: 97–149; 8: 65–99; 11: 29–67

Rivera Recio, J. F. (1962), 'La primacia ecclesiastica de Toledo en el siglo XII', *Anthologica Annua* 10: 11–87

Rivière, J. (1925), '*In partem sollicitudinis*...Evolution d'une formule pontificale', *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 5: 210–31

Robinson, I. S. (1978), '*Periculosus homo*: Pope Gregory VII and episcopal authority', *Viator* 9: 103–31

Robinson, I. S. (1989), 'Bernold von Konstanz und der gregorianische Reformkreis um Bischof Gebhard III.', in H. Maurer (ed.), *Die Konstanzer Münsterweihe von 1089*, Freiburg, pp. 155–88

Robinson, I. S. (1990), *The Papacy 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation*, Cambridge

Ruess, K. (1912), *Die rechtliche Stellung der päpstlichen Legaten bis Bonifaz VIII.*, Paderborn

Rusch, B. (1936), *Die Behörden und Hofbeamten der päpstlichen Kurie des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Schriften der Albertus-Universität, Geisteswissenschaft, Reihe 3), Königsberg

Säbekow, G. (1931), *Die päpstlichen Legationen nach Spanien und Portugal bis zum Ausgang des 12. Jahrhunderts*, dissertation, University of Berlin

Sägmüller, J. B. (1896), *Die Tätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII.*, Freiburg/Br.

Sägmüller, J. B. (1907), 'Zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Formel "Salva sedis apostolicae auctoritate" in den päpstlichen Privilegien', *Theologische Quartalschrift* 89: 93–117

Saltman, A. (1956), *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*, London

Santifaller, L. (1940), 'Saggio di un elenco dei funzionari, impiegati e scrittori della cancellaria pontificia dall'inizio all'anno 1099', *BISI* 56–7: 1–858

Sayers, J. E. (1971), *Papal Judges Delegate in the Province of Canterbury, 1198–1254: A Study in Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Administration*, Oxford

Sayers, J. E. (1994), *Innocent III, Leader of Europe, 1198–1216*, London and New York

Schieffer, T. (1935), *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Vertrage von Meersen (870) bis zum Schisma von 1130* (Historische Studien 263), Berlin

Schmale, F.-J. (1961), *Studien zum Schisma des Jahres 1130*, Cologne and Graz

Schmale, F.-J. (1974), 'Systematisches zu den Konzilien des Reformpapsttums im 12. Jahrhundert', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 6: 21–39

Schmale, F.-J. (1976), '*Synodus – synodale concilium – concilium*', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 8: 80–102

Schmale, F.-J. (1978), 'Zu den Konzilien Paschals II.', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 10: 279–89

Schmidt, T. (1977), *Alexander II. (1061–1073) und die römische Reformgruppe seiner Zeit* (Päpste und Papsttum 11), Stuttgart

Schreiber, G. (1910), *Kurie und Kloster im 12. Jahrhundert* (Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 65–8), Stuttgart

Schulte, J. F. von (1872), *Die Glosse zum Dekret Gratians von ihren Anfange bis auf die jüngsten Ausgaben* (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 21), Vienna

Schwarz, M. (1957), 'Heiligsprechungen im 12. Jahrhundert und die Beweggründe ihrer Urheber', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 39: 43–62

Seegrün, W. (1967), *Das Papsttum und Skandinavien bis zur Vollendung der nordischen Kirchenorganisation (1164)* (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holstein 51), Neumünster

Servatius, C. (1979), *Paschalis II. (1099–1118)* (Päpste und Papsttum 14), Stuttgart

Shaw, I. P. (1946), 'Giraldus Cambrensis and the primacy of Canterbury', *Church Quarterly Review* 146: 82–101

Smalley, B. (1952), *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford

Smalley, B. (1973), *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford

Somerville, R. (1970), 'The French councils of Pope Urban II. Some basic considerations', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 2: 56–65

Somerville, R. (1972), *The Councils of Urban II*, 1: *Decreta Claromontensia* (Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum, Supplementum 1), Amsterdam

Somerville, R. (1976), 'Pope Innocent II and the study of Roman Law', *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 44: 105–44

Somerville, R. (1977), *Pope Alexander III and the Council of Tours (1163)*, Berkeley and Los Angeles

Somerville, R. (1982), *Scotia Pontificia: Papal Letters to Scotland before the Pontificate of Innocent III*, Oxford

Southern, R. W. (1963), *Saint Anselm and His Biographer*, Cambridge

Southern, R. W. (1970), *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, Oxford

Stenger, R. P. (1967), 'The episcopacy as an *ordo* according to the medieval canonists', *Mediaeval Studies* 29: 67–112

Stickler, A. M. (1947), 'Der Schwerterbegriff bei Huguccio', *Ephemerides Iuris Canonici* 3: 1–44

Stickler, A. M. (1972), 'La "Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum" nella canonistica classica', *Communio* 13: 547–86

Stroll, M. (1987), *The Jewish Pope: Ideology and Politics in the Papal Schism of 1130*, Leiden, New York, Copenhagen and Cologne

Sydow, J. (1951), 'Cluny und die Anfänge der Apostolischen Kammer. Studien zur Finanzverwaltung im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 63: 45–66

Sydow, J. (1954–5), 'Untersuchungen zur kurialen Verwaltungsgeschichte im Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums', *DA* 11: 18–73

Sydow, J. (1955), 'Il "consistorium" dopo lo scisma del 1130', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa* 9: 165–76

Szabó-Bechstein, B. (1985), *Libertas ecclesiae: ein Schlüsselbegriff des Investiturstreits und seine Vorgeschichte, 4.-11. Jahrhundert* (Studi Gregoriani per la Storia della 'Libertas Ecclesiae' 12), Rome

Talbot, C. H. (1950), 'New documents in the case of St William of York', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10: 1–15

Tangl, M. (1894), *Päpstliche Kanzleiordnungen von 1200 bis 1500*, Innsbruck

Tellenbach, G. (1963), 'Der Sturz des Abtes Pontius von Cluny und seine geschichtliche Bedeutung', *QFIAB* 42/43: 13–55

Thaner, F. (1872), 'Über Entstehung und Bedeutung der Formel: Salva sedis apostolicae auctoritate in den päpstlichen Privilegien', *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaft*, phil.-hist. Klasse 72, 809–51

Thomas, H. (1970), 'Erzbischof Siegfried I. von Mainz und die Tradition seiner Kirche', *DA* 26: 368–99

Tierney, B. (1955), *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism*, Cambridge

Tierney, B. (1972), *Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1150–1350* (Studies in the History of Christian Thought 6), Leiden

Tillmann, H. (1926), *Die päpstlichen Legaten in England bis zur Beendigung der Legation Gualas, 1218*, dissertation, University of Bonn

Tillmann, H. (1972), 'Ricerche sull'origine dei membri del collegio cardinalizio nel XII secolo II/1', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 26: 313–53

Tillmann, H. (1980), *Pope Innocent III*, English trans., Amsterdam

Toubert, P. (1973), *Les Structures du Latium médiéval: le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle* (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 1, Série 221), Paris

Ullmann, W. (1954), 'Cardinal Roland and Besançon', *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 18: 107–25

Villard, F. (1991), 'Primatie des Gaules et réforme grégorienne', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 149: 421–34

Waitz, G. (1878), 'Obedienzerklärungen burgundischer und französischer Bischöfe', *Neues Archiv* 3: 195–202

Warren, W. L. (1973), *Henry II*, London

Watt, J. A. (1957), 'The early medieval canonists and the formation of conciliar theory', *Irish Theological Quarterly* 24: 13–31

Watt, J. A. (1965), *The Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century: The Contribution of the Canonists*, New York

Watt, J. A. (1970), *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland*, Cambridge

Wenck, K. (1926), 'Die römischen Päpste zwischen Alexander III. und Innocenz III. und der Designationsversuch Weihnachten 1197', in A. Brackmann (ed.), *Papsttum und Kaisertum: Forschungen zur politischen Geschichte und Geisteskultur des Mittelalters Paul Kehr zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht*, Munich, pp. 415–74

Yunck, J. A. (1961), 'Economic conservatism, papal finance and the medieval satires on Rome', *Mediaeval Studies* 23: 334–51

Zenker, B. (1964), *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1159*, dissertation, University of Würzburg

Zerbi, P. (1975), 'San Bernardo di Chiaravalle e il concilio di Sens', in *Studi su S. Bernardo di Chiaravalle nell'ottavo centenario della canonizzazione* (Bibliotheca Cisterciensis 6), Rome, pp. 115–80

Zimmermann, H. (1913), *Die päpstliche Legation in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Görres-Gesellschaft, Sektion für Rechts- und Sozialwissenschaft 17), Paderborn

12 THOUGHT AND LEARNING

Abélard en son temps (1981), *Actes du Colloque international organisé à l'occasion du 9e centenaire de la naissance de Pierre Abélard, 14–19 mai 1979*, Paris

Arts libéraux et philosophie au moyen âge (1969), *Actes du quatrième Congrès international de philosophie médiévale, Université de Montréal, Montréal (Canada), 27 août – 2 septembre 1967*, Montreal

Baldwin, J. W. (1970), *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols., Princeton

Barrow, J., Burnett, C. and Luscombe, D. (1984–5), 'A checklist of the manuscripts containing the writings of Peter Abelard and Heloise and other works closely associated with Abelard and his school', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 14–15: 183–302

Bautier, R.-H. (1981), 'Paris au temps d'Abélard', in *Abélard en son temps* (1981), pp. 21–77

Beaujouan, G. (1972), 'L'enseignement du "quadrivium"' in *La scuola* (1972), II, pp. 639–67

Beaujouan, G. (1982), 'The transformation of the quadrivium', in Benson and Constable (1982), pp. 463–87

Benson, R. L. and Constable, G. (eds.) (1982) with the assistance of C. Lanham, *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford

Benton, J. F. (1961), 'The court of Champagne as a literary center', *Speculum* 36: 551–91

Berschin, W. (1972), *Bonizo von Sutri: Leben und Werk*, Berlin

Bezzola, R. (1958–63), *Les Origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en Occident*, 3 parts, Paris

Birkenmajer, A. (1970), 'Le rôle joué par les médecins et les naturalistes dans la réception d'Aristote au XIIe et XIIIe siècle', in Birkenmajer, *Etudes d'histoire des sciences et de la philosophie du moyen âge* (Studia Copernica 1), Wrocław, pp. 73–87; repr. from *La Pologne au VIe Congrès international des sciences historiques, Oslo 1928*, Warsaw (1930), pp. 1–15

Bischoff, B. (1935), 'Aus der Schule Hugos von St. Viktor', in A. Lang *et al.* (eds.), *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters: Studien und Texte Martin Grabmann . . . gewidmet* (Beiträge für Geschichte der Philosophie und der Theologie des Mittelalters, Supplement III) pp. 246–50, Munich; repr. in Bischoff *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftenkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, II, Stuttgart, (1967), pp. 182–6

Bloch, H. (1972), 'Monte Cassino's teachers and library in the high middle ages', in *La scuola* (1972), II, pp. 563–605

Böries, M. (1970), 'Les origines de l'université de Montpellier', *Les Universités du Languedoc au XIIIe siècle*, Toulouse, pp. 92–107

Bossier, F. (1997), 'L'élaboration du vocabulaire philosophique chez Burgundio de Pise', in Hamesse (1997), pp. 81–116

Brundage, J. A. (1995), *Medieval Canon Law*, London

Burnett, C. (1997) 'The origins of the *Physica Vaticana* and *Metaphysica media*', in Hamesse (1997), pp. 59–68

Burnett, C. (ed.) (1987), *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, London

Burnett, C. (ed.) (1993), *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic and Medieval Latin Traditions* (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 23), London

Buytaert, E. M. (ed.) (1974), *Peter Abelard* (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series 1/Studia 2), Leuven

Camargo, M. (1991), *Ars dictaminis, Ars dictandi* (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental 60), Turnhout

Cary, G. (1956), *The Medieval Alexander*, ed. D. J. A. Ross, Cambridge

Catto, J. I. (ed.) (1984), *The History of the University of Oxford*, 1: *The Early Oxford Schools*, assistant ed. R. Evans, Oxford

Chenu, M. D. (1957), *La Théologie au douzième siècle* (Etudes de Philosophie Médiévale 45), Paris

Clanchy, M. T. (1979), *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, London

Clanchy, M. T. (1997), *Abelard: A Medieval Life*, Oxford

Classen, P. (1960), *Gerhoch von Reichersberg: Eine Biographie*, Wiesbaden

Classen, P. (1974), *Burgundio von Pisa: Richter–Gesandter–Übersetzer* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 1974, 4. Abhandlung), Heidelberg

Classen, P. (1983), *Studium und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. J. Fried, Stuttgart

Colish, M. L. (1986), 'Another look at the school of Laon', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 53: 7–22

Colish, M. L. (1994), *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols., Leiden

Colish, M. L. (2001), 'Peter Lombard', in Evans (2001), pp. 168–83

Constable, G. (1976), *Letters and Letter-Collections* (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental 17), Turnhout

Cushing, K. G. (1998), *Papacy and Law in the Gregorian Revolution: The Canonistic Work of Anselm of Lucca* (Oxford Historical Monographs), Oxford

Dahan, G. (1998), *The Christian Polemic against the Jews in the Middle Ages*, trans. J. Gladding, Notre Dame, Indiana

D'Alverny, M. T. (1965), *Alain de Lille: textes inédits, avec une introduction sur sa vie et ses œuvres* (Etudes de Philosophie Médiévale 52), Paris

D'Alverny, M. T. (1975), 'Abélard et l'astrologie', in *Pierre Abélard–Pierre le Vénérable: les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en Occident au milieu du XIIe siècle. Abbaye de Cluny 2 au 9 juillet 1972* (Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 546), Paris, pp. 611–30

D'Alverny, M. T. (1982), 'Translations and translators', in Benson and Constable (1982), pp. 421–62

De Ghellinck, J. (1948), *Le Mouvement théologique du XIIe siècle*, 2nd edn (Museum Lessianum, Section Historique 10), Bruges

De Ghellinck, J. (1955), *L'Essor de la littérature latine au XIIe siècle*, 2nd edn (Museum Lessianum, Section Historique 4–5), Brussels

Delhaye, P. (1947), 'L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle', *Traditio*, 5: 211–68

Delhaye, P. (1948), 'La place de l'éthique parmi les disciplines scientifiques au XIIe siècle', *Mélanges E. D. Arthur Jansen* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, series 1, 2), Louvain, pp. 29–44

Delhaye, P. (1949), 'L'enseignement de la philosophie morale au XIIe siècle', *Mediaeval Studies* 11: 77–99

Delhaye, P. (1958), '*Grammatica* et *Ethica* au XIIe siècle', *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 25: 59–110

De Rijk, L. M. (1962–7), *Logica modernorum: A Contribution to the History of Early Terminist Logic*, 2 vols., Assen

Dod, B. G. (1982), '*Aristoteles latinus*', in Kretzmann *et al.* (1982), pp. 45–79

Dronke, P. (ed.) (1988), *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*, Cambridge

Duggan, A. (1980), *Thomas Becket: A Textual History of His Letters*, Oxford

Evans, G. R. (1975), 'The influence of quadrivium studies in the eleventh and twelfth century schools', *Journal of Medieval History* 1: 151–64

Evans, G. R. (1980), *Old Arts and New Theology: The Beginnings of Theology as an Academic Discipline*, Oxford

Evans, G. R. (ed.) (2001), *The Medieval Theologians: An Introduction to Theology in the Medieval Period*, Oxford

Faral, E. (1924), *Les Arts poétiques du XIIe et XIIIe siècle: recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge* (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques 238), Paris

Ferruolo, S. (1985), *The Origins of the University: The Schools and Their Critics, 1100–1215*, Stanford

Fleckenstein, J. (1959), *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, I: *Grundlegung: die karolingische Hofkapelle*, Stuttgart

Fleckenstein, J. (1966), *Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige*, II: *Die Hofkapelle im Rahmen der ottonisch-salischen Reichskirche*, Stuttgart

Fredborg, K. M. (1971), 'The commentary of Thierry of Chartres on Cicero's "De inventione"', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 7: 1–37

Fredborg, K. M. (1973), 'The Dependence of Petrus Helias' *Summa super Priscianum* on William of Conches' *Glose super Priscianum*', *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin*, 11: 1–57

Fried, J. (1974), *Die Entstehung des Juristenstandes im 12. Jahrhundert*, Cologne and Vienna

Fried, J. (ed.) (1986), *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Sigmaringen

Fried, J. (ed.) (1997), *Dialektik und Rhetorik im früheren und hohen Mittelalter: Rezeption, Überlieferung und gesellschaftliche Wirkung antiker Gelehrsamkeit vornehmlich im 9. und 12. Jahrhundert* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 27), Munich

Gagne, J. (1969), 'Du quadrivium aux *scientiae mediae*', in *Arts libéraux* (1969), pp. 975–86

Gameson, R. (1998), *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)*, Oxford

Gibson, M. (1978), *Lanfranc of Bec*, Oxford

Gilson, E. (1955), *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, London

Glauche, G. (1970), *Schullektüre im Mittelalter: Entstehung und Wandlung des Lektürekanons bis 1200* (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 5), Munich

Gollancz, H. (1920), *Dodi ve-Nechdi of Berachya Hanakdan*, London

Grabmann, M. (1911), *Die Geschichte der scholastischen Methode*, 2 vols., Freiburg i.B. and Darmstatt; repr. 1957

Green, D. H. (1994), *Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature, 800–1300*, Cambridge.

Gregory, T. (1955), *Anima mundi: la filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la scuola di Chartres* (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Filosofia dell'Università di Roma 3), Rome

Gregory, T. (1974), 'Abélard et Platon', in Buytaert (1974), pp. 38–64

Grundmann, H. (1958), '*Litteratus-illiteratus*. Der Wandel einer Bildungsnorm vom Altertum zum Mittelalter', *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte*, 40: 1–65; repr. in Grundmann, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, III: *Bildung und Sprache*, Stuttgart (1978), pp. 1–66

Hamesse, J. (ed.) (1997), *Aux Origines du lexique philosophique européen: l'influence de la 'Latinitas'*, Louvain-la-Neuve

Hamesse, J. and Fattori, M. (eds.) (1990), *Rencontres de cultures dans la philosophie médiévale: traductions and traducteurs de l'antiquité tardive au XIVe siècle*, Louvain-la-Neuve

Häring, N. M. (1951), 'The *Eulogium ad Alexandrum Papam tertium* of John of Cornwall', *Mediaeval Studies* 13: 253–300

Haskins, C. H. (1924), *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, New York

Haskins, C. H. (1927), *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, MA; sixth reprint 1976

Hunt, R. W. (1980), *The History of Grammar in the Middle Ages: Collected Papers*, ed. G. L. Bursill-Hall (Amsterdam Studies in the History of Linguistic Science, Series III, 5), Amsterdam

Jacquart, D. (1986), 'L'*Isagoge Johannitii* et son traducteur', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 144: 209–40

Jacquart, D. (1988), 'Aristotelian thought in Salerno', in Dronke (1988), pp. 407–28

Jacquart, D. (1990), 'Principales étapes dans la transmission des textes de médecine (XIe–XIVe siècle)', in Hamesse and Fattori (1990), pp. 251–71

Jacquart, D. and Micheau, F. (1990), *La Médecine arabe et l'Occident médiéval*, Paris

Jaeger, C. S. (1994), *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*, Philadelphia

Jeauneau, E. (1973), '*Lectio philosophorum': recherches sur l'école de Chartres*, Amsterdam

Jeauneau, E. (1984), 'Jean de Salisbury et la lecture des philosophes', in Wilks (1984), pp. 77–108

Jeauneau, E. (1995), *'L'Age d'or des écoles de Chartres*, Chartres

Keller, H. (1977), 'Origine sociale e formazione del clero cattedrale dei secoli XI e XII nella Germania e nell'Italia settentrionale', *MCSM* 8: 136–86

Kelly, D. (1991), *The Arts of Poetry and Prose* (Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental 59), Turnhout

Ker, N. R. (1960), *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford

Ker, N. R. (1964), *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 3), London

Kieckhefer, R. (1989), *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge

Kohn, R. (1986), 'Schulbildung und Trivium im lateinischen Hochmittelalter und ihr möglicher praktischer Nützen', in Fried (1986), pp. 265–81

Kretzmann, N. *et al.* (eds.) (1982), *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge

Kristeller, P. O. (1945), 'The school of Salerno: its development and its contribution to the history of learning', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 17: 138–94;

repr. in Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, Rome (1956), pp. 495–551

Kristeller, P. O. (1976), 'Bartholomaeus, Musandinus and Maurus of Salerno and other early commentators of the *Articella*, with a tentative list of texts and manuscripts', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 19: 57–87; trans. and rev. in Kristeller, *Studi sulla scuola medica salernitana*, Naples (1986), pp. 97–151

Kritzeck, J. (1964), *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton Oriental Studies 23), Princeton

Kuttner, S. (1982), 'The revival of jurisprudence', in Benson and Constable (1982), pp. 299–323

La scuola nell'occidente latino dell'alto medioevo (1972) (Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 19), 2 vols., Spoleto

Le Bras, G., Lefèbvre, C. and Rambaud, J. (1965), *L'Age classique 1140–1328: sources et théorie du droit* (Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l'Eglise en Occident 7), Paris

Leclercq, J. (1952), 'Pour l'histoire de l'expression "philosophie chrétienne"', *Mèlanges de Sciences Religieuses* 9: 221–6

Leclercq, J. (1957), *L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*, Paris

Leclercq, J., Vandenbroucke, F. and Bouyer, L. (1968), *The Spirituality of the Middle Ages* (A History of Christian Spirituality 2), London; trans. from the French, *La Spiritualité du moyen âge*, Paris (1961)

Lemay, R. (1962), *Abū Maʿshar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twelfth Century*, Beirut

Lerner, R. E. (ed.) (1996), with the help of E. Müller-Luckner, *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bibelexegese* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 32), Munich

Lesne, E. (1940), *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, v: *Les Ecoles de la fin du VIIIe siècle à la fin du XIIe*, Lille

Luscombe, D. E. (1969), *The School of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 2nd Series, 14), Cambridge

Luscombe, D. E. (1999), 'The *Cur Deus Homo* and the *Ysagoge in theologiam*', in P. Gilbert *et al.* (eds.), *Cur Deus Homo. Roma, 21–23 maggio 1998* (Studia Anselmiana 128), Rome, pp. 73–86

Macy, G. (1984), *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians c. 1080–c. 1220*, Oxford

Marenbon, J. (1993), 'Medieval Latin glosses and commentaries on Aristotelian logical texts, before c. 1150 AD', in Burnett (1993), pp. 77–127

Marenbon, J. (1997a), 'Glosses and commentaries on the Categories and De interpretatione before Abelard', in Fried (1997), pp. 21–49

Marenbon, J. (1997b), *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard*, Cambridge

Minio-Paluello, L. (1952), 'Iacobus Veneticus Grecus: canonist and translator of Aristotle', *Traditio* 8: 265–304

Minio-Paluello, L. (1972), *Opuscula: The Latin Aristotle*, Amsterdam

Montclos, J. de (1971), *Lanfranc et Bérenger: la controverse eucharistique du XIe siècle* (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Etudes et Documents 37), Louvain

Mor, C. G. (1968), 'A l'origine de l'école de Montpellier: Rogerius ou Placentin?', in *Album J. Balon*, Namur, pp. 147–55

Morpurgo, P. (1990), 'L'ingresso dell'Aristotele latino a Salerno', in Hamesse and Fattori (1990), pp. 273–300

Munk Olsen, B. (1979, 1980), 'Les classiques latins dans les florilèges médiévaux antérieurs au XIIIe siècle', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 9: 47–121; 10: 115–64

Murdoch, J. E. (1966), 'Euclides graeco-latinus: a hitherto unknown medieval Latin translation of the *Elements* made directly from the Greek', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 71: 249–302

Murphy, J. J. (1971), *Medieval Rhetoric: A Select Bibliography* (Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 3), Toronto

Murphy, J. J. (1974), *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance*, Berkeley

Nielsen, L. O. (1982), *Theology and Philosophy in the Twelfth Century* (Acta Theologica Danica 15), Leiden

Noonan, J. T. (1977), 'Who was Rolandus?', in K. Pennington and R. Somerville (eds.), *Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, Philadelphia, pp. 21–48

Noonan, J. T. (1979), 'Gratian slept here: the changing identity of the father of the systematic study of canon law', *Traditio* 35: 145–72

Paré, G., Brunet, A. and Tremblay, P. (1933), *La Renaissance du XIIe siècle: les écoles et l'enseignement*, Ottawa

Patt, W. D. (1978), 'The early "Ars dictaminis" as response to a changing society', *Viator* 9: 133–55

Riché, P. (1981), *Instruction et vie religieuse dans le haut moyen âge* (Variorum Reprints), London

Riché, P. (1984), 'Jean de Salisbury et le monde scolaire du XIIe siècle', in Wilks (1984), pp. 39–61

Ridder-Symoens, H. de (ed.) (1992), *A History of the University in Europe*, gen. ed. W. Ruegg, I: *Universities in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge

Rochais, H. (1951), '*Ipsa Philosophia Christus*', *Mediaeval Studies* 13: 244–7

Rouse, R. H. and Rouse, M. A. (1976), 'The *Florilegium Angelicum*: its origin, content, and influence', in J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (eds.), *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, Oxford, pp. 66–114

Rucquoi, A. (1999), 'Gundisalvus ou Dominicus Gundisalvi?', *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 41: 85–106

Smalley, B. (1974), *Historians in the Middle Ages*, London

Smalley, B. (1984), *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn, Oxford

Southern, R. W. (1948), 'Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours', in R. W. Hunt *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, Oxford, pp. 27–48

Southern, R. W. (1970), *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, Oxford

Southern, R. W. (1982), 'The schools of Paris and the school of Chartres', in Benson and Constable (1982), pp. 113–37

Southern, R. W. (1984), 'From schools to university', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, I, Oxford, pp. 1–36

Southern, R. W. (1990), *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape*, Cambridge

Southern, R. W. (1995), *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, I: *Foundations*, Oxford

Southern, R. W. (2001), *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, II: *The Heroic Age*, Oxford

Stegmüller, F. (1947), *Repertorium commentariorum in Sententias P. Lombardi*, 2 vols., Herbipoli

Stein, P. (1999), *Roman Law in European History*, Cambridge

Stiefel, T. (1977), 'The heresy of science: a twelfth-century conceptual revolution', *Isis*, 68: 347–62.

Stock, B. (1972), *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century: A Study of Bernard Silvester*, Princeton

Stock, B. (1983), *The Implications of Literacy*, Princeton

Swanson, J. (2001), 'The *Glossa ordinaria*' in Evans (2001), pp. 156–67

Le Temps de Fulbert. Les Actes de l'Université d'été du 8 au 10 juillet 1996 (1996)' (Société archéologique d'Eure et Loire), Chartres

Thomson, R. M. (1999), 'Serlo of Wilton and the schools of Oxford', *Medium Aevum* 68: 1–12

Tradition et traduction: les textes philosophiques et scientifiques grecs au moyen âge latin. Hommage à Fernand Bossier (1999), ed. R. Beyers *et al.* (Ancient and Medieval Philosophy. De Wulf-Mansion Centre, Series 1, 25), Leuven

Ullmann, W. (1955), *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages: A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power*, London

Van de Vyver, A. (1929), 'Les étapes du développement philosophique du haut moyen âge', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 8: 425–52

Van Elswijk, H. C. (1966), *Gilbert Porreta: sa vie, ses œuvres, sa pensée* (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 33), Louvain

Van Engen, J. (1997), 'Letters, schools and written culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in Fried (1997), pp. 97–132

Van Engen, J. H. (1983), *Rupert of Deutz* (UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies 18), Berkeley

Vernet, A. (1955), 'Une épitaphe inédite de Thierry de Chartres', in *Recueil de travaux offerts à M. Clovis Brunel*, Paris, pp. 660–70; repr. in A. Vernet *Etudes médiévales*, Paris (1981), pp. 160–70

Vernet, A. (1998), 'Thierry de Chartres, moine cistercien?' in *Vie speculative* (1998), pp. 11–17

Vie spéculative, vie méditative et travail manuel à Chartres au XIIe siècle (autour de Thierry de Chartres et des introducteurs de l'étude des arts mécaniques auprès du quadrivium). Actes du Colloque international des 4 et 5 juillet 1998 (1998), Chartres

Weigand, R. (1980), 'Magister Rolandus und Papst Alexander III.', *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht*, 149: 3–44

Wilks, M. (ed.) (1984), *The World of John of Salisbury* (Studies in Church History, Subsidia 3), Oxford

Winroth, A. (2000), *The Making of Gratian's Decretum* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought Fourth Series, 49), Cambridge

Worstbrock, F. J. (1989), 'Die Anfänge der mittelalterlichen Ars dictandi', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23: 1–42

Ziolkowski, J. (1985), *Alan of Lille's Grammar of Sex: The Meaning of Grammar to a Twelfth-Century Intellectual* (Speculum Anniversary Monographs 10), Cambridge, MA

13 RELIGION AND THE LAITY
Bibliographies
Berkhout, C. T. and Russell, J. B. (1981), *Medieval Heresies: A Bibliography (1960–1979)* (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Subsidia Medievalia 11), Toronto
Grundmann, H. (1967), *Bibliographie zur Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters (1900–60)* (Sussidi Eruditi 20), Rome

Collections of texts in translation
Brooke, R. B. (1975), *The Coming of the Friars*, London
Hamilton, J. and Hamilton, B. (1998), *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650–c. 1450*, Manchester and New York
McNeill, J. T. and Gamer, H. M. (1938), *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the principal 'libri poenitentiales' and selections from related documents*, New York and London
Wakefield, W. L. and Evans, A. P. (1969), *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (Columbia University Press, Records of Civilization 81), New York
Wilkinson, J. with Hill, J. and Ryan, W. F. (1988), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (Hakluyt Society, Series 2, 167), London

Secondary works
Andrewes, F. (1999), *The Early Humiliati* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought), Cambridge
Audisio, G. (ed.), (1990), *Les Vaudois des origines à leur fin (XIIe–XVIe siècles)*, Turin
Barber, M. (1992), *The Two Cities: Medieval Europe, 1050–1300*, London
Barber, M. (1994a), *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge
Barber, M. (ed.) (1994b), *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, Aldershot
Barber, M. (2000), *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages*, Harlow
Baudot, M. (gen. ed.) (1971), *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel,* III: *Culte de Saint Michel et pélerinages au Mont*, Paris
Bautier, R. H. (1975), 'L'hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XIe siècle', in *Actes du 95e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes (Reims, 1970): section philologique et historique*, I, Paris, pp. 63–88
Biller, P. (1990), 'The common woman in the western church in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries', in W. J. Sheils and D. Wood, *Women in the church* (Studies in Church History 27), Oxford, pp. 127–57
Biller P. and Hudson, A. (eds.) (1994), *Heresy and Literacy 1000–1530*, Cambridge
Bordenave, J. and Vialelle, M. (1973), *La Mentalité religieuse des paysans de l'Albigeois médiéval*, Toulouse

Borst, A. (1953), *Die Katharer* (MGH Schriften 12), Stuttgart

Boyle, L. E. (1985), 'Innocent III and vernacular versions of Scripture', in K. Walsh and D. Wood (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World* (Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 4), Oxford, pp. 97–107

Brenon, A. (1988), *Le Vrai Visage du Catharisme*, Portet-sur-Garonne

Brenon, A. (1992), *Les Femmes cathares*, Paris

Brooke, C. N. L. (1971), 'Religious sentiment and church design', in his *Medieval Church and Society*, London, pp. 162–82

Brooke, C. N. L. (1974), *The Monastic World, 1000–1300*, London

Brooke, R. and Brooke, C. (1984), *Popular Religion in the Middle Ages: Western Europe 1000–1300*, London

Bull, M. (1993), *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130*, Oxford

'Burning' (1997³), in F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Oxford, p. 255

The Cambridge History of the Bible, ii: *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed. G. W. Lampe (1969), Cambridge

Cassard, J.-C. (1980), 'Eon de l'Etoile. Ermite et hérésiarque breton du XIIe siècle', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* 57: 171–98

Cheney, C. R. (1936), 'Punishment of felonous clerks', *English Historical Review* 51: 215–36

Chenu, M. D. (1968), *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, trans. J. Taylor and L. K. Little, Chicago and London

Clanchy, M. T. (1993), *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn, Oxford

Clédat, L. (1887), *Le Nouveau Testament traduit au XIIIe siècle en langue provençale, suivi d'un rituel cathare*, Paris

Constable, G. (1964), *Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge

Constable, G. (1996), *Culture and Spirituality in Medieval Europe*, Aldershot

Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1968), 'The papacy, the Patarenes and the church of Milan', *TRHS* 5th series, 18: 25–48

Cramer, P. (1993), *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c.200–1150*, Cambridge

Dalarun, J. (1985), *L'Impossible Sainteté: la vie retrouvée de Robert d'Arbrissel (v. 1045–1116), fondateur de Fontevraud*, Paris

Dauvillier, J. (1933), *Le Mariage dans le droit classique de l'église depuis le Décret de Gratien (1140) jusqu'à la mort de Clément V (1314)*, Paris

Döllinger, J. J. I. von (1890), *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 vols., Munich

Dondaine, A. (1949–50), 'La hiérarchie cathare en Italie. i. Le "De heresi catharorum in Lombardia"', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 19: 280–312; 'ii. Le "Tractatus de hereticis" d'Anselme d'Alexandrie, O.P.'; 'iii. Catalogue de la hiérarchie cathare d'Italie', *ibid.*, 20: 234–324; repr. in Dondaine, *Les Hérésies et l'Inquisition, XIIe–XIIIe siècles*, London, (1990)

Dumoutet, E. (1942), *Corpus Domini: aux sources de la piété eucharistique médiévale*, Paris

Duvernoy, J. (1976), *Le Catharisme: la religion des Cathares*, Toulouse

Duvernoy, J. (1979), *Le Catharisme: l'histoire des Cathares*, Toulouse

Emmerson, R. K. (1981), *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, Manchester

Fearns, J. V. (1963), 'The "Contra Petrobrusianos" of Peter the Venerable', PhD thesis, University of Liverpool

Ficker, G. (1908), *Die Phundagiagiten: ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*, Leipzig

Fletcher, R. A. (1984), *St. James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmirez of Santiago de Compostela*, Oxford

Foster, I. L. (1959), '*Culhwch and Olwen* and *Rhonabwy's Dream*', in R. S. Loomis (ed.), *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, pp. 31–43

Gaudemet, J. (1973), 'La paroisse au moyen âge', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 59: 5–21

Gaudemet, J. (1982), 'Le célibat ecclésiastique: le droit et la pratique du XIe au XIIIe siècle', in *ZSSRG, KA* 99: 1–31

Gorre, R. (1985), *Die ersten Ketzer im 11. Jahrhundert: Religiöse Eiferer – Soziale Rebellen*? (Konstanzer Dissertationen 3), Constance

Graef, H. (1965), *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, 2 vols., London

Grégoire, H. (1948), 'Cathares d'Asie Mineure, d'Italie et de la France', *Archives de l'Orient Chrétien* 1: 142–51

Griffe, E. (1969), *Les Débuts de l'aventure cathare en Languedoc (1140–1190)*, Paris

Guiraud, J. (1935), *Histoire de l'Inquisition au moyen âge*, 2 vols., Paris

Hallinger, K. (1956), 'Woher kommen die Laienbrüder?', *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 12: 1–104

Hamilton, B. (1974), 'The origins of the dualist church of Drugunthia', *Eastern Churches Review* 6: 115–24

Hamilton, B. (1975), 'S. Pierre Damien et les mouvements monastiques de son temps', *SG* 10: 175–202

Hamilton, B. (1978), 'The Cathar Council of Saint-Félix reconsidered', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 48: 23–53

Hamilton, B. (1981), *The Medieval Inquisition*, London

Hamilton, B. (1986), *Religion in the Medieval West*, London

Hamilton, B. (1988), 'The Cathars and the seven churches of Asia', in D. Howard-Johnston (ed.), *Byzantium and the West, c.850–1200*, Amsterdam, pp. 269–95

Hamilton, B. (1994a), 'The impact of crusader Jerusalem on western Christendom', *Catholic Historical Review*, 80: 695–713

Hamilton, B. (1994b), 'Wisdom from the east. The reception by the Cathars of eastern dualist texts', in Biller and Hudson (1994), pp. 38–60

Hamilton, B. (1999), 'The Cathars and Christian perfection', in P. Biller and Barrie Dobson (eds.), *The Medieval Church: Universities, Heresy and the Religious Life. Essays in Honour of Gordon Leff* (Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 11), Woodbridge, pp. 5–23

Hamilton, B. and McNulty, P. A. (1963), '*Orientale lumen et magistra Latinitas*: Greek influences on western monasticism, 900–1200', in *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963: études et mélanges*, Chevetogne, 1, pp. 181–216

Hamilton, S. (2001), *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Royal Historical Society, Studies in History), Woodbridge

Harris, M. R. (1988), 'The Occitan Epistle to the Laodiceans: towards an edition of MS. PA 36', in A. Cornagliotti *et al.* (eds.), *Miscellanea di Studi Romanzi offerta a Giuliano Gasca Queirazza*, 2 vols., Alessandria, 1, pp. 428–46

Head, T. (1990), *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orleans, 800–1200*, Cambridge

Head, T. and Landes, R. (1992), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, Ithaca and London

Hoffmann, H. and Pokorny, R. (1991), *Das Dekret des Bischofs Burchard von Worms: Textstufen-Frühe Verbreitung-Vorlagen* (MGH Hilfsmittel 12), Munich

Hubert, J. (1965), 'La place faite aux faite aux laïcs dans les églises et les cathédrales', in *I laici nella 'societas christiana' dei secoli XI e XII. Atti della terza Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 21–27 agosto 1965* (Pubblicazioni dell' Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Contributi 3 S.: Varia 5. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 5) Milan, pp. 470–87

Hunt, N. (1967), *Cluny under St. Hugh*, London

Hunt, N. (ed.) (1971), *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, London

Jungmann, J. A. (1950–5), *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2 vols., New York

Keen, M. (1984), *Chivalry*, New Haven and London

Kehrer, P. (1908–9), *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, 2 vols., Leipzig

Kieckhefer, R. (1990), *Magic in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge

Kolmer, A. (1982), *Ad Capienda Vulpes: Die Ketzerbekämpfung im Südfrankreich in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts und die Ausbildung des Inquisitionsverfahrens*, Bonn

Lambert, M. (1978), 'The motives of the Cathars: some reflections', in D. Baker (ed.), *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian* (Studies in Church History 15), pp. 49–59

Lambert, M. (1992), *Medieval Heresy*, 2nd edn, Oxford

Lambert, M. (1998), *The Cathars*, Oxford

Lambert, M. (2002), *Medieval Heresy*, 3rd edn, Oxford

Landes, R. (1995), *Relics, Apocalypse and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034*, Cambridge, MA and London

Lawrence, C. H. (1984), *Medieval Monasticism*, London

Leclercq, J. (1960), *S. Pierre Damien, ermite et homme de l'église*, Rome

Leclercq, J. (1961), *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. C. Misrahi, New York

Le Goff, J. (1981), *La Naissance du Purgatoire*, Paris

Leyser, H. (1984), *Hermits and the New Monasticism: A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe, 1000–1150*, London

Little, L. K. (1978), *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, London

Little, L. K. (1993), *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France*, Ithaca and London

Longère, J. (1983), *La Prédication médiévale*, Paris

McGinn, B. and Meyendorff, J. (eds.)(1986), *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century*, London

Mackay, A. (1977), *Spain in the Middle Ages*, London

Magdalino, P. (1993), *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80)*, Cambridge

Manselli, R. (1953), 'Il monaco Enrico e la sua eresia', *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 65: 1–63

Mason, E. (1979), 'A truth universally acknowledged', in D. Baker (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside* (Studies in Church History 16), pp. 171–86

Mollat, M. (1978), *Les Pauvres au moyen âge*, Paris

Moore, R. I. (1985), *The Origins of European Dissent*, 2nd edn, Oxford

Moore, R. I. (1987), *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, Oxford

Morris, C. (1989), *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford

Murray, A. (1978), *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, Oxford

Obolensky, D. (1948), *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge

Paterson, L. M. (1993), *The World of the Troubadours: Medieval Occitan Society, c.1100–c.1399*, Cambridge

Pelikan, J. (1978), *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, III: *The Growth of Medieval Theology, 600–1300*, Chicago

Pelikan, J. (1996), *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture*, New Haven and London

Poly, J.-P. and Bournazel, E. (1980), *La Mutation féodale Xe–XIIe siècles*, Paris

Poly, J.-P. and Bournazel, E. (1991), *The Feudal Transformation 900–1200*, trans. C. Higgitt, New York and London

Porter, J. M. B. (1997), '*Compelle intrare*: Monastic Reform Movements in Twelfth-century North-Western Europe', PhD thesis, University of Nottingham

Reuter, T. and Silagi, G. (1990), *Wortkonkordanz zur Decretum Gratiani*, 5 vols. (MGH Hilfsmittel 10 (in 5 parts)), Munich

Riley-Smith, J. (1967), *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050–1310*, London

Riley-Smith, J. (1986), *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London

Riley-Smith, J. (1997), *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131*, Cambridge

Runciman, S. (1955), *The Eastern Schism*, Oxford

Russell, J. B. (1984), *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*, Ithaca and London

Schmidt, C. (1848–9), *Histoire et doctrine des Cathares*, 2 vols., Geneva

Selge, K. V. (1967), *Die ersten Waldenser*, I: *Untersuchung und Darstellung*; II: *Der 'Liber Antiheresis' des Durandus von Osca*, Berlin

Sigal, P. A. (1985), *L'Homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale*, Paris

Smalley, B. (1983), *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edn, Oxford

Southern R. W. (1970), *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, Harmondsworth

Starkie, C. (1993), '*Rituals of perfection*', BA dissertation, University of Nottingham

Stock, B. (1983), *The Implications of Literacy*, Princeton

Stopani, R. (1991), *Le vie di pelligrinaggio del medioevo: gli itinerari per Roma, Gerusalemme, Compostella*, Florence

Stoyanov, Y. (2000). *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, Yale

Sumption, J. (1975), *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion*, London

Thouzellier, C. (1966), *Catharisme et Valdéisme en Languedoc à la fin du XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Paris, Sér. Recherches 27), Paris

Vauchez, A. (1993a), *The Spirituality of the Medieval West*, trans. C. Friedlander (Cistercian Studies 145), Kalamazoo

Vauchez, A. (ed.) (1993b), *The Laity in the Middle Ages*, trans. M. J. Schneider, Notre Dame and London

Wakefield, W. L. (1974), *Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250*, London

Walberg, E. (1929), *La Tradition hagiographique de Saint Thomas Becket avant la fin du XIIe siècle: étude critique*, Paris

Ward, B. (1982), *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*, Philadelphia

Webb, D. (1999), *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West*, London and New York

Widengren, G. (1965), *Mani and Manichaeism*, trans. C. Kessler, London

Wilkinson, J. (1977), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage before the Crusades*, Warminster

Zernov, M. (ed.) (2001), *L'Histoire du Catharisme en discussion, Le 'Concile' de Saint-Félix (1167)* (Collection du Centre d'Etudes Médiévales de Nice 3), Nice

Zink, M. (1976), *La Prédication en langue romane avant 1300*, Paris

14 THE CRUSADES, 1095–1198

Becker, A. (1964–88), *Papst Urban II (1088–1099)*, 2 vols., Stuttgart

Beumann, H. (1973), *Heidenmission und Kreuzzugsgedanke in der deutschen Ostpolitik des Mittelalters*, 2nd edn, Darmstadt

Blake, E. O. and Morris, C. (1984), 'A hermit goes to war: Peter and the origins of the First Crusade', *Studies in Church History* 21: 79–107

Brundage, J. A. (1969), *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, Madison

Bulst-Thiele, M. L. (1974), *Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri*, Göttingen

Cahen, C. (1968), *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London

Chazan, R. (1987), *European Jewry and the First Crusade*, Berkeley

Christiansen, E. (1986), *The Northern Crusades*, London

Cole, P. J. (1991), *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270*, Cambridge, MA

Constable, G. (1953), 'The Second Crusade as seen by contemporaries', *Traditio*, 9: 213–79

Delaruelle, E. (1980), *L'Idée de croisade au moyen âge*, Turin

Elisséeff, N. (1967), *Nur-ad-Din*, 3 vols., Damascus

Erdmann, C. (1935), *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 6), Stuttgart. Repr. 1955, 1974, Darmstadt

Erdmann, C. (1977), *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart of Erdmann (1935), with a foreword and additional notes by M. W. Baldwin, Princeton

Favreau, M.-L. (1974), *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des deutschen Ordens*, Stuttgart

Fletcher, R. A. (1987), 'Reconquest and crusade in Spain c. 1050–1150', *TRHS* 5th series, 37: 31–47

Forey, A. J. (1973), *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, London

Forey, A. J. (1992), *The Military Orders*, London

Gilchrist, J. (1985), 'The Erdmann thesis and the canon law, 1083–1141', in P. W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff, pp. 37–45

Hehl, E. D. (1980), *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart

Hiestand, R. (1980), 'Die Anfänge der Johanniter', in J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (eds.), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, Sigmaringen, pp. 31–80

Hiestand, R. (1988), 'Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templerordens', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 99: 295–325

Hill, J. H. and Hill, L. L. (1959), *Raymond IV de Saint-Gilles, 1041 (ou 1042)–1105*, Toulouse

Hodgson, M. G. S. (1955), *The Order of the Assassins*, The Hague

Holt, P. M. (1986), *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*, London

Housley, N. J. (1985), 'Crusades against Christians: their origins and early development, c. 1000–1216', in P. W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff, pp. 17–36

Kedar, B. Z. (1984), *Crusade and Mission*, Princeton

Legras, A.-M. (1983), *Les Commanderies des Templiers et des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem en Saintonge et en Aunis*, Paris

Lilie, R. J. (1981) *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, Munich

Lomax, D. W. (1965), *La Orden de Santiago, 1170–1275*, Madrid

Lomax, D. W. (1978), *The Reconquest of Spain*, London

Lyons, M. C. and Jackson, D. E. P. (1982), *Saladin*, Cambridge

Mayer, H. E. (1960), *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Hanover

Mayer, H. E. (1984), 'Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume de Jérusalem', *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* NS 5: 9–163 (for studies of Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin of Boulogne)

Mayer, H. E. (1988), *The Crusades*, 2nd edn, Oxford

Mayer, H. E. and McLellan, J. (1989), 'Select bibliography of the crusades', in K. M. Setton (1969–89), VI, pp. 511–664

Miller, T. S. (1978), 'The Knights of St John and the Hospitals of the Latin West', *Speculum* 53: 709–33

O'Callaghan, J. F. (1975), *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates*, London

Prawer, J. (1985), 'The Jerusalem the crusaders captured: a contribution to the medieval topography of the city', in P. W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement*, Cardiff, pp. 1–16

Prutz, H. (1908), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, Berlin

Riley-Smith, J. S. C. (1967), *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310*, London

Riley-Smith, J. S. C. (1980), 'Crusading as an act of love', *History* 65:177–92

Riley-Smith, J. S. C. (1986a), *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, London

Riley-Smith, J. S. C. (1986b), 'The Venetian Crusade of 1122–1124', in B. Z. Kedar and G. Airaldi (eds.), *I communi italiani nel regno latino di Gerusalemme*, Genoa, pp. 337–50

Riley-Smith, J. S. C. (1987), *The Crusades: A Short History*, London

Riley-Smith, J. S. C. (1992), *What Were the Crusades?*, 2nd edn, London

Riley-Smith, J. S. C. (ed.) (1991), *The Atlas of the Crusades*, London

Runciman, S. (1951–4), *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols., Cambridge

Russell, F. H. (1975), *The Just War in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge

Setton, K. M. (editor-in-chief) (1969–89), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 2nd edn, Madison

Siberry, E. (1985), *Criticism of Crusading 1095–1274*, Oxford

Sivan, E. (1968), *L'Islam et la croisade*, Paris

Smail, R. C. (1995), *Crusading Warfare, 1097–1193*, 2nd edn with a bibliographical introduction by Christopher Marshall, Cambridge

Somerville, R. (1972), *The Councils of Urban* II, 1: *Decreta Claromontensia (Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, Supplementum 1), Amsterdam

Tumler, M. (1955), *Der deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400*, Vienna

Tyerman, C. J. (1988), *England and the Crusades 1095–1588*, Chicago

Villey, M. (1942), *La Croisade: essai sur la formation d'une théorie juridique*, Paris

15 THE EASTERN CHURCHES

General

Actes d'Iviron (1985–90), 2 vols. (Archives de l'Athos 14, 16), Paris

Atiya, A. S. (1968), *An History of Eastern Christianity*, 2nd edn, London

Baumstark, A. (1922), *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn

Bell, G. (1982), *The Churches and Monasteries of the Tur Abdin*, with intro. and notes by M. M. Mango, London

Bosworth, C. E. (1979–80), 'The "Protected Peoples" (Christians and Jews) in medieval Egypt and Syria', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library of Manchester* 62: 11–36

Brown, L. W. (1982), *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, new edn, Cambridge

Cannuyer, C. (1986), 'Langues usuelles et liturgiques des Melkites au XIIIe siécle', *Oriens Christianus* 70: 110–17

Dagron, G. (1976), 'Minorités ethniques et religieuses de l'orient byzantin', *Travaux et Mémoires* 6: 179–216

D'Alverny, M.-T. (1982), 'Translations and translators', in R. L. Benson and G. Constable with Carol D. Lanham (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Oxford, pp. 421–62

Dauvillier, J. (1948), 'Les provinces chaldéennes "de l'extérieur" au moyen âge', repr. with additions in Dauvillier (1983)

Dauvillier, J. (1953), 'Byzantins d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-orient au moyen âge', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 11: 73–8

Dauvillier, J. (1983), *Histoire et institutions des églises orientales au moyen âge* (Variorum Reprints), London

Devos, P. (1948), 'Le miracle posthume de Saint Thomas l'apôtre', *AB* 66: 231–75

De Vries, W. (1968), *Die Patriarchen der Osten* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 181), Rome

Fiey, J. M. (1959), *Mossoul chrétienne* (Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth 12), Beirut

Fiey, J. M. (1963), 'Tagrît, Esquisse d'histoire chrétienne', *L'Orient Syrien* 8: 289–342

Fiey, J. M. (1977a), '"Rûm" à l'est de l'Euphrate', *Le Muséon* 90: 365–421

Graf, G. (1944–53), *Geschichte der Christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Studi e Testi 118, 133, 146, 147, 172), Rome

Hamilton, B. (1980), *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church*, London

Hamilton, B. (1988), 'Manuel I Komnenos and Baldwin IV of Jerusalem', in *Kathege-tria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey*, Camberley, pp. 353–76; repr. in Hamilton, *Crusaders, Cathars and the Holy Places*, Aldershot (1999)

Hitti, P. (1972), 'The impact of the crusades on eastern Christianity', in S. A. Hanna (ed.), *Medieval and Near Eastern Studies in Honor of A.S. Atiya*, Leiden, pp. 211–17

Hotzelt W. (1940a), 'Kirchliche Organisation und religiöses Leben in Palästina während der Kreuzzugszeit', in *Das Heilige Land* (Palästina Hefte des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins), 11, pp. 1–106

Hotzelt, W. (1940b), *Kirchengeschichte Palästinas im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge, 1099–1291*, Cologne

Idris, H. R. (1974), 'Les tributaires en Occident musulman médiéval', in P. Salmon (ed.), *Mélanges d'Islamologie: volume dédié à la mémoire d'Armand Abel*, Leiden, pp. 172–96

Janin, R. (1955), *Les Eglises orientales et les rites orientaux*, 4th edn, Paris

Kawerau, P. (1982), *Ostkirchengeschichte*, 11, 111 (CSCO 441–2, Subsidia 64, 65), Louvain

Khoury, P. (1964), *Paul d'Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon (XIIe siècle)*, Beirut

Lagardère, V. (1986), 'Abu'l-Walid b. Rušd qadi al' qudat de Cordoue', in L. Kalus (ed.), *Mélanges offerts au Professeur Dominique Sourdel*, Special Issue of *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 54: 205–24

Lev, Y. (1988), 'Persecutions and conversion to Islam in eleventh-century Egypt', in B. Kedar and A. L. Udovitch (eds.), *The Medieval Levant: Studies in Memory of E. Ashtor*, Special Issue of *Asian and African Studies* 22: 73–91

Marot, D. H. (1955), 'Un exemple de centralisation ecclésiastique: l'ancienne église chaldéenne', *Irenikon* 28: 175–85

Martin-Hisard, B. (1991), 'La vie de Jean et Euthyme et le statut du monastère des Ibères sur l'Athos', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 49: 67–142

Mayer, H. E. (1977), *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Stuttgart

Michalowski, K. (1967), *Faras, die Kathedrale aus dem Wüstensand*, Einsiedeln

Müller, C. and Detlef, G. (1981), *Geschichte der orientalischen Nationalkirchen* (Die Kirche in ihrer Gegenwart I, 2), Göttingen

Nasrallah, J. (1976), *L'Eglise melchite en Iraq, en Perse et dans l'Asie centrale*, Jerusalem

Nasrallah, J. (1983), 'Abdallah ibn al-Fadl', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 33: 142–59, 359–67

Nasrallah, J. (1987), 'La liturgie des patriarcats melkites de 969 à 1300', *Oriens Christianus* 71: 156–81

Palmer, A. N. (1990), *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier*, Cambridge

Papachryssanthou, D. (1973), 'La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantines, VIIIe–XIe siècles', *Byzantion* 43: 158–81

Prawer, J. (1985), 'Social classes in the Crusader States: the "minorities"', in Setton, v (1985), pp. 72–6

Richard, J. (1985), 'The political and ecclesiastical organization of the Crusader States', in Setton, v (1985), pp. 193–250

Richard, J. (1989), 'The establishment of the Latin church in the empire of Con-stantinople', in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby (eds.), *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, London

Richard, J. (1992), 'Le paiement des dîmes dans l'Orient latin', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 150: 71–83

Richard, J. (ed.) (1965) *Simon de Saint-Quentin: histoire des Tartares* (Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Croisades 8), Paris

Röhricht, R. (1887), 'Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 10: 195

Runciman, S. (1955), *The Eastern Schism*, Oxford

Segal, J. B. (1970), *Edessa: The Blessed City*, Oxford

Setton, K. M. (ed.) (1969–89), *A History of the Crusades*, 6 vols., 2nd edn, Madison

Spuler, B. (1961), 'Die morgenländische Kirchen', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, VIII, 2, Leiden, pp. 120–322

Stiernon, D. (1962), 'Rome et les églises orientales', *Euntes Docete* 15: 319–85

Stiernon, D. (1964), 'Basile de Reggio, le dernier métropolite grec de Calabre', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa Italiana* 18, 2: 189–221

Stiernon, D. (1976), 'I rapporti ecclesiastici tra Roma e Bizancio. Il patriarca di Constantinopoli Giovanni X Kamateros e il primato romano', in *Problemi di storia della Chiesa: il medioevo dei secoli XII–XV*, Milan, pp. 90–132

Talbi, M. (1990), 'La chrétienté maghrebine de la conquête musulmane à la disparition', in M. Gervers and R. J. Bikhazi (eds.), *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands* (Papers in Medieval Studies 9), Toronto, pp. 313–31

Van Roey, A. (1960), 'Denys bar Salibi', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* XIV, pp. 253–6

Van Roey, A. (1963), 'Elie bar Sinaya', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* XV, pp. 192–4

Vasiliev, A. A. (1936), *The Goths in the Crimea*, Cambridge, MA

Von den Brincken, A. D. (1973), *Die 'Nationes christianorum orientalium' im Verstandnis der lateinischen Historiographie*, Cologne

Zekiyan, B. L. (1986), 'St. Nerses Shnorhali en dialogue avec les Grecs: un prophète de l'œcumenisme au XIIe siècle', in D. Kouymjian (ed.), *Armenian Studies*, Lisbon, pp. 861–83

Greeks

Bréhier, L. (1949), *Les Institutions de l'empire byzantin* (Le Monde Byzantin 2), Paris

Bréhier, L. (1950), *La Civilisation byzantine* (Le Monde Byzantin 3), Paris

Charanis, P. (1971), 'The monk as an element of Byzantine society', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 25: 61–84

Dondaine, A. (1957), 'Hughes Etherien et le concile de Constantinople de 1166', *HJ* 7: 473–83

Ducellier, A. (1990), *L'Eglise byzantine entre pouvoir et esprit (913–1204)*, Paris

Every, G. (1962), *The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451–1204*, London

Geanakoplos, D. J. (1983), *Byzantine East and West*, rev. edn, New York

Guillou, A. (1978), 'Grecs d'Italie du sud et de Sicile au moyen âge', in *Culture et société dans l'Italie byzantine (VIe–XIe siècles)* (Variorum Collected Studies 76), London

Hussey, J. M. (1986), *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford

Kazdan, A. P. and Wharton-Epstein, A. (1985), *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century*, Berkeley

Minisci, T. (1958), 'Riflessi studiani nel monachesimo italo-greco', in *Il monachesimo orientale* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 153), Rome, pp. 215–33

Nasrallah, J. (1979–), *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, III, 1, Louvain (1983) (for the period 969–1250)

Oikonomidès, N. (1960), 'Un décret synodal inédit du patriarche Jean VIII Xiphilin concernant l'élection et l'ordination des évêques', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 18: 55–78

Oikonomos, L. (1918), *La Vie religieuse de l'empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges*, Paris

Richard, J. (1986), 'Un monastère grec de Palestine et son domaine chypriote', in *Praktika of the Second International Congress of Cypriot Studies, 1985*, Nicosia, pp. 61–75

Runciman, S. (1973), *The Byzantine Theocracy*, Cincinnati

Tinnenfeld, F. (1989), 'Michael Keroullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043–1058), *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 39: 95–127

The Georgians

Brosset, M. F. (1849–58), *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle*, Paris

Djobadzé, W. Z. (1976), *Materials for the Study of the Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch* (CSCO 372, Subsidia 48), Louvain

Janin, R. (1913), 'Les Géorgiens à Jérusalem', *Echos d'Orient* 13: 32–8, 211–19

Lang, D. M. (1966), *The Georgians*, London

Metreveli, H. (1983), 'Le rôle de l'Athos dans l'histoire de la culture géorgienne', *Bedi Kartlisa* 41: 17–20

Peradze, G. (1937), 'An account of the Georgian monks and monasteries in Palestine, as revealed in the writings of non-Georgian pilgrims', *Georgica* 4–5: 181–246

Salia, K. (1980), *Histoire de la nation géorgienne*, Paris

Tamarati, M. (1910), *L'Eglise géorgienne des origines jusqu' à nos jours*, Rome

Tarchnisvili, M. (1955), *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Studi e Testi 185), Rome

Van Esbroeck, M. (1982), 'L'Eglise géorgienne des origines au moyen âge', *Bedi Kartlisa* 40: 186–99

The Syrians

Elisseef, N. (1967), *Nur al-Din, un grand prince musulman de Syrie*, 3 vols., Beirut

Fiey, J. M. (1965–8), *Assyrie chrétienne*, 3 vols. (Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth 22, 23, 42), Beirut

Fiey, J. M. (1973), 'Chrétientés syriaques du Horassan et du Segestan', *Le Muséon* 86: 75–104

Fiey, J. M. (1974–8), 'Les diocèses du maphrianat syrien de 669 à 1860', *Paroles de l'Orient* 5: 133–64, 351–95; 8: 347–78

Fiey, J. M. (1977b), *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale, et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours* (CSCO 388, Subsidia 54), Louvain

Fiey, J. M. (1979), *Communautés syriaques en Iran et en Iraq des origines à 1552*, London

Honigmann, E. (1958), *Le Couvent de Barsauma et le patriarcat jacobite d'Antioche et de Syrie* (CSCO 146, Subsidia 7), Louvain

Kaufhold, H. (1990), 'Zur syrischen Kirchengeschichte des 12. Jahrhunderts. Neue Quellen über Theodor bar Wahbun', *Oriens Christianus* 74: 115–51

Kawerau, P. (1960), *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance*, 2nd edn, Berlin

Krüger, P. (1938), 'Das syrisch-monophysitische Mönchtum in Tur Ab(h)din', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 4: 1–46

Lüders, A. (1964), *Die Kreuzzüge im Urteil syrischer und armenischer Quellen*, Berlin

Martin, [J. P.] (1888–9), 'Les premiers princes croisés et les Syriens jacobites de Jérusalem', *Journal Asiatique* 1888: 471–90; 1889: 33–79

Nahe von Schönberg, I. (1976), *Die Westsyrische Kirche im Mittelalter (800–1150)*, Heidelberg

Nöldecke, T. (1873), 'Zwei syrische Lieder auf die Einnahme Jerusalem durch Saladin', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 27: 489–510

Palmer, A. (1986), 'Charting undercurrents in the history of the West-Syrian people: the resettlement of Byzantine Melitene after 934', *Oriens Christianus* 78: 37–78

Sims-Williams, N. (1981), 'Syro-Sogdica', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 48: 441–6

Spuler, B. (1958), 'Die west-syrische (monophysistische) Kirche unter dem Islam', *Saeculum* 9: 322–44

The Nestorians

Dauvillier, J. (1938), 'Chaldéen (Droit)', in R. Naz (ed.), *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, XII–XIII, pp. 292–388

Enoki, K. (1964), 'The Nestorian Christians in China', in *L'Oriente cristiano* (Accademia dei Lincei, Quad. 62), Rome, pp. 45–77

Fiey, J. M. (1969), 'Le pèlerinage des Nestoriens et Jacobites à Jérusalem', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 12: 113–26

Fiey, J. M. (1980), *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbasides, surtout à Bagdad (749–1258)* (CSCO 420, Subsidia 59), Louvain

Lieu, S. N. C. (1980), 'Nestorians and Manicheans on the South China Coast', *Vigiliae Christianae* 34: 71–88

Pelliot, P. (1973), *Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-orient*, Paris (with very important notes by J. Dauvillier)

Tisserant, E. (1931), 'Nestorienne (Eglise)', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, XI, pp. 157–323

The Armenians

Amadouni, G. (1958), 'Le rôle historique des hiéromoines arméniens', in *Il monachesimo orientale* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 153), Rome

Bartikian, H. M. (1988), 'The religious diplomacy of Byzantium in Armenia during the tenth and eleventh century', in D. Kouymjian (ed.), *Armenian Studies in Memoriam Haig Berberian*, Lisbon, pp. 55–62

Boase, T. S. R., Lawrence, A. W., Dunbar, J. G. *et al.* (1978), *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, Edinburgh

Canard, M. (1955), 'Note sur les Arméniens en Egypte à l'époque fatimide', *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales d'Alger*, 13: 143–57

Cheynet, J.-C. (1996), 'Les Arméniens de l'empire en Orient de Constantin X à Alexis Comnène (1059–1081)', in *L'Arménie et Byzance: histoire et culture* (Byzantina Sorbonensia 12), Paris, pp. 64–78

Colless, B. E. (1969–71), 'The traders of the pearl. The mercantile and missionary activity of Persian and Armenian Christians in South-East Asia', *Abr Nahrain* 9: 17–38; 10: 102–21; 11: 1–21

Dédéyan, G. (1975), 'L'émigration arménienne en Cappadoce au XIe siècle, *Byzantion* 45: 41–116

Dédéyan, G. (1979), 'Les Arméniens en Occident. Fin Xe–début XIe siècle', in *Occident et Orient au Xe siècle* (Publications de l'Université de Dijon 57), Paris, pp. 123–39

Dédéyan, G. (1990), '*Les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen, 1068–1144*', unpublished thesis, Université de Paris

Dédéyan, G. (ed.) (1982), *Histoire des Arméniens*, Toulouse

Grousset, R. (1947), *Histoire de l'Arménie, des origines à 1071*, Paris

Hamilton, B. (1978), 'The Armenian church and the papacy at the time of the crusades', *Eastern Churches Review* 10: 61–87; repr. in *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades, 900–1300* (Collected Studies 97), London (1979)

Mécérian, J. (1965), *Histoire et institutions de l'église arménienne* (Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth 30), Beirut

Ormanian, M. (1955), *The Church of Armenia*, trans. G. M. Gregory, 2nd edn, London

Peeters, P. (1935), 'Sainte Sousanik, martyre en Arméno-Géorgie', *AB* 53: 253–8

Tekeyan, P. (1939), *Controverses christologiques en Arméno-Cilicie dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 124), Rome

Ter Minassiantz, E. (1904), *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen Kirchen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 26, 4), Leipzig

Ter Petrosyan, L. (1982), Armenian translation of the *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, Erevan

Tournebize, F. (1910), *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie*, Paris

Tournebize, F. (1930), 'Arménie', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, IV, pp. 290–394

Yarnley, E. J. (1972), 'Philaretos, Armenian bandit or Byzantine general', *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes* 9: 331–3

The Maronites

Anaissi, T. (1911), *Bullarium Maronitarum*, Rome

Breydy, M. (1985), *Geschichte der syro-arabischer Literatur der Maroniten vom 7. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, Optaden

Dib, P. (1928), 'Maronite (Eglise)', in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, X, pp. 1–142

Dib, P. (1962), *Histoire de l'église maronite*, I, Beirut

Frazee, C. (1978), 'The Maronite middle ages', *Eastern Churches Review* 10: 88–100

Rajji, M. (1951), 'Le monothélisme chez les Maronites et les Melkites', *JEH* 2: 38–42

Salibi, K. S. (1957), 'The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk rule (1099–1516)', *Arabica* 4: 288–309

Salibi, K. S. (1958), 'The Maronite church in the middle ages and its union with Rome', *Oriens Christianus* 42: 92–104

The Copts

Atiya, A. S. (1979), 'Kibt', in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2nd edn, V, Leiden, pp. 92–7

Butcher, E. L. (1897), *The Story of the Church of Egypt*, 2 vols., London

Chaleur, S. (1960), *Histoire des Coptes d'Egypte*, London

Graf, G. (1923), *Ein Reformversuch der koptischer Kirche im zwölften Jahrhundert* (Collectio Hierosolymitana 2), Paderborn

Habib al-Maski, I. (1978), *The Story of the Copts*, Cairo

Lane Poole, S. (1901), *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London

Malaty, T. Y. (1988), *The Coptic Church, Church of Alexandria*, Flemington

Nubia

Altheim, F. and Stiehl, R. (1971–9), *Christentum am Roten Meer*, 2 vols., Berlin and New York

Budge, E. M. Wallis (1928), *A History of Ethiopia, Nubia and Abyssinia*, 2 vols., London

Dinkler, E. (ed.) (1970), *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlichen Zeit: Ergebnisse und Probleme auf Grund der jüngsten Ausgrabungen*, Recklinghausen

Gamber, K. (1983), 'Zur Liturgie Nubiens. Die Kathedrale von Faras und ihre Wandmalereien', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 32: 21–35

Monneret de Villard, U. (1938), *Storia delle Nubia cristiana*, Rome

Vantini, G. (1985), *Il cristianesimo nella Nubia antica* (Museum Combonianum 39), Verona

Ethiopia

Bartnicki, K. and Mantel-Niecko, S. (1978), *Geschichte Aethiopiens*, trans. R. Richter, Berlin

Biddle, I. (1958), *Lalibela: The Monolithic Churches of Ethiopia*, London

Cerulli, E. (1943–7), *Etiopi in Palestina: storia della communità etiopica de Gerusalemme*, 2 vols., Rome

Cerulli, E. (1968), *Storia della letteratura etiopica*, Milan

Kaplan, S. (1984), *The Monastic Holy Man and the Christianisation of Early Solomonic Ethiopia*, Wiesbaden

Leclant, J. (1970), 'L'art chrétien d'Ethiopie. Découvertes récentes et points de vue nouveaux', in Dinkler (1970), pp. 291–8

Sergew, H. S. (1969), 'Eglise et État dans le royaume d'Axoum', in *Actes du 3e Congrès international des études éthiopiennes. Addis Ababa 1966*, Addis Ababa

Sergew, H. S. (1970), *The Church in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa

Sergew, H. S. (1972), *Ancient and Medieval History to 1270*, Addis Ababa

Tamrat, T. (1972), *Church and States in Ethiopia, 1270–1523*, Oxford

16 MUSLIM SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Aguilar Sebastian, V. (1993), 'Aportacion de los Arabes nomadas a la organizacion militar del ejercito Almohade', *Al-Qantara* 14: 303–415

Arie, R. (1984), *España Musulmana (siglos VII–XV)*, Madrid

Bosch Vila, J. (1990), *Los Almoravides*, ed. E. Molina Lopez, Granada

Bovill, E. W. (1979), *The Golden Trade of the Moors*, 2nd edn, Oxford

Chejne, A. (1974), *Muslim Spain: Its History and Culture*, Minneapolis

Codera y Zaidin, F. (1899), *Decadencia y desaparicion de los Almoravides en España*, Saragossa

Conrad, L. I. (1995), 'An Andalusi physician at the court of the Muwahhids: some notes on the public career of Ibn Tufayl', *Al-Qantara* 16: 3–13

Constable, O. R. (1994), *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*, Cambridge

Dreher, J. (1988), 'L'Imamat d'Ibn Qasi a Mertola', *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire* 18: 195–210

Fletcher, M. (1989), 'The anthropological context of Almohad history', *Hesperis-Tamuda* 26–7: 25–51

Fletcher, M. (1997), 'Ibn Tumart's teachers: the relationship with al-Ghazali', *Al-Qantara* 17: 305–30

Fletcher, R. (1992), *Moorish Spain*, London

Fricard, E. (1997), 'Les *talaba* dans la société almohade', *Al-Qantara* 18: 331–88

Handler, A. (1974), *The Zirids of Granada*, Coral Gables, FL

Hopkins, J. F. P. (1958), *Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary*, London

Huici Miranda, A. (1956), *Las grandes batallas de la reconquista durante las invasiones Alomoravides, Almohades y Benimerines*, Madrid

Huici Miranda, A. (1956–7), *Historia politica del imperio Almohade*, 2 vols., Tetuan

Huici Miranda, A. (1958), 'La participacion de los grandes jeques en el gobierno del imperio Almohade', *Tamuda* 6: 239–75

Huici Miranda, A. (1969), *Historia Musulmana de Valencia*, Valencia

Idris, H. R. (1965a), 'Les Aftasides de Badajoz', *Al-Andalus* 30: 277–90

Idris, H. R. (1965b), 'Les Birzalides de Carmona' *Al-Andalus* 30: 49–62

Jayyusi, S. K. (ed.), (1992), *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, Leiden

Kennedy, H. (1996), *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*, London

Kisaichi, M. (1990), 'The Almohad social-political system or hierarchy in the reign of Ibn Tumart', *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 48: 81–101

Lagardère, V. (1983–4), 'La Tariqa et la révolte des Muridin en 539H/1144 en al-Andalus', *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 35: 157–80

Lagardère, V. (1989a), *Les Almoravides*, Paris

Lagardère, V. (1989b), *Le Vendredi de Zallaq: 23 Octobre 1086*, Paris

Lagardère, V. (1993), *Campagnes et paysans d'Al-Andalus*, Paris

Le Tourneau, R. (1969), *The Almohad Movement in North Africa in the 12th and 13th Centuries*, Princeton

Lévi-Provençal, E. (1931), *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden and Paris

Levtzion, N. and Hopkins, J. F. P. (1981), *Corpus of Early Arabic Sources for West African History*, Cambridge

Lomax, D. W. (1978), *The Reconquest of Spain*, London

Marin, M. and Garcia-Arenal, M. (1994), *Saber religioso y poder politico en el Islam*, Madrid

Messier, R. A. (1974), 'The Almoravids, West Africa gold and the gold currency of the Mediterranean basin', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18: 31–47

Mones, H. (1966), 'Consideraciones sobre la epoca de los Reyes de Taifas', *Al-Andalus* 31: 302–28

Reilly, B. (1992), *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain*, London

Rubiera Mata, M. J. (1985), *La Taifa de Denia*, Alicante

Scales, P. C. (1994), *The Fall of the Caliphate of Cordoba*, Leiden

Turk, A. (1971–5), 'El reino de Zaragoza en el siglo XI de Cristo', *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islamicos en Madrid* 17 (1971–2): 7–122; 18 (1974–5): 7–71

Urvoy, D. (1978), *Le Monde des ulemas andalous du Ve/XIe au VIIe/XIIIe siècles*, Geneva

Viguera Molins, M. J. (1992), *Los reinos de Taifas y las invasiones Magrebies*, Madrid

Viguera Molins, M. J. (ed.) (1994), *Historia de España Menendez Pidal*, VIII, 1: *Los reinos de Taifas: al-Andalus en el siglo XI*, Madrid

Viguera Molins, M. J. (ed.) (1997), *Historia de España Menendez Pidal*, VIII, 2: *El retroceso territorial de al-Andalus: Almoravides y Almohades, siglos XI al XIII*, Madrid (both volumes with good bibliographies)

Wasserstein, D. (1985), *The Rise and Fall of the Party Kings*, Princeton

Wasserstein, D. (1993), *The Caliphate in the West*, Oxford

17 THE JEWS IN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN

Abulafia, A. S. (1995), *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, London

Adler, M. (1939), *The Jews of Medieval England*, London

Agus, I. A. (1969), *The Heroic Age of Franco-German Jewry*, New York

Ashtor, E. (1973–84), *The Jews of Moslem Spain*, trans. A. Klein and J. M. Klein, 3 vols., Philadelphia

Awerbuch, M. (1970), *Christlich-judische Begegnung im Zeitalter der Frühscholastik*, Munich

Baer, Y. (1961–6), *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain*, trans. L. Schoffman *et al.*, 2 vols., Philadelphia

Baron, S. W. (1948), *The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure to the American Revolution*, 3 vols., Philadelphia

Baron, S. W. (1952–83), *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd edn, 18 vols., New York

Ben Sasson, H. H. (ed.) (1976), *A History of the Jewish People*, Cambridge, MA

Berger, D. (1972), 'The attitude of St. Bernard of Clairvaux toward the Jews', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 40: 89–108

Blumenkranz, B. (1960), *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le monde occidental*, Paris

Brann, R. (1991), *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*, Baltimore

Caro, G. (1908–20), *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, 2 vols., Leipzig

Chazan, R. (1968), 'The Blois incident of 1171: a study in Jewish intercommunal organization', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 36: 13–31

Chazan, R. (1969), 'The Bray incident of 1192: Realpolitik and folk slander', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 37: 1–18

Chazan, R. (1970–71), '1007–1012: Initial crisis for northern-European Jewry', *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 38–9: 101–17

Chazan, R. (1973), *Medieval Jewry in Northern France: A Political and Social History*, Baltimore

Chazan, R. (1980), *Church, State and Jew in the Middle Ages*, New York

Chazan, R. (1987), *European Jewry and the First Crusade*, Berkeley

Chazan, R. (1997), *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism*, Berkeley

Chazan, R. (2000), *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First-Crusade Narratives*, Berkeley

Cohen, J. (1996), '"Witnesses of our redemption": the Jews in the crusading theology of Bernard of Clairvaux', in A. Bat-Sheva *et al.* (eds.), *Medieval Studies in Honour of Avrom Saltman*, Ramat-Gan, pp. 67–81

Cohen, M. R. (1980), *Jewish Self-Government in Medieval Egypt*, Princeton

Cohen, M. R. (1994), *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Middle Ages*, Princeton

Dahan, G. (1990), *Les Intellectuels chrétiens et les Juifs au moyen âge*, Paris

Dasberg, L. (1965), *Untersuchungen über die Entwertung des Judenstatus im 11. Jahrhundert*, The Hague

Dobson, R. B. (1974), *The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190*, York

Friedman, Y. (1978), 'An anatomy of anti-Semitism: Peter the Venerable's letter to King Louis VII, King of France (1146)', in P. Artzi (ed.), *Bar-Ilan Studies in History*, Ramat-Gan, pp. 87–102

Funkenstein, A. (1971), 'Basic types of Christian anti-Jewish polemics', *Viator* 2: 373–82

Funkenstein, A. (1968), 'Changes in the pattern of Christian anti-Jewish polemics in the twelfth century' (Hebrew), *Zion* 33: 125–44

Gerber, J. S. (1992), *The Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*, New York

Goitein, S. D. (1955), *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts through the Ages*, New York

Goitein, S. D. (1967–93), *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*, 6 vols., Berkeley

Goitein, S. D. (1973), *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Princeton

Grossman, A. (1988), *Hakhmei Ashkenaz ha-Rishonim (The Early Sages of Ashkenaz)*, Jerusalem

Grossman, A. (1995), *Hakhmei Zarfat ha-Rishonim (The Early Sages of France)*, Jerusalem

Jordan, W. C. (1989), *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last of the Capetians*, Philadelphia

Kamin, S. (1986), *Rashi: Peshuto shel Mikra u-Midrasho shel Mikra* (*Rashi: The Plain Sense of Scripture and the Midrashic Sense of Scripture*), Jerusalem

Kamin, S. (1991), *Jews and Christians Interpret the Bible*, Jerusalem

Kanarfogel, E. (1992), *Jewish Education and Society in the High Middle Ages*, Detroit

Katz, J. (1961), *Exclusiveness and Tolerance*, Oxford

Langmuir, G. I. (1984), 'Thomas of Monmouth: detector of ritual murder', *Speculum* 59: 822–46

Langmuir, G. I. (1990a), *History, Religion, and Antisemitism*, Berkeley

Langmuir, G. I. (1990b), *Toward a Definition of Antisemitism*, Berkeley

Lewis, B. (1984), *The Jews of Islam*, Princeton

Lotter, F. (1993), 'Innocens Virgo et Martyr: Thomas von Monmouth und die Verbreitung der Ritualmordlegende im Hochmittelalter', in R. Erb (ed.), *Die Legende vom Ritualmord: zur Geschichte der Blutbeschuldigungen gegen Juden*, Berlin, pp. 25–72

Marcus, I. G. (1981), *Piety and Society: The Jewish Pietists of Medieval Germany*, Leiden

Marcus, I. G. (1996), *Rituals of Childhood: Jewish Acculturation in Medieval Europe*, New Haven

Moore, R. I. (1987), *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, Oxford

Moore, R. I. (1992), 'Anti-Semitism and the birth of Europe', in D. Wood (ed.), *Christianity and Judaism: Papers Read at the 1991 Summer Meeting and 1992 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History 29), Oxford, pp. 33–57

Parkes, J. (1938), *The Jew in the Medieval Community*, London

Poliakov, L. (1965–85), *The History of Anti-Semitism*, 4 vols., trans. R. Howard *et al.*, New York

Rabinowitz, L. I. (1938), *The Social Life of the Jews of Northern France in the XII–XIV Centuries*, London

Richardson, H. G. (1960), *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings*, London

Riley-Smith, J. (1984), 'The First Crusade and the persecution of the Jews', in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration: Papers Read at the Twenty-Second Summer Meeting and the Twenty-Third Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical Society* (Studies in Church History 21), Oxford, pp. 51–72

Roth, C. (1964), *A History of the Jews in England*, 3rd edn, Oxford

Scheindlin, R. (1986), *Wine, Women and Death: Medieval Hebrew Poems on the Good Life*, Philadelphia

Scheindlin, R. (1991), *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel and the Soul*, Philadelphia

Schiffman, S. (1931), *Heinrich IV. und die Bischöfe in Ihrem Verhalten zu den deutschen Juden zur Zeit des Ersten Kreuzzuges*, Berlin

Scholem, G. G. (1946), *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 2nd edn, New York

Scholem, G. G. (1987), *Origins of the Kabbalah*, ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, trans. A. Arkush, Philadelphia

Silman, Y. (1995), *Philosopher and Prophet: Judah Halevi, the Kuzari, and the Evolution of His Thought*, Albany

Sirat, C. (1985), *A History of Jewish Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge

Skinner, P. (ed.) (2003), *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary and Archaeological Perspectives*, Woodbridge

Smalley, B. (1952), *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, Oxford

Spiegel, S. (1967), *The Last Trial*, trans. J. Goldin, Philadelphia

Stacey, R. C. (1995), 'Jewish lending and the medieval English economy', in R. H. Britnell and B. M. S. Campbell (eds.), *A Commercialising Economy, England 1086 to c. 1300*, Manchester, pp. 78–101

Stillman, N. A. (1979), *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book*, Philadelphia

Stow, K. R. (1992), *Alienated Minority*, Cambridge, MA

Synan, E. (1992), *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages*, New York

Talmage, F. E. (1975), *David Kimhi: The Man and the Commentaries*, Cambridge, MA

Toch, M. (1998), *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich*, Munich

Torrel, J.-P. (1987), 'Les Juifs dans l'œuvre de Pierre le Vénérable', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 30: 331–46

Twersky, I. (1962), *Rabad of Posquières: A Twelfth-Century Talmudist*, Cambridge, MA

Twersky, I. (1980), *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah)*, New Haven

Twersky, I. and Harris, J. M. (1993), *Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra: Studies in the Writings of a Twelfth-Century Jewish Polymath*, Cambridge, MA

Urbach, E. E. (1986), *Ba àlei ha-Tosafot* (*The Tosafists*), 5th edn, 2 vols., Jerusalem

Weinryb, B. D. (1972), *The Jews of Poland*, Philadelphia

Wolfson, E. R. (1994), *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism*, Princeton

Yuval, I. (1993) 'Vengeance and damnation, blood and defamation: from Jewish martyrdom to blood libel accusations' (Hebrew), *Zion* 58: 33–90

18   LATIN AND VERNACULAR LITERATURE

Braunholtz, E. (ed.) (1898), 'Fragment einer Aliscanshandschrift', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 22: 91–2

Bumke, J. (1991), *Courtly Culture, Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. T. Dunlop, Berkeley and Los Angeles

Clerval, A. (1895), *Les Ecoles de Chartres au moyen-âge du Ve au VIe siècle*, Paris

Dronke, P. (1977), *The Medieval Lyric*, 2nd edn, Cambridge

Dronke, P. (1986), *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry 1000–1150*, 2nd edn, London

Freeman, M. A. (1979), *The Poetics of Translatio Studii and Conjointure: Chrétien de Troyes's 'Cligès'*, Lexington

Goldstein, D. (1971), *The Jewish Poets of Spain 900–1250*, Harmondsworth

Häring, N. (1974), 'Chartres and Paris revisited', in J. R. O'Donnell (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Charles Anton Pegis*, Toronto

Haskins, C. H. (1927), *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, MA

Hexter, R. (1987), '*Latinitas* in the middle ages: horizons and perspectives', *Helios* 14, 2: 69–91

Jongkees, A. G. (1967), 'Translatio studii: les avatars d'un thème médiéval', in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia in memoriam Jan Frederik Niermeyer*, Groningen, pp. 41–51

Kritzeck, J. (1964), *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton

Latzke, T. (1968), 'Die Mantelgedichte des Primas Hugo von Orléans und Martial', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 5: 54–8

Latzke, T. (1970), 'Der Topos Mantelgedicht', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 6: 109–31

Lejeune, R. (1958a), 'Rôle littéraire d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine et de sa famille', *Cultura Neolatina* 14: 5–7

Lejeune, R. (1958b), 'Rôle littéraire de la famille d'Aliénor d'Aquitaine', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 1: 319–37

Migliorini, B. (1984), *The Italian Language*, rev. T. Gwynfor Griffith, London and Boston

Poliakov, L. (1974), *The History of Anti-Semitism*, trans. R. Howard, New York

Schmidt, P. G. (1990), 'The quotation in Goliardic poetry: the Feast of Fools and the Goliardic strophe *cum auctoritate*', in P. Godman and O. Murray (eds.), *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, Oxford, pp. 39–55

Sheerin, D. (1987), 'Medieval Latin: *In media Latinitate*', *Helios* 14, 2: 51–67

Smith, C. C. (1971), 'Latin histories and vernacular epic in twelfth-century Spain: similarities of spirit and style', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 48: 1–19

Southern, R. W. (1970), 'Humanism and the school of Chartres', in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*, Oxford, pp. 61–85

Southern, R. W. (1979), *Platonism, Scholastic Method and the School of Chartres*, Reading

Tydeman, W. (1978), *The Theatre in the Middle Ages: Western European Stage Conditions, c. 800–1576*, Cambridge

Webster, K. G. T. (1940), 'Walter Map's French things', *Speculum* 15: 272–9

Woolf, R. (1972), *The English Mystery Plays*, Berkeley and Los Angeles

Ziolkowski, J. M. (1991), 'Cultural diglossia and the nature of medieval Latin literature', in J. Harris (ed.), *The Ballad and Oral Literature* (Harvard English Studies 16), Cambridge, MA, pp. 193–213

19 ARCHITECTURE AND THE VISUAL ARTS

Anthony, E. W. (1951), *Romanesque Frescoes*, Princeton

Aubert, M. (1947), *L'Architecture cistercienne en France*, Paris

Bandmann, G. (1951), *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutunsgsträger*, Berlin

Baxter, R. (1998), *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages*, Stroud

Baylé, M. and Bouet, P. (1997), *L'Architecture normande au moyen âge*, Caen

Benson, R. L. and Constable G. (1982), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, MA

Bertaux, E. (1903), *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*, Paris

Bony, J. (1983), *French Gothic Architecture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Berkeley

Borg, A. (1972), *Architectural Sculpture in Romanesque Provence*, Oxford

Branner, R. (1963), 'Gothic architecture, 1160–1180, and its Romanesque sources', in *Acts of the XX International Congress of the History of Art*, Princeton, I, pp. 92–104

Braudel, F. (1986), *L'Identité de la France*, II: *Les Hommes et les choses*, Paris

Bredero, A. H. (1985), *Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle*, Amsterdam and Maarsen

Brown, R. A., Colvin, H. M. and Taylor, A. J. (1963), *The History of the King's Works*, London

Caviness, M. H. (1977), *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, Princeton

Chapelot, O. and Benoit, P. (1985), *Pierre et métal dans le bâtiment au moyen âge*, Paris

Conant, K. J. (1968), *Cluny: les églises et la maison du chef d'ordre*, Macon

Crosby, S. McK. (1987), *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis*, ed. P. R. Blum, New Haven and London

Crozet, R. (1971), *L'Art roman en Saintonge*, Paris

Crozet, R. (1948), *L'Art roman en Poitou*, Paris

Demus, O. (1949), *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, London

Demus, O. (1960), *The Church of San Marco in Venice*, Washington, DC

Demus, O. and Hirmer, M. (1968), *Romanische Wandmalerei*, Munich

Dodwell, C. R. (1954), *The Canterbury School of Illumination*, Cambridge

Dodwell, C. R. (1993), *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200*, New Haven and London

Duby, G. (1976), *Le Temps des cathédrales*, Paris

Durliat, M. (1990), *La Sculpture romane de la route de Saint-Jacques*, Dax

Erlande-Brandenburg, A. (1975), *Le Roi est mort*, Geneva

Erlande-Brandenburg, A. (1991), *Notre Dame de Paris*, Paris

Erlande-Brandenburg, A. (1994), *The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction*, trans. M. Thom (Cambridge Studies in the History of Architecture), Cambridge

Evans, J. (1938), *The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny*, Cambridge

Fergusson, P. (1984), *Architecture of Solitude: Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth Century England*, Princeton

Fernie, E. (2000), *The Architecture of Norman England*, Oxford

Focillon, H. (1947), *Art d'Occident*, Paris

Focillon, H. (1964), *L'Art des sculpteurs romanes*, Paris

Fournier, G. (1978), *Le Château dans la France médiévale*, Paris

Francastel, P. (1942), *L'Humanisme roman*, Rodez

Francovich, G. de (1935), 'La corrente comasca nella scultura romanica europa (gli inizi)', *Rivista del Reale Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 13: 267–305

Francovich, G. de (1937–8), 'La corrente comasca nella scultura romanica europa (la diffusione), *Rivista del Reale Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 16: 47–129

Frankl, P. (1960), *The Gothic*, Princeton

Frankl, P. (1962), *Gothic Architecture*, Harmondsworth; revised P. Crossley (2000), London and New Haven

Gall, E. (1955), *Die gotische Baukunst in Frankreich und Deutschland*, 1, Braunschweig and Brunswick

Gameson, R. (1992), 'The Romanesque crypt capitals of Canterbury Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 110: 17–48

Gantner, J. (1958), *Formositas Romanica*, Frauenfeld

Garrigou Grandchamp, P., Jones, M., Meirion-Jones, G. and Salveque, J.-D. (1997), *La Ville de Cluny et ses maisons*, Paris

Grabar, A. and Nordenfalk, C. (1958), *Romanesque Painting from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century*, New York

Green, R., Evans, M., Bischoff, C. and Curschmann, M. (1979), *Hortus Deliciarum*, Leiden and London

Grivot, D. and Zarnecki, G. (1961), *Gislebertus, sculptor of Autun*, London

Grodecki, L. (1976), *Les Vitraux de Saint-Denis: étude sur les vitraux au XIIe siècle*, 1, Paris

Grodecki, L. (1977), *Le Vitrail roman*, Freiburg

Grodecki, L. (1986), *Le Moyen Age retrouvé*, Paris

Hahn, H. (1957), *Die frühe Kirchenbaukunst der Zisterzienser*, Berlin

Héliot, P. (1966), *Du Carolingien au Gothique: l'évolution de la plastique murale dans l'architecture religieuse du nord-ouest de l'Europe (IXe–XIIIe siècle)*, Paris

Hubert, J. (1977), *Arts et vie sociale de la fin du monde antique au moyen âge*, Geneva

Jantzen, H. (1962), *High Gothic*, London

Johnson, J. R. (1964), *The Radiance of Chartres*, London

Kauffmann, C. M. (1966), 'The Bury Bible', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29: 60–81

Kauffmann, C. M. (1975), *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190*, London

Kidson, P. (1990), 'A metrological investigation', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53: 71–97

Kidson, P. (1993), *Salisbury Cathedral: Perspectives on the Architectural History*, London

Kimpel, D. and Suckale, R. (1985), *Die Gotische Architektur in Frankreich, 1130–1270*, Munich.

Krautheimer, R. (1980), *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308*, Princeton

Kronig, W. (1965), *Il duomo di Monreale e l'architettura normanna in Sicilia*, Palermo

Kubach, H. E. (1972), *Romanesque Architecture*, New York

Kubach, H. E. and Haas, W. (eds.) (1972), *Der Dom zu Speyer* (*Die Kunstdenkmäler von Rheinland-Pfalz* 5), Munich

Kubach, H. E. and Verbeek, A. (1976–89), *Romanische Baukunst an Rhein und Maas*, 4 vols., Berlin

Lapeyre, A. (1960), *Des Façades occidentales de Saint-Denis et de Chartres aux portails de Laon*, Paris

Lasko, P. (1972), *Ars Sacra, 800–1200*, Harmondsworth

Lassalle, V. (1970), *L'Influence antique dans l'art roman provençal*, Paris

Lasteyrie, R. de (1929), *L'Architecture religieuse à l'époque romane*, Paris

Mâle, E. (1978), *Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origin of Medieval Iconography*, Princeton; trans. M. Mathews of *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, Paris (1922)

Meiss, M. (1963), *Romanesque and Gothic Art: Studies in Western Art*, Princeton

Norton, C. and Park, D. (1986), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, Cambridge

Pächt, O. (1962), *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England*, Oxford

Pächt, O., Dodwell, C. R. and Wormald, F. (1960), *The St Alban's Psalter*, London

Porter, A. K. (1915–17), *Lombard Architecture*, 4 vols., New Haven

Porter, A. K. (1923), *The Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston

Powicke, F. M. (1961), *The Loss of Normandy*, 2nd edn, Manchester

Quintavalle, A. C. (1991), *Wiligelmo e Matilde*, Milan

Réau, L. (1955–9), *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols., Paris

Riegl, A. (1893), *Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*, Berlin

Salet, F. (1948), *La Madeleine de Vézelay*, Melun

Salet, F. (1968), 'Cluny III', *Bulletin Monumental* 126: 235–92

Salet, F. (1995), *Cluny et Vézelay*, Paris

Salvini, R. (1956), *Wiligelmo e le origini della scultura romanica*, Milan

Salzman, L. F. (1952), *Building in England down to 1540*, Oxford

Sanpaolesi, P. (1975), *Il duomo di Pisa e l'architettura romanica toscana delle origini*, Pisa

Sauer, J. (1924), *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau

Sauerländer, W. (1966), *Von Sens bis Strassburg*, Berlin

Sauerländer, W. (1989), *Le Grand Siècle des cathédrales*, Paris

Sauerländer, W. and Hirmer, M. (1970), *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich, 1140–1270*, Munich

Saxl, F. (1954), *English Sculpture of the Twelfth Century*, London

Schapiro, M. (1977), *Romanesque Art*, London

Schramm, P. and Mütherich, F. (1962), *Denkmale der deutsche Könige und Kaiser*, Munich

Schwarzenski, H. (1953), *Monuments of Romanesque Art: The Art of Church Treasures in North West Europe*, London

Seidlmayer, H. (1950), *Die Entstehung der Kathedrale*, Zurich

Shaver-Crandell, A. and Gerson, P. (1995), *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostella*, London

Simson, O. von (1956), *The Gothic Cathedral*, London

Tcherikover, A. (1997), *High Romanesque Sculpture in the Duchy of Aquitaine, c. 1090–1140*, Oxford

Thummler, H. (1939), 'Die Baukunst des 11. Jahrhunderts in Italien', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 3: 141–226

Vallery-Radot, J. (1931), *Eglises romanes: filiations et échanges d'influences*, Paris

Van der Meer, F. (1965), *L'Atlas de l'ordre cistercien*, Paris and Brussels

Verdon, T. G. (ed.) (1984), *Monasticism and the Arts*, Syracuse, NY

Verzone, P. (1942), *L'architettura religiosa dell'alto medioevo nell'Italia settentrionale*, Milan

Viollet-le-Duc, E. E. (1858–68), *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, 10 vols., Paris

Vöge, W. (1894), *Die Anfänge des Monumentalen Stils im Mittelalter*, Strasbourg

Wagner-Rieger, R. (1956, 1957), *Die italienische Baukunst zu beginn der Gotik*, I: *Oberitalien*; II *Sud-mid Mittelitalien*, Graz and Cologne

Waldeier-Bizzaro, T. (1992), *Romanesque Architectural Criticism: A Prehistory*, Cambridge

Weisbach, W. (1945), *Religiöse Reform und mittelalterlicher Kunst*, Zurich

Whitehill, W. M. (1941), *Spanish Romanesque Architecture of the Eleventh Century*, Oxford

Willis, R. (1845), *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, London

Wilson, C. (1990), *The Gothic Cathedral*, London

Winterfeld, D. von (2000), *Die Kaiserdome Speyer, Mainz, Worms und ihr romanisches Umland*, Regensburg

Worringer, W. (1912), *Formprobleme der Gotik*, Munich

Zarnecki, G. (1951), *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140*, London

Zarnecki, G. (1953), *Later English Romanesque Sculpture, 1140–1210*, London

Exhibition catalogues

English Romanesque Art, 1066–1200, London (1984)

Heinrich der Löwe und sein Seit, Brunswick (1995)

Lanfranco e Wiligelmo: il duomo di Modena, Modena (1991)

Manuscrits à peintures du VIIe au XIIe siècles, Paris (1957)

Monumenta Annonis, Cologne (1975)

Ornamenta Ecclesia, Cologne (1985)

Das Reich der Salier, Mainz (1992)

Rhein und Maas, Cologne (1972)

Les Trésors des églises de France, Paris (1965)
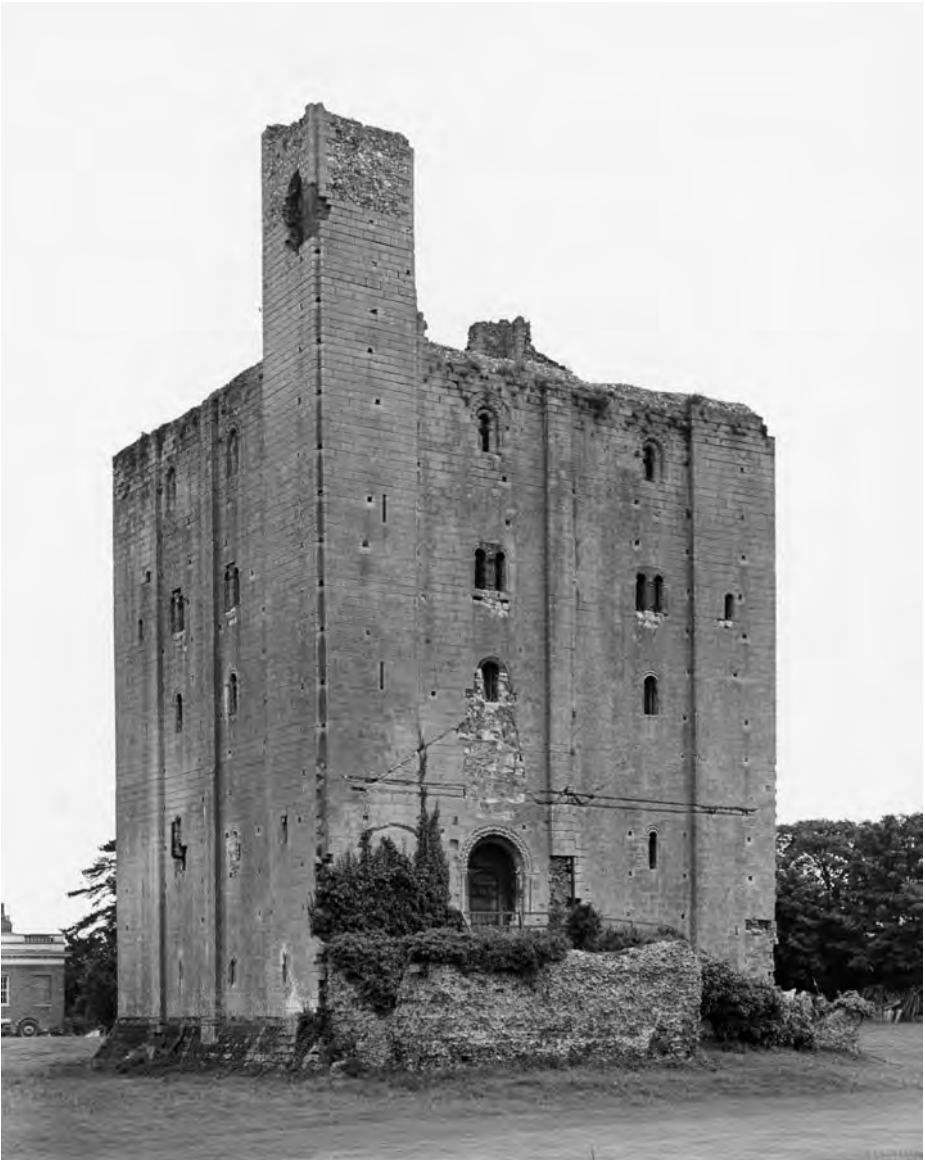
Die Zeit der Staufer, Stuttgart (1977)

1. Kirby Bellars, Leicestershire: windmill mounds amidst ridge-and-furrow.

2. New Buckenham, Norfolk: motte and bailey castle mound, 1150s, and the twelfth-century new town.

3. Old Sarum, Salisbury, Wiltshire.

4. Hedingham Castle, Essex.

5. Orford Castle, Suffolk.

6. Château Gaillard, Les Andelys, Eure, France, late twelfth century.

7. The east end of Speyer cathedral, late eleventh century.

8. Almohad city wall and the Lion Gate, Seville.

9. Fortified walls of the Alcázar, Jérez de la Frontera.

10. The Giralda Tower, Seville.

11. The abbey of St Benoît-sur-Loire, Fleury, France.

12. The abbey of Cluny, France, showing the ruined south transept.

13. The abbey of Vézelay, nave interior looking east.

14. The abbey of St Stephen, Caen, nave interior looking east.

15. Durham cathedral, choir and chancel looking east.

16. The abbey of Fontenay, *c.* 1140, nave interior looking east.

17. The ruins of Roche abbey, South Yorkshire.
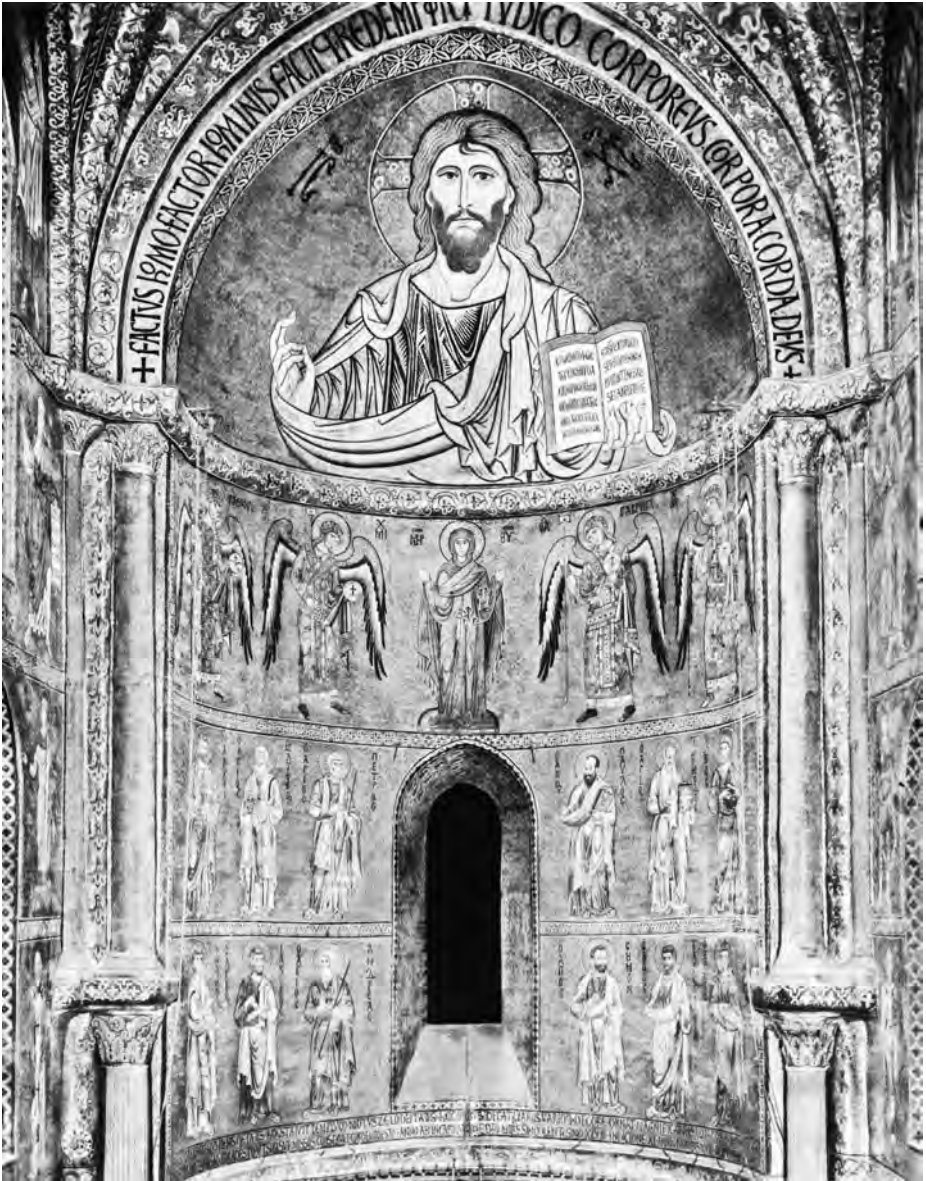
18. The cathedral of Cefalù, Sicily, apse mosaic *c.* 1143.

19. Campo Santo, Pisa, showing the baptistery, cathedral and campanile.

20. Chartres cathedral, west façade.

21. Laon cathedral, nave interior, last quarter of the twelfth century.

22. The Byzantine emperor Basil II, the 'Bulgarslayer'.
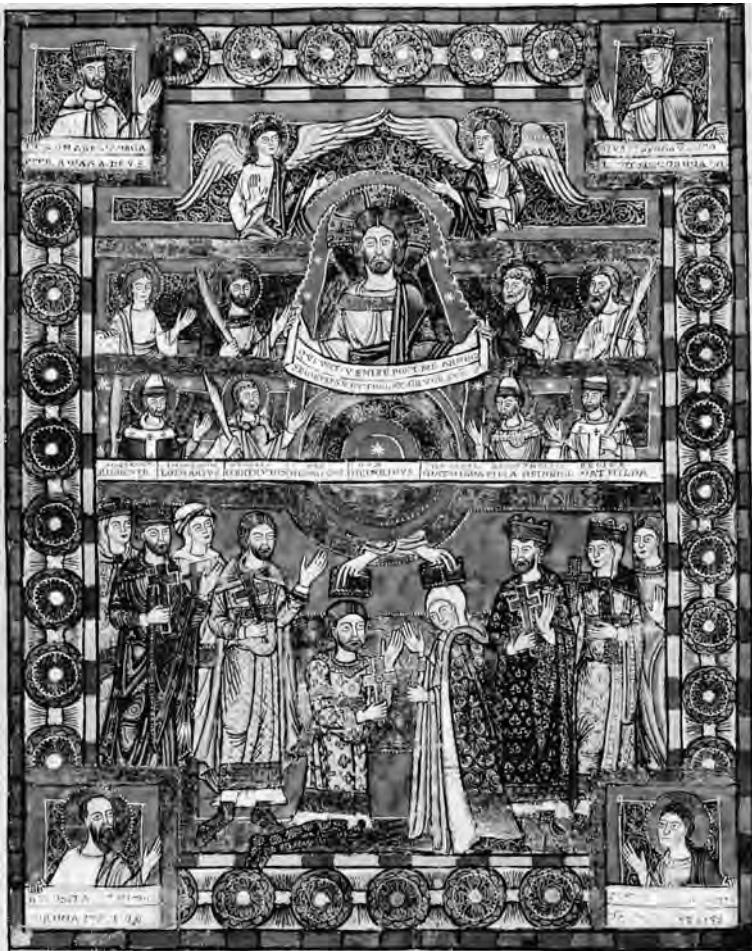
23. The gospels of Henry the Lion, *c.* 1188, showing the spiritual coronation of Henry and Matilda, observed by saints and relatives.
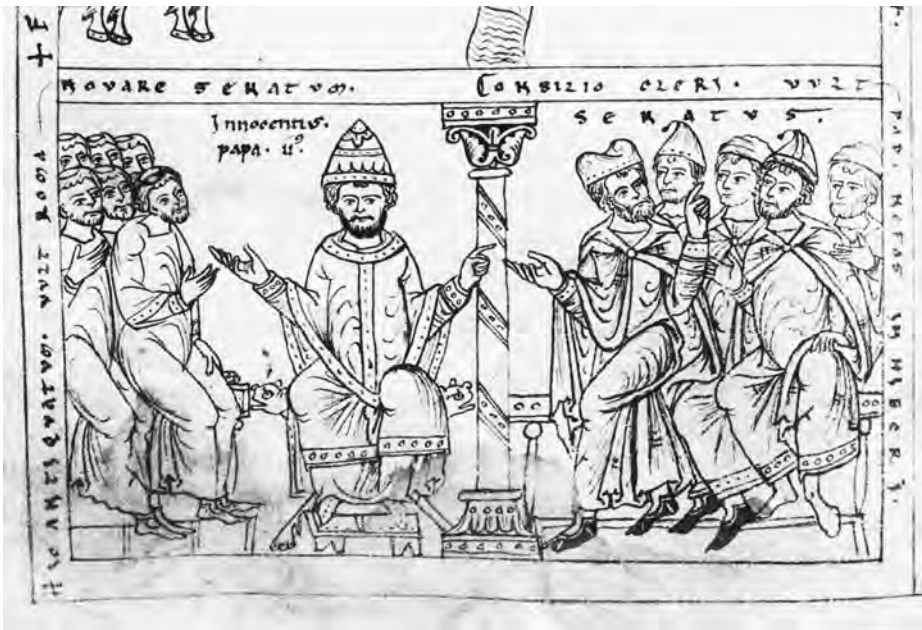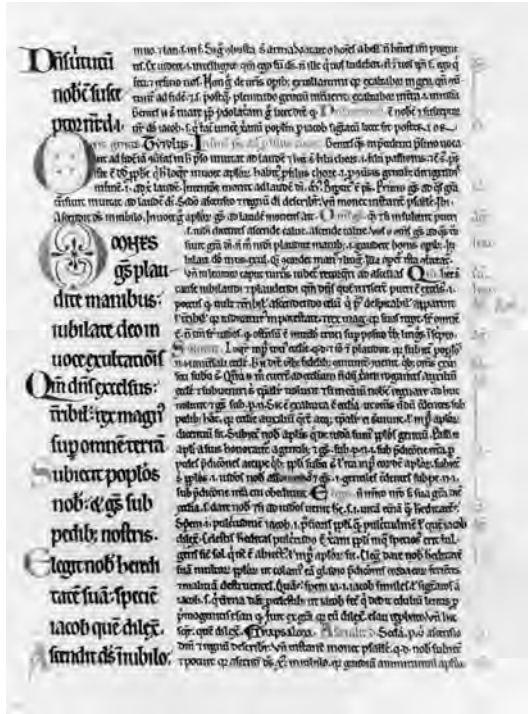
24. Pope Innocent II opposes the revival of the Roman senate.

25. *Sub umbris arborum*: Cistercian monks engaged in labour, and the first four Cistercian abbots.
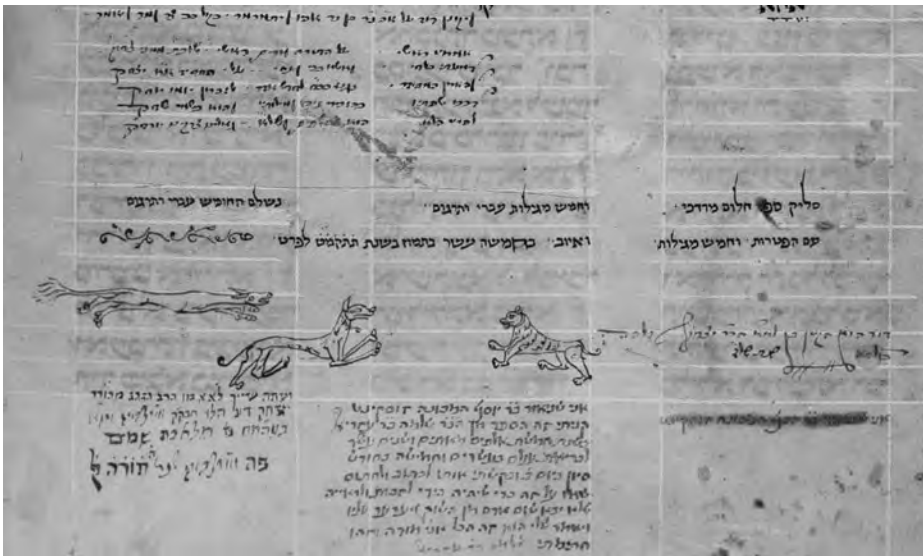
26. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, instructing monks
in his first sermon on the *Song of Songs*.
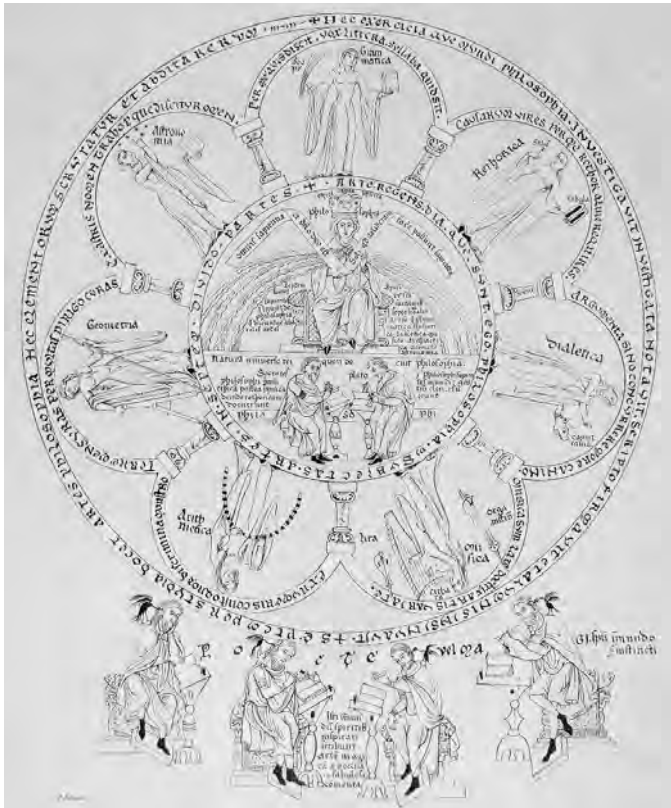
27. Philosophy, the seven liberal arts and the poets, depicted in an
edition of *Hortus deliciarum*, *c.* 1175–85 by Herrad, abbess
of Landsberg (or Hohenburg) in Alsace.

28. Hugh of St Victor, depicted in a copy
of his *Didascalicon* in 1176–77.

29. Psalms with the *Glossa ordinaria*.

30. Peter Lombard, *Commentary* on the Psalms.

31. Colophon page of a Bible written by a Jewish scribe in England in 1189.

32. Gratian of Bologna, *Decretum*.

33. The weighing of souls, *tympanum* sculpture *c*.1125 by Gislebertus of Autun, Autun Cathedral.

34. The abbey of Cluny, ambulatory capital representing the first of eight tones of church music, *c*.1095.

35. Eve, *c.* 1125, from the lintel of the north portal of Autun cathedral by Gislebertus of Autun.

36. Apse mosaic *c.* 1020 of the Virgin and Child in the church of the Katholikon, Hosios Loukas, Greece.
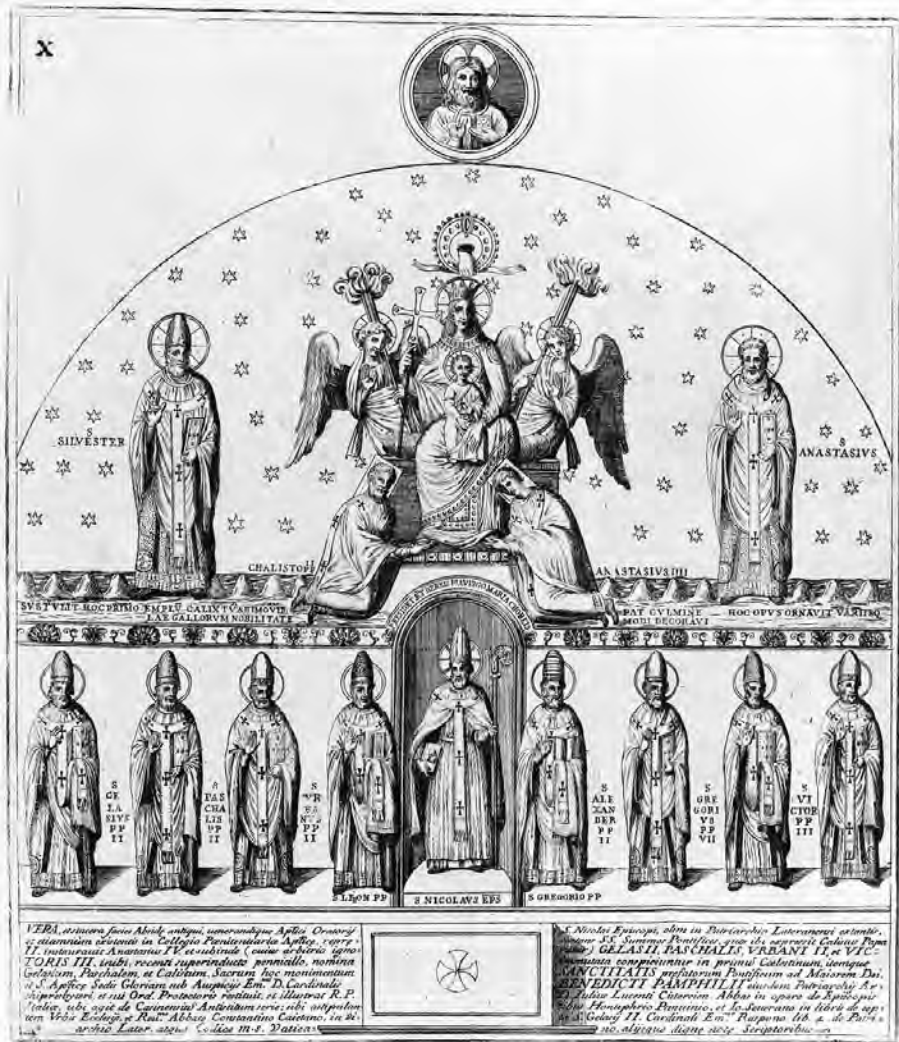
37. The crown of Constantine IX: the three central plaques show the emperor, and the empresses Zoë and Theodora.

38. The Bayeux Tapestry, eleventh century: Harold, king of the English, receives the orb and sceptre with the blessing of Archbishop Stigand.

39. The Bayeux Tapestry, eleventh century: the English flee from the battle of Hastings.
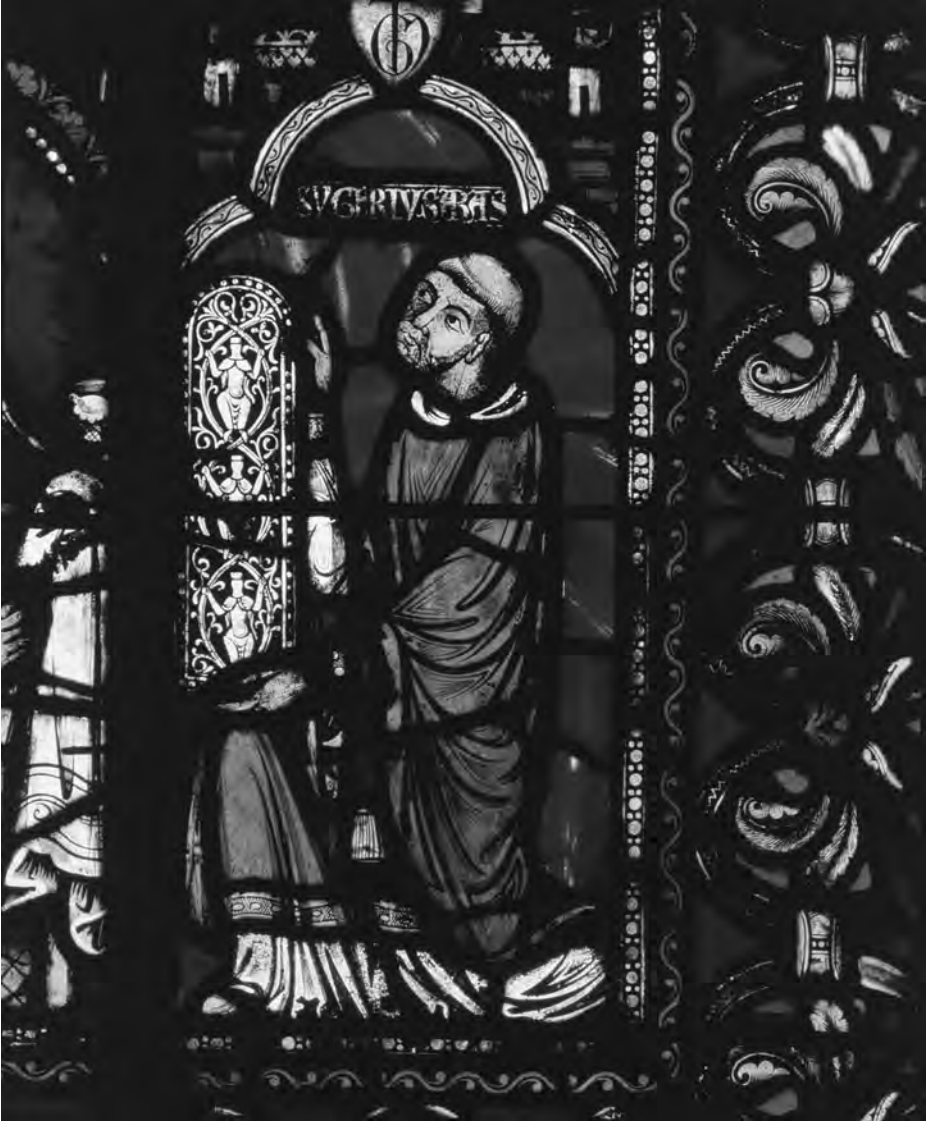
40. Drawing of the apotheosis of the popes of the reform (1061–1119), from
a fresco originally in St Nicholas in the Lateran, Rome.

41. The coronation of King Roger II of Sicily, mosaic in the church of S. Maria dell'Ammiraglio (the Martorana), Palermo.

42. The coronation cloak of King Roger II of Sicily, now in the treasury of the Holy Roman Empire, Vienna.

43. Suger, abbot of St Denis, depicted in a window of the abbey church of the mid-twelfth century.